Social Representations
of Violence Against Women in Algeria

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Submitted May 7, 2012
To the department of Social Research
Master's Thesis
This study considers the social representations of violence against women in Algeria.

More specifically, this study considers how the media has come to understand the violent events of Hassi Messaoud, Algeria as they took place in 2001 and 2010 through the analysis of 52 newspaper articles (102 pages) in 5 French language newspapers with circulation in Algeria.

The methodology was based in both practices of grounded theory and discourse analysis to study through the analysis of rhetoric the aspects of conflict, resistance and change in representations. Furthermore, this study regards representations as being historically based.

Results showed that violence against women was conceptualized in terms of four contextualized thema, namely those of morality/immorality, justice/injustice, equality/inequality, and security/insecurity and one basic thema of modernity/tradition. Secondly I considered how these representations were based in the objective for the newspapers to inspire action by criticizing the status quo.

I concluded by understanding that social representations are both context dependent and motivated processes which should be studied from both a historical and situational perspective. Furthermore, I suggested that research on violence should take on the objective to understand how others come to understand the violence which is happening around them.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
social representations, violence against women, rhetoric analysis, dialogism, Algeria, media

Säilytyspaikka – Förvaringställe – Where deposited

Muita tietoja – Övriga uppgifter – Additional information
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1 Introduction

This study sets to explore systems of shared knowledge of violence against women. More specifically, this study will consider the social representations of violence against women in Algeria.

The motivation for conducting this study is multiple, although fundamentally based on my own personal objection to a form of violence whose reach and effects literally span the globe. The purpose then of studying how others come to understand forms of violence against women is to come a step closer in understanding this phenomenon myself while sharing what I learn with others.

Violence against women has been described as perhaps the most shameful and pervasive human rights violation worldwide. Although it is understood as a worldwide problem, it seems to take on a different form across time and cultures. Article one of the UN declaration on the elimination of violence against women defines the term as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life” (1993).

By studying violence against women from the perspective of social representations is to consider the phenomenon through its construction and circulation in knowledge and discourse. As Moscovici (1961/2008) describes that social representations occupy simultaneously a space in the symbolic and in communicative practices, then knowledge and discourse are considered one and the same. Underlying this understanding are two assumptions which are outlined by Wagner (1998). The first considers the fundamental relationship between people and their world as being based on the communicative interdependence of groups. This interdependence is one where the world is constructed through the minds and interactions of members of a group, society or culture. Secondly, thought is a function of discourse and not individual contemplation, and so it is through discourse that people in groups learn to think.

The thoughts of a group or society are however not necessarily consensual ones, and rather representations become more easily accessible to study through times of conflict and change. Moscovici (1961/2008) describes the study of social representations as a transformation of knowledge from the unfamiliar to the familiar. As such, representations are enacted in response to some conflict, or new information where through
the processes of anchoring, objectification and naturalization, the once unfamiliar becomes associated with a system of negotiated knowledge (Moscovici, 1984).

This study uses newspaper media as a primary source of data for analysis. By analysing newspaper media there is the assumption that media are to be considered as social actors who have an effect on systems of social knowledge. Not only are the media social actors, but they are in fact powerful ones as is described by Elcheroth et al. (2011) as the influence of the media in shaping perceptions about shared beliefs. The power of shaping perceptions of collective knowledge is that from a perspective to social representations as being founded on a dialogical epistemology, (Marková 2008) people tend to act, speak and think based on what they think others are thinking.

This study then sets to explore how violence against women is represented through the analysis of newspaper media that conceptualizes forms of violence as being a social problem, and so intricately related to the historical and political context of Algeria. Although this perhaps sounds like the criteria for article sampling were too narrow, what I found through this study is that violence against women in Algeria only seems to be discussed in newspapers which are critical of the society in which they are imbedded. As such, by presenting a critical view of violence in its causes and effects, the articles serve to inspire action through shaping collective beliefs of the status quo.

The specific events which are considered through the analysis of newspapers are those of the town of Hassi Messaoud, where in both 2001 and 2010 groups of women were victims of organized violence. These events became talked about through the media and as well by feminist and human rights groups in order to support their fight for justice, and as well engage in debates surrounding questions of women's rights in Algeria. By being situated in discussions of rights, equality and justice, the events of violence in Hassi Messaoud took on a position of resistance against the status quo.

The perspective to social representations which is being taken in this study is one which sets to emphasize their conflicting and transformative power. To adequately capture this phenomenon the analysis focused on the function of argumentation both in practices of inductive and analytic coding, as well as through discursive analysis based in rhetoric (Aristotle, 1831/1984; Billig, 1987/1996; Potter ,1996). The structural basis of representation then is considered from the perspective of conflicting thema as the antinomies which become represented through being thought about and debated in dialogue (Marková, 2003). Further, this study will also consider the historical context and legislation of Algeria since, as argued by Liu & Hilton (2005), social representations are historical and essential in constructing and maintaining the social identity of peoples.

The text will follow the following structure. First, in chapter two a background to Algeria will be traced in both its history and legal framework which will hopefully enable a greater depth of understanding to the
context in which the representations are embedded. In the third chapter, the theory of social representations will be considered as a phenomenon while emphasizing the aspects of conflict and consensus which contribute to their endless oscillations and transformations. Chapter four will detail a background to rhetoric which is being considered as the unit of analysis. The fifth chapter will bring us to an end of the background by outlining the specific research questions which will be studied. Chapter six will detail the methodological background and practices which were taken in analysis, and chapter seven will present the analysis of the articles. Chapter eight, the final chapter will serve to summarize and reflect on the results.
2 Background of Algeria

2.1 Algeria – A brief History

In tracing a brief history of Algeria, the objective is to understand how the political and social climate has evolved into what we see as the Algeria of today. There is of course many possible ways of retelling a nation’s history, but for the purpose of this discussion the focus will be on some main events from the 1830s until the present day. This retelling will be based on what is today considered to be Algeria’s official history as established by the historian Benjamin Stora (2001).

2.1.1 1830-1954 : The French rule

Algeria was established as a French colony in 1830 with the surrender of Algiers to the French military. The native population of Algeria was resistant to French powers, and so under the rule of Napoleon III, the objective was set not to establish Algeria as a French colony, but rather an Arab kingdom. (Ibid., 5.) The goal was to foster a prosperous extension of France on the other side of the Mediterranean which created a division between the colons who enjoyed full rights, and the colonized who were considered subjects rather than citizens. This divide was legally established through the Native Code of 1881 where repressive measures were officially put in place and the redistribution of land favouring the prosperity of Europeans. (Ibid., 9.) Throughout the French occupation, Islam remained dominant in asserting an ideological union of the Algerian people as its history dated back to the seventh century. As such, the strength of Islam provided a counterweight to the French colonial power. A great economic and social divide grew increasingly apparent throughout the French occupation, with only efforts made to give Algerian Muslims full citizenship rights during WWII in a mission lead by general de Gaulle to consolidate French prestige. (Ibid., 20.) This effort was likely done a bit too late as the early 1940s already saw the development of the nationalist group the AML (Friends of the Manifesto and Freedom) who wanted to create an Algerian constitution separate from the French Republic. Nationalist groups and sentiments continued to multiply throughout the 1940s and with the support of Algerian Muslims who had been suffering from famine in the countryside. The spontaneous uprising of Muslim lead nationalist groups widened the social divide between the Muslim and the European Algerians as the former began to establish greater power through their collective action. It was under the FLN
(National Liberation Front) that the insurrection of 1954 was launched which marked the start of the war for Algerian independence and the end of colonial Algeria. (Ibid., 27.)

2.1.2 1954-1962: The war for Independence

The Algerian war of independence was legitimized by the FLN on the basis of the claim for the autonomy of a “culture, heir to a long and glorious past” (Ibid., 36). The plan was to put the country back into the hands of Muslim-Algerians and reduce the divide in income, education and social status between the European and Muslim Algerians. This pro-independence movement gained its strength from the fact that it was located at the intersection of the movement towards Socialism and the Islamic tradition. (Ibid., 65.) Under the guise of a “unified Algeria”, the force of the FLN destroyed any hope towards a democratic future as the insurgents sought to establish a unitary government. It was in March of 1962 that negotiations took place between France and the FLN during the Evian accords and an independent Algeria declared. (Ibid., 97.) This however did not put an end to the war as the Muslim population under the OAS (Organized Secret Army) sought to strike back against the European Algerians, forcing many of them to flee to France. This was considered a crisis for the nationalism campaign as Algeria revealed itself as a nation of pluralism. The legitimacy of the FLN and their hopes for unification were undermined, and the new government appointed by the army in 1962 and lead by the president of the GPRA (Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic), Ben Youssef Ben Khedda. (Ibid., 122.)

2.1.3 1962-1991 : Establishing a Nation

The period between the war of Independence and the civil war was a turbulent one. The post-war period saw the legitimacy of the FLN being re-established and the emergence of a single party system. Any other political party who tried to ascertain itself failed to gain ground as they were considered indicative of a division of the people. In 1963, a former secretary of the FLN, Ahmed Ben Bella was the first elected president of the Algerian Republic. His presidency was however a short one as he was overthrown by the military and arrested only two years later because he had established himself as the sole ruler of Algeria by firing all of his ministers. (Ibid., 41.) This marked the beginning of the army’s occupation which served to strengthen the authoritarian character of the state until a National Charter was made in 1976.

The National Charter was drafted in 1976 by Houari Boumédiène and made public. Despite the debates which arose amongst the Algerian public, few amendments were made to the original text which was adopted by referendum the same year. The National Charter of 1976 asserted: “To restore national sovereignty, construct socialism, struggle against underdevelopment, build a modern and prosperous economy, and be vigilant against external dangers requires a constantly fortified state, not a state invited to die out, when it has barely reemerged from the void” (Ibid., 147). The charter claimed the fusion of the political, economic and religious spheres, and Islam integrated as a fundamental component to state ideology. During the presidential
elections in the same year with only one candidate nominated by the FLN, President Boumédiène was elected with 99.38 percent of the vote (Ibid., 149).

Boumédiène’s regime set economic development and the consolidation of the state’s political independence as the essential priorities (Ibid., 152). Doing this took various forms and included the nationalization of the French-Sonatrach to take the production of fossil fuels into the hands of Algerians, and a campaign for the Arabization of language in order to rid French influence. This however proved to be difficult as during the 1970s French was the dominant language and Arabic considered foreign to most Algerians, and so efforts towards Arabization increased the divide between Arabophones and Francophones. (Ibid., 171.) Boumédiène gained popularity throughout his time in power, but died suddenly of illness in 1978 and was replaced by Colonel Chadli Bendjedid under the army’s recommendation. Bendjedid remained president until 1992 and lead a government based on values of economic liberalization and freer politics (Ibid., 179).

Despite Bendjedid’s efforts, the 1980s marked a time of increasing unemployment and economic instability. This was affected by demographic changes and the rise of birth rates throughout the 1970s so that by the end of the 1980s, 60% of the Algerian population were under 20, and 72% of those unemployed were under 25 (Ibid., 191). Increasing dependency of the economy on the exportation of fossil fuels was worrisome to Algerian authorities who saw the danger of an undiversified economy. By 1984 for example, 32.3% of the economy’s GDP was accounted for by the export of fossil fuels alone (Ibid., 187).

By the mid 1980s and in the wake of economic turmoil conflicts lead by the Islamic Movement of Algeria (IMA) began targeting state authorities. The objective of this campaign was for the moralization of a society that they considered sinful. The diffusion of their ideology took form through the debates on the “Family Code” which was adopted by the National Popular Assembly in 1984 and served to limit the rights of women in Algerian society. This code was considered a significant regression with regard to the changes that had been established since independence in the relations between the sexes. (Ibid., 192.)

The October riots of 1988 which was lead primarily by young people as a backlash to rising prices and the effects of widespread unemployment caused the collapse of the single-party political system. Two major political players emerged: the UCD (The Union for Culture and Democracy) had the objective of opening up politics and the separation between religion and the state; and the IFS (the Islamic Salvation Front) who rejected democracy as a product of French colonial history and advocated for the installation of an Islamic republic in Algeria. By 1990, 44 parties came into existence to participate in the elections which were set for 1991. (Ibid., 198.)

With the ISF based in notions of political action and change, and their increasing popularity amongst the unemployed Algerian youth, it is perhaps no surprise that the first round elections of 1991 saw the ISF gaining
42% of the vote followed by the FLN and the FFS (Front of Socialist Forces) (Ibid., 209). The second round of the elections did not take place however as the army objected to these results and so instated a state of emergency and called upon Mohamed Boudiaf, a former leader of the FLN, to serve as an intermittent president. President Boudiaf was however soon assassinated, and replaced by Ali Kafi, a former nationalist in the war of independence (Ibid., 210). Violence grew widespread and what has been later referred to as the Algerian civil war officially commenced.

2.1.4 1991-2002: The “Black Decade”, Algeria’s Civil War

The attacks and murders which have been attributed to Islamist guerrilla groups throughout the 1990s caused an estimated thirty thousand deaths by 1994, and in the latter half of the 90s an estimated 40-60 people killed every day (Ibid., 215). The targets of this war were major Algerian figures, academics and journalist as the most visible group of victims, while the attacks and mass rapes and murders of women and children on the countryside remained largely invisible. Despite the turmoil, a presidential election was scheduled to take place in November 1995 in the hopes of legitimizing the government. The three major political parties at the time: the FLN, FFS, and IFS however refused to participate in the electoral vote and maintained that political negotiation and a lifting of the army imposed state of emergency had to precede the elections. (Ibid., 223.) In the end, with few choices in the election, General Zéroual who was named by the army as the acting president since 1994 was elected (Ibid., 224). It was following these elections that the violence took on a more ruthless character with a series of successive attacks of a sexual nature in the Algerian countryside which has been later referred to as the “Village Massacres”. Despite the continued violence, Algerian authorities laboured to convince foreign partners that the terrorism had been dying down and in doing so took over increased control of the media. Despite the terror and intimidation, by 1997 it was clear that the Islamists could never take the power in Algeria without more support. The population had by this time grown increasingly fearful and wary of these armed groups who gained most of its support through the activities of the radical and unemployed youth. It was at this time that the Algerian army launched a cleansing operation against the Islamist guerrilla forces, and the ISF eventually surrendered to the army. (Ibid., 229.) Total disarmament took place over many years and with the help of international human rights group. Estimates indicate that 150,000 people died as a result of this civil war (Ibid., 235). Although the violence of the black decade died down or took different forms in the new millennium, the state of emergency was not lifted until February 2011.

2.1.5 Algeria Today

Today, the politics of Algeria takes place within the framework of a presidential republic where the President is the elected head of state of a multi-party government (Algerian Constitution, 2008). Abdelaziz Bouteflika won the presidential elections of 1999, and again in 2004 and 2009. As of 2008, the two term limit to presidency was lifted and so now the President can serve indefinitely (Ibid., 2008). Bouteflika’s politics have
been based on restoring national harmony and ending the years of civil unrest. Bouteflika has attempted to open up Algeria on the international stage but his socialist-orientated economic policies have failed to wean the economy off reliance on exports of oil and gas. (Benjamin Stora on French Colonialism and Algeria today, 2006, August 5.)

Algeria’s population is estimated at 35.9 million (United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD, 2011)), and has three major language groups: Arabic, French and Berber. The GDP is 160 billion USD with 26.8 percent coming from exports of petroleum and natural gas accounting for 97 percent of Algeria’s total exports (International Monetary Fund (IMF, 2012)). Algeria’s biggest trading partners are with France, Italy, Spain and the United States. According to Fureri (2012) the overall unemployment rates in Algeria have declined considerably over the past decade, from 30 percent in 2000 to 10 percent in 2010. These falling rates have been influenced by the demographic transition to low fertility and the decline of population growth from 3.1 percent to 1.5 percent from 1985 until 2007. Youth unemployment however continues to be a problem at 21.5 percent.

According to the United Nations Development Program's (UNDP, 2011) equality index, Algeria ranks 96th in the world and is considered a country of medium human development. Women’s enrollment in higher education has been steadily increasing and accounts for 49.3 percent of the population with at least a secondary school education. These improvements have been followed by increased participation in the labour force where women now account for 37.2 percent of the working population, although mainly concentrated towards urban areas. Despite good educational standing and increased labour force participation, women continue to occupy a marginal position in politics with only 7 percent of the parliamentary seats (UNDP, 2011). The average age of marriage for women is 29 and men is 33 (UNSD, 2012).

2.2 Women’s Rights and Algeria’s Legislative Framework

2.2.1 Constitution

A country’s constitution puts in place a legal basis for rules to ensure that governments act in accordance to a specified legal framework. The Algerian government under the FLN agreed to a new constitution of 1976. In its preamble, the constitution (1976) cites the revolution of 1954 and the subsequent war of independence as important starting points in the formation of the Republic which all Algerians are involved in creating. The constitution describes that Algeria is democratic and socialist (article 1) and that Islam is the religion of the state (article 2). In terms of providing the legal framework for the rights of men and women, the constitution states that all citizens are equal (article 39) and that the law, regardless of sex, race or ability is the same for everybody (article 40). In article 42, the equality between men and women is further stated as a priority where “all political, economic, social and cultural rights of the Algerian woman are guaranteed by the constitution”. 

8
The Algerian constitution has continued to undergo expansion, with general recognizable trends towards emphasizing the responsibility of the individual in asserting their own rights rather than them being granted by the state. In the Algerian constitution of 1996/2008 for example, equal rights between men and women are no longer described as a priority of the state but rather that the state has the duty to remove obstacles which hinder the progress of human beings, both men and women to participate in political, economic, social and cultural life (article 31). Furthermore, changes of wording in the preamble from the constitution of 1976 no longer describe the participation of all Algerians in participating in social and political life, but rather the participation of any Algerian.

2.2.2 Family Code

The Family Code was adopted by the Algerian National Assembly in 1984 as a document which provides the legal framework for marriage and family life. Since its enactment, the code has been subject to ongoing debate in the media and criticized by the United Nations special rapporteur on violence against women (United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC, 2008)) for serving as a legal framework of women's oppression. The Family Code of 1984 makes it a legal duty for Algerian women to obey their husbands, to respect and serve them, their parents and relatives (Article 39). Women cannot arrange their own marriages unless represented by a matrimonial guardian (Article 11), and divorce is made near impossible for a woman to obtain (Article 54). In case of divorce, wives and children have no right to the family home which is automatically awarded to the husband (Article 52). A woman’s access to participate in social and political life is dependent on her male-tutor who has the responsibility to grant her these rights if he so chooses (Article 39). The family code has been heavily criticized by feminist and human rights groups and the United Nations implemented numerous mandates for the Family Code to be abolished (UNHRC, 2008). Despite protests, the Family Code has not been abolished and so women continue to live as minors and denied basic civil rights.

2.2.3 Freedom of the press in Algeria

The 1989 Algerian Constitution is largely built around the principles of freedom and democracy. In the Preamble it states

Having fought and still fighting for freedom and democracy, the Algerian people, by this Constitution, decided to build constitutional institutions based on the participation of any Algerian, man and woman, in the management of public affairs; and on the ability to achieve social justice, equality and freedom for all (Constitution of Algeria, 1989).

Furthermore, this right of freedom for all is explicitly expressed in 7 of the Constitution's articles; most applicable for this current argument is article 41 which specifies that “Freedom of expression, association and meeting are guaranteed to the citizen” (Constitution of Algeria, 1989). Despite these inspiring words which
document the history and values of a nation having risen up from the shackles of colonialism, Algeria can hardly be considered free in expression and in press in any means. In actual measures of freedom according to Reporters Without Borders press freedom index (RWB, 2010), Algeria scores a 47.33 ranking 133rd out of 178 indexed countries.

The Reporters Without Borders (RWB) index measures violations of press freedom in the world, assigning each country a score and position in the final ranking. It is a French-based international non-governmental organization with consultant status at the United Nations. Since its inaugural publication in 2002, Algeria has seen a steady increase in score\(^1\) and a declining position when comparing scores across nations. This holds true up until the Press Freedom Index of 2011/2012 released in January 2012 where although Algeria’s score has continued to increase to 57.00 the nation managed to improve its worldwide position to 122nd (RWB, 2011/2012). These changes can be attributed to the sharp crackdown experienced in the press worldwide, largely explained by a large number of protest movements in the Arab region as well as the negative effects of worldwide economic turmoil on the press. On a global scale then, the 2011/2012 press freedom index sees a dramatic decrease on press freedom worldwide.

What has gone right and wrong in questions of freedom of press in Algeria can of course not be separated from its social, historical and political context. According to the press reference forum (2012) prior to 1988 and since the Algerian independence from France, the press was under the governmental control of the ruling party, the FLN. During this time, there were three main (government-run) newspapers, two of them in French *El-Moudjahid* and *Algérie Actualité*, and one in Arabic *Ech-Chaab*. After 1988 as a result of increasing pressure for democratization the press was liberated which resulted in an explosion of privately run newspapers and media so that by 1993 there were no less than 117 publication, 57 of which were printed in Arabic, and 60 in French. (Ibid., 2012).

The government however, fearful of the effects of “too much” freedom enacted the Information Code (1990) on April 3 1990 to provide the legal basis of control over the once non-existent private press. This code contains a number of provisions which conflict with the Constitution's guarantee of freedom of expression. Article 86 for example outlines a punishment of 5 to 10 years of prison for anyone who publishes or disseminates false or deliberately misleading information. Article 87 describes that the circulation of any information which is considered to be against the state or national unity will result in penal sanctions of one to five years and a fine of 10,000 to 100,000 dinars, or one of the two. (Information Code, 1990). The restrictive and deliberately vague nature of these articles go on and on providing loose but potentially dangerous restrictions on journalists and print-media editors alike (Human Rights Watch, 2010).

\(^1\) An increase in score corresponds with worsening freedom of press
According to Reporters Without Borders (2003), the precarious status of journalists became even more threatened when the Algerian civil war erupted in 1991. A backlash against democracy between the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) and the governing National Liberation Front (FLN), Islamic forces sought to restrict secular ideas which resulted in the assassination of more than 70 journalists in the 1990s, and widespread fear amongst everyone involved in the publication and circulation of media. Fear as we know it is a powerful tool of control and although it is difficult to say for certain, fear of this sort likely resulted in self censorship and declining freedom of the press throughout the 1990s. (Ibid., 2003).

In comparison to the reigning terror at the hands of Islamic groups throughout the 1990s, today journalists can enjoy relative (although not complete) safety. Despite this, the press remains far from being free. In addition to the legal control over press exerted by the Information Code of 1990, the National Assembly amended the Penal Code in 2001 where article 144 now details prison punishment of two to twelve months and fines of 50 000 to 250 000 dinars for any violation against the President of the Republic in terms of containing the injury, insult or defamation (Penal Code, 2001).

What these laws have meant in practice is a consistent intimidation by the state against the media and consequently the censorship of journalists. A statement from the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the rights to freedom and opinion and expression (2011) describes that recently as March 2011, 10 journalists were arrested by security forces during a demonstration in Oran despite having being identified as journalists. Furthermore, although a majority of the printed-press is technically independent of the state, they are largely dependent on the State-owned printing houses and access to paper which puts serious limitations on their press freedom. (Ibid., 2011).

Today, Algeria has more than 45 independent French and Arabic language publications and four which are government owned. Despite the independence, the government remains in control of all printing presses and advertising which has been problematic for press freedom as the state has taken numerous and continued actions to shut down printing houses and limit publications. The Algerian newspapers with the largest circulations are El Khabar (Arabic; 530,000), El Watan (French; 200,000), Quotidien d'Oran (French; 195,000), and Liberté (French; 120,000). The government also owns all radio and television outlets, which provide pro-government programing which limits the circulation of open and free knowledge in Algeria. (Library of Congress Federal Research Division 2008, 19).

The interest in using newspaper media for analysis is in considering how forms of resistance are enacted through the media and contribute to shared knowledge through its position of resistance to the status quo. The current editor of the online edition for the El Watan newspaper describes that “For us as journalists, the situation is especially difficult because we are caught in the middle...We are attacked from both sides” (Familiar Threats Constrict Press Freedom in Algeria, 2007, December 28).
2.2.4 Hassi Messaoud

Hassi Messaoud is a town in the south east province of Ouargla of Algeria. This is the town where the violence whose newspaper accounts will be analysed took place. The town is most known for its oil as it is home to some of the largest oil reserves in the North African region. It is also known for the two events of violence which took place, the first in July 2001, and the second in April 2010. In July of 2001, it was reported that a group of women were attacked and raped by some 300 men in one night, and in 2010 over the span of a few weeks women were attacked and robbed in their homes. Neither of these events resulted in justice being rendered despite the activities of feminist and human rights groups, and has since been subjected to ongoing debates about the causes and effects of violence against women. (Amnesty International, 2010.)

2.3 Related Research

Frantz Fanon’s essay “Algeria Unveiled” (1965) is a piece of work which is considered to be the first critical reading of the role of women under colonialism (Khanna, 2008). In this piece, Fanon (1965) traces the symbolic meaning of the veil during Algeria’s colonial occupation and the fight for independence. The veil, he explains, was worn out of tradition and as a garment of dress, did not have much meaning to Algerian women before French colonization. Under the colonial administration however, with the desire to destroy Algerian society, all forms of behaviour and dress were considered to the colonizer to be medieval and barbaric and so the desire was to unveil the Algerian woman. By condemning the practice of wearing the veil as one that was symptomatic of a barbaric and unequal society, France gained legitimacy in their colonial conquest by sympathizing with the oppressed Algeria woman. Through applying maximum attention to the unveiling of women, the symbolic meaning of the veil became of greater importance for the Algerian woman where removing the garment considered a symbolic raping and accepting the demands of the colonizer. In the war for independence, the involvement of women as active combatants did not only serve a material need, but also a necessity to demonstrate to France and the world that they too were against French colonial rule. The taboo meaning of the veil disappeared during the course of the colonial struggle during certain times, but reappeared following a campaign lead by the French in 1957 where women were dragged into the street and symbolically unveiled to the cries of “On live French Algeria!” (Ibid. 64). In reaction, the Algerian women who had since dropped the veil again put in on as a form of resistance against the French invasion. According to Fanon (1965, p.65) the refusal to unveil then is rather not to be seen as the Algerian woman’s oppression but rather as a form of critical resistance against the forces of colonization.

In Jaques Derrida’s (2003) essay “Taking a Stand for Algeria” he says the following on the state of the civil war:
This civil war is for the most part a war of men. In many ways, not limited to Algeria, this civil war is also a virile war. It is thus also, laterally, in an unspoken repression, a mute war against women. It excludes women from the political field. I believe that today, not solely in Algeria, but there more acutely, more urgently than ever, reason and life, political reason, the life of reason and the reason to live are best carried by women; they are within the reach of Algerian women: in the houses and in the streets, in the workplaces and in all institutions. (p.121)

Derrida (2003) here speaks about a war that while being in the name of Algerians, fails to represent women’s interests. Khanna (2008) offers a reading of Derrida and in response emphasizes the need to listen to the critical melancholia which emerges from these representations of women who exist at the margins of society. The voices of Algerian women when represented serve to cut through the hegemonic logic of the dominant community. Not all women however occupy liminal positions, and so the category of the subaltern is offered by Antonio Gramsci (1971) to encompass a class of people who are not members of civil society and so are living without representation or protection. The subaltern is understood by Gramsci (1971) as a group of people whose mere presence is necessary for the self-definition of the majority group. The subaltern by their very nature are a class of invisible people who emerge into common discourse by occupying a threatening position of subverting the authority of hegemonic power. Khanna (2008) argues that melancholia manifests itself in subaltern interruptions that are associated with the loss of subjecthood which have been endorsed by the French and the Islamists throughout Algeria’s turbulent history.

Considering this brief discussion of the works of Fanon (1965), Derrida (2003) and Khanna (2008) are to be seen as a starting point in considering the importance of a critical reading of texts which have been selected for this study. The texts which have been selected for analysis are those written by journalists who are critical of Algerian society when it comes to constructing an understanding of why the events of violence in Hassi Messaoud have taken place. Furthermore, the voices which are being fought for through these articles are those of the lone women of Hassi Messaoud. The lone women are called as such because in the absence of male authority, they occupy a space of liminality and exclusion from political representation and rights. The events then that are being described are such that they cut through the hegemonic discourse by exposing the fight of women who have traditionally been excluded from society.
3 Social Representations

Serge Moscovici, the founding father of Social Representations Theory in his 1961 study on *Psychoanalysis, its image and its public* describes the following:

Social representations are almost tangible entities. They circulate ceaselessly in our day-to-day world, intersect and crystallize through a word, a gesture, an encounter. Most of the social relationships we establish, most of the objects we produce or consume, and most of the communications we exchange are impregnated with them. We know that they correspond, on the one hand, to the symbolic substance that goes into their elaboration and, on the other, to the practice that produces this substance, just as science and myths correspond to scientific or mythical practice. (Moscovici, 1961/2008, p. 3.)

This above detailed quote is unarguably beautifully written while at first sight perhaps difficult to grasp in its entirety. The purpose of this present section is to bring clarity to the study of Social Representations as the study of common sense knowledge within Social Psychology. The element from the above mentioned quote which will hopefully guide the entirety of this discussion is the understanding of social representations as occupying both a space in the symbolic as well as in social practices. From this fundamental understanding, it becomes easy to conceptualize how social representations circulate, are established through objects we produce or consume, and are impregnated through our practices of communication.

3.1 The History of Social Representations

3.1.1 Collective representations

This section will trace a brief overview of Durkheim’s concept of collective representations which Moscovici (1961/2008; 2000) attributes social representations as having grown from². Durkheim was primarily preoccupied with the sociology of knowledge, and how one acquires knowledge from the external world. He

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² The influence of collective representations on Moscovici has been contradictory, as he has also cited Piaget and Vygotsky as being perhaps more influential on his work (see the discussion of Moscovici & Marková 2000). For the purpose of simplicity and space, the influence of collective representations is discussed here as the likely origin of the concept of representations where Moscovici’s deviation is in the focus on their symbolic and communicative function, as well as their structure and transformation as opposed to simply their content.
emphasized the importance of social experience in forming our understanding of the world, where reality is not a static structure that exists apriori but one which is rather integrated through the active process of consciousness (Durkheim, 1955/1983). Through a lecture on thought and reality, Durkheim (1955/1983) describes that in both the process of thinking through sensory perception and thinking through concepts are the same in that they are based in what is “taken” from the experience. What is “taken” reflects the duality of what exists within the real world and what exists in one’s inner life as composed of memories, sensations, feelings etc. This produces a single unity of knowledge which is based on the kinship of reality and thought.

In *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* Durkheim set to study primitive religions in order to get at the “essential and permanent” aspects of humanity (1912/1915, p. 13). In doing this, Durkheim wanted to understand the sociology of religion, meaning how religion both shapes and is shaped by social life. Durkheim emphasized the social aspect of religion as what makes it binding on the individual where “All are expressly obligatory, and this obligation is the proof that these ways of acting and thinking are not the work of the individual but come from a moral power above him, that which the mystic calls God or which can be more scientifically conceived” (1974, p. 25). Muller (1988) writes that through Durkheim’s work on religion, he came to believe that through group situations religious beliefs are generated and recreated, which are both a model of and a model for society.

It is Durkheim’s emphasis on social experience and reality being something which is generated and recreated which set the foundations for what he would come to understand as collective representations. Paul Bohannan (1960) describes Durkheim’s collective representations as “either a concept or a category of thought held in sufficiently similar form by many persons to allow effective communication”(p.81). From this sense, the collective representation is considered being greater than the minds of individuals as being both prescriptive of reality and our social actions.

Where Durkheim’s collective representations as a preoccupation of sociology deviates from Moscovici’s (1961/2008) social representations of social psychology is by considering the phenomena from a different angle. Marková (2008) describes that Durkheim was neither concerned with how systems of collective ideas were formed, nor how individuals related to them. Furthermore, Moscovici (2000) writes that in sociology, representations are considered explanatory devices but do not consider their structure and inner dynamics. Social Psychology on the other hand, must have a primary concern in these very issues in terms of understanding the structure and dynamics of representations, how they are formed, and how individuals relate to them.

3.1.2 Changing perspectives and developments in social psychology
Although topics of social psychology have been for a long time established as interests in philosophical debates and inquiries about human nature, as a unified and independent field, it has its origins in Europe in the Second World War (Moscovici & Marková, 2006). The decades following the war saw great expansion in the human and social sciences which served to engage and enable people under new democratic regimes from what had been divided through the war. This enthusiasm in the field is reflected in the quantity of social psychological research and publications which emerged from the post-war period. The science of social psychology was however being modeled on an empiricist view of traditional science which emphasized the experiment. Moscovici and Marková (2006) describe that the emphasis on the experiment is what served to unify this new field as it was distinguished from all other human sciences.

This focus on experimentation however is what over the span of two decades, lead to what has been considered the crisis of social psychology (Elms 1975). Alan C. Elms (1975) describes this crisis as having stemmed from the rapid expansion of the field during the post-war period. Elms (1975) describes that social psychologists began feeling uneasy about their field of research for three primary reasons: (1) Research difficulties, which surrounded what should be the object of study within social psychology; (2) Research expectancies, where researchers had a false idea of simplicity and existing experimental models not considered appropriate in acknowledging human complexity; and (3) Outsider pressures, which many have come to know as the “publish or parish” principle where social psychologists felt pressured to engage in constant publishing in topics of research that were considered of social relevance.

What resulted from this crisis of social psychology is what has come to be known as two of the general perspectives of Social Psychology today, that of an American tradition, and that of a European tradition which are systematically separated through their epistemological positions (Moscovici & Marková, 2006). These differing epistemologies although are not clear cut as being physically based in one continent or the other, are rather based on general habits in thinking and communicating which underpin each perspective. Moscovici and Marková (2006) describe the main distinction between the two stemming from the distinction of an American social psychology being a branch of general psychology, whereas from a European perspective considered an integration between psychology, sociology and cultural anthropology for the study of group life (p. 34-54). As a branch of general psychology, within the American tradition social psychology has been concerned with individual and static theories such as attribution (eg. Kelley, 1967), where the concept of the social or the group based on an aggregation of individuals (eg. Allport, 1924), and with an ultimate purpose in understanding reality through experimentation. In contrast, from a European tradition the focus is on dynamic and open theories which does not attempt to look for ultimate truths or falsification but are rather based on interpretations (eg. Heisenberg, 2003). With this, a European tradition is based on the importance of the group over the individual since it is the study of groups which provide the basis for understanding individual attitudes, behaviour and norms (eg. Sherif and Sherif, 1956). As the focus is on the social, the goal in the
research process within a European tradition rather than being strictly based on choosing and analysing variables in experimentation, is concerned with the properties of the social group and the social situation as a whole (eg. Lewin 1939)

The tradition of European Social Psychology can again be divided into overarching theoretical frameworks, two of which are that of Social Representations Theory (Moscovici, 1961/2008) and Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978). Although these two theories have historically remained separate; the former based in the study of the structure and processes of communication and knowledge, and the latter based within the study of intergroup relationships and individual needs and motivation, more recently scholars have been using these theories in conjunction with one another (Sakki, 2010; Duveen, 2001; Breakwell, 1993, 2001; Moloney, 2007; Liu & Hilton, 2005). For the purpose of this current study, further discussion of Social Identity Theory will not be focused on, but rather following for example Lorenzi-Cioldi and Clemence (2001), group identity and intergroup relations considered an important factor when understanding how social representations are constructed through communication between groups.

Today, the field of social psychology perhaps continues to encounter problems of definition as it has before, as research within social psychology can generally cover anything that can be roughly associated with the ‘social’. Hunt (1993) raises a critique of social psychology as being a fragmented field that lacks any depth or unified theory. Whether a critique or a simple observation, a field which sets to study the psychology of social groups which are by their nature dynamic and plural, it is of no surprise that the topics which are covered within social psychology are virtually limitless. What brings these perspectives together however is the objective to deepen an understanding of social knowledge.

### 3.2 The Defining Characteristics of Social Representations

#### 3.2.1 The Phenomena of Social Representations

Moscovici (2000) proposes that social representations are considered a phenomenon rather than a concept. In understanding it as such, Moscovici (2000) draws the reader into two important considerations.

* a. Social representations conventionalize

Moscovici (2000) describes that Representation = image/meaning where every image is equated to an idea and every idea to an image. He describes that social representations “occupy in effect a curious position,

3 The examples from Kelley, 1967; Allport, 1924; Heisenberg, 2003 ; Sherif and Sherif, 1956 and Lewin 1939 of these different research traditions were conceptually linked by Moscovici and Marková (2006) for the purpose of guiding the reader’s attention to possible further reading.
somewhere between concepts, which have as their goal abstracting meaning from the world and introducing order to it, and precepts, which reproduce the world in a meaningful way” (ibid., p. 31). Through social representations order is established by giving form to the objects, people and events which are encountered through daily life. Novel elements merge onto existing models which are dependent on preliminary conventions that define the frontiers of understanding and help in distinguishing what is significant from what is not. (Moscovici, 2000, p. 22-23). As such, social representations can be understood as a mental mechanism which gives significance to the universe and is conveyed through language, social representations create our reality.

b. Social representations are prescriptive, dynamic and circulating

To understand social representations as dynamic and circulating is to understand it like a force. This force is based on the constant movement of ideas and knowledge which Moscovici (2000) describes as being a function of modern societies. As knowledge circulates at ever increasing rates through for example pervasive forms of media, there is a constant need for common sense knowledge to be renegotiated in order for the collectively to operate. Moscovici (2000) differentiates this phenomenon from a more static conception of collective representations (eg. Durkheim, 1912/1915) which were more characteristic of traditional or primitive societies. As an extension of this idea Marková (2008) describes the French meaning of the word ‘représentation’ as thoughts in movement which are open and dynamic. The dynamic and circulating nature of social representations are constitutive of our common-sense knowledge, where even before we have begun to think, common-sense knowledge establishes what we should think (Ibid., p.23).

The two above points can be summarized and brought together by considering social representations as a circulating mode of communicating and understanding, which are both constructing our reality and common-sense knowledge. By establishing a conventional sign on reality and prescribing through tradition and knowledge what we think, representations constitute not a thing but an environment (Moscovici, 2000, p.26).

3.2.2 The process of re-presenting

Bauer and Gaskell (1999; 2008) present their reflections on how social representations are enacted through systems of communications. In doing so, they outline a theoretically progressive program in understanding the communicative dependence of social representations from the simplest unit to the interactions across communities.

In its simplest unit, Bauer and Gaskell (1999) define the minimal system in representation as a triad of two subjects who are concerned with an object. This basic unit which takes the shape of a triangle aims to capture that meaning is not a matter of the individual, but rather always implies the existence of the ‘other’ whether real or imagined (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999; Marková, 2008).
This minimal unit however does not exist without a joint experience, which Bauer and Gaskell (1999; 2008) describe as an experience of common fate, or anticipation which brings subjects together in terms of mutual interests, goals and activities into a common project. This is what is described as the ‘toberone model’ of social representations, where the triangle between the subjects and the object becomes a three dimensional pyramid through this project over time.

From this basic model, Bauer and Gaskell (1999) took into consideration how different social groups interact with each other into a larger community as the ‘toberone pack model’. In this model, the object is what links different social representations together. Bauer and Gaskell (2008) extended on this idea by considering a slice of the toberone pack model which looks like a ‘wind rose’. In the extended model, a social representation is considered a function of the subject, object, project, time, medium and intergroup context. What differs through this model, is that both the medium of the communication and the context of the communities are taken into consideration. The medium considers the genre, or type of communication for example as Moscovici (1961/2008) identified three genres of communication, that of propagation, propaganda and diffusion in relation to psychoanalysis in the context of France. The intergroup context as depicted by the petals on Bauer and Gaskell’s (2008) wind rose model relates to the relationships of for example power between the different milieus, where milieus themselves can be overlapping as people relate to different groups across a community.

### 3.2.3 Conflict and Consensus

A social representation does not exist without both conflict and consensus. As discussed by Moscovici and Markova (1998, p. 337) “in the process of formation of a representation there is always both conflict and cooperation”. The conflict gives us something to talk about, while the cooperation allows for the social agents to establish a common ground to discuss their social realities.

This idea of conflict within social representation research is conceptualized as the relationship between hegemonic and polemic representations. Moscovici (1988) outlines hegemonic representations as being uniform and shared amongst all members of a group, while polemic representations involving conflict and resistance. The emergence of polemic representations is often described as having a point of origin where conflicting representations suddenly meet. This point of tension can be understood as the point where a once neutral or unknown object becomes subjected to debate as a result of the emergence of conflicting views. Moscovici (1993) describes the tension and resistance between polemic representations by looking at how innovation is problematized by its opposite, tradition.

Innovation in this sense does not refer to some sort of external happening, technological development, or medical discovery, but rather refers to the influence of individuals on their environment and on their social
influence on others. Innovation is problematized with its opposite; tradition, which strives to resist change and maintain the status quo. Moscovici (1993) further elaborates on these ideas by explaining that innovation is at its origin driven by passion and charisma in its primary “explosive phase” and then characterized by logic and purposeful action in the secondary “rational adjustment phase”. Sakki et al. (2010) for example describe through the analysis of focus group interviews in Cameroon how certain new or polemic representations exist surrounding the role of women in society, thus challenging the traditional once hegemonic conception of gender roles.

Glâveanu (2009) elaborates on the relationship between hegemonic and resistant representations within a model of “geography of thought”. He essentially outlines the stable nature of hegemonic representations as the slow-moving ossified tectonic plates of the earth – their origin unnoticed, and change is slow-moving. Resistant representations on the other hand, although are always present, generally only come into conflict with hegemonic representations in response to some sort of external driving force – a historical event, or a “big bang”. This big bang is in essence the point of origin of the problematic existence between conflicting representations; once existing in harmony, but now they meet with explosive force. This meeting point according to Glâveanu (2009), results when members of a “disadvantaged group” become aware of the possibility for difference and change to the deep-rooted hegemonic norm.

Consensus remains easy to conceptualize when considering hegemonic representations as the ideas or practices that are uniformly shared amongst a group. In polemic representations however, the relationship may be at first unclear but can be understood as what brings these conflicting representations together and allows for communication between groups. Clémence (2001), as discussed by Staerklé (2009) further illustrates how conflict and consensus operate in practice. He describes that members of a group or society are likely to attend to information from for example the media and engage in discussion when a certain social issue emerges. When exposed to differing views surrounding some socially relevant topic such as unemployment or immigration, individuals and groups position themselves on the basis of shared reference knowledge. This shared reference knowledge (consensus), allows for communication and debate to be possible within their social context between groups and communities. Conflict and consensus go hand in hand, the former gaining significance only through existence of the latter.

3.3 Function and Process of Social Representations

According to Moscovici (2000) the purpose of all representations is to make something unfamiliar familiar (p.37). What is unfamiliar is both intriguing and threatening, and through representation what is unknown can be defined and given meaning. Wagner et al. (1999) describe the process of transforming the unfamiliar to the familiar as symbolic coping which allows for groups to deal with the threatening event. In Moscovici
(1961/2008) for example, the aim was to understand how the science of Psychoanalysis transcended into the realm of the social through conversations, behaviour and habits in everyday life. Through this study, he identified that communication practices, and their contents differed across segments of French society in the 1950s based on systems of shared knowledge which were prevalent within each group.


### 3.3.1 Anchoring

Moscovici (1984) describes that to anchor is to classify and name something. It is the first process by which the unfamiliar is drawn into the realm of the familiar by comparing and assigning it to the paradigm which we think to be most suitable. When a social object is compared to a given category and anchored to it, it takes on the characteristics of that category and its meaning adjusted to fit into the limits of that category. By comparing something new to a paradigm of understanding that is already established, the object takes on and negotiates the system of values, attitudes and meanings which are associated with the comparison category. According to a study by Doise et al. (1999) which explores the social representations of Human Rights, the process of anchoring an unfamiliar object to a familiar category involves integrating the values of that category with the object in question. An example of anchoring from the topic of this current study indicates that the issues of violence against women take on a different reality depending on if it is anchored to Islam or debates in women’s rights.

How an object is determined to fit within or be excluded from a given category is determined according to Moscovici (2000) in one of two ways: through generalizing or particularizing. By generalizing, we are reducing the distance between the object and the prototype and maintaining distance through particularization. The result of generalizing means that certain features of the object will be selected as a good fit to the category in question and so the object will also take on the characteristics of the category. Through particularizing, features of the object under question get selected as being divergent from the comparison category and so will remain distinct. This is what is needed in order to anchor unfamiliar things - a classification that it either fits to or diverges from the norm. This process is similarly described by Billig (1987/1996) when describing the process of categorization and particularization in rhetoric which will be considered in greater depth in chapter four. As such, this feature of anchoring is considered of importance to this current study when looking at the phenomenon of social representations from an analysis of rhetoric.

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4 It should be noted however, that this interpretation is my own. Billig (1991) rather regards particularization as the opposite process to anchoring, and considers anchoring to be an automatic process. To this I disagree, although further discussion will be detailed alongside the results of this study in section 8.2.2.
3.3.2 Objectification

The process of objectification is outlined by Moscovici (1984; 2000) as a more active process than anchoring. Through objectification, the object which was once being compared to a given paradigm, now takes on the essence of reality. He describes that through objectification, the iconic quality of the object is discovered and reproduced. The ‘iconic quality’ can be in the form of an image such as the image of the Euro being an icon representing European integration (Sakki, 2010), or ‘Dolly the sheep’ the objectification to understand the complex process of genetic engineering (Bauer & Glaskell 2002). As a result of the limits of our imagination in objectifying every new concept into a single image, Moscovici (1984) describes the figurative nucleus as the “complex of images that visibly reproduces a complex of ideas” (Moscovici, 1984, p. 38). For example, in Mosovici (1961/2008) he explains that the lay-understanding of the psyche taken from psychoanalysis is objectified as the duality of the unconscious and the conscious. This duality, he explains, is reminiscent of other dualities such as soul-mind, inner-outer, involuntary-voluntary and so forth and are located in space, one on top of the other which exerts pressure that gives rise to the complexes. These understanding of the psychic system, although in this case not given any picture of objectification, have derived a concrete quality through their integrative pattern of images and ideas which they evoke. Once a community adopts a figurative nucleus for a given social object, the object becomes easier to talk about and so enables communication for those who which the object is of pertinence to.

Wagner et al. (1995) emphasizes that representations and their objectification are dependent upon the characteristics of the community in which they are formed. “The specific social conditions of a certain group favour specific kinds of images, metaphors or symbols to be used as the objectification ‘devices’, ie. ‘tools’ by which the end of understanding through objectification is achieved” (Ibid., 3). The contextual dependence of objectification was demonstrated through Wagner et al. (1995) study where the association between the understanding of sexual reproduction through egg and sperm to the sexual metaphor of male dominance was strongest for those who had more conservative sexual practices.

3.3.3 Naturalisation

Naturalisation has been described as the third process of social representations by Moscovici (1981) as the process through which an object of representation gains an autonomous existence. Instead of considering naturalisation a third process, some have rather understood it as a second phase of objectification (eg. Krause 2002). Either way, it is through naturalisation that the object becomes less of what is being explicitly spoken about, and is more so used to enable discourse. As Sakki (2010) describes, naturalisation is the process of transformation from something abstract to something real, where the concept is no longer an image and instead becomes part of our symbolic reality (p. 55).
3.4 Structure of Social Representations

The study of social representations considers that both the meaning and contents of a representation are structured, and so a central aim is to identify and describe these structures in order to analyse their contents and meaning. There are three primary traditions when considering the structural elements to social representations which have been traced by Sakki (2010): Core and periphery elements (Abrid 1976), Organizing principles (Doise et al 1993) and themata. These three traditions have their origins in different schools which influence practices when studying social representations. Although a brief introduction to each of these traditions will be mentioned, it is the concept of themata which is most relevant for this current research and so will be discussed in greater detail.

3.4.1 Core and Periphery elements

The structural approach to social representations Theory has been developed through the Aix-en Provence School since the 1960s primarily with the work of Jean-Claude Abrid and Claude Flamant. This approach has been primarily concerned with how social representations are organized, which has been described as originating from the work of Abrid (1976) (as cited in Abrid, 2003; Sakki, 2010; Molnier & Martos, 2005; Flament, 1994). This approach considers the structure of social representations as consisting of a central core and periphery elements which function as an entity while maintaining their specific yet complementary roles. The central core is functional and consensual, and constitutes the part of the representation which is most resistant to change, while the peripheral elements are more flexible and heterogenous.

Although a large collection of experimental research has been conducted using this approach to social representations (eg. Tafani, 2001; Abric & Guimelli, 1998; Rateau, 1995) in a study by Moloney & Walker (2000), they argued that the idea of the singular and stable core is one sided and so sought to take a structural approach to include a binary core surrounding the concept of life and death in representations of organ transplants in Australian media from 1954 to 1995.

3.4.2 Organizing Principles

Doise et al. (1993) consider the structure of social representations in terms of organizing principles of symbolic relationships between individuals and groups. The idea behind this approach is that it is through the study of links in the “social metasystem of the cognitive system” (Doise et al. 1993, 3) that the relationships between groups are clarified. Although the underlying assumptions of social knowledge which guides this perspective of organizing principles is different from the approach being taken in this current research by being concerned with the cognitive operations which underlie social representations, the objective of understanding both the consensual and conflicting aspects of representation is an important consideration which was elaborated through this approach. Methods in studying the organizing principles of representations
have been primarily based in quantitative analysis through for example cluster analysis to study the process of objectification, factor analysis to understand the conflicting aspects of representation, and correspondence factor analysis to understand the links between group positioning and the elements of the field of representation.

3.4.3 Themata

It is the concept of themata (thema in its singular form) which is the most relevant for the purpose of the present study. The reason for choosing this concept is essentially based on its suitability when considering the underlying assumptions and methodological choices which are being made. Moscovici (1993) introduces the concept of themata as being the enduring and stable structures which shape and transform social representations. As such, they account for a representation as being at once stable and changing. Moscovici and Vignaux (1994/2000) describe thema in terms of antinomies which Marková (2008) contends as being the basis of common-sense thinking.

Sakki (2010) describes that themata have both a normative and generative power in the formation of social representations. Thema are the systems of shared knowledge which are rooted in the collective memory of a group. These underlying structures become so basic in thinking that they may not be expressed in communication but rather understood implicitly as knowledge which is taken for granted. Although thema are the deep structures of representations, it does not mean that they are impossible to detail through procedures of analysis. Liu (2004) describes that thema are pragmatically manifested through a continually dynamic process which relies on both anchoring and objectification. It is through the process of anchoring which an unfamiliar concept gains meaning within an existing thema that is then expressed in a concrete form through objectification. As such, social representations are dynamic in their outward expression, while remaining more stable through their underlying themata. Marková (2008) explains with the thema edible/inedible take on a different form in different cultures based on norms of eating. Furthermore, within the same culture the boundaries of this thema are transformed in response to a crisis where for example in the response to the Chernobyl disaster or mad cow disease, what is considered edible and inedible may change.

Moscovici (2001) makes some linkages explicit between argumentation and themata. In this text, Moscovici suggests that arguments are the beliefs or propositions which relate to the underlying themata of a representation. Although Moscovici (2001) describes that “these have not been made the object of many studies so far” (p.31) he nevertheless sets to distinguish three kinds of arguments, those which are classifying, topical and performative. It is through these linkages between themata and argumentation that this current study has the objective to explore.
3.5 A Dialogical Epistemology to Social Representations

Although the background to social representations has been only briefly traced, it is likely apparent that its study has been utilised in many different ways from the articulation of the theory to how empirical studies have been conducted. For the purpose of detailing the underlying assumptions guiding this study, an overview of the epistemological assumptions based in dialogicality will be discussed.

In presupposing a dialogical epistemology to social representations I have been most strongly influenced by Ivana Marková through her journal articles and books, as well as her presentation and the discussions which took place surrounding her research at the SOVAKO organized conference on dialogicality and social representations which took place in Kuopio, Finland in November 2011. Dialogicality, as it is hypothesized is the capacity of the human mind to conceive, create and communicate about the world in terms of the ‘Alter’. This hypothesis is grounded in the assumption that human thought or cognition is not based on the internal ability of the individual as an information processing device, but rather generated through interactions. Dialogicality provides an exciting and dynamic framework when looking at social representations, and is intricately tied to the concept of themata which was described in section 3.43. Marková has proven that discussions of this nature can fill volumes of publications, and so for the purpose of this current section only some critical points in dialogicality will be discussed.

3.5.1 Mental representation

In order to understand what it means for a social representation to be based in dialogicality Marková (2000) first distinguishes cognition from being a function of a brain, to being one of the mind. Rather than locating cognition in the brain, and so associated with the capacity for information processing of an individual, she describes cognition as being a function of the mind. The working of the mind, as opposed to that of the brain, is enacted through the dialogical co-construction between social actors. From this standpoint, cognition does not involve a pre-given phenomenon which facilitates the understanding and processing of information and so social representations do not serve the internal, cognitive function that has often been attributed to it (eg Potters & Edwards 1999). From a dialogical perspective, social representations rather than existing within the individual and pointing towards some sort of exterior ‘reality’ is a function of and enacted through communication itself. Marková (2000) explains that dialogue exists “whenever there are two (or more) cognitions in oppositional tension” to each other, through dialogue there is “something to be negotiated, constructed and created” (428).

3.5.2 Thinking in antinomies

Marková (2008) discusses that the ability to make distinctions is a fundamental capacity for all living beings, and for humans is essential for thinking and communication. In her text, Marková traces a long history of
scholars across different cultures who have noted the antinomies of thought which are exemplified through some familiar pairs such as good/evil, light/dark, and the mind/body dualism. In understanding the polarity of thought, Marková (2008) distinguishes some fundamental assumptions which have its origins in Greek or Chinese thinking. In ancient Greece, such as in Plato’s Dialogues or Aristotle’s Rhetoric, oppositional pairs were considered mutually exclusive, meaning the emphasis was on their impossibility of co-existence. As such, what emerged from Greek science was extremely exact and deductive and based on notions of logic. In ancient Chinese thought, as opposed to oppositional pairs being mutually exclusive, they were considered dynamically interdependent where one could not exist without the other. As such, the starting principle to Chinese thought is that of change, whereas in Greek thought stability is the starting principle.

Michael Billig (1987/1996) through tracing a social psychology of rhetoric has made significant contributions to the study of antinomies. His ideas will be discussed in greater depth in chapter four, but through his essential argument that “arguing his thinking”, he positions oppositions as the basic unit of thought. Through these ideas the underlying assumption is that each utterance or thought can be contrasted by its opposite.

3.5.3 Ego-Alter interdependence

The Ego-Alter interdependence is one based on intersubjectivity and the co-authorship of meaning and is argued by Marková (2008) as being an ontological interdependence. Marková (2008) describes both Bakhtin (1981) and Rommetveit (1974) as having important contributions in terms of understanding this interdependence, which although I have read, cannot claim having made connections with these authors independently of Marková’s texts. It was Bakhtin (1981) who considered communication as a process of appropriation which is directed to others, and Rommetveit (1979) who argues that through the co-authorship of meaning in communication, participants are joint and active participants in meaning making by focusing their attention in talk from the position of the other. Marková (2003) elaborates further on the idea of co-authorship from this standpoint the Ego-Alter (I- other/ I- thou) which she describes is irreducible and bound together through contract. Marková (2003) uses an example from Mead (1934) in order to demonstrate the importance of contract in communication whereby “one participant starts the gesture but it is the other who completes it by giving meaning to it” (p. 254) it is through this co-construction between social-actors that an utterance/word/ gesture is given meaning. From this perspective, intersubjectivity as enacted through communication aims to reduce the distance between the Ego and the Alter. This reduction however, does not involve the fusion with the mind of another, but rather through the struggle for social recognition by the mutual ability and desire to recognize another as human and treat them with dignity, and to be recognized and treated the same. The relationship between the Ego and the Alter exist within communication and stands for “the self, groups, sub-groups, communities, societies and cultures” (ibid. 257). Through the struggle between them, the self has the purpose to set his own position, while seeking to understand the position of the other. It is through contract that words construct identities, and co-authorship that they are given meaning.
3.5.3 Thinking and communicating

A dialogical epistemology presupposes that thinking is not an individual function of the brain but rather exists in the dialogical mind which is both enacted through thought and outward communication. Marková (2003) describes that dialogue is the communicative dependency on the Ego and Alter where speakers and listeners are co-constructors of meaning in interaction. This co-construction we have seen is how the mind orientates itself to others through thought, but is also a function of outward dialogue where the listener to whom we talk and think, does not only have ears but also a mouth which he thinks through (Ibid., 84). Not all forms of talk are based in dialogue, we can for example imagine a forceful speech by a dictator to a nation which has been set in advance and executed for the purpose of convincing or manipulating the audience. Dialogue implies contract where we do not know beforehand when speaking what we will say nor how the other person will understand the message, and rather respond and think through our mouths based on the response of the other.

3.6 Criticism of Social Representations

Social representations theory has been debated and critiqued from a variety of perspectives. A reoccurring critique has considered the difficulty to define what a social representation is (Potter & Wetherell 1987; Jahoda 1988; Billig 1991; Voelklein & Howarth 2005). Jahoda (1988) for example criticizes the theory for its lack of conceptual clarity and overlap with other concepts such as culture and ideology. He argues that without a clear definition, it becomes impossible to answer what is, and what is not to be considered a social representation which poses a problem in how to use this theoretical framework. Other critiques which have been presented by Potter and Edwards (1999) consider representations as being perceptual-cognitive entities and so does not consider the process of representation as a practice. Further, the aforementioned authors criticize the theory for its failure in detailing a unified methodological framework to conceptualize the activities which are done in analysis. Both Billig (1991) and Jahoda (1988) criticize Moscovici’s (1984) formulation that social representations research should understand the ‘thinking society’. The thinking society according to Billig (1991) and Jahoda (1988) is one which is based on the prescriptive and consensual basis of knowledge, and so forgets about contradiction and conflict in articulating commonsense beliefs.

To answer these critiques, we must consider how social representations are being understood in the above mentioned formulations. Firstly, representations seem to be considered as objects that either exist in the world or the interior brain of the individual. This then ignores the epistemological basis of representations as one which is based in dialogue, where common-sense knowledge both constructs and is constructed through interaction whether real or imagined between social actors5 (Marková 2003). Through dialogue,

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5 See section 3.5 for further discussion on the epistemological basis of social representations

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representations are not static things, but are rather a process of representing, a likely misunderstanding of the concept where meaning was lost in its translation from the French *représentation* (Wagner, 1998). In understanding social representations as active processes, Marková (2003) emphasizes both conflict and consensus where in order to allow for communication consensus will establish a system of agreed upon knowledge but conflict opens up the possibility for a plurality of positions surrounding a given object of representation. Moscovici (1998) describes their both consensual and conflicting nature as the relationship between hegemonic and polemic representations, the former being more consensually shared and deeply ingrained, and the later through its novelty or inferior position in power conflicting with the former. Finally, Marková (2000) addresses the issue that the theory of social representations lacks any sort of unified definition by responding that it is the nature of the theory which does not allow for a static definition as the theory itself is one whose meaning is renegotiated through its history and in its use.

3.7 From thinking in antinomies to themata and rhetoric

As we have seen, oppositional antinomies appear to be essential to human thought and communication and constitute the structural basis of social representations in the form of themata. Thema, as it has been described are the deep rooted structures of representations which manifest themselves through anchoring and objectification within a particular context. Not all antinomies are thema however, but rather are embedded in common sense thinking and manifest themselves in response to some historical or social event in which they become problematised (Marková, 2003, p.184). What needs to be examined then is both how and why these antinomies emerge in a given context in order to analyze their content and structure. With the objective to explore this phenomenon further, I argue that how antinomies emerge in discourse is through argumentation, and so the study of themata facilitated through the analysis of rhetoric which is the topic of the next chapter.

6 See section 3.2.3 for further discussion on conflict and consensus
4 Rhetoric

Before detailing a background to the study of rhetoric, it is of importance to firstly establish the conceptual links between what will be described in this chapter with the rest of the text. As was argued through the previous chapter on Social Representations, an epistemological perspective based in dialogicality was determined suitable for this study. The links between a dialogical epistemology and social representations are most clearly illustrated in the concept of themata which are the antinomies that constitute thought and emerge through thinking and speaking in response to something which is unfamiliar. Marková (2003) explains that antinomies are transformed into thema in response to the unfamiliar at which point “they enter into public discourse, become problematised and further thematised” (p. 184). It is the aspect of themata emerging into public discourse through being talked about and problematised which is suitable for considering the study of argumentation to analyse the process of thematisation as well as their contents and structure. Although there has been debate about whether one should adopt a theory of social knowledge based in social representations or rather rhetoric (Billig 1987/1996; Billig 1991; Potter 1996), this debate is not one I will engage in as I have already chosen to adopt a perspective to social knowledge based on social representations. The study of rhetoric however is more so being used to focus on practical and analytic issues of how representations can be analyzed. As such, this chapter serves to bridge concepts which were detailed in the previous chapter, to what will be outlined in chapter six as the methodological choices which have been made.

4.1 Defining Rhetoric

It is impossible (or rather perhaps, unadvisable) to begin a section on Rhetoric without at least a short discussion of Aristotle. Aristotle is widely credited as being the father of rhetoric, and through the preservation of his nearly two and a half thousand year old text, his work continues to influence modern ideas on the science of persuasion. Rhetoric, as Aristotle (184/1831) defines is the “faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion” (p.2155).

The word persuasion however is in some way deceiving as it seems to describe rhetoric as the art of deception, where one's objectives is to convince another. However, Aristotle (184/1831) explains persuasion not as a tool to be exploited by the powerful, but rather as a demonstration where those who are best skilled at
persuasion are able to see how and from what elements a deduction is produced. As such, rhetoric is a
democratic art based on notions which are possessed by everybody, the notions of common sense. Further,
through this understanding of argument as a deduction, it must be able to be employed on opposite sides of a
question so that all sides can clearly understand the facts behind an argument for the purpose of drawing
conclusions. This does not mean according to Aristotle that all arguments are equal, but rather that the “things
that are true and things that are better” are by their nature easier to prove and more persuasive (p.2154).

4.2 Social Psychology and Rhetoric

It is Michael Billig (1987/1996) who took an explicit approach to understanding Rhetoric from the perspective
of the discursive turn in social sciences to make the argument that Arguing is Thinking. Billig (1987/1996)
argues for a social psychology based on everyday thinking where thought is a function of communication with
both prescriptive and negotiated elements to understanding and building our social world. Billig (1987/1996)
cites Sophist in Plato’s dialogue that “thought and speech are the same; only the former, which is a silent inner
conversation of the soul with itself, has been given the special name of thought” (263E; Billig 1996, p.141).
Thought then according to Billig reflects what was described in a discussion of an epistemology based in
dialogue 7 not as a function which is locked within the brain, but rather one which is reflected in our words
through arguments.

Piaget (1959/1923) through his famous study on The Language and Thought of the Child, comes to a similar
conclusion in describing that for children, learning to argue is important in learning to think. Piaget
hypothesized that it is “through quarreling that children first come to feel the need for making themselves
understood” (p.65) . This understanding of argument as a critical stage in a child’s development of thought is
one which supports an argument of the social, rather than the individual nature of thinking. Piaget goes on to
explain the social basis of thought:

The adult, even in his most personal and private occupation, even when he is engaged on an enquiry
which is incomprehensible to his fellow-beings, thinks socially, has continually in his mind’s eye his
collaborators or opponents, actual or eventual, at any rate members of his own profession to whom
sooner or later he will announce the result of his labours. This mental picture pursues him throughout
his task. The task itself henceforth socialized at almost every stage of its development.(Piaget,
1959/1923, 38.)

7 See section 3.5
If thinking then is a function of argumentation, than even while engaged in silent thought the process is contingent on the understanding and argumentation of another. Billig (1987/1996) goes on to describe argument as deliberation which is enacted both in the individual’s silent thought and through communication with another as a sort of oscillation between alternatives, where the mind continually shifts in justifications and criticisms for the case of one decision or another. Argument than cannot be seen as being based on a system of unchanging rules, but rather as a flexibility in stance-taking surrounding a given topic within a situated context.

4.3 What is an argument? Language as action

If the argument is being made that a dialogical understanding to social knowledge is one which is based in our ability to argue, then it must be argued that argument is not an inherent linguistic feature of a word or utterance, but rather one which is based on its function and co-constructed meaning.

The practical significance of language was emphasized by Austin (1962) when he proposed that language is based on utterances which have a performative function with features dependent on truth and falsity. Although Austin made the distinction between three levels of analysis of a speech act, as a locutionary act, an illocutionary act, and a perlocutionary act to distinguish between its performance, meaning, and effect, it is the illocutionary act which has gained the most attention in the understanding of speech act theory. The illocutionary act essentially captures the functional aspect of speech where the understanding is that by saying something, something is being done with words. This view of language deviated from more positivist views of language as a way of making factual assertions. Speech acts thus emphasizes that the social nature of language as an utterance’s performance is not one which can be separated from its meaning or effect.

In taking language as a medium of action, it becomes of little use to try and define the elements of an utterance which makes it an argument. Argument and the study of rhetoric becomes from this perspective more of a context, where one’s task is not in picking out the words within that discourse or drawing inferences of the speaker’s mind when the utterance is performed but rather “One should also consider the positions which are being criticised, or against which a justification is being mounted. Without knowing these counter-positions, the argumentative meaning will be lost” (Billig, 1987, p.91). From this position an argument is not anything, but rather argument does something.
4.4 What does argument do? Logos and Anti-logos

Aristotle (1984/1831) explains rhetoric based on three differentiated end views. The first is that of the deliberative oratory which is oriented towards the future and aims at establishing whether a given course of action should or should not be taken; acceptance does so on the ground that it will do good, and rejection on the ground that harm will be done. The second is that of Forensic oratory which has the purpose of attacking or defending somebody, and the third is that of Epideictic oratory which has the objective of praise or censure. Although these three forms of oratory are separated by the objective of their subjects, they are alike in their two-sided function in that “all men, in giving praise or blame, in urging us to accept or reject proposals for action, in accusing or defending, attempt not only to prove the points just mentioned but also to show that the good or the harm, the honour or disgrace, the justice or injustice, is great or small, either absolutely or relatively” (Ibid., p. 2161). This functional explanation of rhetoric then is one which is based on the relative or absolute superiority or inferiority of certain positions over others. Aristotle (1984/1831) for example explains that happiness is greater than sadness, justice superior than injustice, and good greater than bad among countless other oppositional pairs. So by establishing an argument in one direction, it is at the same time a negation of an argument for its opposite, where an argument for justice is also an argument against injustice, for the good is against the bad and etcetera.

Based on this understanding of rhetoric, Billig (1987/1996) details the interest in analysing the logoi and anti-logoi of argumentation where “If there are always two possible sides to every issue, then there is always the possibility of contradiction” (1996, p. 74). This argues that any speech or statement can be opposed by a counter-speech. The contradicting nature of logoi and anti-logoi assumes the possibility for endless contradiction as it is impossible to establish an ultimate argument or truth which would bring the oscillating nature of argument and thought to a halt since “every ‘anti-logos’ can become a ‘logos’ to be opposed by a further anti-logos (Ibid., p. 76).

What this explanation is not saying is that by founding an argument based on the “good”, it will always beat the “bad”, but rather that arguments become persuasive in the ability for people to think and argue basing their views on what is good and what is bad which is dependent on the context. This can be illustrated by considering the example that “to kill is bad”, but this understanding of it being bad is dependent on who was killed and for what purposes since many could justify that “to kill” in one's personal defense against an attack, or for one's country or religion is no longer “bad” but rather “good” as it defends personal safety or honour which are both things that are “good”. To argue then is to demonstrate based on common-sense understanding of what is good and what is bad, and to analyse these arguments indicative of how people think and their understanding of the world in which they are living.
4.5 What are arguments about? Categories and Particulars

In understanding what there is to argue about, let us again turn to Billig (1987/1996) in his explanation of the oppositional pairs of categorization and particularization. When it comes to thought, categorization is a familiar term to understand the process by which a particular stimulus is stripped of its peculiarity and generalized for the purpose of understanding into a given category. This description is a familiar one across a wide range of perspectives of psychology where the underlying assumption is that due to the complexity of the world in which we live, the process of categorization allows us to simplify incoming information so that not every new stimulus or occurrence is seen as frightening and unfamiliar. As such however, Billig (1987/1996) argues that this is a one sided view and to consider the process of categorization, one must also consider its opposite of particularization. In the process of particularization, a given social object is compared to a reference category and features picked out as being deviant from that category and so rejected from that category based on those features. These two processes are however deeply interrelated since the ability to categorize presupposes the ability to particularize.

It is of interest to point out the similarities of what is being described here with Moscovici (2000) description of generalization and particularization as two of the components of anchoring in social representations. Anchoring however also presupposes naming which takes place regardless if the unfamiliar object is generalized or particularized from a given category. In linking these concepts together then, although Billig (1987/1996) describes categorization and particularization as important components of everyday discourse, in understanding social representations the processes of generalization and particularization are components of the anchoring process which live through the thematisation of contextualised antinomies.

When one argues then, what is being argued about according to Billig (1987/1998) is what aspect should serve to categorize a given object into one category and particularize it from the other. This ability to pick out certain features over others is what leads to the possible endless oscillation of arguments. Based on these ideas, Billig (1987/1996) describes three forms of arguments, arguments about particulars, arguments about categories and arguments about arguments. These three processes are rather quite similar in terms of their two sided function, but how they differ is what is being emphasized through argumentation.

4.5.1 Arguments about particulars

Billig (1987/1996) describes that arguments about particulars lie in their special particularities which differentiate it from a category of comparison. So for example in the argument that to kill should not be categorized as murder, one could draw on specific features of the killing which differentiates it by for example
emphasizing that it was in done in one’s own defense. By arguing for a particular, an argument is being made about conflicting social values which pull in opposite directions, where in the above mentioned case the value of defending one’s own safety is in opposition to the value of the life of the one who was killed. However, by particularizing the argument must be made that the features are so remarkable that they warrant being placed into another category, and so in the above case the argument of defense must be one which is seen to be both reliable and truthful in order for it not to be categorized as murder.

4.5.2 Arguments about categories

In arguments about categories, the emphasis of argumentation is on its opposite whereby the dilemma is whether a specific case should be included or excluded into a category. Billig (1987/1996) describes that this is an argument about the boundaries of the category and not of its essence in order to determine if a specific case can be categorized as such.

Both arguments about particulars and arguments about categories are the same in so much as they are structured between the two sided process of categorization and particularization, where each process is dependent on its opposite. Where they differ is in their starting point where the structure of an argument about particulars starts with a categorization and proceeds to particularization, whereas that of arguing about categorization starts with particularization to categorization. Both forms of arguments however presuppose their opposites and a momentum between particularization and categorization based on a “continual shuffle, rather than a progress to a natural resting place” (Billig 1996 p. 182).

4.5.3 Arguments about arguments

To confuse the reader further, what the two previous sections point to is the existence of two types of arguments; arguments about drawing boundaries, or arguments about changing essences. The former implies an argument surrounding whether or not something should or should not be grouped into a particular category, and the latter based on if what defines a category as such should be changed. However, “arguments about drawing boundaries, and arguments about changing essences are themselves categories and there may well be controversy about which label to apply to a particular argument” (Ibid., p.163). Billig (1987/1996) then explains that it is possible to argue both that an argument which relocates an essence is really an argument about re-drawing a boundary, and that the re-drawing of a boundary is in fact relocating the essence of the concept. This is an argument about argument, and will be based on whether the norms and values which define the categories in question are being upheld or transgressed. The re-drawing of a boundary does not usually involve a change to the underlying values and norms, whereas an argument about the location of the essence does. It can of course be argued though that the boundary which is being re-drawn is such a radical change.
that the essence of the category is not remaining intact. As such, one can imagine that just like arguments about categories and particulars, arguments about arguments can proceed endlessly, where we can have arguments about arguments about arguments and so forth.

4.6 How are arguments built?

Now that we have looked at rhetoric from the perspective of what arguments do, and what they are about, it is time to turn to how they are built. Aristotle (1984/1831) describes three modes of persuasion, the first depends on the personal character of the speaker, the second depends on the frame of mind of the audience, and the third is dependent on proof. Based on these three modes of persuasion, it is of interest to draw on some rhetorical processes as outlined by Potter (1996) which speakers and listeners utilize in creating and understanding the meaning of arguments. They are by no means an exhaustive list, but rather indicative of general trends and will be detailed based on whether their function is generally one which is to establish the credibility of the speaker, the reliability of the argument, or arouse the emotion of the audience.

4.6.1 Establishing the credibility of the speaker

There are three aspects in establishing the credibility of the speaker which are of interest to consider, that of managing stake, reliability, and alignment. We will look at these items individually and their function in establishing the credibility of the speaker.

a) Stake

The idea of stake management is based on the understanding that the speaker, or institution responsible for a given view has something to gain or lose, meaning they are not disinterested. Consequently, an argument can be considered to be undermined if the speaker shown to have a vested interest in the account they describe. As such, there are two predominant tools which Potter (1996) describes in order for a speaker’s state to be taken into account in an argument; those of stake inoculation and stake confession. Stake inoculation is based on the denial of a claim in which a speaker may have an interest in prior to being questioned on it, whereas stake confession is the explicit admittance of one’s interest in a given position.

b) Reliability

An argument is deemed to be more reliable or believable if it is presented by someone who is considered in some way entitled to make the argument as such. As Aristotle (1984/1931) says “one excellence or action is nobler than another if it is that of a naturally finer being” (p. 2176), and thus through talk and text people make use of this knowledge in the construction of meaning surrounding a given event. One of these such tools
is that of category entitlement, which is described by Potter (1996) as the “idea that certain categories of people, in certain contexts, are treated as knowledgeable” (p. 133). The use of category entitlement removes the need to question how or why someone knows something by virtue of the name (or rather category) which is assigned to them. The second and third rhetorical processes which serve to establish the reliability of the speaker have more to do with the argument that is in question rather than the speaker themselves through the use of concession and consensus. Concessions are provided by the speakers themselves when they acknowledge claims which are counter to their argument. By doing so, they present their argument as being more well informed as they have considered both sides prior to reaching a conclusion. The final rhetorical process of this section is that of consensus, where a description is seen as being a more reliable one if reliable witnesses are supporting the same account.

c) Alignment

Potter (1996) describes the process of alignment as being how far speakers are presenting an account as their own or are distancing themselves from it. Although there are many ways in which this can be achieved in talk and text, I will outline two of them, that of presenting a disclaimer to an argument and the rhetorical process of footing. Through a disclaimers, an explicit disavowal of the argument that a speaker is presenting is being made and often takes place in the form of “I'm not sexist/racist but...”. Footing is a rhetorical process whose range of uses can range on a scale from the close to the far. When an argument is presented as being far from the speaker, generally the objective is to achieve the appearance of neutrality and so is familiar in for example forms of news-media when a speaker presents an account or argument as having “allegedly” happened or a view presented as a general statement since “it has been said that...”. Closer footing is established when the argument is one which the speaker is advocating and so a more direct form of the sentence is used.

4.6.2 Establishing a good argument

Although all of the rhetorical processes that are being presented here have the ultimate goal of establishing a good argument, this section considers more directly specific features of the argument itself which help to construct a given argument as a factual one.

a) Detail

Descriptions can vary in the amount of detail which is presented in building up a given argument. Through the use of detailed formulations, an argument is built up as a specific and informed one which can be further supported by the use of statistics. These formulations give the impression of neutrality since by presenting a detailed description the argument is constructed as complete and the listener considered to be taking a role in interpreting the argument. At the same time, the use of numbers and detailed descriptions tend to have a bigger
impact, and since certain numbers or details can be selected as relevant over others, there selection is not a neutral one. On the other side of the pendulum, are the rhetorical processes of *vagueness* and *generalizations*. Although both can be used to support broad claims or stretch an interpretation across a number of instances, they themselves can be strong rhetorical devices in instances where it is desirable to avoid explicit detail of the facts. For example, figures or statistics may not be appropriate in certain instances and the argument more persuasive if words such as “a majority” or “a few” are used instead in the case of presenting vague claims.

*b) Agency Management*

Agency management refers to the set of rhetorical processes which have the purpose of establishing or shifting who the subject is in a given argument. One of these takes place through *nominalization* where the verb in a sentence is made into the noun. Similarly, the *passive voice* as a process is one in which a description is presented in its passive form and so avoids mentioning the actor of the utterance. Both of these processes allow the speaker to shift attributions of blame or agency. Agency of an argument can also be managed more actively through *intention-promoting verbs* where verbs are chosen which make the intention of the action explicit (ie. to help, to force, to make etc), and through *active voicing* where a direct quote is taken from another source. Both of these processes are more active in their attribution of agency to a given subject or for a specific purpose, which helps to build the factuality of a claim more explicitly. Finally, agency can be managed through the *empiricist repertoire*, where the evidence itself takes on a personified quality and becomes the subject of the sentence. Many will be familiar with this form of rhetoric in scientific texts which often state for example that “the facts show”, or “the hypothesis proposed” in order to remove the speaker as the agent of the argument. Although this is termed the empiricist repertoire, it is also known as *making evidence ‘speak for itself’* (Freesmith, 2007) and has been detailed by Gaye Tuchman (1978) to be common in forms of news reporting along with the passive voice and nominalization as journalists have the objective of reporting facts and the opinions of others which should be constructed as removed from themselves.

c) Descriptive categories

The subheading above which has the objective to give a common coherence to the group of rhetorical processes which will be detailed here seems vast in its formulation which it in fact is. What brings *categorization, gerrymandering* and *pronoun selection* as independent processes together is in their concern with formulating practices that are used to constitute a given object, event, person, group or action a given quality which is suited for some purpose. What this essentially entails is the establishment of certain truths, or constructions of reality over others. Categorization is the process of naming a certain subject, object, event or action. Through this process the speaker is making a choice of naming which constructs an understanding of what is being named. For example, someone who has robbed a store as in our previous examples can be named as a boy, a robber, a terrorist, a criminal, a foreigner or any other descriptive name which serves to build an understanding of the subject who is being named. Gerrymandering as explained by Potter (1996) as
the process of picking out a particular range of information and ignoring others in constructing a given argument. Potter et. al. (1991) for example analysed how audiences were being deceived through a television program where money was being collected for cancer charities. Through this program, the purpose of collecting money was described as “finding a cure” while avoiding to mention the range of costs the donations were actually supporting such as administration, and other forms of biochemical research. This is an example of gerrymandering as only certain truths were being described and others ignored in the formulating the argument. The final rhetorical process to be detailed here is in itself a vast area of linguistic research as it involves the selection of pronouns. Pronouns, which stand in the place of nouns, can be selected for carefully in order for certain subjects or objects to be included or excluded from a given argument. Freesmith (2007) gives the example of calling Aboriginal people “them” in order for a speaker to separate these individuals from “us” (white Australians) which serves to construct an understanding of conflicting identities surrounding a given argument.

d) Extrematization and minimization

The rhetorical processes of extreme case formulation, minimization, and maximization have the common objective of emphasizing the extreme points of a relevant description. So for example, one could say that “Because Jennifer loved chocolate so much (maximization) her boyfriend always (extreme case formulation) gave it to her even though she would only (minimization) ask for it once in a while”. These three processes as one may notice from the previous example are rather similar in their function of emphasizing or exaggerating the description which is presented, although through a slightly different choice of words. These processes are not limited to single word descriptions and can rather be a feature of the development of an argument where for example by selecting certain statistics over others the case is being made of emphasis or de-emphasis.

4.6.3 Arousing Emotion

In Rhetoric, Aristotle contends that the arousal of emotions provides a strong rhetorical function in that the feelings which are aroused are strong enough to change a person’s views and affect their judgements. Although Aristotle (1984/1831) details a comprehensive analysis of different emotions which can be aroused and the potential effects in which they have, here we will look at the question of emotions rather through their processes of arousal. Much like the other processes which have been detailed so far, arousing emotions can take place through an endless variety of means but for the purpose of this discussion will focus on three, that of repetition, rhetorical questions and three-part lists.

The process of repetition is described by Freesmith (2007) as the reoccurrence of a word within a sentence or a series of sentences. The purpose of this process is in giving emphasis while often times sounding rhythmic
and well structured. A rhetorical question is one which is asked without the intention of a reply, but rather serves to make a point. Potter (1996) discusses the research of Jefferson (1990) who had noted that it is common for lists to be delivered with three items or examples. An analysis of the features of these arguments indicate that their delivery in this way may serve a conventional or normative status. Jefferson (1990) for example explains that people are rarely interrupted after the second part of such a list, even when given enough time to. It seems that lists in three parts are used to summarize, and together sound complete, satisfying and convincing (Freesmith 2007).
5 Research Questions

This brings us to the end of detailing a background to this study, both in questions of theory and method as well as in the context of Algeria. Before moving on to considering more specifically the research questions, it is of interest to reflect on the ties which have been made between the different ideas and concepts that have been presented up until this point.

Social representations occupy a space in the symbolic as well as a social practice which produces and is produced by this substance (Moscovici, 1961/2008). Epistemologically, social representations are based in dialogue and enacted through the co-construction of social actors surrounding a given object where meaning is always directed to and constructed through the perspective of the other (Marková, 2003). They are both conventionalizing and prescriptive, moving through and constructing our reality with such a force that they determine what there is to think before we can even think (Moscovici, 2000). The prescriptive aspects of social knowledge however are so integrated into our everyday lives and practices that they are often hidden, so obvious that they are not thought about. To analyse representations is then to understand them as they are undergoing change in response to something unfamiliar in the form of a social problem, event or a new idea. To analyse social representations is to consider them not as a thing, but as a process of representing unfamiliar knowledge into the realm of the familiar where the underlying antinomies of thought express themselves through contextualized themata. It is this aspect of change, of conflict and debate which serves to give form and content to these representations which are suited for the study of rhetoric (Aristotle, 1984/1831; Billig, 1987/1996; Potter, 1996) in understanding how the representations construct and change through our reality.

In the context of Algeria with a violent colonial history, war of independence, civil war, political turmoil, unemployment, Islamic fundamentalism, and women's movements in the face of continued violence directed towards women, it is of interest to understand what the social representations of violence against women are and how they relate to Algeria's turbulent past. In terms of what has been detailed above, I would like to propose the following research questions to explore:

- What are the social representations of violence against women?
- How are they built?
- How do they change?
6 Methodology

In the following section, an attempt is made to make explicit how the theoretical background which has been traced, one which is based in a dialogical epistemology to social representations theory and an analytic perspective based in rhetoric has real implications on the analytic procedures which have been taken. The methodological aspects to this research was guided by both a desire to engage in practices of inductive analysis as for example outlined through Glaser and Strauss’s (1967) work on Grounded Theory, while being based in a discursive approach to analysing texts (eg. Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Underlying both of these perspectives which will be more extensively traced in section 6.1 which follows, is the emphasis on argument and the analysis of rhetoric which was detailed in chapter five.

Although the objective was to allow the analysis to emerge from the data, to do this in its purest form was not suited to an interest in the argumentative nature of discourse and the rhetorical processes which were analysed in order to account for how arguments are being built. The function of analysing the rhetorical processes which were detailed in chapter 5.6 is to develop an analysis of the demonstrative aspects of argumentation with the hopes of deepening an understanding of the functional aspects of language. Furthermore, as detailed by Billig (1987/1996), the analysis of rhetoric calls for an understanding of what the arguments are by tracing their logoi and anti-logoi, as well as what is being argued about as was detailed in the three types of arguments, those about particulars, categories and arguments. These analytic terms however rather than providing a framework of structured interpretation where the goal would be to look for the logoi and anti-logoi, have rather guided the perspective which has been taken in analysis when being epistemologically based in a background which considers the dialogical, constructed and argumentative use of language in talk, text and thought. As such, the arguments themselves which have been analysed emerged progressively and inductively through the data, and the discursive rhetorical analysis and interpretation organized chronologically based on the natural flow of discourse in the articles. By organizing the rhetorical analysis chronologically, the objective is to trace the evolution of the arguments rather than being based in the similarly positioned discursive analytic practices of looking for variability (Potter and Wetherell, 1987), ideological dilemmas (Billig et al., 1987) and interpretative repertoires (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wetherell & Potter, 1988) and organizing an analysis around what has been found in the data.

In terms of an interpretation of social representations, the analysis most strongly considered the concept of themata (eg. Moscovici and Vignaux, 1994/2000) as the bits of knowledge which are shared and
communicated by a group of people in a given context. Moscovici (2001) discusses the relation of argument to
the concept of themata and social representations by defining arguments as the “beliefs or propositions that
relate to the nucleus the various notions or propositions associated in a more or less stable way in a
representation” (p.31). Moscovici then goes on to detail three types of arguments, those which are topical,
classifying and performative.

The research objectives then are satisfied by being both based in inductive analysis while remaining reflexive
to the epistemological background which guide the perspective which is being taken. A quote by Margaret
Wetherell (1998) captures the scientific spirit and enthusiasm which I hope is evident to the reader while being
guided through the analysis

“It is not necessary to say everything about the argumentative fabric of a society to say something,
and something furthermore which is scholarly, complete, and insightful concerning participant
orientations, and which takes those orientations as constructed by more than what is immediately
relevant or set by the previous few turns in the conversation.” (p.405)

As detailed in the above mentioned quote, the goal to this research is to say something scholarly, complete and
insightful concerning the argumentative fabric surrounding the issue of violence against women in Algeria
within the specified context. The sections which follow will hopefully open up the process which was taken
while remaining critical and reflexive to both the limitations and the assumptions which have guided the
analysis and interpretation of the data. First, a discussion will consider the methodological background of
grounded theory and discourse analysis, and following that the step by step procedures detailed which guided
the collection, preparation, analysis and interpretation of the data.

6.1 Methodological background

Data analysis through methods of qualitative research manages words, language and their meanings. The
strength of textual analysis in the social sciences is in the capacity to create rich descriptions and theories to
understand social life. The challenge though is in working with a large quantity of data, text with possible
multiple meanings, and different perspectives in which analysis can take. As Becker (1996, p. 70) asserts,
there are no recipes for ways of doing social research; rather, one has to have “imagination and ... smell a good
problem and find a good way to study it.”

Following the advice of Becker (1996), the analysis for this study has considered aspects from both Grounded
Theory (eg. Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and Discourse Analysis (eg. Wetherell & Potter, 1987; Wetherell et. al.,
2001; Potter, 2004) in creating an integrated methodological perspective. Grounded theory allowed the
researcher to use a coding procedure which was inductively driven and conceptually analytic, while Discourse
Analysis encouraged looking at the text as action oriented, situated and constructed. For this section on
methodological background, an overview will be given of each perspective following a brief discussion of how they have been used together for the purpose of a comprehensive analysis. The procedural aspects of how analysis was conducted based on this background will be outlined starting in section 6.2.

### 6.1.2 Grounded Theory

**History and development**

Founded and developed by sociologists Glaser & Strauss (1965; 1967), grounded theory was developed for the purpose of outlining systematic and explicit strategies for doing research. The range of theoretical perspectives in which grounded theory has been used for range from the positivistic to the interpretative, while what brings them together is being empirically grounded in the data. The ultimate purpose of grounded theory is to develop a theoretical analysis which both fits the data and has relevance to the area of study. This is in opposition to other forms of logico-deductive research design where the goal is to produce data which can be tested against an existing theory. Glaser and Strauss (1967) emphasizes the inductive nature of these methods in order to allow for openness and flexibility in the approach.

Since its conception, grounded theory has divided into two different paradigms; the Straussian and the Glaserian. Each paradigm is aptly named and represents a division between the founding fathers, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss following a publication that was written by Strauss and Corbin in (1990) releasing their version of grounded theory. Following Strauss and Corbin (1990), Glaser (1992) argued that what Strauss and Corbin had developed was not in fact grounded theory but rather a new method (Walker & Myrick, 2006). Since then, Strauss has continued driving the paradigm of Straussian Grounded Theory with Juliet Corbin, while Glaser has continued to work on what he has called Classic Grounded Theory (eg. Glaser 2004).

The differences between Glaserian and Straussian Grounded Theory is at times difficult to spot because they consider similar research processes and terminology. Walker and Myrick (2006) however describe two fundamental differences between these perspectives. The first involves the issue of forced versus emerging coding procedures, and the second is the issue of verification. Emerging versus forced coding procedures Walker and Myrick (2006) describes as the divergence of Strauss and Corbin (1990) in developing a more comprehensive set of techniques for analysis which seems to be subsumed to the central aspect of constant comparison from Glaser and Strauss (1967) and later Glaser (1992). This divergence is argued by Walker and Myrick (2006) as perhaps forcing analytic codes through focusing on techniques instead on what is emerging from the data itself. The aforementioned authors also mention that the Glaserian and Straussian paradigms treat the issue of verification differently, where constant comparison is the process of verification in Strauss and Corbin (1990) whereas Glaser’s position is that if you code only for what is in the data allowing for emergence, then verification automatically occurs (Walker & Myrick, 2006, p. 554). Picking one paradigm
over the other was in the end, really a matter of personal preference as both traditions share more commonalities than divergences. That being said, the choice has been made to take a Glaserian perspective which is considered most suited to the background and data as it seems to put greater emphasis on interaction with the data itself while remaining more open to how the researcher conducts analysis. And so, from this point forward what is being described as grounded theory is based primarily within a Glaserian perspective (eg. Glaser, 1978; 2004; 2009).

Key principles

There are some key principles which distinguish grounded theory from other perspectives in qualitative research. Some main distinctions involve that the theory should be grounded in the data, and that the process of coding is not simply the act of data preparation but is a fundamental analytic activity in itself which requires deep engagement with the data and constant reflection. Engagement with the data is explained by Glaser (2009) as being dependent on a method of constant comparison while remaining open to emergent categories.

Glaser (2004) explains that the constant comparison method involves three types of comparison. Incidents are compared to incidents to establishing uniformity which generate concepts and hypotheses. Then, concepts are compared to more incidents to generate theoretical properties and more hypotheses. And finally, concepts are compared to concepts. The purpose of the constant comparison method is explained by Glaser (2004) as theoretical elaboration, saturation, and verification of concepts and the densification of concepts by developing their properties and generation of further concepts. Glaser (2009) also explains that analysis in grounded theory should go beyond the level of description as it is about the ability for conceptual abstraction without the burden of descriptive detail.

As grounded theory is based on inductive methodology, Glaser (1978) emphasizes the need for theoretical sensitivity. The essence of theoretical sensitivity is based in the ability to generate concepts from the data and relate them to theory development. Glaser (1978) describes that a researcher requires two characteristics to develop theoretical sensitivity. They must first be able to have the ability to maintain an analytic distance in order to tolerate confusion while remaining open and trusting conceptual emergences. Secondly, they must be able to develop theoretical insight in order to make something of their analysis. Maintaining theoretical sensitivity is a task which is facilitated by the procedural aspects of conducting grounded theory which will be detailed in the subsection which follows.

Glaser (2004) describes the core variable as what results from the process of constant comparison, coding, and memoing. The core variable is such that it accounts for the variation around the concern or problem which is the focus of the study, and becomes the focus of selective data collection and coding. The core variable is not necessarily a single word, but can describe a process, condition, multiple dimensions and so on. The function
of this variable is to integrate the analysis through saturation so that it is relevant and workable. It should relate with other categories and allow for theoretical elaboration.

**Process**

The following is a summary of how grounded theory works in practice based primarily on Glaser (1978; 2001; 2004; 2009) and Walker and Myrick (2006).

*Minimizing preconception*

Grounded theory puts a strong emphasis on minimizing the researcher's preconceptions of what will be found in the data since it is a main principle that the theory should emerge from the data and not be prescribed into it. In practice, this means leaving the review of literature until the end, and not defining a specific problem prior to analysis.

*Data collection*

Although grounded theory is mainly applied to qualitative data, Glaser (2001) maintains that “all is data” (p.145). That being said, it is the responsibility of the researcher to define what they wish to analyse, and unlike other quantitative methods issues of subjectivity, accuracy or truth in the data are not inherently considered problems (Glaser 2004). Furthermore, the process of data collection is such that it is continually informed and collected alongside analysis.

*Coding*

Glaser (2004) describes two outcomes of coding, substantive codes and theoretical codes, which result from the following three steps: open coding and selective coding to create substantive codes, and theoretical coding practices for theoretical codes. The processes are detailed in three steps as follows:

a) *Open coding*

The initial stage in substantive coding, described as running the data open, and coding everything and anything. Open coding evolves through constant reflection and memoing to achieve theoretical sensitivity and find core variables.

b) *Selective Coding*

Proceeds after open coding ceases as a process of refining those variables that relate to the core variable in sufficiently significant ways as to produce a theory. The process of open coding and selective coding result in substantive codes to conceptualize the empirical substance of the area of research.
c) Theoretical coding

The process of theoretical coding involves conceptualizing how the substantive codes relate to each other and are integrated into the theory. The process of theoretical coding helps in figuring out the meaning and relationship of a concept to the core variable.

Memoing

Memoing is a process which proceeds alongside every step of analysis. Glaser (2004) describes memos as theoretical notes about the data and the conceptual connections between categories. Memoing allows the researcher to capture ideas and concepts as they emerge in the data and guide subsequent coding and analytic practices. There is no specific guide as to how to create a good memo although Charmez (1995) describes different techniques that could be useful such as creating diagrams and tables.

Writing things up

Glaser (2001) describes that through the constant comparative coding practices and memoing, the researcher aims to achieve theoretical saturation of the categories and integrate the notes, memos, and analysis into a conceptual framework. From there, it is up to the researcher to determine how they wish to present their results although Holton (2009) emphasizes that writing should be done conceptually and not descriptively.

Criticisms of Grounded Theory

There are numerous criticism of grounded theory which have been summarized by Thomas and James (2006). Through this text, the aforementioned authors describe three overarching problems which relate to describing grounded theory as a “theory”, being “grounded” and based on the process of “discovery”. Thomas and James (2006) contend that grounded theory can not claim to be a theory as theory presupposes falsifiability which grounded theory does not. Charmaz (1995, p. 28) proposes a solution to this problem by distinguishing grounded theory as a middle range theory to explain behaviour and process. Even still, Thomas and James (2006) describe then that the word theory should not be used when what is really happening through grounded theory is an interpretation, or rather narrative of the data. The critique of being grounded in the data without prior preconceptions is one which Thomas and James (2006) claims to be impossible since nobody can become detached from their knowledge and preconceptions. The aforementioned authors further describe that the process of doing research in order to contribute to the widening of scientific knowledge presupposes that researchers should attempt to learn and build off of what is already known as opposed to attempting to detach from it. Finally, Thomas and James (2006) argue that grounded theory is not a process of discovery but rather one of divining meaning which is more similar to invention.
Although there is great validity in Thomas and James (2006) critiques, amongst others (eg. Miller & Fredericks 1999; Haig 1995), they do seem to ignore two fundamental aspects of research in grounded theory. The first is that grounded theory is not meant to provide a theoretical framework but rather to guide how theory can be discovered. And secondly is the freedom in which grounded theory allows for the researcher to take in determining the analytical tools which are best suited for the data. Furthermore, is a personal objection that theory does not have to refer to a strictly defined falsifiable paradigm as is understood by Thomas and James (2006) but rather one which can be flexible, context dependent and guided back one's epistemological and ontological assumptions.

As my own objectives are not to attempt to adhere to a strict form of grounded theory which, I contend is not the purpose of this methodological framework, then I will continue in elaborating on the methodological practices which have guided my own research practices.

6.1.3 Discursive Approach

In this sense, the term ‘discourse’ is being used in its most inclusive meaning and following Gilbert and Mulkay (1984) who define discourse as all forms of spoken interaction and all forms of written texts whether being used formally or informally. As such, the analysis of newspaper articles as a source of data is the analysis of discourse.

Wetherell et. al. (2001) describes the role of Discourse analysis in social research as follows:

Discourse analysis is concerned with the meanings that events and experiences hold for social actors. It offers new methods and techniques for the social researcher interested in meaning-making. More than this, however, discourse analysis is also a theory of language and communication, a perspective on social interaction and an approach to knowledge construction across history, societies and cultures. (p.1)

The above detailed quote is rather articulate in capturing the aim of Discourse analysis in social research being based in the understanding of meaning making, but of course like any growing field of research, how one goes about the practices of analysing discourse is not based on any unitary practice, but rather on general principles.

Principles of Discourse Analysis

In a text by Potter (2004) an attempt is made to draw together the general principles and considerations which have guided discursive research in the social sciences. The clarity in which the ideas in this text are presented have been of great value for this novice researcher, as well as providing a basis for discussion on why certain principles have been considered over others when moving forward to the analysis of rhetoric in this current study. First, an overview of the three fundamental principles of discursive analysis will be outlined, following a more detailed discussion of how these principles guide analytic practices. The three fundamental principles
of Discourse Analysis as outlined by Potter (2004) are based in the understanding of discourse as action-oriented, situated and constructed.

**Discourse is action-oriented**

Discourse analysis is based in the understanding that discourse is action-oriented, language does things. Underlying this assumption Potter (2004) describes is the idea that the world is in motion where the paramount concern is getting things done. This action orientation as Potter & Wetherell (1987) describes is not always explicit, and so the analysis of language structure not suitable to its purposes, and what is important to consider is how meaning is constructed. In terms of analysing the function of an utterance then, “it is about unpacking and rendering visible the business of talk” (Potter 2004, p. 6).

**Discourse is situated**

Potter (2004) describes that discourse is situated in two principle ways. Firstly, it is occasioned which means that talk and text are embedded in interaction, and the process of interaction is sequential. This ties to the action-orientation of discourse where actions follow previous actions and form the basis of future actions. “Greetings follow greetings; acceptances follow invitations; minimization follow complaints” (Potter, 2004, p. 7). However, occasioned does not mean contextually determined where the understanding is that actors are strictly bound to one form of talk in a particular circumstance. But rather by considering the occasioned nature of talk and text, an analysis is made of how actors are orientating themselves with respect to others in a particular context. The second way in which discourse is situated as described by Potter (2004) is in terms of rhetoric, where accounts and descriptions have a two-sided function in terms of being at once for a certain position and against its opposite.

**Discourse is constructed**

Potter & Wetherell (1987) describe that people use language to construct versions of their social world. Conceiving language as constructive is in opposition to a metaphor of language as a mirror which reflects as things are. By considering the constructive nature of language, discourse analysis emphasizes that descriptions are themselves human practices, rather than being about human practices. Potter (2004) describe two levels of discourse construction, the first concerns the way discourse is constructed out of words, rhetorical devices etc. and the second concerns how versions the world are constructed. As such, discourse analysis takes discourse as being both constructed and constructive. The constructive aspects of discourse cannot be considered independently from the previously two detailed principles meaning that the ability to construct one’s social world remains based within situated and action-oriented practices.

**Process of Analysis**

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8 For further discussion see Potter, 1996; Billig, 1987/1996 and Chapter 5 in this text.
Coding

The analytic procedures within discourse analysis has been generally considered separately from coding practices (e.g. Potter, 2004; Wetherell et. al., 2001). Coding practices are instead considered a preliminary step in making analysis more straightforward and essentially based on sifting through relevant materials from a large collection of data in order to collect the abstracts which will form the basis of analysis. The reason why more traditional practices of coding have been strongly opposed to in discourse analysis is because the fear is that by coding, the situated nature of discourse will be lost. Potter & Wetherell (1987) provide a comprehensive critique of more traditional practices of coding in social psychology based on content analysis. The aforementioned authors describe that although there is nothing wrong with this procedure “it is more suited to research where the discourse is understood primarily as an indicator of something lying beyond” (p.41). Thus, with the desire of understanding the constructive, action-oriented, and situated nature of talk and text, the analysis is based on the texts itself rather than in practices of systematic coding.

Potter (2004) describes a discursive analytic process consisting of looking for the following in the text: variation, detail, rhetoric, orientation to context identity, accountability, stake and interest. Although the exact details of how these processes are really ‘done’ will neither be detailed by this author, nor can they be detailed in the sense of providing a set of rules which would satisfy the needs of every text. Rather, they are meant to be thought of as elements which serve to guide an analytic mentality for research of this kind. That being said, the overall purpose of the analytic process when taking a discursive approach as detailed by Potter & Wetherell (1987) is to firstly search for patterns in the data, and secondly a concern with function and consequences. The patterns which are searched for are in the form of variability and consistency, whereby their identification meant to indicate their possible function.

Interpretive Repertoires

The interpretive repertoire is a “lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterize and evaluate actions and events.” (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 138). Repertoires have formed the unit of analysis in a number of discursive studies (Gilbert & Mulkay, 1984; Wetherell 1986; Potter & Reicher 1987), and have been often compared to social representations theory (Potter & Wetherell 1987, Wetherell 1998). In doing so however, the understanding of social representations has been that of mental entities which exist in the head, as opposed to in the dialogical mind9. Based on this understanding then, from a discursive perspective, social representations are considered as ‘cognitive structures of grids which make sense of information, particularly about unfamiliar social objects’ (Potter & Edwards, 1999, p. 449) and so are not favourable to an analysis of discourse. As it has already been established in section 3.5 that in this current research a dialogical approach to Social Representation Theory is being adopted, then now my duty is to describe why focusing on

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9 See Markova, 2003, and the discussion on dialogicality in Chapter 3.5 of this text
representations is favourable to the discursive concept of interpretive repertoires in this current study. In doing so however, the purpose is not to favour one approach over the other, but rather to remain explicit about why certain choices have been made and how a focus on representations rather than repertoires is more fitting for the objectives of this research. The focus here will be on two main points in what an interpretive repertoire is, and how it is distinguished from representations; the first considers the repertoire as an analytic unit, and the second is that it is linguistically based.

The interpretive repertoire is an analytic unit (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). What this means is that it is what is being looked for the empirical data, and based in a recurrently used system of terms used for understanding and evaluating actions, events and other phenomena (Ibid., 149). And secondly, the interpretive repertoire is linguistically based, meaning that they are what is coming from the data itself, and based in the specific, observable, linguistic features which is grounded in the discourse. Social representations on the other hand are “thoughts in movement [they are] conceptual and communicable” (Marková, 2003, 121) they are dynamic, open and culturally embedded. Rather than being a unit of analysis, representations are a process which both imprint and form our social realities. They are based in common sense knowledge which is often intuitive rather than being explicitly expressed in discourse. As such, a social representation differs from the interpretive repertoire by not being found in the data itself, but emerges through analysis of what assumptions are laying under the data.

Based on this understanding of how interpretive repertoires and social representations differ from one another, the argument is that it is neither possible nor necessary to position one of these concepts above the other as they refer to completely different things. The former is an analytic unit in practices of Discursive analysis where the concern is in language use, and the latter constitutes the knowledge which both forms and is formed by our social reality. By rejecting the analytic concept of interpretive repertoires, is simply based in the desire to consider language not as an analytic unit, but rather understand talk and text as the basis of thought, something which is more suited to an analysis of rhetoric in social representations.

**Discourse analysis in practice**

It is the openness of discursive analytic research in social psychology which has facilitated the vast kinds of research and perspectives which have contributed to the approach, and the influence the body of knowledge has had on the field of social research. Perhaps one of the central projects of discursive psychology has been in the re-conceptualization of the notion of attitudes, as being performative actions rather than mental constructs or predictors of behaviour (eg. Billig,1992; Wetherell & Potter, 1988; Potter, 1998). Other contributions has for example been in social identity research such as Sacks (1979, 1992) who analysed how a

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10 For a comprehensive debate surrounding social representations see Potter & Edwards (1999) as well as Markova’s (2000) response based in dialogicality.
group of teenagers in the 1960s talked about who they are and what they did, and Edward & Middleton (1998) who through a similar perspective considered how identity was negotiated through talk in relationship counseling sessions. Some topics of research could be in some way considered comical such as Wooffitt (1992) in the analysis of how people who have encountered some sort of paranormal phenomena such as a ghost or UFO citing justify their account, while others are of a more serious nature such as Potter & Wetherell (1988) when considering how attitudes are constructed through racist discourse. Although the analytic process of the discursive approach is largely dependent on the text and the objectives and background of the research, what has generally brought this field of research together are considering the action-oriented, situated, and constructed nature of talk and text.

When we are looking at the nature of this research then as being based in the analysis of text, the importance of drawing together an understanding of practices of discursive analysis was of importance. However in doing so, certain practices were considered more critically than others, as the objective in considering violence against women in Hassi Messaoud through an analysis of media is not to simply draw conclusions from the text, but to understand the text as being formed by and forming systems of understanding and thought. As such, rhetoric was considered the important unit of analysis from both a discursive approach and in practices of grounded theory in order to understand how social representations were being built.

6. 1.4 News Media and Social Knowledge

In using newspaper media as a source of data there is the underlying assumption that media are to be considered as social actors who have an effect on the social knowledge which is produced. Newspapers, both in print and online disseminate information that is considered of social relevance to a group. As such, they cannot be considered neutral in their political alignment, but rather serve to express specific views surrounding the relevant issues that are discussed. Furthermore, the speed at which information is disseminated and circulated, as well as a newspaper's reach has grown increasingly fast with the help of technology.

Newspapers have been considered an important source of data in studies of social representations as early as Moscovici (1961/2008) who used newspapers to understand the social representations of psychoanalysis in France. In fact, one of the reasons why Moscovici (1961/2008; 2000) considered social representations as an important process of knowledge transformation is due to the speed at which social knowledge is circulated and continuously changing which he describes is unique to modern societies.

Elcheroth et al. (2011) described the role of the mass media as being one of great power. They explain this by considering that its power is derived from the knowledge that people hold while consuming media that others are also reading the same paper, or watching the same television program. So even if a listener or reader is
skeptical of a piece of news, they remain influenced by it through assuming that others have been influenced by the media message. This understanding is reminiscent of considering social representations through the dialogical interdependence of the Ego and the Alter (Marková, 2003) where social actors actively construct meaning through others, whether real or imagined. Consequently, individuals incorporate media messages into their own communication strategies based on the knowledge of its social relevance, even if they align themselves as being in opposition to the message. What this creates then as described by Elcheroth et al. (2011) are situations where people act based on what think others are thinking and so can change both perceptions and practices regarding what is considered accepted inter and intra-group behaviour in a given context. The power in the media then is in its ability to influence people's beliefs about the collective beliefs of a group.

There have been of course other studies which have considered social representations in forms of news media such as Moloney & Walker (2000) on the study of representations of organ transplants in Australian newspapers, and how public space has been constructed in Brazilian media (Wagner et. al., 1999), but for the purpose of keeping the discussion more closely tied with this current study, it is of interest to consider how violence has been studied through media. General trends in studying violence through an analysis of media have been done through a feminist framework (e.g. Muncer et al., 2001), others have considered the role of violent media on influencing the behaviour of youth (e.g. Anderson et. al., 2003), and in considering how ethnic identities are constructed through discourse in the media (Allen & Seaton, 1999). Although this is by no means an exhaustive list, a general trend across these fields is in considering the media as having directly observable attitudinal or behavioural effects on those who consume them. Freedman (2002) however through a comprehensive analysis of studies which relate to media representations of violence, found that although general ideas have been that representations of violence in the media have negative effects on viewers and readers, these studies have serious methodological and analytic problems which contribute to the perhaps misunderstanding of the interpreted results. This is attributed to that when violence has been theorized through media, it is done so through a fundamental epistemology or a deductive model to scientific reasoning.

In carrying forward with the analysis of media then as a source of data in this current study, is based on the assumption that the media is a dialogical actor whose power as an institution is by virtue of reach and credibility in the circulation of knowledge. This does not imply that readers are passive actor when consuming media, but rather as active co-creators of meaning whose effects are imposed whether or not the reader agrees with the media message or not.

**6.2 Data Collection**
6.2.1 Process of Data Collection

Initial interest in collecting newspaper articles relating to the events of violence which took place in Hassi Messaoud stemmed from being introduced to a blog (http://hassi-messaoud.over-blog.com/) which was created for the purpose of supporting the female victims of Hassi Messaoud. The blog itself does not clearly outline who are the responsible parties behind it, although describes its objective to spread information about the tortured women of of Hassi Messaoud through posting press articles, information from support groups, different initiatives, and presenting information of support meeting and debates about the family code.

In terms of newspaper articles, the website has collected 70 from 2001-2011, with the majority (44) being from 2010. From this collection of articles which were taken from 18 different online newspaper publications, an initial read through was done and coded them for their newspaper and publishing date. From this initial coding, the five newspapers selected which had contributed the most relevant articles over the 11 year period which were the El Watan, Le Matin, La liberté, Le Carrefour D’Algerie, and Le Monde Diplomatique. From these five newspapers their online archives were searched in order to collect all relevant articles which related to the events of violence as they took place in Hassi Messaoud.

Collecting relevant articles was done in three steps, and accompanied early analytic procedures as is characteristic of research whose methodology is based in Grounded Theory (Glaser, 1978; 2004). For the purpose clarity and drawing a linear process, this section will discuss the three phases of data collection as subsequent steps, and the following section detail the coding procedures which took place both alongside and between each step.

First, searching for the articles was based on finding the original articles of those which were collected from the blog in the El Watan newspaper which had the most extensive collection of related articles. Secondly, a similar process was taken in order to find the original articles from Le Matin, La liberté, Le Carrefour D’Algerie, and Le Monde Diplomatique. And thirdly, across all five newspapers, articles collected from keyword searches such as “Hassi Messaoud” and “violence against women” and the articles read through for their relevance. The limitations of collecting articles in this way was primarily due to the online newspaper archives not stretching far back enough, and so some of the earliest articles which were found on the Hassi Messaoud blog were not found in their original online source. In those cases, the articles were taken directly from the blog for analysis which only affected three of the articles. After all three phases of collection was complete 52 articles were selected for analysis: 32 from the El Watan, 5 from Le Matin, 5 from La liberté, 6 from Le Carrefour D’Algerie, and 4 from Le Monde Diplomatique. In total, 102 pages of text were analysed.

6.2.2 About the newspapers

El Watan
The majority of the analysed articles were from the El Watan, both because of their extensive collection of archived articles, and as well the interest of three of their journalists; Salima Tlemcani, Djamel Benachour, and Nasr-Eddine Lezzar, in reporting on the violence which took place in Hassi Messaoud. The El Watan is Algeria’s oldest and biggest independent newspaper which was first launched in 1990 by twenty journalists who had left the government-run newspaper, El Moudjahid (english: “The Holy Warior”). The editor, Omar Belhouchet, describes the editorial line as being based in the objective treatment of information, the development of a meaningful analysis, rigorous verification of published information and being open to all political concerns, including those of the opposition party. (El Watan).

Since its launch, the El Watan has become a forum for debate and discussion of Algerian intellectuals mainly on issues concerning democracy and the economic, social and political life of the country. The editor and many of the newspaper’s journalists have been sued and condemned to prison numerous times as a result of the often heated debates in which the newspaper sparks (RWB, 2011). Although the Algerian government takes a firm hold on newspaper agencies and the freedom of the press, the El Watan has continuously established itself and has gained further independence from the state through private operators and by running a joint rotary with the El Khabar in Algiers, Oran and Constantine.

Le Matin

Le Matin is a daily, french language newspaper which was founded in 1991 by Mohamed Benchicou. Its editorial line is described based in the political opposition of Algeria's present political system and President, and so its articles covering polemic topics (Le Matin). It is the longest running newspaper of this kind despite the difficulties it has faced from the parties in power in Algeria. A personal correspondence with Hamid Arab from Le Matin discussed some of these difficulties in which the newspaper has faced, and is tied to what was described in chapter 2.23 on the general difficulties of censorship of Algeria. Arab (2012) described for example that during the black decade some of the newspaper’s journalists had been victims of targeted murder and that their editor Mohamed Benchicou was sued and imprisoned for a book he wrote in 2004 criticizing the Algerian President and entitled Bouteflika, an Algerian Fraud. Arab (2012) describes that the newspaper continues to strive with great purpose in defending an Algeria which is plural, democratic, and free from the authoritarian plutocracy. Le Matin’s daily circulation is 100,000 readers in Algeria, and 25000 online subscribers who are mostly based in Algeria, with an established international readership in France, Germany, the United States and Canada.

La Liberté

La Liberté is a popular daily newspaper in Algeria with a circulation of 114,500 (Medias-Algérie) printed copies and an unspecified amount of readers online making the paper the third largest French language daily in Algeria. It was first released in 1992 by three journalists Ahmed Fattani, Hacène Ouandjeli and Ali Ouafek.
The newspaper bases its editorial line on presenting popular news in a tabloid with the motto of “The right to know and the duty to inform”. Much like the other two newspapers, La Liberté lost four of its journalists who were targeted by Islamic terrorist groups and murdered during the 1990s. Much like other liberal newspapers in Algeria, in 2003, La Liberté was suspended in its publication for 10 days due to the non-payment of debts to the Government Printing Office. Topics which are covered by the newspaper include sports, culture, international news, as well as the popular daily caricature of Dilem which serves to critique Algerian conservative politics. (La Liberté.)

**Le Monde Diplomatique**

*Le Monde Diplomatique* is the popular monthly newspaper which is based in France and available worldwide with 71 editions in 26 languages with a total circulation of 2.2 million readers (*Le Monde*) . In its political views, Le Monde diplomatique is known to be left of centre. The paper describes its objectives in journalism in offering a broad and critical view of international issues in hopes of inspiring understanding and action amongst its readers. The four articles which were selected for analysis from *Le Monde*’s french edition were written by the Algerian journalists Ghania Mouffok and Lyes Si Zoubir. The purpose of selecting this newspaper for analysis was due to its strong readership in Algeria and abroad, and as well a desire to understand the issues of violence in Hassi Messaoud from a plurality of perspectives.

A point which is of importance to mention when discussing the editorial lines and readership of the newspapers which were selected for analysis is that they all reflective of a political landscape which is left of center, and one with the general purpose of inspiring action. This was not intentional, and more so reflects that the events of violence in Hassi Messaoud were not covered in more conservative publications. Although this can perhaps be considered as a limitation in the data, the nature of the topic which is being explored presupposes the understanding that violence against women is a topic of discussion and so is problematic in some way. As Algerian laws and politics have actively sought to limit women’s rights through the Family Code for example, than it is perhaps not surprising that newspapers which are meant to reflect more conservative political ideologies would not actively consider issues of human rights and the status of women as newsworthy since they are not reflective of the conservative political climate of Algeria. The views which are being studied then in analysis are based within a polemic perspective to issues of women’s rights, as the assumption these different publications have in common surrounding the violence of Hassi Messaoud is the understanding that violence against women is a social-problem.

**6.3 Data Coding**
The process of analytic coding was followed what was described in section 6.12 based on Glaser (2004). Coding took place alongside data collection and both analytic and theoretical memoing, but for simplicity is described in three steps: open coding, focused coding, and the coding of rhetorical processes.\footnote{Note: The text was not translated prior to coding}

**6.3.1 Open coding**

The process of open coding is defined as the first step in the coding process for both Glaser (1978) and Strauss (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Glaser (1978) defines the process of open coding as “coding the data in every way possible.... running the data open” (p.56). Through this process, the researcher takes a detailed, line by line analysis of the data in as many ways possible while writing conceptual and theoretical ideas in memos which emerge through this course of analysis. The idea here is that with the objective of being driven by the data, only patience, persistence, and constant review of the data will lead to emergent categories and their properties (Walker & Myrick, 2006).

For the current research, the process of open coding followed a similar method as outlined and although was most characteristic of the earliest analytic procedures, was carried through throughout the entire analysis. First, this process was conducted on the initial corpus of 17 articles which were collected from the *El Watan* newspaper. Considering the relatively small amount of data, the easiest and most natural way to proceed in this process was through a simple pen and paper method. In the articles themselves, key terms and phrases were underlined, and notes taken in the margins. Although keeping in mind the argumentative nature of talk, text, and thought, the codes themselves at this phase of the analysis ranged widely across the articles, and were often in the form of short notes and questions of reflection. The following extract presents the open coding procedures of a text from the initial corpus of articles, along with the subsequent notes which were written in the margins.

**Example 1: Open Coding**

The appeal proceedings against the \{ indefinite \} perpetrators of attacks against women in Hassi Messaoud, July 13, 2001, will finally \{ maximum/minimum \} be held January 3, 2005, at the court of Biskra, we learn from the victims' lawyers. \{ category entitlement - lawyers' views as "fact" \}

Thus, after an uneasy silence \{ who was silent? \}, many women's associations and women's rights activists have expressed their support \{ cat - their support, calls what they did support \} for these victims by signing a petition to the President, the Minister of Justice, the Supreme
Court and the national People's Congress to express their "deep concern at the lack of support received by these women from the public authorities responsible for public safety and ensuring the implementation of the law." (El Watan, *Affaire of the assaulted women in Hassi Messaoud*, 2004, December, 27)

Margin Notes: Calls what they did support, emphasizing that it is theirs.
The word “addressed” when referring to the petition is not intention promoting, a weak action. Here we have a quote from a letter which blames the authorities. It is vague, and uses nominalization and is written in the passive voice. The whole quote is passive. Category - an issue of security?

Although the above mentioned text will not be discussed here in terms of the interpretations which are beginning to form at this early stage of the analysis, it is of interest to point out that even the earliest stages of analysis were built around relevant concepts of the forms of rhetoric (ie. passive voice, category entitlement etc.). Furthermore, the relevance of these early stages of open coding should not be undermined as the above extract for example could be relevant when considering deeper levels of analysis of issues of blame against the authorities.

Through constant reading and rereading this first corpus of articles, the notes were expanded and elaborated into analytic memos which began to organize the open codes into common arguments. Arguments were determined and negotiated throughout the entire analytical procedure, and in this earliest process determined based on reemerging themes and points of intersection of what was being talked about. These analytic memos continued to evolve, and were based around 23 categories where arguments were considered to be coming together around for example the role of the feminist groups, the silence of the authorities, arguments for democracy and so forth (see Appendix 1 for a full list of main categories).

This process of open coding proceeded alongside early processes of focused coding on the first corpus of 17 articles, and proceeded, although in a less vigorous form, throughout the remainder of the analysed articles in order to maintain the reflective and constantly inquisitive nature of the research open to discovering emerging categories.

6.3.2 Focused coding

The process of focused coding (also known as selective coding) is understood as Glaser’s (1978, 1992) second half of the substantive coding procedures. Focused coding is the gradual reworking of the open data to core categories and processes. The stages of focused coding which were taken in the process of analysis can be
roughly divided in three steps, the first stage of reworking the codes, the second stage of testing and expanding the codes, and the third stage of systematic focused coding. The first two stages were conducted on the first corpus of 17 articles from the *El Watan* and proceeded back and forth until a decision made of how to carry on in the analysis, and the third stage of systematic focused coding was conducted on all 52 analysed articles. The process of focused coding was also conducted alongside coding for general properties of the newspaper article such as date of publication, article and newspaper titles, the context of the article\textsuperscript{12}, and the speakers involved.

*a) Reworking the codes*

The earliest stage of focused coding proceeded while intensive open-coding was ongoing. The purpose of this stage in coding was to determine what would be coded for further in analysis. Through reflection that is documented in personal analytic and theoretical memoing, the objective of subsequent codes was to be explicit about what utterances in the text were indicative of meaningful and purposeful arguments. In developing these reflections, early stages of focused coding emerged through the systematic noting of “all arguments” meaning all utterances which were analysed for their content, form and function. These arguments were first coded simply for their content, and later for their form while questions of function detailed through memoing and are made more explicit in subsequent stages of analysis. In coding for the arguments content, the codes were documented based on their occurrence across all of the articles, and organized in a chart of argumentation. This chart was reflected upon, and reworked into thematic categories for the purpose of simplification. By being reworked into thematic categories, arguments were analysed for their similarities to other arguments and transformed into conceptually larger thematic codes which reduced the seemingly redundant nature of the arguments. These thematic categories were then tested through a similar process which will be described in the second stage of focused coding, at which point they were rejected based on their unsuitability of analysing the active and action oriented nature of language; by being grouped in thematic categories, the arguments lost their argumentative quality. Following this, the thematic codes were expanded again into their polemic categories, and these polemic categories serving the basis for the second stage of focused analysis. At the end of the first stage of focused analysis, there were 194 argumentative codes across the 17 articles.

*b) Testing and expanding the codes*

These codes served the basis for the systematic analysis of the original 17 articles for yet another time. In doing this, the objective was to test the codes for their suitability, reduce them in redundancy, and expand them if needed. Testing proceeded across all 17 articles, and was conducted alongside reflection which was at this stage conducted through practices of diagramming. The diagrams were often in the form of tables where

\textsuperscript{12} The coded context refers to the general situated event that was being reported on in each article.
an attempt was being made to group similar arguments together in order to reflect upon deeper levels of analysis. This stage of analysis proceeded throughout the remainder of the focused coding where codes were continuously expanding with emerging arguments throughout the remainder of the articles for analysis, as well as being checked back and compared to the codes of earlier articles and changed if needed.

c) Systematic focused coding

The process of systematic focused coding involved using the argumentative codes from the first two phases of focused coding in order to code the entire set of 52 articles. This process was documented by keeping a chart of all of the argumentative codes and their appearance across the 52 articles. The categories were based on arguments and continued to evolve as new topics emerged throughout newly coded articles. The articles which had not yet been previously coded were simultaneously coded through open coding for the purpose of identifying new topics and themes, as well as being coded for based on the existing argumentative codes. New codes often emerged through this process when for example a given extract contained an argument which did not fit into a previously determined category. When a new argumentative code emerged, the articles which had been analysed previously were checked again based on this new code. This process then entailed the constant reading and rereading of the articles through the systematic process of checking emerging codes for the purpose of ensuring uniformity in how the articles were coded. When this process was complete, a total of 275 arguments were coded for and organized within 23 common thematic categories which were determined through the open-coding and memoing procedures (Appendix 2). Alongside this third phase of systematic focused coding, coding of rhetorical processes was also conducted.

6.3.3 Coding of rhetorical processes

This phase involved coding the rhetorical processes as they were described in chapter 4.6 (see Appendix 3 for a summary and examples from the text). From these descriptions, all arguments were coded for their rhetorical processes and organized into two types of charts; individual charts and a collective chart. In total, there were 52 individual charts, one for each analysed article where the arguments within the article organized as row labels, and the argumentative processes as column labels and their occurrence indicated in the data of the chart itself (see Appendix 4 for an example). The collective chart was singular as it collected the information across the individual charts to include data about the rhetorical processes of all of the arguments across all of the articles (Appendix 5).

6.4 From Coding to Discursive practices

Practices of analytic coding based in grounded theory were inherently linked to discursive practices based in rhetorical analysis in three ways: through rhetorically based codes, practices of memoing, and codes supporting discourse analysis.
Rhetorically based codes

The codes which emerged through coding practices were based on the argumentative function of an utterance. Perhaps the distinction here is more conceptual than anything, but the codes themselves were considered for their argumentative function rather than representing simply a neutral category or name. For example, the code for “lone women” which is a prominent argument that we will revisit in the course of analysis, did not simply represent the number of times this category was used to name the women, but also the system of meaning which was being developed surrounding this argument. The distinction here has to do with the rhetorical processes which were also analysed, which were used to detail how these arguments in a specific context were being built. For example, in certain instances the argument of “lone women” was established through the rhetorical process of categorization, while in other instances established through the processes of detail, active voicing, or vagueness. It was through the combined coding of arguments and their rhetorical processes which were indicative of how the functional aspects of the argument were being built. It was with this background of knowledge that made it possible to focus on specific extracts for a discursively based rhetorical analysis.

Memoing

The early analytic procedures of memoing, note taking and diagramming alongside coding practices is what developed more specific interest in analysing extracts in more depth based on the analysed functions of the arguments. The practices of memoing and note taking did not stop throughout the discursive analysis, and rather served to guide an understanding of the representations which were emerging. The process of discursive rhetorical analysis then can be seen as an extension of memoing, while at the same time feeding back into the memos in a circular and evolving process of analysis.

Codes supporting discourse analysis

Although the analysis section does not present results from the practices of coding and rather focuses on the development of argumentation through discursive analysis, the codes are consistently referred back to throughout the analytic process by citing articles based on their date of publication. The purpose of this is to both demonstrate that the extracts which were selected for analysis were determined based on the analysed codes, and secondly to use the gathered information in order to support claims which are being made without having to draw on an exhaustive selection of analysed text.

6.5 Rhetorical Discourse Analysis

Both rhetoric and discourse analysis have been discussed in detail in chapter four section 6.12 respectively. The study of rhetoric has been detailed from a discursive analytic framework by Potter (1996), and is
considered valuable when analysing the action oriented, situated, and constructed nature of talk and text (Potter, 2004). The purpose then of this section is to detail how these practices have come together for the purpose of guiding an analysis of selected extracts.

Before going onwards to the specific steps which were involved in a rhetorical discourse analysis, it is important to first discuss the analytic unit as it comes up throughout the analysis, that of the argumentative function. The argumentative function is a term which is used throughout the analysis in order to facilitate talking about the arguments from a more encompassing perspective. It has already been mentioned that there were 275 arguments which emerged from the inductive coding practices. This large number of arguments are such that they make following any sort of stream of coherent thought nearly impossible if the objectives were to discuss each and every argument. Instead, through the process of early analytic procedures as discussed in section 6.3, common themes between arguments were found which served to group these 275 arguments into 13 different categories. These categories, have been interpreted through the discursive analysis to be the argumentative functions, meaning the analytic unit which brings these individual arguments together for some sort of purpose. The purpose however, is more of a thematic one where for example the argumentative function of establishing the victims is in fact based on a collection of arguments which are polemic in nature such as those of working women, lone women, and three-women. Their function then, is not a unitary one and instead allows for an analysis of the variability of the arguments which surround any particular category.

The argumentative function as the analytic unit has been discursively analysed in terms of the following elements: argument content and rhetorical process, context, types of arguments, logoi and anti-logoi, and classifying function. An analysis of these elements however did not follow the process of looking for them and grouping the analysis into their related categories, but rather these elements formed more of a lens in which the extracts were being looked at. As such, the analysis of these elements took place simultaneously and organized chronologically, from beginning to end, in order to constantly trace how the arguments have been developing. For the purpose of clarity however, these elements will be detailed sequentially in the discussion which follows as individual steps in analysis.\(^{13}\)

\(^{13}\) Note: The text was translated from French to English during discourse analysis to be presented in the analysed extracts. The analysis was continuously checked back on to the original document to assure continuity in both the translation and analysis.
elements in their discursive context. How this was done was through discussing the argumentative function based on the arguments which had been coded for in that particular extract. Analytic attention was given to those arguments whose function was of primary relevance to the extract at hand, although oftentimes drew on the small ‘bits of knowledge’ which were emerging alongside the primary arguments, as well as considering how arguments have changed from previous extracts. The purpose of doing this was to continue reflecting on how certain arguments were developing throughout the articles and across contexts. This process of constant reflection was supported by using knowledge which was gained through inductive coding to provide examples of other occurrences of the same argument as it occurred in a different article, or through providing figures of how many times a particular argument had been repeated across a particular context, over a period of time, or throughout the corpus of articles as a whole. From the perspective of discourse, a focus on the contents of the arguments as well as their rhetorical processes allowed for an analysis of the constructed elements in the text.

Step 2

6.5.2 Context

The context of the articles have been analysed from both a micro and macro level. From the micro level, context refers to how it had been coded as described in section 6.32. These contextual categories were discussed through the process of rhetoric discourse analysis in terms of how each extract related to its analysed context. The contexts were firstly analysed as pertaining to either the events of 2001 or 2010, and secondly analysed based on the coded context of the article (ie. violence, court, reaction) and more specific details of the context as well. The contexts served as an element in this analytic procedure as the argumentative function were considered to be intimately tied to the objectives of the article at hand. The analysis of context also served the secondary macro-level function of tying in the arguments to the context of Hassi Messaoud and Algeria as a whole. In doing so, reference is made to the social, political, and economical climate of Hassi Messaoud in particular, and Algeria in general based on the detailed background of the two which was outlined in chapter 2. Doing this allowed for an interpretation of the data based on its situated aspects in both micro and macro level contexts.

Step 3

6.5.3 Types of arguments

An analysis of the type of the argument was based on Billig (1987/1996) and his discussion of the three argument types: arguments about particulars, arguments about categories, and arguments about arguments. As it has been previously discussed, both arguments about categories, and arguments about particulars are in fact opposite sides of the same coin, since an argument for a particular is an argument against another category. In terms of analysis, categorizing an argument as one or the other is somewhat meaningless, since they are both one in the same and what is instead of interest is to analyse what is being argued for and what is being argued
against in a particular extract\textsuperscript{14}. How these types of arguments differ is whether the argument focuses on the aspects which should be particularized, or rather if the focus is instead on the essence of the category which is being compared against. These issues come up in the analysis of text by picking out the features of an argument which serve to categorize or particularize, and discuss them in relation to their reference or comparison category. In terms of arguments about arguments, these are analysed in terms of a particular argument becoming explicitly problematized in the text. In this sense, the argument is explicitly exposed as a polemic one as the debate becomes whether a given argument should exist as such. This aspect of analysis serves to unpack the ever changing and oscillating basis of argumentation as it is constructed and situated within a particular context.

Step 4

6.5.4 Logoi / Anti-logoi

The fourth consideration of rhetorical discourse analysis which was conducted is based on Billig’s (1987/1996) developed ideas surrounding the two-sided nature of every issue and the endless possibility of contradiction. This is his idea behind the logoi and anti-logoi, as the opposite and conflicting sides to an argument where every logoi presupposes its opposite anti-logoi. The terms for each side, that of being a logoi or an anti-logoi are in a sense meaningless since it is not the objective to categorize an utterance as one or the other, but rather to analyse the conflicting positions surrounding a given argument. An argument is understood as such because it is always possible to argue for its opposite, and the possibility for argumentation then endless since “every ‘anti-logos’ can become a ‘logos’ to be opposed by a further anti-logos” (Ibid., p. 76). Instead of using these unnatural terms, through the analysis what is discussed instead is whether a particular argument serves the purpose of blame or justification, as well as detailing the implications of its opposite. For example, while analysing an argument of justification the analysis takes on a dual purpose as being indicative that there is the understanding that the position needs to be justified which serves to indicate a real or imagined criticism against the argued position. This aspect of analysis serves to further unpack the constructed and action-oriented nature of discourse, as well as the understanding of the dialogical basis of the mind where arguments are constructed against the real or imagined arguments of others (Marková 2008).

Step 5

6.5.5 Classifying function

Through focusing on the previous elements of analysis, mainly those relating to an argument’s content, process and two-sided nature, a deeper level of analysis emerged which was that of understanding an argument’s classifying function. The classifying function of an argument is described by Moscovici (2001) in terms of whether a given argument is located spatially upwards or downwards, which simply puts means if

\textsuperscript{14} See section 6.5.4 next on logoi and anti-logoi
what is being argued is better or worse than other possible positions. This same idea was developed by Aristotle (1831/1984) when he described that an argument was simply a demonstration with the purpose of emphasizing what is good, honorable and true. Taking this understanding then, what is being argued as being “good” should be reflective of the position of the speaker and audience, while that which is argued as being “bad” should be reflective of the position of a real or imagined other. The classifying function is discussed mainly through the analysis of the rhetorical processes which have built an argument in a particular context, but are dependent as well on the understanding of an argument’s two-sided function, and the context in which it is built. By detailing the classifying function of an argument, aspects of an argument continue to unfold as one which belongs to the dialogical co-construction of the social actors involved.

6.6 Summary

This section on methods had two purposes. Firstly, the objective was to describe the methodological background which guided the analytic practices which were taken, and secondly to detail the step by step process which was taken in analysis with as much detail and clarity as possible. The analytic unit which will be focused in the following section of analysis is that of the argumentative function which consists of interrelated but heterogenous collection of arguments which has been analysed in terms of their contents and processes, context, argument types, logoi and anti-logoi, and classifying functions. By understanding what the arguments are, how they are built, and how they change, an interpretation of the social representations in which these arguments construct will be possible.
7 Analysis

We have now arrived to the chapter of analysis which is arguably the most important section of a study. The importance of this chapter is one which will not be considered lightly, and the objective is to open up the analytic process to trace a line of coherent thought which will lead to an interpretation based within the framework of social representations. The background of reading which has been done to this point will hopefully be considered adequate to facilitate an understanding of the discussion which is to come, and anticipate that by viewing this section in conjunction with the previous methodological chapter, the analysis considered one where the researcher and the reader simultaneously engage in a process of discovery.

To start off, let us consider the overall structure of this chapter so that the reader remains aware of where the discussion is headed. Firstly, a short discussion will review some of the initial facts and figures which were found through the process of inductive coding as based in practices in Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss 1957; Glaser 1978; Glaser 2004) which were detailed in section 6.12. Secondly, the rhetorical discourse analysis will follow through a selection of extracts which are chronologically organized. Thirdly, an interpretation of the analysis will be considered from the perspective of Social Representations Theory.

7.1 Inductive coding

The process of how coding was conducted was described in section 6.3. In total, 52 articles were selected for analysis from 2001 to 2011 from the following five newspapers: El Watan, Le Matin, La Liberté, Le Carrefour D’Algérie, and Le Monde Diplomatique (Figure 1). After coding was completed, 275 arguments were coded for across all of the articles (Appendix 2) which were grouped into 13 argumentative functions (Table 1). The purpose of categorizing the arguments into argumentative functions was to facilitate communicating about the arguments by grouping them together based on what was being argued about. Additionally, 21 rhetorical processes were coded for and determined for each analysed argument in every article (Appendix 5).
Table 1. List of the most frequent arguments and associated rhetorical processes for the 13 analysed argumentative functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Argumentative Function</th>
<th>Most Frequent Arguments</th>
<th>Most frequent rhetorical processes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violence of 2001</td>
<td>- a horror (10)</td>
<td>- categorization, 3 part list, detail, active voicing</td>
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<tr>
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<td>- categorization, 3 part list, active voicing</td>
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<td>- a punitive descent (5)</td>
<td>- categorization, 3 part list, nominalization</td>
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<td>Violence of 2010</td>
<td>- aggression (4)</td>
<td>- categorization, passive voice, nominalization</td>
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<td>- did not happen (2)</td>
<td>- categorization, consensus, active voicing</td>
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<td>Justice / Court</td>
<td>- problem of impunity (11)</td>
<td>- categorization, nominalization, active voicing</td>
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<td>- justice failed (10)</td>
<td>- detail, categorization, consensus</td>
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<td>- categorization, consensus, active voicing</td>
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<td>Role of victims / women</td>
<td>- lone women (18)</td>
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<td>- detail, categorization, minimization</td>
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<td>Role of perpetrators / men</td>
<td>- assailants / tormentors (14)</td>
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<td>- Blaming Islam for violence (13)</td>
<td>- categorization, category entitlement</td>
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<td>- Comparing to black decade (3)</td>
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<td>- Blaming Islam for non-justice (2)</td>
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<td>Authorities</td>
<td>- Are silent / non-response (22)</td>
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<td>- Role should be of security (11)</td>
<td>- categorization, active voice, nominalization</td>
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7.2 Rhetorical Discourse Analysis

The details of how rhetorical discourse analysis was conducted is in Chapter 6.5. As a brief recap, the analysis will trace the analytic unit of the argumentative function while considering the following main elements: the argument’s content and rhetorical process, the context, the type of argument, the logoi/anti-logoi, and the argument’s classifying function. These elements will be discussed in conjunction with the analysed argumentative functions based on their relevance in a particular extract. The analysis will be organized chronologically across the articles, where the focus then is not on when these individual elements emerge in the text, but rather how they evolve through the text. By organizing the discussion in such a way the objective is to make use of the natural flow of language so that it is easy to understand and conceptualize. Although the analysis remains chronological throughout, two main divisions between the articles are made: those which discuss the violence of 2001, and those about the violence of 2010. This very general division helps situate the reader in the pertinent event which is being discussed, and will serve as the two subheadings in which the analysis is divided.

7.2.1 Violence of 2001: From court to reaction

The first group of articles for analysis consists of thirty one articles, the first one being from July of 2001, and the last one from February of 2010. These articles trace three main contexts surrounding the violence of Hassi
Messaoud which were coded in contextual categories in the preliminary analysis (see section 6.32). The earliest articles discuss the violence as an event, and so are based on an account of the event, a description of the actors involved, and the reasons for why the event took place. From these early articles, the discussion slowly moves to the courtroom. In the context of the courtroom, although the event is still discussed, the main objectives of the article is to present who was in court, what was discussed, and what the ultimate outcomes were. The final context of this first group of articles involve a reaction to the outcomes of court. The reactions, as we will soon see, were numerous and involve for example protests, conferences and discussion groups addressing the problems and desired solutions for the perceived injustice of violence which took place in Hassi Messaoud, as well as discussing the implications of violence against women in society as a whole. Although the course of these contexts occur for the most part chronologically as they were laid out, they are not mutually exclusive meaning there is overlap. The overlap however occurs primarily at the seams of transition between these contextual categories, where for example the earliest articles discussing a reaction to the event, also discuss what happened in court.

The analysis which follows will proceed chronologically through the articles, picking out excerpts those passages where arguments have a clear argumentative function. This first extract is taken from an article published in July, 2001 where the context of the article is in describing the violence of 2001 as an event, and so is written as an account of the violence which took place.

**Extract 1**

1 The lone women were assaulted, raped and mutilated by Islamists.
2 In Hassi Messaoud, it is only the oil that flows. The Islamic fundamentalism has resurfaced. Between the night of Friday 13th, at about 22 o'clock, and Saturday July 14th, 300 individuals living in the neighborhood Bouamama have attacked with unusual ferocity the women living alone in dilapidated homes in the locality called"Haicha". Chanting "Allah or Akbar", the attackers did not skimp on their resources: gang rape, assault with knives and cudgels, leaving some twenty wounded and six in a condition deemed serious. Some were just mutilated in the body and face. Others were dragged naked in the streets under the gaze of terrified residents living in a neighboring city of this deprived neighborhood. (Le Monde, Algeria: Horror has Hassi Messaoud , 2001, July).

This first extract has been analysed in terms of two argumentative functions; the first is to establish who the perpetrators are, and the second to establish who the victims are. The first function of establishing who the perpetrators are blames the event on Islamists. This is done through the rhetorical process of categorization, where the Islamists are named as such (line 1). By choosing the category of Islamists to describe the
perpetrators of violence, the system of values and meaning associated with this category have the purpose of anchoring the current context to one that is already understood. When considering the cultural and historical past of Algeria, especially the decade of Islamic lead violence which took place throughout the 1990s, a categorization of “Islamists” to blame them as the perpetrators of violence is likely one that comes easily as the understanding of Islamic violence one that already has so much meaning. This position of blame is further reiterated in the second sentence which states that “The Islamic Fundamentalism has resurfaced” (line 2-3).

Those who disagree with a rhetorical approach may wish to argue that calling the perpetrators “Islamists” is not an argument as such but rather is just an established fact to describe the event which took place. To that counter argument to my current position I would firstly say that I agree, and secondly that I disagree. The purpose of the category of Islamists is in a sense to establish a fact. If the author had chosen to describe the perpetrators as “allegedly Islamists” the entire meaning of the sentence would have been changed, where it would be in this context debatable whether the perpetrators are Islamists or not. But rather, the choice of the category as one with such an established meaning within the context of violence in Algeria has the purpose to establish the blame of violence on the “Islamists” as an indisputable fact. A category which is already associated with so much meaning, that to blame the current violent event on Islamic fundamentalism is one that is not easily debated against. However, to the statement that a fact cannot be argument, for the purpose of rhetoric I must disagree because to establish a fact as such is in this context both an argument for blaming and an argument against possible alternative positions of blame.

Following an understanding of the first argumentative function of establishing the perpetrators as Islamists, the second function of the arguments in the above cited extracts is to establish that the victims are lone women. Again through the rhetorical process of categorization, the victims of violence are described as the “lone women” twice in this excerpt (lines 1&5). As well as categorization to establish the victims as such, the pronoun “the” which refers to the lone women is in this context in its indefinite form in the French “des” (line 1). In English besides being understood as the indefinite the, its meaning is perhaps more accurately captured in the word some, and so the sentence becomes “some lone women” when referring to the victims of violence of Hassi Messaoud. This category from a rhetorical perspective is an argument both for a particular and a category. Categorizing the victims as lone women has the purpose of distinguishing them from other women, perhaps women who are not alone. By particularizing these lone women from possible other choices of categories such as simply women or victims for example a meaningful choice is being made to understand who the victims are. The meaning behind this category of lone women is at this point perhaps not entirely apparent however in this context seems to be tied to the description of the deprived neighbourhood and the dilapidated homes in which the women are living. From this perspective, the argument of lone women is one which is beginning to be established as having a negative classifying function. This argument and an analysis
of its function in establishing the victims is one that we will revisit again as the category of “lone women” one that is used to describe some of victims across 18 of the analysed articles.

Let us now continue to a second extract which was taken from the same article as the first and discuss how the perpetrators as Islamists is related to the victims as lone women through an system of shared knowledge about the two.

**Extract 2**

11 At the origin of this expedition, an Islamist Imam, Amar Taleb, who during the Friday
12 prayers at the mosque of the city gave a virulent sermon against these women of "immoral"
13 behavior, calling the inhabitants “to hunt the fornicators of their neighborhood.” Fanatics,
14 the attackers decided to punish in the name of God these women, whose only crime is to
15 live alone in Hassi Messaoud. In reality, they come from the northern regions of Algeria,
16 working as maids in foreign oil companies in the region and, indeed, they are accused of

This second extract, much like the first establishes the perpetrators as Islamists who attacked the women living alone in Hassi Messaoud. What links these two functions together is in this extract some shared understanding of the justification of violence. The perpetrators are justified in their attack against these women through arguments of morality. The women are accused of “immoral” behaviour (line 12) and so the perpetrators are called to “hunt the fornicators of their neighbourhood” (line 13). Through the rhetorical process of active voicing, the words of the Imam are quoted and inserted directly into the sentence (lines 12-13). An argument of this form has generally the purpose of asserting the reliability and consequently the believability of an argument, but in this case the contents of the argument tell us otherwise. Although a quote is given by the Imam, and so likely has the purpose of asserting that the violence was lead by Islamists, the argument that immorality justifies violence is one which neither the author nor the reader is meant to identify with. This distance from the argument of immorality, so that it is one which belongs to the perpetrators and not the readers is for example done through categorization by calling the perpetrators “fanatics” (line 13) and establishing through the rhetorical process of minimization that the women’s “only crime is to live alone in Hassi Messaoud” (lines 14-15).

For the Islamists, the meaning of women living alone is such that it warrants the label of being immoral, and so justifies the violence which was committed. Although from the perspective of the author, the moral character of the women is not one which justifies the violence committed, there does seem to be some agreement over the shared negative meaning of lone women. This is done in the above extract by providing a justification of why these women are living alone. The justification explains that the women were living alone.
because they come from the “northern regions of Algeria” (line 15), and are “working as maids in the foreign oil companies of this region” (line 16). By justifying why these women are living alone, the author establishes that living alone is something that requires justification, and so is something which is associated with some shared negative meaning or is not so usual. The justification which is provided is based both on them coming from the North, and working for foreign oil companies. These justifications hint at a shared understanding of knowledge associated with coming from the North (versus the south), and what it means to work for a foreign oil company. For the purpose of analysis of this current extract, further discussion of these points will have to wait, however it is enough to say that in this context the function of these justifications is to establish why these women were not deserving of violence. And since each argument has a two sided function, by establishing why these women are not deserving of violence, attention can be drawn to the existence of an opposite argument of how violence against women can be justified.

Let us keep moving forward onwards to an article published in 2004, which is in reaction to the violence that took place. In this context, the reaction is based on the feminist response to the violence of 2001, and presents a discussion of certain inequalities which are considered to negatively impact women’s position in society and are potential contributing factors to the violence which took place. The article begins with a brief interview of a lab technician, Mme Zohra M., on her response to the violent event of Hassi Messaoud. Her reaction is described in the extract which follows.

Extract 3

12 Mrs. Zohra M., 42, lab technician, is single like 20% of Algerian women living in urban environments (which should be 30% by 2010). She lives alone in a building in central Algiers, where anonymous hands regularly write insanities on her mailbox or her door.
15 "The reasoning of these fools is simple she sighs. If I'm alone, it is because I am a woman of little virtue. Thank God I have a brother who comes to see me regularly. Those who would attack me know there's a man in my family."
17 (Le Monde, Status Quo for Women, 2004, March)

The analysis of the first and second extracts indicated the construction of some shared knowledge surrounding the meaning of being a lone woman in Algeria through arguments about categories and arguments about particulars. This third extract now begins to reveal and problematize these meanings. Through active voicing, direct quotes are taken from Mrs. Zohra M., and discussed within the context of responding to the violence of 2001 (lines 15-17). She explains that by being alone, she is considered a woman of little virtue. This is however an argument which she is in this context problematizing as she refers to reasoning of the fools who advocate this position to be simple (line 15). From the perspective of rhetoric, this is an argument about an

15 Note: Hassi Messaoud is in the south
argument. She acknowledges the existence of negative meanings associated with the category of lone women, but however argues that the meaning should not be as such and is in some way foolish. Tight footing between the author and the speaker is also established as the author is reflecting the same views as the speaker by first describing how common it is for women to be living alone in Algiers through the use of statistics to do so (line 1), and then describing that insanities are often written on her mailbox (line 3). Taken together then, the function of this paragraph is in describing that although living alone is becoming increasingly common in urban environments, women continue to face difficulties as a result.

The above extract has the purpose of sharing Mrs. Zohra M. response to the violence which took place in Hassi Messaoud. Her opinion has likely been chosen because like the women of Hassi Messaoud, she is living alone and has consequently experienced forms of assault as a result. Although the extract establishes a degree of similarity between the victims and Mrs. Zohra M., there also seems to be quite a degree of differences. Mrs. Zohra M. is addressed by her name in this article which across the articles which speak about the victims of violence in Hassi Messaoud, is never done as they continue to be referred to as the lone women despite the problematic meaning associated with this category. Not only is she addressed by her name, but addressed rather formally through the title of Mrs. and referring to her by her last name and occupation as a lab technician (line 12). Based on what we have so far learned from the lone women of Hassi Messaoud, who are living in the dilapidated home of a poor neighbourhood and working as maids, Mrs. Zohra M. is distinguished by being of a more privileged, urban class of women who are living alone and whose opinions are of worth to be heard. Providing this background to Mrs. Zohra M., and naming her as such is referred to by the rhetorical process of category entitlement which has the purpose of giving a special credence to her views. While serving the purpose to establish her credibility, this argument also serves the function of particularization as features are picked out to distinguish this woman who is living alone from the category of lone women. By doing this, the classifying function of the argument for the particularized features are in this case positioned as being better than what would be considered more typical of the category of lone women. Considering the two sided function of every argument, by selecting certain features to particularize Mrs. Zohra from the category of lone woman it at the same time serves to reinforce the shared, negative meaning which is associated with the latter.

Although a more in-depth discussion of these articles from the perspective of Social Representations will follow, it is perhaps of worth to point out a this point the iconic and polemic qualities that we have so far observed with regards to the lone women of Hassi Messaoud. The iconic quality seems to be emerging with the association of lone women to being women of little virtue, and so are consequently the targets of violence in the name of morality. However, the polemic nature of this category emerges as its meaning becomes problematized in this context of the feminist response to violence.
As the article moves from being about the context of violence of 2001 to speaking about the trials, the focus of argumentation shifts from blaming the perpetrators, to blaming the authorities and the lack of justice.

**Extract 4**

18 In a letter yesterday addressed to the President of the Republic, those female victims
19 "begged" the chief magistrate of the country to intervene "quickly" so that justice may be
20 restored. "We beg you to help us solve this case of injustice which has left indelible marks
21 to the point where some of us eventually went into exile. We were left alone, helpless and
22 left to our fate. No support, whether moral or material, have been provided to us by the
23 authorities of Hassi Messaoud and Ouargla and so we find ourselves, after three years
24 without any legal or social compensation ..." (*El Watan* Battered women in Hassi Messaoud:
Victims demand justice, 2004, April 1).

As the articles begin to discuss the happenings of the trial rather than the violence itself, the argumentation changes from discussing the injustice of violence to the injustice of injustice. In the above extract some of the victims have written a letter to the President after three years of retrials without adequate reparation. Rhetorically, the arguments of the victims are presented as a direct quote through active voicing which helps in building the credibility of the arguments (lines 19-24). Here, arguments of justice are based on achieving material and social compensation and the need for the President to intervene. The quote is emotionally charged, and so appeals to the reader through the use of a hyperbole “injustice which has left indelible marks” (line 20) which conjures up images of deep and painful scars, and as well through the use of a rhetorically completed three part list “We were left alone, helpless and left to our fate” (lines 21-22). The argumentative function of this set of arguments relates to the role of the authorities who are in this case being blamed for injustice where justice is defined by material and social compensations and is the responsibility of the authorities (in this case, the President).

The next three extracts are taken from a series of articles published between December 15th 2004 to January 5th 2005. There were 8 analysed articles published during this two week period of time which discuss the third and fourth retrials against the perpetrators of the violence of 2001. The third retrial of the case took place on the December 15th, but as a result of the absence a majority of the perpetrators, was set for appeal a final time to be held on January 4th 2005. The context of these articles are thus those pertaining to court where the objective is to describe why the trial took place, who was present and absent, what was said, and what the verdict was.

The first extract was selected from an article dated December 15th, 2004 which has the purpose of introducing why the retrial is taking place. It describes that previous trials condemned only a few of the perpetrators to
under 3 years of prison, while 17 others were acquitted. Through the extract, the reader will be directed to how the argumentative function of establishing the perpetrators is built in this context.

Extract 5

The [previous trial] awakened the recent enough memories from the night of July 13, 2001 when a horde of youth white-hot+ by the imam of the neighborhood decided to conduct a punitive expedition of forty women living alone in the neighborhood of El Haicha, in Hassi Messaoud. Violations of property, physical assaults, torture, kidnapping, rape and mutilation were the methods used by these idle youth under pressure from their parents.

(El Watan, Aggression against women of El Haicha, 2004, December 15)

When considering how the argumentative function of establishing the perpetrators was built in this context, it is quite different from how it has been described in the previously analyzed extracts. Here we see less of a focus on Islam when blaming the perpetrators, and instead the argumentative function of establishing the perpetrators are categorized as youth (lines 26 & 29). As youth, the perpetrators are to a certain extent understood as less accountable for their actions as they were both terrorized by the Imam and under the pressure of their parents. There is a further descriptive meaning of this category of youth in the final sentence which describes them as being idle (line 29). Blaming the “idle youth” is akin to blaming the homeless or the unemployed, which I have used for the purpose of comparison as something you have likely heard in discussions within our own society or through the media. By categorizing the perpetrators as such, underlying systems of shared knowledge surrounding social problems begin to be revealed and considered of relevance in anchoring the discussion of violence against women in Hassi Messaoud to some wider, familiar context. The argumentative function of establishing the perpetrators as youth is one which remains consistent through the use of categorization across the articles, and problematized later on within the context of violence of 2010.

While still looking at extracts from the context of court between late 2004 and early 2005, let us now consider how the argumentative function of establishing the victims is developing in this context.

Extract 6

The affair of El Haicha this district of shame, where women, mostly mothers, were brutally assaulted, mutilated, raped and some buried alive, during a particular July 13th 2001 was yesterday left up to the role of the court of Biskra.

16. Note: white-hot is the direct translation from the French expression chauffés à blanc. Its meaning conveys that the young perpetrators were in some way brain washed by the Imam and forced to commit the violent acts
Time seemed to be in favour of the tormentors, since among the 39 victims, only 3, Fatiha, Rahmouna and Nadia, were present at the hearing. The lawyers promised by the Ministry of Solidarity were absent, which accentuated the fear among women who had the courage to displace themselves from Sidi Bel Abbes, Hassi Messaoud and Algiers to confront their tormentors before the court of Biskra and launch an address at those who demand for them to forgive that they will never recede before the arbitrary. *(El Watan, El Haicha the trial of shame, 2004, December 16).*

**Extract 7**

[With reference to the extra 15 days that were determined to be needed before the next trial to allow for a group of lawyers to be arranged for the defendants]

A great relief for the three victims, represented by two lawyers, masters Houhou and Benhocine. Despite this decision, described by the victims' lawyers to be "positive", Fatiha, Nadia Rahmouna expressed their fear of seeing this trial taking another course. "I have the impression of being the tormentor and them the victims. The stares of their relatives towards us are difficult bear. Every time they come to put pressure on us for us to abandon the trial. It is not a question for us to let those who have raped, sodomized and mutilated us to go on without judgement, "said Fatiha. Rahmouna, mother of three, marked by the tragedy of 13 July 2001, is still unable to recover. " *(El Watan, El Haicha the trial of shame, 2004, December 16).*

**Extract 8**

According to women's rights activists, if only a few of the some thirty [victims] were present on Dec. 15 at the court of appeal in Biskra, this is for several reasons. "First, as a result of the pressure and the public threats which is clearly from the families of the criminals, they are subjected [to these threats] to the point where money propositions were made in return for the withdrawal of their complaints. The approach of the authorities was to initially minimize the seriousness of the facts, then, to deter victims from seeking reparation. Social pressures were exerted on these women to remain silent in order to preserve the families of their rapists. Terror to which they have faced has been such that some have preferred to flee the region and shut themselves up in their pain. Others, out of desperation in the face of obstacles, no longer expect anything from justice. There is in addition all of the difficulties associated with travel, and accommodation for workers of a precarious status. Who can go after the pursuit of justice if not supported? " *(El Watan, Aggressed women in Hassi Messaoud, 2004, December 23).*
These three previous extracts come from two articles published at the end of 2004, the first two from December 12th, and the third from December 23rd. The context of both of these articles are the same in discussing the outcome of the trial of December 15th and the anticipation of the appeal trial to take place at the beginning of January. It is in these articles which are contextualized in discussions of ongoing trials that begins to see the emergence of arguments serving to particularize certain victims from the others. The victims are described as women, mostly mothers (line 30) and of 39 victims, only 3 are present at the hearing (line 33). The three women (Fatiha, Rahmouna and Nadia) who were present at the hearing are described to be courageous and active in pursuing justice (line 35). In Extract 7, the three victims are described as being relieved with the Judge’s verdict of allowing two extra weeks before taking the trial to the court of appeal (line 39). In this same extract, through the rhetorical processes of category entitlement and active voicing to establish credibility, one of these three women are quoted in describing her persistence in pursuing their tormentors despite the great pressure which has been exerted upon them to stop (lines 41-46). In describing these women as courageous active women in the pursuit of justice, the question becomes, what about the other women who were absent in trial, are these three women somehow different than those who were absent?

The eighth extract serves to address this question through justifying the absence of the other women. The women are described as having suffered from great pressure and public threats to the point of withdrawing their complaints against their perpetrators (lines 48-49). Further, the authorities were involved in deterring these women from seeking reparation, and social pressures exerted on the women to keep silent (lines 51-53). The terror was such that some of them have fled the region to remain anonymous, and others have simply given up on the judicial process (lines 54-55). Finally, there are difficulties associated with travel and accommodation for workers of a precarious status (lines 57-58). Through this justification of why such a majority of the women were absent, the understanding of the absence of these women understood to be one that is problematic. Although there is not the luxury of unlimited space in detailing an analysis, what has been analysed as the argumentative function of establishing the victims takes on a problematic meaning through the absence of some of them. This argument is a reoccurring one throughout subsequent articles in the context of the trial and is used by for example the perpetrators through their testimony to question the innocence of the victims, and is blamed for being the reason why justice is seen to have failed in court (04.01.2005, 05.01.2005).

The particularization of the three women from the other women will be considered again later as these distinctions continue to come up. These three women are for example categorized as being courageous and fighting for their right to justice across 14 of the analysed articles, and the system of meaning associated with their distinction from the other women continues to develop. From the extracts that were presented and up until this point, the function of distinguishing these women from one another is related to the pursuit of
justice, and the pursuit of justice as discussed through the fourth extract related to the pursuit of authorities for social and material compensation.

The following two extracts which will be analysed one at a time are taken from the final article of this two week time period surrounding the context of court as it pertained to the trial and appeal trial at the court of Biskra. This article presents an account of what took place during the trial, the verdicts and the victim's reaction to the verdict.

**Extract 9**

59 Called to the stand, Difaf Abdelaziz said he had not heard or seen anything. He had only left
60 the house in search for his little brother. "Yet, there are before me seven verbal statements
61 from victims who affirm having recognized you among the perpetrators," the judge
62 reminded him. "It's a lie. I am innocent," he replied.

63 Confrontation
64 Fatiha does not agree. She raised her hand and asked to speak. "It is not true. He was among
65 those who tortured me. He was arrested afterwards because on the same day he was in
66 fleet." A confrontation that left the accused speechless. "Look at her well. Do you know
67 her? " Asked the magistrate. The accused responds to not having known, seen or approached
68 her. "But she, after the experience she lived through, could never forget the faces of her
69 assailants," retorted the President. He showed him photographs of burnt houses and traces
70 of abuse suffered by the victims taken shortly after the drama, as if to refresh his memory
71 while [forcefully asking]: "An earthquake has struck your neighborhood and you saw
72 nothing and heard nothing. Is it possible to believe that? "The accused continued to deny
73 the facts. (*El Watan*, We want to find our lost honour and dignity, 2005, May 1)

The extract above is rhetorically convincing in the analysed argumentative functions of establishing the violence which took place as a fact, and the perpetrators indisputably guilty. The guilt of Difaf Abdelaziz is established by presenting his testimony as conflicting to the evidence which is being supported by the Judge. The diversity of the rhetorical processes used to establish the believability and appeal of the Judge’s arguments satisfy the three-requirements of form in building a persuasive argument (Aristotle, 1831/1984), those of establishing his credibility, building the case and rousing the emotion of the audience. His credibility is established through category entitlement, where simply by being the judge and named as such a special credence is established to his arguments (lines 61 & 67). In building the case, his arguments are presented through active voicing in four quoted utterances (lines 60-61; 66-67; 68-69; 71-72), and supported through consensus and evidence by seven written verbal statements (line 60), as well as the quoted statements given by
one of the victims, Fatiha (lines 64-66). He presents the facts, through for example showing pictorial evidence of the damage which was done to Hassi Messaoud and the victims (lines 69-70) which serve the dual purpose of evidence for the violence that took place and evidence against the men in court. The Judge’s arguments are in his final statement emotionally arousing and forceful through the use of both a hyperbole “An earthquake has struck your neighbourhood” (line 71) and a rhetorical question “Is it possible to believe that?” (line 72), a question that does not really call for a response but rather serves to make a point regarding the unbelievability of the perpetrators argument of innocence. The perpetrator on the other hand, presents arguments that are not convincing and in this case, perhaps slightly humorous as he continues to “deny the facts” (lines 72-73) despite the convincing body of evidence which is held against him. His arguments are only once in the above extract presented through the use of active voicing when he makes the empty and poorly supported claim of “It's a lie. I am innocent” (line 62).

The establishment of the crime as a fact, and the perpetrators as guilty is in this article seen as being in opposition to what the ultimate verdict and response of the victims. As such, an understanding of the trial and the court proceedings considered to be a failure.

Extract 10

It was around 21h, Monday, January 3, 2005, that the verdict of El Haicha fell. The sentences (three acquittals and three convictions of 8, 6 and 3 years) did not, according to victims, meet the severity of the crimes committed against them on the night of July 13, 2001.

The hope to see the appeal trial rehabilitate at the sight of the many people who came to support them quickly turned into despair and sense of abandonment with the reading of convictions and acquittals. Fatiha could not contain her anger. She was screaming with all her might in the lobby of the court: "I do not want your money. I want my honor and my lost dignity. I reject the verdict of shame. I want justice. I want the newspaper who portrayed us as prostitutes repair their mistake ... "Her pain was so strong that it brought to tears all onlookers, including police and police force. (El Watan, We want to find our lost honour and dignity, 2005, May 1).

The analysis of the extract above surrounds the argumentative function of justice which in this case is founded on the understanding of the trial as a failure. The extract can be roughly divided into two based on the rhetorical processes building up the argument. The introductory paragraph establishes the account as reliable and accurate through the use of specific detail of date and time (lines 74; 76-77). The first paragraph leads into the second by arguing that the convictions did not meet the severity of the crime, a view which was shared by the victims and the audience alike and establishes this argument as being a consensual one (lines 75-76).
Through active voicing (lines 81-83), Fatiha gives her justification as to why the sentencing of the perpetrators were not at the height of the crime which was committed. Her argument has a strong emotional appeal through the use of repetition in establishing each of her five sentences as strong statements that begin with the personal pronoun “I” (lines 81-82). In her statements, justice is understood as something that can not be granted with money, as the injustice was the damage which was done to her honour and dignity (lines 81-82). Her loss of honour and dignity seems to be in this context related to what she points out to be the mistaken portrayal of the victims as prostitutes in a newspaper, a misrepresentation which has caused her great pain (lines 82-83). Her emotional appeal was so strong that everyone was brought to tears, rhetorically establishing consensus of the injustice of the verdict (lines 83-84).

Sensitivity must be considered when attempting to analyse and make conclusions based on the described words of a woman who has suffered through such pain, as it is important to remember that what is being debated is violence that involve the lives of people. That being said, for the purpose of drawing together an analysis it is of worth to note that in this context of trial, the argumentative function of the injustice of the trial is related to the loss of honour and dignity that accompanied Fatiha’s perceived misrepresentation as a prostitute in the media, an injustice which was not repaired through the court of appeal. Her argument as such is indicative of a socially shared understanding of prostitution as a practice which is both dishonourable and undignified. From the perspective of representations, it is also of interest to note how alive systems of socially shared knowledge are, not as something which exists “out there” or “in here” or which exists through talk alone, but rather as a system of knowledge that lives through actions and social practices, defining the boundaries of identity and resulting in real, lived experiences and consequences (Jodelet, 1992; Howarth, 2006; Elcheroth et al. 2011).

**Extract 11**

Ms. Oussedik, sociologist, said that in this case there was indeed a breach of public order and the perpetrators are not those who sat in the box of the accused at the court of Biskra, but rather the women of Hassi Messaoud. "These [women] left their family and home to work outside their place of residence and live for the most part alone. They therefore violated the established social order and accepted by everyone. Society defended itself by punishing these women. It is therefore normal that the entire process that followed could not challenge this sanction. Society is unequal, why do you want justice to be equal? The law is based on a code reminiscent of the native code during the colonial period. Women are today under the native code. Do the micro-credits that the Ministry of Solidarity awarded the victims repair the injustice these women were victims of? We must therefore mark what has happened in this place as a point of no return as a constant reminder of the range of violence experienced by women in our country. "This intervention put back on the
table all of what women must face daily in light of sexual harassment having become a national plague. Achouri, psychologist of the counseling center opened a little over a year by the Committee of Women Workers of the UGTA, reported the first results of this center. From January to December 2004, there was a recorded 393 victims, whose ages ranged between 21 and 55 years, with over a thousand phone calls from all over the country, but still with a peak in the capital with one third of the calls. No woman is immune to this phenomenon, the psychologist explained, but with a predominance of the 114 cases being divorced and those about to divorce with 51 cases. Victims can be found both in the private sphere, with 140 cases, and the public with 288 cases. This difference does not mean that in the public women are the most harassed. "This reflects the fact that in the private sector, in the absence of representation, women are struggling to break the silence." (El Watan Violence against women and precarious work, 2005, April 9).

This previous extract, both long and detailed, presents some relevant arguments of how the issue of violence in Hassi Messaoud is understood to fit within the larger social context of ongoing problems of violence and inequality in Algeria. The rhetorical process of this extract through its detail (lines 100-101), active voicing of experts (lines 87-96; 106-107), use of rhetorically sufficient arguments (lines 91-92; 94-96) and emotionally eliciting rhetorical questions (lines 91 & 94) suits its purpose in presenting informed and reliable arguments. From the perspective of argumentative function, this extract has been analysed to be composed of three, that of inequality, Hassi Messaoud as an object, and the social problem of domestic violence. These argumentative functions will be firstly analysed one at a time, and then an attempt made to make some conceptual linkages between them.

With regards to the argumentative function of inequality there are three main arguments here. The first relates to the inequality of society as it pertains to the women of Hassi Messaoud who are described to have transgressed social norms by working outside of their place of residence and for the most part living alone (lines 87-88). The inequality within the context of court was then considered through the perspective of justice, or lack there of which is in this context described as not surprising as the inequality within the courtroom simply reflects the inequality of society (line 91). Thirdly, an explanation for this inequality is established as being based within an unequal legal framework of the family code, which is here linked to the past and compared to the native code which Algerians were under during the colonial period (lines 92-93). Taken these arguments together then, the family code is in this context blamed for providing the legal framework of inequality which both establishes and reflects the impoverished position of women in Algerian society. As this newspaper and discussions surrounding feminism are based within a more liberal perspective, the family code as such is something which is equated with banality and tradition through its comparison to
the native code. The argument then positions the speaker against the established system which sanctions inequality and injustice. By comparing the system of law to the past, a critique is established which locates the argument of inequality spatially downwards from that of equality. This inequality is seen to have real implications as it is considered to be in this context what served to justify the violence against women of Hassi Messaoud who transgressed the social norms of society.

The second argumentative function, that of Hassi Messaoud as an object, is one we came across earlier on in the analysis as it pertained to the discussion of Hassi Messaoud as a impoverished city. In this context, Hassi Messaoud is being established as an important point of no return (lines 94-95), a mark or a scar which should remind society of the range of violence which takes place in Algeria on a daily basis (line 96). The objectification of Hassi Messaoud as a example of the conditions of violence in which women must constantly face, serves to in this context bring awareness to discussions of domestic violence which links us to the final argumentative function of this extract.

The function of domestic violence serves to begin to address problems of violence as they occur in Algeria on a daily basis but that is most often isolated in the home. The situation of domestic violence is described to be a bad one, “a national plague” (lines 97-98), with potential effects on every woman (line 102). The problem is understood to be the result of a woman’s lack of representation within the home and inability to break the silence (line 107). Although it is not mentioned here, this lack of representation refers to the established patriarchy which puts women under the legal authority of a male (either father, brother or husband) within the home as established by the family code17. Violence then in the private sphere is a phenomenon which remains for the most part silent (line 107).

In drawing these three argumentative functions together here for the purpose of a deeper analysis of this informative extract, Hassi Messaoud in the context of reaction becomes the starting point for wider discussion about issues of violence as they are understood to be symptomatic of the underlying systems of inequality. The event of 2001 is understood to be the result of the transgression of social norms which regulate a woman’s private sphere, which as a result of the publicized nature of the violence that took place has been brought into public discourse and debate. The transgression of the private into the realm of the public has opened up a space for discussions of violence and inequality and perhaps serves to give these issues a more prominent standing on the social and political agenda.

The final two extracts to be presented for analysis is from an article written in 2010, just two months before the violence in Hassi Messaoud had resurfaced. The article has been contextualized within the category of reaction as it discusses a book of published by Nadia Kaci entitled Left for dead, the lynching of women in Hassi Messaoud and edited by Max Millo. The book recounts the testimony of two of the victims of violence

17 See section 2.22 in this text for further discussion about the family code.
of 2001 (Fatiha Maamoura and Rahmouna Salah) for the purpose to “immortalize the sufferance of the victims of violence of Hassi Messaoud”. These extracts have been selected because although classified within the contextual category of reaction, they present a summary of main arguments which arose across all three of the contexts through a discussion of some important elements of the event of violence, how it was treated in court, and subsequent reactions. Two extracts have been selected for analysis which will be used to draw on the analysis of previous extracts in order to summarize some of the main arguments which have come up since the event of violence of 2001.

Extract 12

108 The author draws the reader back to the scene of the crime, the slum of El Haicha, (the beast), a neighborhood that bears its name, located in Hassi Messaoud, one of the richest cities in Algeria, where many women have migrated in search of work. This night of July 12 to 13, 2001, a gang of youth raided the houses of a hundred workers living alone. Over many hours, they live through horror. Under the cries of "Allah Akbar" (God is great) they suffer the worst violence. Tortured, slashed, raped and buried alive and humiliated in front of their own, the victims relived their long nightmare when the police deigned to intervene at sunrise. The punitive expedition was only the consequence of a sermon of the imam of the district, accusing women living alone of "prostitution" who "defile the honour of the city." (El Watan, The affair of women in Hassi Messaoud: Left for dead, a conviction piece of an unpunished crime, 2010, February 2).

The extract above has been analysed in terms of five argumentative functions; Hassi Messaoud as an object, establishing the perpetrators, establishing the victims, the horror of violence and the role of the authorities. Hassi Messaoud as an object is an argumentative function we have seen before. Hassi Messaoud has been previously argued to be impoverished (extract 1), and as a point of no return to remind society of range of violence which takes place in Algeria (extract 11). Here, the argumentative function of Hassi Messaoud as an object is conflicting as it is both understood as a slum (line 108), and a rich city (lines 109-110). Hassi Messaoud, although small, as it is home to some of the world's largest oil companies whose production is responsible for 26.8 % of Algeria’s GDP (IMF, 2012) it is an economically, rich town. Workers (often single women) come from around Algeria in the search of work in Hassi Messaoud in hopes of establishing an economically stable life from themselves (line 110). These women however, are described as living in impoverished neighbourhoods within this rich oil town, such as the neighbourhood of El Haicha (line 108) where the violence of 2001 took place. Although it is not made explicit here, the contrasting argument of Hassi Messaoud as a rich town, and at the same time home to the slums where violence takes place seems to construct an understanding of Hassi Messaoud as being a town of inequality with regards to the distribution of wealth, a town where the rich exploit the poor. Although this understanding of exploitation is not explicitly
detailed in this extract, it has been interpreted as such as it is indicative of the arguments which begin to construct the argumentative function of Hassi Messaoud as an object following the violence of 2010, where this understanding of exploitation is made explicit. Additionally, a similar argument has also been made implicit in a reaction article from The El Watan entitled *Violence against women and precarious work conditions* (09.04.2005) in a quote by a politician, Ms Meziani who when referring to the violence of 2001 said “We hope that the parties who are making the business of Hassi Messaoud a register of commerce stop profiting from the sufferings of these women and instead concern themselves with the plagues which permeate our society and affect the future of our children”. Although in this previous extract nobody is being named in terms of who exactly is profiting from exploitation, the understanding is there through the categorization of Hassi Messaoud as a register of commerce and by criticizing the parties who are profiting from these women.

The second and third argumentative functions, those of *establishing the perpetrators* and *establishing the victims* are ones which we have thoroughly analyzed in previous extracts (see extracts 1, 2, 3, and 5). It is perhaps enough to note a few features of this extract which relate to these functions. Firstly, with regards to the function of *establishing the perpetrators*, it has not been since the initial articles of 2001 where the perpetrators have been blamed based on arguments of Islamic fundamentalism. This is still the case here, as the perpetrators are categorized as youth (line 111). To name the perpetrators as such is so basic and void of emotional appeal that it at first perhaps risks being overlooked as an argument. However, much like was analyzed in the first extract where the perpetrators were described as “Islamists”, an argument that seems so basic is likely one whose meaning is hegemonic and deeply ingrained in a society (Potter, 1996). The argument of the perpetrators as Islamists however, as one which was so basic in the earliest texts is no longer one which seems to hold such uniform meaning. The argument of Islam has since evolved so that the perpetrators are no longer named as Islamists, but rather as youth who were in some way lead by the provoking sermon of an Imam, and under the cries of “God is Great” (line 112). In the context of these articles, the performative function\(^\text{18}\) of what is understood to be the Islamic argument for justifying violence as based in the accusation of “prostitution” where the women “defile the honour of the city” (lines 116-117) is not one that is established to be consensually shared. These arguments have in this extract been established by quoting the words of the imam with the justifications of violence which were just described, or by quoting the cries of "Allah Akbar" (line 112) and so indicative of the rhetorical process of active voicing. Its function however is to establish these words as the words of the constructed “other”, meaning that the common sense knowledge which is being circulated within the dialogical triad of *Ego-Alter-Object* (Marková, 2003) is such that the current position which is being argued for is being built up against the real or imagined knowledge of another who considers violence as something which is justifiable by religion. The argument is not meant to be persuasive in constructing the opinion of the reader which is reflected in the liberal editorial line of the newspaper, but rather to establish that the argument that religion justifies violence is one which exists. The

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\(^{18}\) The performative function refers to an argument's believability or persuasiveness (Moscovici, 2001)
constructed knowledge of another which the reader does not agree with can be a rather persuasive argument to inspire action as it is indicative of a system of knowledge that from a perspective which considers violence against women as a social problem, must be actively fought against (Elcheroth et. al., 2011). Although in this extract the argument that religion justifies violence is not meant to be persuasive in reflecting the views of the reader, its persuasiveness is in constructing knowledge which exists and should be opposed to in order to support the idea that violence against women is bad. The power of this argument then is in inspiring action.

In building off the established momentum from the previous argument of how the analysis of rhetoric through simultaneously analysing its function and form can serve to distinguish arguments whose meaning is shared, versus ones whose system of associated meanings are polemic in nature, we can at this point briefly look at how the function of establishing the victims has been argued across these articles and in this extract. The victims have been established as such across the articles, meaning as the undeserving, passive recipients of the horror of violence which took place. Even so, there are two primary categories for naming the victims which have been as being lone women, and as workers. Both of these categories have come together in this extract by naming the victims as “workers living alone” (line 111). Naming the victims as such has been a prominent rhetorical process throughout the articles, as it has been already mentioned that the category of the women being alone one which is consistent throughout 18 of the analyzed articles, and naming them as working one which has been just as prevalent across 19 of the articles. The meaning associated with this is one which we looked at primarily through analysis of the first and third extracts and seem to be related to the legal and enacted inequality between the genders in Algeria.

The argumentative function of establishing the violence as a horror is one which was analysed briefly, as the understanding has been consensual throughout the articles relating to the violence of 2001 that the violence was a horrible one. In this case, the horror of violence is established through the rhetorically sufficient and emotionally eliciting three part list where the women described as “tortured, slashed, raped and buried alive” (line 113). It is perhaps of interest to note that whenever the horror has been described similarly, the sentence takes its passive form which serves to avoid mentioning who did the torturing, slashing and raping, and so can be interpreted as facilitating the shifting of blame19 from one body to the other, which in this case shifts the blame from the perpetrators to the police.

The final argumentative function of this extract considers the role of the authorities which in this case serves the function of blaming. As it has just been pointed out, the function of shifting blame from the perpetrators to the authorities is in this extract done smoothly as in the same sentence that describes the women as having been “tortured, slashed, raped and buried alive” the blame for the authorities established by arguing that “the victims relived their long nightmare when the police deigned to intervene at sunrise” (line 114-115). Through

19 See Potter (1996) who interprets the use of the passive voice as being indicative of shifting blame or accountability
this aforementioned quote, the police are being criticized through the rhetorical process of minimization which establishes that the police should have intervened sooner.

Extract 13

118 Since then, many survivors live in silence and shame. They fear reprisals and are victims of social stigma. Rahmouna and Fatiha could return to the life to which they seem destined - the life typical girls of modest means, deprived of childhood, left school before the age, thrown into the violent world of divorced mothers and made guilty of failed marriages.
119 Rahmouna and Fatiha and refuse to give up. In pain, braving the scorn and ignorance, they go around the courts of Hassi Messaoud and recount their ordeal in order to dumbfound the perpetrators and their accomplices. To remind the good society, too, they are "neither prostitutes nor deprived women." The book is, once again a reminder that the women in Hassi Messaoud have not been successful, since to date, the application for appeal filed with the Supreme Court to review the trial of the perpetrators is to date pending. Fatiha and Rahmouna, who continue their fight alone in a heroic manner their right to justice, are in fact an illustration of a dramatic situation. That of violence that women suffer daily in Algeria. Left for dead is another piece of conviction of a serious crime committed against a hundred women and shamefully unpunished. (El Watan, The affair of women in Hassi Messaoud: Left for dead, a conviction piece of an unpunished crime, 2010, February 2).

Although not included here, this extract above follows an account of what took place through the court trials against the perpetrators of Hassi Messaoud, and the understood injustice which resulted. The above extract will firstly be analyzed in terms of its argumentative function of establishing the victims, which in this case is formed of arguments which serves to problematize their absence and particularize some victims from others.

The victims have been understood to be absent in court through primarily two rhetorical means. The first is that of giving justification for the absence of these women through for example describing the pressure they have been under, their lack of financial means to travel and their affected psychological state. This type of justification is an argument which can be found across 9 of the analyzed articles and in this above extract as their description of living in “silence and shame” (line 118) who are fearing “reprisals and are victims of social stigma” (line 119). As was analyzed through the eighth extract for example, this absence has been understood to be a problematic one as it was used as an excuse by some of the perpetrators to question the innocence of the victims, and is blamed for being the reason why justice is seen to have failed in court (eg. 04.01.2005, 05.01.2005). As it has been previously analyzed, an argument of justification has the purpose of establishing that something needs to be justified and so is understood to be something which is problematic. The absence of the women has also been constructed through an argument that describes the women who were
present in court as the “only ones”, or in the above extract as women who are “alone in their fight” (line 128). This type of argument has been consistent throughout 11 of the analyzed articles, and serves to particularize some victims from others while putting into question their absence. As such, the absence of the victims is understood to be a problematic one.

In this above extract, the function of particularizing some victims from the others is further established by picking out certain features which are characteristic of Rahmouna and Fatiha to distinguish them from the rest. They are described as being courageous (line 128), and as women who “refuse to give up” (line 122). Their fight is understood to be a purposeful one as they instead, could have returned “to the life to which they seem destined” (line 119). The life that they were destined to live, is described to be on that is “typical girls of modest means, deprived of childhood, left school before the age, thrown into the violent world of divorced mothers and made guilty of failed marriages” (lines 120-121). They are described as wishing to remind society that they are "neither prostitutes nor deprived women” (lines 124-125). These features that are used to describe these courageous and active women have the purpose of distinguishing them from an understanding of the women who were absent, those who embody the characteristics of the lone woman as an impoverished one. By describing these features of the “typical girls of modest means” the underlying social implications of being one of these girls understood one to be a negative one as they are understood to be potentially prostitutes. The women who were absent in court are problematic in their absence because they are understood to be potentially lone women.

Fatiha and Rahmouna are described as such to justify why they are deserving of justice, and by justifying why they are deserving of justice an understanding of what it means not to be deserving embodied in the shared system of meaning of being a lone woman. A woman of a modest upbringing, who was deprived of a childhood and an education and thrown into the world of early marriage, divorce and subsequent blame. These lone women, because of their impoverished backgrounds are potentially living on the streets or worse, prostitutes. Women who are alone, are women who defy social norms and the legally established patriarchy of the Family Code which details the rights of a woman as being dependent on the permission of her legal, male ‘tutor’. These are a group of women who in the absence of a legal representative governing their private sphere are not deserving of justice in the public.

The final function of this extract is one that has been previously analyzed through the 11th extract where the event of Hassi Messaoud and the subsequent trial and reactions which have result, is understood to be illustrative of more widespread and silent forms of violence that women experience on a daily basis in Algeria, that of domestic violence.
7.2.2 Violence of 2010

In April, 2010, the violence in Hassi Messaoud had again resurfaced. Almost 9 years after the violence had first taken place; the event of 2001 had remained a newsworthy topic and subjected to continuous debates. Through these debates, it remained clear that the violence as it had occurred was considered a symptom of the inequality which women face in Algeria, and so facilitated a discussion about the prevalence of violence against women in particular, and women’s rights in general. The violence as it occurred in 2010 also gained much news coverage and was considered the result of justice not having been established for the violence of 2001. In this section, we will consider how the ongoing discussion and debates have evolved through this new event of violence.

The first three articles discussing the violence of 2010 have been categorized in the contextual category of the violence as an event. Much like the initial articles following the violence of 2001, these articles have the purpose of describing an account of what took place in Hassi Messaoud, what the nature of the violence was, and who the victims and perpetrators were. The first 2 extracts for analysis are taken from the first article describing the events of violence of 2010 as they are ongoing.

Extract 14

132 Because justice was not rendered to the victims of violence in El Haicha, in Hassi
133 Messaoud, in July 2001, dozens of other women are living, not far from the same place, a
134 real nightmare. In recent weeks, every night they suffer worse. Consisting of organized
135 gangs, young masked men equipped with swords, knives, axes and sticks smashed doors
136 and ransacked their homes. Nor cries, nor tears of children, nor the pleas of the elderly
137 discourages the attackers from doing their dirty work. Beaten, threatened with death, the
138 victims are relieved of their jewelry, money, mobile phones and electrical equipment or
139 anything of value. (El Watan, They are attacked at night by hooded youth: the hunt for
women living alone in Hassi, 2010, April 11).

This above detailed extract has been analysed in terms of two argumentative functions, the first relates to how the violence has been established, and the second to the role of the perpetrators. The first sentence in this above extract through the rhetorical process of gerrymandering, establishes the reason why the violence has resurfaced in Hassi Messaoud as being the result of the injustice of violence of 2001 (lines 132-133). The violence is in this extract categorized as a nightmare (line 134), but is just one of many categories used to name the violence of 2010 as a horrible one. Some other commonly used categories to name the violence of 2010 include a tragedy (15.04.2010), a hunt against women (26.04.2010 (1), 27.04.2010), a lynching (11.7.2011), and a punitive expedition (20.7.2011). The description of violence in this above extract is emotionally arousing through the use of three multiple-part lists. The first describes the perpetrators as being
“equipped with swords, knives, axes and sticks” (line 135) as their varied weapons of choice. The second list is in three parts and is combined with the rhetorical process of repetition in repeating the word *nor* for emphasis in describing that “nor cries, nor tears of children, nor the pleas of the elderly discourages the attackers” (line 136) which establishes consensus through proof of witnesses that the event took place and that the perpetrators were relentless. The final multiple part list is written in its passive form in describing what was done and taken from these women without mentioning who did the taking “Beaten, threatened with death, the victims are relieved of their jewelry, money, mobile phones and electrical equipment or anything of value” (lines 137-139). The emotional appeal of the above extract is further established through the use of strong descriptive words such as that the perpetrators “smashed doors and ransacked their homes” (lines 135-136).

The argumentative function of establishing the *perpetrators* is done by categorizing them as young masked men, which is a category used throughout 5 of the articles pertaining to the violence of 2010. They are also here established to be an organized gang, which again is a category used throughout 5 of the remaining articles although not always in accompaniment with their categorization as young masked men as is the case in this extract. By being described as such, the system of meaning that is associated with these men as being relentless, and the violence they committed one that has been premeditated.

Let us now continue to the next extract taken from the same article for an analysis of how the argumentative function of establishing the victims and that of the role of the authorities have been built in this new context of violence.

**Extract 15**

140 For the past two weeks, every night, the horror scenario repeats itself in the face of the inertia or helplessness of the police, although a police station is a few hundred yards from this neighbourhood located in the oil city which is supposed to be the [city] with the most surveillance of the country. The houses are not randomly selected. They are marked during the day, then ransacked during the night. Most are inhabited by women 145 from the north, who live far from their families. Few are those who file a complaint, because the more adventurous have paid dearly for their act. They eventually had to abandon their homes, wandering from one neighbourhood to another in search of a safer place. Met locally, the testimonies of some of them sends shivers down the spine fear for the worst. Terrorized, victims have all refused to reveal their identity. "It is poverty that moved us hundreds of miles in search of a job to feed our families. We do not want to lose the bread of our children. We just want to make a living with dignity and security. We are citizens just like the others, and we are entitled to go anywhere to work,
In this extract above, the argumentative function of the role of the authorities is established with reference to the “inertia” of the police (line 141). The police are categorized as such, and are criticized for not responding since it is established through the rhetorical process of minimization that “a police station is only a few hundred yards from this neighbourhood” (lines 141-142). Their inaction is further put into question as the city of Hassi Messaoud is supposed to be one with “the most surveillance of the country” (line 143). By providing these details about the supposed security of Hassi Messaoud, the understanding of the inertia of the police is constructed to be even more problematic as it is described to be based on the choice of ignorance. Consequently, the police are not only being blamed for inaction but are criticized for actively contributing to the violence which took place. This negative understanding the role of the authorities is further illustrated in the cartoon drawing which accompanies this article showing the police purposely ignoring the violence taking place (Appendix 6).

Another argumentative function of the above extract is in establishing the victims. Here, an understanding of the victims are established as coming from the north (line 145), and have left their families for the purpose of finding work (line 150). Establishing the women of Hassi Messaoud as working has been a category that has been used since the earliest articles following the violence of 2001. Throughout these previous articles however, the category of workers to name the victims had the purpose of a secondary, elaborating function to their primary category of lone women. This is demonstrated through an analysis of the rhetorical processes which built these arguments as such, where through categorization the women named as being alone, and through the rhetorical process of detail, this category elaborated to include for example a description of the work which they did. With the violence of 2010 this has begun to change. The female victims of 2010 are no longer categorized as lone women, and whenever this category does come up it is in reference to the female victims of 2001. They are rather being categorized as workers, a category which is found in 10 of the articles to name the victims of 2010. Further, the role of the victims’ families’ is one which comes up frequently and so further asserting that these women are not alone. This role of the families of the victims’ seems to be an important one in elaborating the understanding of why they are working as for example demonstrated by Saoud’s quote “It is poverty that moved us hundreds of miles in search of a job to feed our families. We do not want to lose the bread of our children” (lines 149-151). Saoud’s argument here is built up through active voicing which increases the reliability of the argument which is being presented. There is both an emotional and persuasive quality to her argument as she first establishes the reason why one would move such great distances through blaming poverty and the use of the generalization “hundreds of miles” (line 150) and a hyperbole “to feed our families” (line 150) to create an argument which is difficult to argue against, that of being forced to move as a result of poverty and the need to feed one’s family. This point is further reiterated in
the sentence which follows and in the form of a metaphor that “we do not want to lose the bread of our children” (line 151). The argument here then is one of justification for why these women have moved to Hassi Messaoud, and so establishes that for a woman, moving and working is something which needs to be justified.

A last point which is of interest to note here with reference to the argumentative function of establishing the victims is one which involves the particularization of certain women from others. This is an argument which we came across numerous times throughout the articles pertaining to the violence of 2001 where for example certain women were particularized from the category of lone women in order to justify that they were indeed deserving of justice (see the analysis of extracts 3,7, 8, and 13 for example). In this above extract, this form of particularization is less apparent through the use of the adjective “most” (line 144) to describe that most of the houses which were ransacked were inhabited by women from the north and living far from their families. Although a less explicit form of the argument, it still does have the same function of particularizing some women from others, the difference being that in the case of 2010 it is a majority of the women who are argued to be justified in living in Hassi Messaoud and undeserving of the violence which was inflicted upon them based on the understanding of the nature of their work and family life. In the case of 2001 however, it was only a minority of women who were described as such. Categorizing that this argument pertains to most women is an argument as well for its opposite that there are some who are perhaps not adequately justified for being in Hassi Messaoud. Taking this argument then of particularizing some women from others one step further, it could be analyzed in terms of providing a justification for the innocence of certain victims over others, and consequently establishing its opposite, that women could be considered in some way responsible or guilty for the violence which is inflicted upon them. The argument of particularizing some victims from others is found in this form in 5 of the articles relating to the violence of 2010.

A final argumentative function, that of the role of rights will be analysed based on an argument that Saoud presents. In this extract, the role of rights is discussed with respect to the citizenship rights as defined by the constitution of dignity, security and freedom of movement and work. Saoud names these rights as ones these victims wish to have through two rhetorically self sufficient argument of “We just want to make a living with dignity and security” (line 151) and “We are citizens just like the others, and we are entitled to go anywhere to work” (line 152). These arguments are articulated as such basic requirements that they are difficult to argue against since it is not rhetorically easy to justify why a person’s dignity, security and freedom of movement should be limited. However, by naming these rights in this context, it has the purpose of identifying which rights are understood to be limited. When considering the legal framework of women’s rights as governed through the family code, the limitation of these rights are here considered to be in opposition to the basic rights of a citizen. As such, we have an understanding of these rights as having been limited through violence and the absence of security in this context.
The following extract is from an article which has been contextually categorized as reaction as it involves a meeting of feminist and human rights groups with some of the female victims of Hassi Messaoud. This meeting has the purpose of discussion about both the event of violence of 2001 and 2010 along with addressing their concerns to the authorities in an open letter. A description of the letter which was written follows in this extract.

Extract 16

154 In an open letter to the Wali of Algiers, twelve women, victims of violence in Hassi Messaoud, challenge the one who is primarily responsible for the province of Ouargla, upon which is dependent the town of Hassi Messaoud, where they were the subject of aggression.

158 The signatories state that "because of the lack of security, every night some youth armed with knives, iron rods, swords and sticks attacked their homes to steal everything of value prior to humiliating and assaulting them". Therefore, they call the wali to "take the necessary measures to ensure the safety of citizens of Hassi Messaoud and their property." (El Watan, Violence against women has Hassi Messaoud: Victims and associations require protection of the state, 2010, April 15).

The extract above will be analysed in terms of three primary functions: establishing the role of the victims, the role of the authorities, and the role of the perpetrators. In terms of the role of the victims, it is in this case simply of interest to notice the active role in which the victims are described to be taking in addressing the authorities with regards to the events which had been taking place as they are described as those who are responsible for writing the open letter addressing the Wali of Algiers. It is of interest to compare for example how these women are being described in contrast to the victims of violence of 2001 who were most often described in passive terms or as being absent. Those victims of 2001 who did take an active role in pursuing justice were also described as the “only women” doing so, whereas in this extract the same minimizing function that the word only implies is absent in speaking about these victims of violence who are simply described as “twelve women” (line 154). It is of further interest to notice that the women are neither being described as lone women, nor as working women, and are simply described as the women who were victims of violence (line 154). In this case then, instead of the focus being on the women themselves, blame is being primarily directed towards the authorities.

The second function here is that of the role of the authorities. If we think back to the earlier extracts pertaining to the violence of 2001, the authorities were primarily criticized for their silence with regards to the justice in which the victims were pursuing (ie. extract 4). In this case however, what is being held against the authorities does not pertain to justice but rather the lack of security. Through the rhetorical process of gerrymandering in
the sentence beginning with “because of the lack of security” (line 158), the lack of security is being blamed for the ongoing violence which is taking place. Through this same sentence, the argumentative function of the role of the perpetrators established to be a passive one since they are not being held directly accountable for the violence that they committed. This is further established through the perpetrators being categorized as youth (line 158). It is then the authorities who are primarily being blamed as a result of not ensuring security which is tied to issues of safety in the final sentence in calling on the authorities to "take the necessary measures to ensure the safety of citizens of Hassi Messaoud and their property" (lines 161-162).

The next extract is taken from an article which was published in April 2010 and has been categorized as one within the context of reaction. This article presents a discussion that went on during a conference which was organized for the purpose of solidarity with the women who were victims of violence. Much like in earlier analyses, these women are categorized as “workers” of this “oil city” of Hassi Messaoud. The article actively names the ministers of the Interior and of Work for their lack of response in ensuring the security of the women of Hassi Messaoud. This following extract has been selected for analysis as it presents a reaction which was initiated by representatives of the civil society with regards to the violence of these women and the media response which has resulted.

Extract 17

163 In a statement sent to our editorial, the "Sports Club for women champions South, weightlifting and bodybuilding" - what an exploit for women in Hassi Messaoud!  
164 Chaired by Mohamed Dadi, Sports Club for women (Verizon Center) led by Bilramoul Amar, the Sports Club Nasria (unsigned), the Algerian Red Cross (supposed to advocate tolerance and be always on the side of victims), the representative of human rights, Khalfa Fadhila, and the "notables" Daknati Tahir, Kouidri Miloud, Dakiche Mohamed Atia Messaoud, Touahir Ali Al Amri Mohamed Salah Ammar Sakhr and Daknati Sabal  
166 "denied all the facts reported by the El Watan newspaper in its edition of Sunday, April 11, on the hunt for women living alone in neighborhoods of 36 and 40 Homes in Hassi Messaoud.”  
168
169 They denounced what they described as "destabilization operation" and accused the  
170 newspaper of "the spread of anarchy and terror." According to them, the region of Hassi  
171 Messaoud "is very proper and does not tolerate such acts," reminding in passing of the  
172 events of El Haicha, in 2001, "contrived by foreign hands and settled through the efforts  
173 of military and civilian authorities ". They have also praised the "extraordinary efforts  
174 made by the security services to reduce crime significantly," while stating that reporting  
175 "should be a must that the newspaper supports security and economic stability (…). what  
176
is happening in the world on crime can not be compared to what happened in Hassi Messaoud. " (El Watan, Violence against women workers has Hassi Messaoud: The Civil Society Launches collective, 2010, April 20).

This above extract is of interest to analysis as it presents for the first time an explicit argumentative function relating to the role of the media. The argument, as presented by representatives of the civil society is that of criticism against the media for exploiting the women of Hassi Messaoud. Their main argument was that of accusing the newspaper of a “destabilizing operation” (line 173) and "the spread of anarchy and terror" (line 174). In the case of this argument, its persuasive appeal is not intended to be a credible one as it is criticizing the views of the very newspaper it is being published in. This lack of credibility of the argument is established through for example when listing the names of those signatories of the statement, provides a disclaimer of a certain representative whose name was “unsigned” (line 166) and a critique of the Algerian Red Cross who is “supposed to advocate tolerance and be always on the side of victims” (line 167). Their argument is further criticized by stating that these representatives “denied all of the facts reported by the El Watan” (line 170), which establishes an understanding that the newspaper reports were based on facts which are consequently unreasonable to deny.

These interest groups are not only then criticizing the media, but are also supporting the state through the second argumentative function relating to the role of the authorities in this extract. For the first time, the authorities are being explicitly praised for their efforts and response to the violence of 2001 in saying that the violence of 2001 was “contrived by foreign hands and settled through the efforts of military and civilian authorities” (lines 176-177). This sentence serves the double function of blaming the events on ‘foreign hands’ while supporting the response efforts made by the authorities. These foreign hands, although not explicitly detailed here, refers to the foreign oil companies of Hassi Messaoud. Through previous analysis of the argumentative function of Hassi Messaoud as an object, the city has been categorized as one which is home to foreign oil companies (see analysis of extract 1, 2 and 15; lines 2, 16 & 142) but it is in this extract which this argument becomes problematized as an object of blame for the violence which took place. Furthermore, with regards to how Hassi Messaoud is being described in this extract as a region which “is very proper and does not tolerate such acts” (line 175) it is of interest to note that this description has changed from earlier articles which established Hassi Messaoud as a “shanty town” (09.03.2009) and one which was synonymous with violence against women (09.07.2005, 17.07.2005, 13.11.2005). The description of Hassi Messaoud as proper is related to the positive classifying function of the role of the authorities in this extract, where it is then the ‘foreign hands’ who are established as the ones who are at fault for the ongoing violence.

Although the argumentative function of this above extract is one which lacks credibility in its critique of the media, there is an aspect to this argument which is, for the purpose of this analysis, indicative of a system of shared knowledge that this argument is based on. What is being referred to is security. This argument of
critique against the media is based within an understanding of the importance of security and stability. By criticizing the newspaper as performing a “destabilizing operation” (line 173) the worry is that the stability of the society is put under threat. Although the extract is in some way lacking in persuasive appeal, it is in fact difficult to argue against the desire for security, we all want a secure world, don’t we? (pardon the rhetorical question, it had the purpose of making a point). This desire for security was a feature of the analysis of both the 15th and the 16th extracts where the violence of 2010 understood to have resulted from the “lack of security” (lines 141-143; line 158) for the women of Hassi Messaoud. These arguments for security continue to appear throughout many of the remaining articles pertaining to the violence of 2010. Security is argued to be something which is the responsibility of the police and the authorities to ensure across 8 of the articles pertaining to the violence of 2010, and violence in society in general argued to be due to the lack of security (15.04.2010). Another argument pertaining to security which comes up in both this article and an article from 26.04.2010 is that of security being a right for all citizens, which consequently establishes that perhaps this is a right which is being limited.

The argument for security can be understood as a classifying one in terms of its function and direction. The direction of this argument when viewed on a scale from the negative to the positive is closer to the end of the positive; an argument for security is relatively better than an argument for its opposite of insecurity. In terms of its function though, the argument is meant to both unite and divide. Uniting through a shared system of understanding in terms of its direction, but dividing in terms of becoming the object of argumentation that is being used against different groups. The argument for security when used in this way has the purpose of constructing identities, it is a speech act with a strong illocutionary force (Austin, 1962). This argument has the purpose of saying “you are either for security or against it”, picture George Bush on his congress address on September 20th 2001 saying “you are either with us, or you are with the terrorists”. Arguments such as these are powerful, they have the of establishing action. Throughout these articles the construction of identity has been for the most part binary, there are those who are good and are on the side of the victims, and those who are bad and are on the side of the perpetrators. Through this extract however, this has begun to change as certain women’s interests groups are now described to be arguing against the newspaper which had been arguably on the side of supporting the victims and women’s rights.

This argument did not emerge from nowhere of course, and it likely relates to the social and political climate of Algeria and the nation’s turbulent past defined by political, economical and social instability. In the context of the analysed texts however, prior to the violence of 2010 an argument for security had been one which was attributed to being a concern of the authorities. For example, in three articles categorized within the contextual category of trial of the event of 2001, a critique of the sentencing of the perpetrators described them as only pertaining to violations of “public security” (03.01.2005, 04.01.2005, 13.11.2005), and the authorities have been criticized for not prosecuting the perpetrators in order to “ensure peace and security” (08.05.2008). Since
an understanding had been established that the responsibility of the State is to ensure the security of its citizens, then the construction of blame against the state with respect to the violence of 2010 understood to be a powerful one in that the authorities are failing in a duty that they have previously explicitly supported. It is in this present extract however that sees the emergence of something different as security becomes attributed to the responsibility of the media, who are consequently being criticized for causing a potential destabilization through reporting on the events of Hassi Messaoud.

The following extract will consider the analysis of how some of these elements which have been considered throughout the analysis of extracts from 2010, namely those relating to security, rights and work are coming together for the purpose of supporting the victims of Hassi Messaoud within the context of reaction. More specifically, this article gives an account of some discussion which took place at a meeting in April 2010 where 15 Algerian associations for defending human rights organized the Collective Defense of Rights and Liberties (CDS) in the name of solidarity with the women of Hassi Messaoud.

Extract 18

182 The majority of the abused women are working on the bases of foreign oil companies.
183 They are maids, laundresses, or line cooks, and living alone or with their children in a slum," added a head of an NGO. But the CDS intends also to "challenge the government, the state whose role it is to protect all citizens," adds Ms. Bouatta, of the combination of defence and promotion of women’s rights (ADPDF) . "It seems that women are considered, to the Algerian society, to be second-class citizens. But their rights to work, to free movement should be respected," she adds. "Very shocked" by attacks, the collective associations have contacted some victims. "But, terrified, suffering serious psychological pressure, they told us: above all do not come here, we are in danger of reprisals, of losing our job", reported Mrs Bouatta. (Le Carrefour D’Algerie, In Hassi Messaoud 15 women associations create a Collective of Solidarity, 2010, April 4).

Although the above extract is rather short, it provides a comprehensive summary of some of the argumentative functions which have been most prominent throughout the articles since the violence of 2010 and up until this point. For the purpose of this analysis, we will take a look at the coming together of five of these functions.

The first argumentative function is that of establishing the victims. As was previously detailed through the analysis of the 15th extract, since the violence of 2010, the female-victims of violence have been primarily understood to be workers. This above extract is no different, as the women are firstly categorized as working (line 182), and through a three part list are detailed to be “maids, laundresses, or line cooks” (line 183). The importance of work is further elaborated in the final quoted sentence by Mrs Bouatta which has the purpose of
justifying the silence of the women of Hassi Messaoud in responding to the contact-requests made by some of the collective associations. In this quote, the women are justified for their silence in pursuing their rights out of fear of suffering from the “danger of reprisals” and of “losing [one’s] job” (line 191). The understanding of women as workers is in this context one with a strong positive classifying function as it is relatively better than its opposite of not working.

Let us take a step outwards from the text and towards the global and consider why it is that this defining characteristic of work has been such an important feature in understanding who the victims of violence are, we must ask ourselves, what is this argument really doing?

As we remember from the analysis of the role of the victims of violence of 2001, much of the discussion involved using specific features to particularize certain victims from the negative classified understanding of the category lone woman. The constructed understanding of the lone woman was one that was associated with a precarious upbringing, one void of education, early marriage, divorce and abandon by male relatives. As a result of being left alone, these women would be forced into poor working conditions, perhaps living on the streets while being made suspect of a life of prostitution, a category with a negatively constructed classifying function. A more comprehensive discussion of these issues can for example be found in the analysis of extract 13, but it is of interest to remind the reader that these “some” women who were particularized from the category of lone women did so through making arguments for this category’s opposite, meaning asserting that these were not women of a deprived and precarious background, nor were they abandoned by their families.

Although the particularization of “some” women from “others” have not been built as explicitly as they were in our earlier analysis of articles referring to the violence of 2001, the element of identities being constructed through definitions of selves and others continue to be of importance when considering discourse from the perspective of rhetoric. In the above extract for example, the adjective “majority” (line 182) in referring to the abused women who are working is indicative that there are some who are not. Further, the construction of the identities of these women as workers, is one that is of importance but one which can not be separated from the concept of otherness. This co-construction of identities between selves and others is one which has the purpose of emphasizing characteristics of the female victims of violence with the understanding of their constructed meaning in this context. Thus, by categorizing this majority of women as workers, and justifying their silence in pursuing their rights based on fear for losing one’s job, we understand both the particularizing function of this utterance in terms of defining certain women with reference to others, and further the co-constructed understanding of work as an important social institution with a positive classifying function.

A second argumentative function of this extract is that of Hassi Messaoud as an object. In the context of the violence and reaction to 2010, not much has changed up until this point with regards to the construction of Hassi Messaoud as an object. The above extract will not be focused on for long as its analysis similar to the
discussion which arose from the analysis of the 12th extract, however it is perhaps of interest to the reader to point out the conflicting nature of the pertinent arguments. The first sentence of the above extract establishes that the women have been working for the foreign oil companies of Hassi Messaoud (line 182). Although Hassi Messaoud has been categorized as an oil town from the earliest articles pertaining to the violence of 2001, it has only been since the violence of 2010 that the oil companies have been specified as being foreign. The classifying function of this argument was analysed through the 17th extract where the foreign oil companies were being blamed for the ongoing violence against women in this town. The second sentence then specifies that the female victims of violence have been living in the slums of Hassi Messaoud (line 184), which puts into conflict an understanding of the town as both a rich oil city, and one where the women live in slums. Taken together then, the purpose of this conflicting understanding of Hassi Messaoud is that of blame through questioning and reflection. By establishing Hassi Messaoud as both the home to foreign oil companies as well as to the slums where Algerian workers live in perhaps dangerous and precarious conditions, the reader questions how this conflicting understanding can coexist and is perhaps lead to draw conclusions of blame on the rich, foreign oil companies for exploiting these women for work.

We will now take a look at the third and fourth argumentative functions of this extract, those of the role of the authorities and of inequality for the purpose of analysis. The role of the authorities has been primarily established through arguments of blame. Much like the analysis of the 15th extract, the authorities are being blamed for not ensuring the safety of the women of Hassi Messaoud. Through the rhetorical processes of active voicing and category entitlement, Ms. Bouatta is quoted in her argument that it is “the state whose role it is to protect all citizens” (line 185), which is consequently an argument for its opposite, that of establishing the state as having failed in its role of protecting the women of Hassi Messaoud. Ms Bouatta then adds to this argument that “It seems that women are considered, to the Algerian society, to be second-class citizens” (lines 186-187). This argument has the function of removing the blame as being solely depended on the role of the authorities to establishing the argumentative function of inequality as a problem of the society as a whole. The category of naming Algerian women as second-class citizens is one which has been prevalent across four articles within the context of reaction to violence of 2001 and seven articles since the violence of 2010.

In asking ourselves what is the underlying meaning of these arguments coming together in this context of reaction to the violence of 2010, a final analysis of this above extract will be considered from the perspective of the argumentative function of rights. Through the rhetorical process of active voicing and in continuation to her argument of inequality, Ms Bouatta argues that “their rights to work, to free movement should be respected” (lines 187-188). This argument firstly has the purpose of establishing that the rights of the women of Hassi Messaoud, those of their rights to work and free movement are not being respected. How they are not being respected, is in this context dependent on the role of the authorities and the role of inequality in creating a society where Algerian women are “second-class citizens” (line 187) and so not deserving of the same
rights. The previous analysis of the role of the victims of Hassi Messaoud as workers when analyzed in conjunction with the argument of rights has the purpose of establishing that these women are being limited in their rights to work, which in this context is not directly constructed as the result of the violence which took place, but rather the lack of protection by the authorities and the inequality of society as a whole. Furthermore, when attempting to answer the question “what should the women of Hassi Messaoud be protected from?”, in the context of reaction is understood to be the exploitation of the foreign oil companies on the female workers of Hassi Messaoud. In the context of reaction we thus see a shifting of blame, where the violence which took place in Hassi Messaoud is not blamed on the perpetrators and is being continuously renegotiated and shifted between the role of the authorities, the inequality of society and the foreign oil companies of Hassi Messaoud.

The following three extracts are taken from an article written by the Algerian journalist Ghania Mouffok in June 2010 for an article which was published in Le Monde Diplomatique. As a journalist who has written on numerous human rights issues relating to the status of women in Algeria, Mouffok maintains a liberal perspective through her journalism which often serves to critique the conservative society in which she lives. These three extracts have the purpose of explicitly detailing some conflicting arguments which we have analyzed surrounding the violence of 2010, mainly those relating to the construction of Hassi Messaoud as an object and the role of the victims as workers. These extracts when taken out of context seem to perhaps advocate for the positions which they are presenting, but rather Mouffok uses these arguments for the purpose of understanding the inequality and violence in which women face as a form of social control of female sexuality. This first extract puts into question the violence of 2010.

**Extract 19**

192 Violence exists, but their magnitude was "exaggerated" certifies a local journalist. “I would have heard about it. In 2001, the whole city spoke of nothing but that. But this time, I do not understand the purpose of this campaign." According to police, there would have been, between April and May, "between four to five assault complaints. "A figure to be taken with caution, but, curiously, reflects the number of cases encountered by the journalist of El Watan. Can we hide a pogrom? (Le Monde Diplomatique, Emancipated women in the trap of Hassi Messaoud, June, 2010).

This extract relates to the argumentative functions of establishing the violence and the role of the media. Although in the context of 2001, whether or not the violence took place as it was accounted was never an object of dispute as the violence was continuously categorized as a “horror”, one where women were “tortured, slashed, raped and buried alive” (see analysis of extract 12 for further discussion), this has not been established in the case of violence of 2010. Much of the discussion of 2010 have focused primarily on the response to the violence that took place, where the details of the event have not been discussed since the
earliest articles of 2010 in contextual categories of the violence as an event. Furthermore, the violence of 2010 has also been categorized on two occasions as being “only a robbery” (11.04.2010, 20.04.2010) which through the use of minimization, serves the purpose of lessening the constructed severity of violence which took place. In this above context, the argument of questioning the violence which took place is understood in conjunction with blaming the media for misrepresenting the event. The argument is built through the rhetorical processes of category entitlement as it is “certified by a local journalist” (line 192) and the active voicing of this journalist in the argument that the severity of the violence has been “exaggerated” (line 192). Consensus is further established with the police who is quoted in saying that between april and may there have been "between four to five assault complaints" (lines 194-195), which again is meant to give an account of the violence which took place as being one which was not as severe as previously reported.

A judgement of the severity of the violence which took place is of course not the objective of analysis, nor is it of primary concern from the perspective of social representations. What is of interest to consider is that with the increasing diversity of the arguments surrounding the event of violence in Hassi Messaoud, focus is shifting from discussions of women's rights and equality to issues of corruption and blame. This increasing diversity of arguments is indicative of the complexity of this issue and the increasingly polarized views surrounding its discussion.

This next extract taken from the same article serves to discuss the issue of women’s work within the context of Hassi Messaoud.

Extract 20

198  This marginalization is even more unbearable it is experienced in connection to women who have a job. "Women's place is in the kitchen," the old man argues, before sitting down "We are not against the work of these women, but it must be organized. They do everything they sweep they wash the clothes they prepare food. And our children, they can not hold a broom? All this is the fault of the State. "They" want people to rise up, they create havoc in order to keep flying. Myself, if I was young, I'd be a thief. They drive people to do things condemned by God. " (Le Monde Diplomatique, Emancipated women in the trap of Hassi Messaoud, June, 2010).

The analysis of the above extract will be based on the argumentative function of establishing the victims in the context of a discussion of the role of women which is in this case problematized through the construction of the women as workers. This argument is not meant to be one with a strong performative function, as established through the explicit category dis-entitlement of the speaker as an “old man” (line 199) which serves to construct an understanding of his arguments as likely being ones based in conservative or traditional views which are incongruent with the newspaper’s editorial line and readership. The old man describes
through active voicing, a three part list and a rhetorical question that “They [the women] do everything they sweep, they wash the clothes, they prepare food. And our children, they can not hold a broom?” (lines 200-201). The problem is thus not that the women are working, but rather that their work is disturbing others. Furthermore, there is an understanding in this above extract which establishes that it is the “fault of the state” (line 202) that women are working, which consequently justifies that young-men are committing robbery through the argument that “if I was young, I’d be a thief” (line 203).

Employment disturbing others, or perhaps better referred to as the crime of women working has been a recurring argument since the violence of 2010 in four of the analyzed articles. Why female employment disturbs is perhaps better understood when considering the discussion surrounding the problem of male-youth unemployment in Hassi Messaoud. Later in this same article for example when a young man is asked how many of his friends have been put to jail for robbery he answers “Bof! At least a dozen. With just enough to eat. Everything is closed for me. To work, one must come and go from one society to another, one must pay a taxi, with what should I pay”? As detailed in this argument, not only then is youth-male unemployment understood to be a social problem, but one which serves to justify robbery. Furthermore, as was previously analysed through the 14th extract, through the argumentative function of establishing the perpetrators in the context of violence of 2010, they have been categorized as youth across 5 of the analyzed articles. The category of youth is one which is not neutral and rather indicative of a constructed understanding of youth unemployment and the social problems with which that entails.

This argument then serves to problematize the function of the role of the victims as workers in conjunction with that of establishing the perpetrators as youth in terms of the shared knowledge surrounding the social-problem of youth unemployment. This system of shared knowledge is based on the lay-understanding of a labour-market competition model of supply and demand for employment where in Hassi Messaoud, the supply of skillful female workers results in the unemployment of a sector of the labour force, which is in the above extract is articulately captured by the old man following the listed detail of the variety of work in which the women are engaged in through the hyperbole and rhetorical question “And our children, they can not hold a broom?” (line 201).

**Extract 21**

205 But men are not the only ones who feel threatened by women workers. Fadela has spent her
206 entire career in the national hydrocarbons company, Sonatrach. "I started as a social worker,
207 June 26, 1977. I was 4 when I arrived from Batna to Hassi Messaoud, with my father." She
208 has since been promoted to coordinator of health for the national petroleum work:” I have27
209 sites on which I move. I went to the Libyan border with a male driver, nothing happened to
210 me"
Before she confided in us, it took us through suffering her anger at the solidarity campaign with the "women in Hassi Messaoud": "You've soiled us, you have sullied the reputation of women who live here. What do you think, that we are savages? It is true that there are attacks against women, but as in all cities of the world." Fadela is also a trade unionist, elected "by a majority of men." She received us in the premises of the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA), the only legal union. Single, she lives alone with her three sisters. Managers, supervisors, graduates, girls of socialism and nationalism that have incorporated the wage system through the national carrier. A magnificent past: "It was like a little Paris here. We went to the pool, we all knew each other and we knew how to be respected. She defends what she sees as "the honour of his city and its people", even to the point of participating in the stigmatization of those "other women" that she deems partly responsible for their woes: "When they arrived They were called "the Americans". You should have seen how they were dressed! They forget that here men come from shipyards and may not have seen any women for the past sixty days sometimes." Obsession with the female body: and if, in the flourishing unconscious, it was not women's employment that was the problem, but control of sexuality in a society obsessed with the origins of parentage (Le Monde Diplomatique, Emancipated women in the trap of Hassi Messaoud, 2010, June).

The function of argumentation in the above extract is twofold as it involves discussion of Hassi Messaoud as an object and as well debate with regards to the role of the victims. The extract presents the arguments of Fadela who is depicted through the rhetorical processes of category entitlement and detail to be a single woman of a fairly privileged background in terms of her education and social standing (lines 206 & 217). Generally, descriptions of this sort serve the purpose of establishing a certain amount of credibility of the speaker and thus to the arguments in which they present through active voicing. In this case however, as the final sentence details the arguments of Fadela as being grounded in the obsession and control of the female body, the purpose of building Fadela’s credibility serves another function. This other function arguably has the purpose to establish the differences in socioeconomic status and background between Fadela and the victims of violence in Hassi Messaoud, because as Fadela says “I went to the Libyan border with a male driver, nothing happened to me” (lines 209-210) while the victims of violence in Hassi Messaoud were not privileged with the same fate. It is these differences between women like Fadela, and women like the victims of violence which is in this context argued to be the reasons why violence has been targeted against certain women and not others.

To analyse the first and second identified argumentative functions for the purpose of convention let us begin with the first, that of Hassi Messaoud as an object. As was already analyzed in the previous paragraph, the
persuasive appeal of Fadela’s arguments are not meant to be great but rather representative of the voice of a socioeconomically privileged woman in response to the violence. Her arguments surrounding Hassi Messaoud are of no different in this regard, as the journalist describes listening to Fadela’s critical speech about the solidarity campaign with the “women of Hassi Messaoud” (line 212) as “suffering” through her anger (line 211). In any case, Fadela’s arguments make an emotional appeal through the repetition of the similar words *soiled* and *sullied* in two similarly constructed clauses “you’ve soiled us, you have sullied the reputation of women who live here” (lines 212-213) both of these clauses which are separated by the adjoining comma serve the same purpose of blame directed towards those involved in supporting the victims of violence but through the second clause an elaboration is detailed on who the *us* consists of in the first, the women who live here. Her emotional appeal continues through the use of a rhetorical question “What do you think, that we are savages?” (line 213) followed by a disclaimer “It is true that there are attacks against women, but as in all cities of the world” (lines 213-214) which has the purpose of minimizing the severity of violence that took place in Hassi Messaoud as something which is common everywhere. The function of her arguments are then those of critique against the campaign of solidarity for the women of Hassi Messaoud as being one which has contributed to a negative representation of the town and the women who live there. She goes on to defend “the honor of his city and its people” (line 220) by for example describing the magnificent life she used to have, likening Hassi Messaoud to a “little Paris” (line 218) and describing the time she spent going to the pool (line 219).

Although Fadela’s arguments are being criticized through the author’s established distant footing from what is being said, they are by no means unique and are reflective of a negotiated atmosphere associated with Hassi Messaoud as an object. As has been previously analyzed, the town of Hassi Messaoud throughout the latter articles relating to the violence of 2001 gained an iconic quality through being categorized as a “shanty town”, one which is synonymous with violence (09.07.2005, 17.7.2005, 13.11.2005, 15.01.2009, 09.03.2009). Since the violence of 2010 however, we have seen the increasing diversity of arguments and deliberate rejection of the negative representation surrounding Hassi Messaoud through for example denial that the violence took place (20.04.2010 (2), 06.2010), the blame of the violence on the foreign oil companies and the argument that Hassi Messaoud would never tolerate such acts (see analysis of extract 17). Accordingly, Fadela’s arguments have the function of rejecting the negative representation associated with the town, and while doing so rejecting the severity of the violence which has taken place.

And now onwards to the second function of the extract, that of establishing the role of the victims of Hassi Messaoud. What both this extract and the previous one (extract 20) have in common, is a critique of the violence which took place in Hassi Messaoud for the purpose of understanding why it happened. The previous extract presented this critique from a male-conservative perspective where it was the issue of work, the lack thereof for the local-residents of Hassi Messaoud and the employment of women in a variety of tasks which
was understood to be the reason why the assaults took place; the local-youth are angry. In this extract however, the critique is a more personal one and based on the character of the victims themselves. Fadela is quoted saying in reference to the “other women” (meaning the women who have been assaulted) that “When they arrived they were called "the Americans". You should have seen how they were dressed! They forget that here men come from shipyards and may not have seen any women for the past sixty days sometimes" (lines 222-224). This argument of hers may sound familiar to some readers where a woman is held in some way responsible for her own violation due to some form of provocative behaviour or dress, while men described as wild sexual beings who cannot control their desires. In both this extract and the previous one, the men who commit the acts of violence are not held accountable for their acts either as a result of their sexual desires or anger towards unemployment. The perpetrators as being unaccountable for their acts is an interpretation which has been consistent throughout the articles through for example extracts 5 and 14 where the accountability of the male perpetrators of violence removed through their categorization of youth who were fantasized by an Imam and pressured to commit the crime by their parents.

Through the articles of 2010 a plurality of voices and arguments continue to emerge. It is important to recall however that despite the arguments which have been raised to critique the moral character of the women, and those which have put into question whether the events of violence took place as reported, the newspapers which report on these acts of violence have the objective of presenting a critique of the society for the purpose of mobilization and collective action. This then brings us to a final analysed extract which is taken from a more recent article written in the latter half of 2011. At this point, the events of violence of Hassi Messaoud are no longer being directly discussed, but are rather being referred to as an example of the status of women in Algeria and the problems which are faced. The article in which this next extract has been taken from has been categorized in the context of reaction where the discussion surrounds whether or not quotas should be put into place to increase the representation of women in politics. In doing so, the conversation turns to issues of the family code and giving an example of a reunion of feminist groups who had planned to gather the previous year to discuss these same issues while supporting the victims of Hassi Messaoud.

**Extract 22**

> In November 2010, feminist organizations, more concerned with violence against women than by their representation in politics, had been prevented from meeting in a hotel in Algiers. Since, after the latest incidents in the oil city of Hassi Messaoud - where isolated women were violently assaulted by men, an event which led to a book, *Left for dead, the lynching of women in Hassi Messaoud* - a national observatory was established.

> "This violence is as fevers, more women conquer, the more anxious a society gets where unemployment, job insecurity and lower economic status of men are progressing."

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says Ms. Oussedik. Women executives who are living alone and sometimes the target of violence.

"No woman has been elected on feminist demands", the sociologist still observed. “They transform perhaps the image a bit, but they are too few to change something.”

The presence of women in Arab movements in Tunisia or Egypt in Tahrir Square, however, has escaped no one in Algeria. "Women are among the groups who are mobilizing for the most change", notes Ms. Oussedik, “but, in Algeria, we are conscious that democracy does not work and it is not NATO who will make it." (Le Matin The draft for the 33% quota of elected women clashes with the conservatives, 2011, September 9.)

The extract above has been analysed in terms of two argumentative functions, those of Hassi Messaoud as an object and of social problems which captures how issues of violence are being understood in this extract. It is through the first paragraph (lines 227-231) which Hassi Messaoud is established as an object for discussion. Here, the events of Hassi Messaoud and resulting feminist response are given certain credibility in order to situate the discussion of violence and issues relating to feminism which follows. Credibility is established in this introductory paragraph through the rhetorical process of detail and the passive voice which are characteristic of an empiricist repertoire (Potter 1996). Detail is for example given by describing the date in which a gathering of feminist groups had been planned to take place (line 227) as well as describing the book “Left for dead” which gives an account of the events of violence in Hassi Messaoud. The passive voice in line 228 which describes that the feminist groups “had been prevented from meeting in a hotel in Algiers” fails to detail the subject of the sentence, or rather who was responsible for preventing the meeting, a rhetorical process which facilitates shifting blame and accountability. The passive voice is again detailed when describing that “a national observatory was established” (line 231) which serves to detail that the reaction to the events of Hassi Messaoud as one which was commonly known and talked about.

By establishing Hassi Messaoud and the subsequent reactions as a starting point, the paragraphs which follow are able to use this knowledge in order to understand violence against women as a symptom of social problems as a whole. This second argumentative function has been previously analysed through for example the 11\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} extracts where the social problem which was being discussed was that of domestic violence. Through the analysis of the previously mentioned extract, the social problem of domestic violence was considered one which was being talked about as a result of the ongoing discussion of violence in Hassi Messaoud. Here, the argumentative function of social problems takes on another form which is meant to problematize why violence in Algeria has been an ongoing problem. Through the rhetorical processes of category entitlement which establishes Ms. Oussedik as a credible sociologist (lines 234; 236; & 240), and
active voicing (lines 232-233; 236-237; & 239-241), the arguments of Ms. Oussedik are understood to be reliable and well informed. Her arguments are further constructed through the emotionally eliciting processes of hyperbole “This violence is as fevers” (line 232); a three part list, “unemployment, job insecurity and lower economic status” (line 233); consensus by giving examples from Arab movements in Tunisia and Egypt where “Women are among the groups who are mobilizing for the most change” (line 239-240); and three rhetorically sufficient arguments: more women conquer, the more anxious a society gets (line 232), "No woman has been elected on feminist demands” (line 236), “we are conscious that democracy does not work and it is not NATO who will make it” (line 240-241).

The arguments that are presented by Ms. Oussedik have the purpose of criticizing the society which grows increasingly anxious in the face of women’s progress while men continue to face unemployment, job insecurity and a lower economic status (lines 232-233). This anxiety is what leads to women executives being the target of violence (line 234), and is a problem which the efforts of feminism have not been able to solve as is demonstrated through the knowledge of what took place in Hassi Messaoud, and is as well detailed in line 236. This argumentative function of social problems is related to democracy in this case and the relative inertia of Algerian women in mobilizing for change in comparison to Algeria’s Arab neighbours (lines 238-240) which relates to the knowledge of the failure of democracy in Algeria which is not something NATO will be able to help (lines 240-241).

The function of this argument remains overall a negative one which centers around the knowledge of these social problems and the failure of feminist groups in influencing change. It is a problem which is in this case understood as the failure of democracy which likely serves to support the argument of this text that quotas for women in politics are necessary. By offering a critique of the ongoing problems in society the argument is that the political and social structures need to change. In the context of this article then, the understanding of the events of violence of Hassi Messaoud facilitates the discussion of these social and political problems with the hopes of influencing action.

7.2.3 A brief summary of the discursive analysis of rhetoric

The discursive analysis of rhetoric has been drawn here based on a selection of extracts relating to the violent events of Hassi Messaoud of both 2001 and 2010. Although the selection was meant to be comprehensive, they were really only a glimpse at the scope of possible analyses which could have been drawn from the analysed text. By supporting the discursive analysis with further examples which emerged from the initial inductive coding, the author hopes to have tied in the discussion to a larger and more inclusive picture. Although the following section which will interpret this analysis from the perspective of social representations will again speak back to what has been detailed here, it is at this point relevant to provide a brief summary of this stage of the analysis.
What has been detailed in this section is the rhetorical discourse analysis of a selection of extracts from the analysed texts. The analytic unit which traced this stage of the analysis was that of the argumentative function which allowed for the analysis to take on broader perspective from the individual arguments which were analysed through the initial coding procedures. In total, twelve argumentative functions were discussed across five different contexts. The contexts as they emerged chronologically began with the violence of 2001, followed by how the violence was treated in court and a reaction to the violence of Hassi Messaoud in particular and issues relating to women’s rights more generally. Following the emergence of violence of 2010, the violence was discussed itself as the events went on for a few weeks, and followed again more generally with the reactions which took place. The twelve argumentative functions which were traced in chronological order of when they first emerged were as follows: the perpetrators, the past, the victims, the authorities, the violence of 2001, justice/injustice, inequality, Hassi Messaoud, social problems, the violence of 2010, rights, and the media. These argumentative functions however encompassed the multiple arguments and forms in which they each took as they evolved throughout the text. They were analysed in terms of their content and process, their context, the type of argument, their logoi and anti logoi and their classifying function based on their relevance in each extract. What will now follow is an interpretation based on a perspective of social representations.

7.3 Social Representations of Violence

The purpose of this current section is to interpret the analysis within the framework of social representations. More specifically, the interpretation will focus on thema as the bases of structured content of four antinomies, namely those of morality/imorality, justice/injustice, equality/inequality and security/insecurity which are being expressed through the analysed text. The interpretation of the thema have been based on bringing together the analysed arguments in their contents, form and function in order to construct an understanding of the social representations as they are being expressed through oppositional antinomies. Following an interpretation of all of the contextualized thema through their different anchors and objectifications, the objective is then to detail the basic thema (Marková, 2003) which underlies how they are being re-presented in different contexts.

7.3.1 Morality/immorality

The contextualized thema of morality/immorality is one which was most prevalent throughout the context of violence of 2001 and to establish an understanding of why the violence of Hassi Messaoud took place. This thema is judgemental between the relationship of the Ego and the Alter, where it is the judged immorality of the female victims which justifies the violence lead against them in the name of good morals. The women were for example accused of “immoral” behaviour (line 12), and the perpetrators called to “hunt the
fornicators of their neighbourhood” (line 13). Furthermore, the authorities are in this case blamed for providing neither “moral nor material” help to the victims (line 22).

This contextualized thema was anchored to an understanding of the violence of 2001 as being based in Islamic fundamentalism. Islamic fundamentalism as an initial anchor served to establish an understood system of meaning to the new event of violence which took place. The first article of 2001 establishes the perpetrators as being Islamists and describes the violence as the resurfacing of Islamic fundamentalism (lines 2-3). By describing it as a resurfacing, it constructs the event as something which is similar to forms of violence which have taken place before. In anchoring the violence of 2001 through these arguments to a form of violence which has been understood and subjected to critique from a more liberal perspective, the event of 2001 becomes constructed as one who, from this perspective must be actively opposed to and fought against.

The thema of morality/immorality becomes objectified in this context to images of the perpetrators as Islamists and the victims as prostitutes. The perpetrators were categorized as Islamists in the earliest articles (lines 1 & 11), which later evolved to them being categorized as youth who were lead by an Imam (line 26). The women on the other hand were accused of prostitution (line 17) which was described as the reason why the punitive expedition was lead against them.

Through the analysis of the footing of the arguments and their classifying function (extract 12), the understanding is that re-thematisation of the antinomy morality/immorality is not one which is meant to reflect the views of the journalist and readers, but rather one which is meant to construct the understanding of a shared belief that is in the context of these articles being resisted against. As the articles are based within a liberal perspective which understands the violence as having been a horrible one, the arguments relating to the event as being based in conflicts of morality associated with Islamic fundamentalism have the purpose of constructing conflicting identities between the Ego and the Alter (Marková, 2003). Here, the “Ego” is based within the editorial line of the journal, whose values are negotiated and shared with the readers as ones reflecting a more modern Algeria. The thema of morality surrounding the understanding of violence as one which is based in Islamic fundamentalism emerges as a construction of identity of the “Alter” who represents a more conservative and traditional Algeria, and whose system of knowledge and values are being opposed to and criticized against. As such, the thema of morality/immorality and its representation in this context through arguments of Islamic fundamentalism is meant to inspire action by establishing a belief which is constructed to be shared, but in this context one that is being resisted against (Elcheroth et. al. 2011).

Although elements of objectification and anchoring of this social representation remain throughout the course of the analysed text, the debate surrounding the expressed thema of morality is one that has become problematized and rejected from a more liberal perspective. The elements of anchoring which remain involve for example comparing the events of Hassi Messaoud to the red decade of Islamic lead violence in the 1990s
(18.07.2001; 07.03.2005; 15.04.2010), and understanding that the punitive expedition was “the consequence of a sermon of the Imam of the district” (lines 115-116), who had accused the “women living alone of “prostitution” who “defile the honour of the city”” (lines 116-117). In these cases however, the elements of anchoring and objectification construct the understanding that the motives behind the violence as being based in arguments of morality are neither reasonable nor reflective of modern-day Algeria, and so serves to reject these arguments in the face of changing contexts and social representations.

7.3.2 Justice/injustice and equality/inequality

The antinomies of justice/injustice and equality/inequality are two which are strongly associated and represented through the context of trial and reaction to the events of 2001. It was through the context of trial that the focus of the discussion turned to the problems of justice and women’s inequality in establishing why the event took place and what can be done about it. Through this system of knowledge, the violence of Hassi Messaoud began to be understood as a symptom of the inequality in which women face while serving as a point of departure in order to discuss problems relating to the status of women in general, and violence against women in particular.

These themes were initially anchored to ideas of justice as being a function of the court through the context of trial. The female victims for example “begged the chief magistrate of the country to intervene quickly for justice to be restored” (lines 18-19) and the violence as well as the lack of response from the authorities understood as an “injustice which has left indelible marks” (line 20). Furthermore, the result of the court trials which took place in 2004 and 2005 continued to be understood as a failure of justice (03.2004; 01.07.2004; 15.12.2004; 23.12.2004; 03.01.2005).

Following the context of trial and into the subsequent articles relating to the context of reaction, the injustice of the trial was understood to be symptomatic of an unequal society, and so focus begins to shift from discussing the injustice of the trial to the inequality of society as a whole. It is through the context of reaction where the argument becomes “Society is unequal, why do you want justice to be equal?” (line 91). At this point, the representations becomes anchored to arguments for women’s rights and against the family code, as based on the argument that it is the family code which limits women’s rights (21.12.2004; 09.04.2005). The family code is considered to limit the rights of women by legally establishing them as under the authority of a male-Wail which is being linked to the past through comparison to the native code (lines 91-92). As such, it is considered one based in traditional values which are no longer of relevance in modern day Algeria. By establishing the understanding of women’s inequality based on the denial of rights and justice, the objective is to inspire action in the name of women’s rights and freedom. The rights which are seen as important to be established for women are based in arguments for constitutional rights of personal dignity and freedom (line 82; 16.12.2004, 23.12.2004, 09.04.2005).
These thema are objectified in this context through the image of the lone women and the three women. The category of lone women is one which has a strong objectifying function for the understanding of the violence of Hassi Messaoud as a symptom of injustice and women’s inequality. It first emerged in passing, through the use of categorization in the earliest articles within the contextual categories of violence as an event and the trial where the female victims were simply named as being “lone women”, a category which was found in 18 of the analysed articles. Throughout the context of trial and reaction however, the iconic properties of this category became increasingly apparent through the thematisation of justice/injustice and equality/inequality, where the category “lone women” became associated with a class of women who were deprived of justice and rights. It was through the context of trial that these antinomies became explicitly expressed and objectified through the image of the lone women and the three women which were particularized from this category. The particularization refers to the three women, Fatiha, Rahmouna and Nadia who were present in court and described as the only ones continuously fighting for justice (lines 33 & 47). These women were particularized from the category of lone women firstly through an understanding of their bravery and courage in court and secondly through establishing them as educated, mothers, and of a non-precarious condition (lines 33 & 118-122). By using these characteristics to particularize the three women from the category of lone women, the boundaries of the original category become defined and established as one with a negative meaning, one associated with being uneducated, single, and of a precarious social-condition. The image of the three women then becomes associated with a type of woman who is considered deserving of justice and equal rights, whereas the lone women established as a class of women where inequality and injustice prevails.

Within this system of negotiated meaning surrounding the violence of Hassi Messaoud as one which is symptomatic of the inequality in which women face in Algeria, an iconic quality begins to develop surrounding Hassi Messaoud as a town where this violence took place. It is through the context of reaction to the violence of 2001 that Hassi Messaoud begins to be established as a “point of no return” (line 95), a starting point for the discussion of the systems of inequality and violence against women in general. Here, discussion turns to problems of domestic violence, and the importance of ensuring safe working conditions in establishing equal rights for women.

The conflicting thema of justice/injustice, and equality/inequality do not go away, but become less talked about, or at least, talked about differently through the context of the violence of 2010. The category of lone woman continues to be one to name the victims of violence of 2001 and the three women continue to be described as courageous through their active fight for justice and support of the new victims of violence in 2010.

7.3.3 Security/insecurity
The theme of security/insecurity is one which gained most relevance through the context of violence of 2010. When discussions of the violence as they took place in 2010 emerged in the media, it was immediately considered the result of justice not being rendered to the victims of violence of 2001 (lines 132-133). It was as if the fight for justice and women’s rights had failed, and so the discussion at this point took a different form and became intrinsically tied to the political and social climate of Hassi Messaoud. Hassi Messaoud as an object was analysed as an argumentative function and as an objectification in the previous detailed representation of inequality and injustice which was characteristic of the context of trial and reaction to the violence of 2001. In this case, the understanding of Hassi Messaoud has become naturalized and so serves as a point of departure in situating the discussions of violence. Through the context of violence of 2010, the antinomy security/insecurity becomes represented by being anchored to discussions of the foreign oil companies in Hassi Messaoud, and the social problems of youth unemployment. It is through objectification that this representation is given a form through the image of the perpetrators as idle youth, and the women as workers.

The anchor to foreign oil companies allowed for blame of the ongoing violence to be established on global forces of power. Through the rhetorical process of categorization, Hassi Messaoud was categorized as an oil city and the home to foreign companies since the violence of 2001. It was through the later articles relating to the violence of 2001 which the system of meaning associated with Hassi Messaoud as an “oil town” was negotiated as something with a negative classifying function where the rich exploit the poor (see analysis of extracts 12). Through this negotiated meaning then, the emergence of violence of 2010 as anchored to a system of meaning associated with the oil town of Hassi Messaoud became conceived as a tool for blame in understanding why the violence took place as it was “contrived by foreign hands” (line 176).

This representation is objectified through the image of the female victims as workers. Again, through the rhetorical process of categorization the female victims were understood to be working in Hassi Messaoud since the earliest article of 2001, and their status as workers understood to be a precarious one (line 58). However, this had taken a more secondary function to the primary category of the victims of violence as lone women. The importance of work was elaborated in its meaning as the three women particularized from the category of lone women oftentimes through descriptions of the work that they did (lines 87-88). This image of working women however gained greater significance following the violence of 2010. Through these articles the women were described to be working to feed their families (line 150), who have not pursued justice as a result of fear of losing their jobs (line 191), and the response to the rights they deserve most often surrounding their rights to work and free movement (line 188). The idea of women working was however one which gained a polemic meaning as was analysed through the 20th – 22nd extracts where in a world where male job insecurity and unemployment are progressing (line 233) the image of working-women becomes a threatening one.
A second anchor which is intrinsically tied to the first, relates to the understanding of the ongoing social problems of youth unemployment. This anchor is difficult to separate from the objectified image of ‘idle youth’ which permeates the understanding of the perpetrators of violence in this context. The reason for this is because youth unemployment as a social problem is only talked about explicitly in one article (06.2010), and is rather being represented through its objectified form. The categorization of the male-perpetrators as youth is one which emerged through the rhetorical process of categorization in the context of trial to the violence of 2001. It was only through the violence of 2010 however, that this understanding was elaborated to encompass the image of the idle youth as the perpetrators of violence. The perpetrators are described as being organized, young masked men who were armed and attacked the houses of the women of Hassi Messaoud in order to steal everything of value prior to humiliating and assaulting them (lines 135-136; 158-160). The violence then is primarily understood as a robbery where the assault is secondary. Descriptions of the perpetrators as drugged and drunk (11.04.2010; 11.05.2010(2)), or as vigilantes and terrorists (11.04.2010; 15.04.2010) also serves to develop an image of the perpetrators as wild and relentless. Later on, in the analysed article from Le Monde, an older man expresses his sympathy with the male perpetrators as he describes that “if I was young, I ’d be a thief” (line 203), and in the same article a young man describes that many of his friends have been put in jail for robbery because they do not have money or means to find a job. The function of being anchored to a system of meaning surrounding the problems of youth unemployment serves to establish that the ongoing violence is one that is a symptom of the social problems which permeate Algeria.

This thema of security and insecurity relates to the conflict between rights for personal security and how it is limited through violence, as well as conflict surrounding the importance of employment and job security. The precarious working conditions which the women of Hassi Messaoud are subjected to by working for foreign oil companies keeps these women in fear of losing their jobs and vulnerable to the violence which is directed against them. Paradoxically, the violence which they are being the target of relates to the difficult conditions of male-youth unemployment and the threat in which working-women are on society. Arguments for action then are established based on an individual’s rights to work and free movement and the understanding that the security of female workers in Hassi Messaoud must be ensured.

7.3.4 Basic Thema : Tradition/modernity

It is Marková (2003) who outlines the basic themata as one which is foregrounded from the dialogicality of the Ego-Alter and is conceived in social thinking as essential for the survival and enhancement of humanity (p. 188). It is one which plays a continuous importance through its re-thematization in public discourse. Based on this understanding, the basic thema of tradition and modernity is one which is re-thematized in the contextual thema which have been so far interpreted.
The theme of tradition and modernity is one whose purpose here is to assert the need for social recognition within the framework of resisting violence as it has been ongoing and directed towards the women of Hassi Messaoud. In the contextual theme of morality/immorality which was associated with Islamic fundamentalism and ideas relating to the past, the theme became problematized through being constructed as the justification of the perpetrators and their supporters for committing the violent event of 2001. Morality/immorality relates to the re-theematization of traditional values which are being resisted from a more liberal and modern perspective. In the contextual theme of justice/injustice and equality/inequality, arguments against violence were based on fighting for equality and justice through asserting the importance of women's rights based in dignity, free-movement, and of work. Arguments for equality and justice are associated with the need for social recognition and based in ideas of modernity, and their limitation considered from this perspective to be banal and the result of family code, the conservative state, and the influence of Islam which are all advocates for tradition. Finally, through the contextual thematization of security/insecurity, conflicts of modernity become problematized through its association to the conflict between rights for personal security and how it is limited through violence, as well as a conflict about the importance of employment and job security through its association with youth unemployment, and the foreign oil companies of Hassi Messaoud. It is in the problematization of modernity in the contextualized theme of security/insecurity which then sees the emergence once again of theme relating to morality/immorality but in this context associated more strongly with arguments of work (extracts 20 & 21), the women's dress (extract 21) and the failures of feminism in establishing women's rights (extract 22).
8 Discussion

8.1 Summary of the study and main results

The aim of this study was to explore the social representations of violence against women in Algeria through the analysis of newspaper articles which reported on the events of violence as they took place in Hassi Messaoud between 2001 and 2011. The articles as we have seen, were not only describing these particular events but also served as a medium to discuss issues relating to women's rights and ongoing problems in Algeria.

Newspapers are arguably one of the most accessible forms of communication of a society. The articles which are published serve to both construct and reflect systems of knowledge which are considered relevant to a group. The mass media gains its power through shaping an understanding of collective beliefs, whether or not the beliefs which are presented are ones that are agreed with by its readers. As such, media exposure has the power to change perceptions by changing people's beliefs about shared beliefs (Elcheroth et al., 2011). These beliefs can serve to affect behaviour and can be used as a medium to inspire action. The purpose of studying how violence against women is represented in newspapers then is to both uncover a system of shared beliefs as well as assess the objectives of this form of communication.

When considering the issue of violence against women in Hassi Messaoud, the basic theme of tradition and modernity served as the structural basis of representation over the entire 10 year period which was analysed. This theme was interpreted as such as it was intricately tied to dialogicality of the Ego-Alter interdependence which is based on social recognition and its denial (Marková, 2003). This theme was however represented differently through changing contexts, namely, those of morality/immorality, justice/injustice, equality/inequality and security/insecurity. As an interpretation of these have been extensively detailed in chapter 7.3, and so here will present a visual summary of the results in Table 2.
### Table 2. Summary of main results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Thema</th>
<th>Violence 2001</th>
<th>Trial / Reaction</th>
<th>Violence 2010 and Reaction</th>
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<td>Theme</td>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>Tradition/Modernity</td>
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<td>Morality/immorality</td>
<td>Justice/injustice;Equality/inequality</td>
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<td>Objects</td>
<td>- Perpetrators as Islamists</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Victims as prostitutes</td>
<td>- Three women</td>
<td>- Victims as workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>- Hassi Messaoud</td>
<td>- Hassi Messaoud (naturalized)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The analysis of newspaper articles which surround the events of violence in Hassi Messaoud indicate that violence against women was firstly represented through the thema of morality/immorality which established the event that took place as having been one which was motivated by Islamic fundamentalism and so associated in this context with being based in traditionalism and the past. Here important points of anchoring were in describing the violence as having been lead by Islamic fundamentals, and in comparing the event to the violence which had taken place in the past through colonialism and the red decade for example. This was objectified through the image of the perpetrators as Islamists and the victims as prostitutes. Although the thema of morality/immorality was one which was most prominent initially, it did not simply disappear but was rather rejected as it served to construct a system of knowledge that the violence was justified with arguments of morality. This then served to establish the need for action, which through the context of trial and reaction allowed for the discussion to shift towards arguments for rights and equality. In this context, the basic thema of tradition/modernity took shape through the contextual thema of justice/injustice and equality/inequality. These contextual thema were closely related and served to anchor the discussion to the functions of the court, women's rights and the family code. Arguments were based on the need to assert the rights, dignity and freedom of women which were considered as having been limited by violence, conservative authorities, the unequal society and the family code. Modernity then is in this context associated with arguments for justice and equality, whereas tradition is related to the opposite arguments of injustice and inequality which are being resisted. The thema in the context of trial and reaction were objectified through images of the lone women, the three women, and the constructed meaning that was developing surrounding Hassi Messaoud. From here, and within the context of violence of 2010, the system of meaning which had been established about Hassi Messaoud became naturalized and was a starting point in the re-thematization of security/insecurity as representing a conflict of modernity. In this final context, the representation was anchored to a system of knowledge about foreign oil companies and the problems of youth unemployment. This conflict took on its objectified form through the image of perpetrators as idle youth, and victims as workers. As this final context
considered a breakdown of modernity, then it also began to see the re-themataisation of morality/immorality as being based in tradition.

8.1.2 Thoughts on communication systems

As this analysis did not consider the lexical or syntactical properties of communication, nor were inquiries into systems of communication detailed as research questions, these issues were not considered throughout the process of analysis. That being said however, at this point and following the interpretation of the contextualized and basic thema, reflecting on systems of communication have become relevant.

Moscovici (1961/2008) had identified three different systems of communication in which the social representations of psychoanalysis were enacted through in France during the 1950s, namely, those of diffusion, propaganda and propagation. Points of discussion of social representations as systems of communication were also discussed in chapter 3.22 through the work of Bauer and Gaskell (1999; 2008) which conceptualized the medium of communication as one which considers its genre and intergroup context.

Based within this framework then, a general reflection on the system of communication which has been enacted through media representations of violence against women in Algeria is one whose purpose was to inspire action. The system of communication, being based on both its genre and intergroup context is intricately tied to the context and thema which are represented. So, from the liberal perspective of the newspapers, the purpose of reflecting a system of knowledge based in tradition is to inspire action for its opposite of modernity. The analysed articles had in common a general agreement that violence against women is a reoccurring social problem which must be understood and fought against. Through the representations of violence as being based in the basic conflicting thema of modernity and tradition, the former being fought for, and the latter fought against, the system of communication was based on the understanding that there exists certain social, institutional, and political systems and actors who are associated with tradition and so actively deny the social recognition of some over others. Those social actors who are involved in negotiating a system of meaning surrounding these conflicting thema are then brought together based on general sympathetic links which considers the violence that has taken place as one that was a horror and so must be acted against.

8.1.3 In light of the context of Algeria and related research

The background of Algeria as one which has been based in over a century and a half of violence was traced in chapter two. Following this, a background of research on Algeria considered the reemerging theme of melancholia and the loss of subjecthood through subaltern interruptions. In integrating these concepts into the basic thema of tradition/modernity which was re-thematized differently through changing contexts, brings us to considering the roll of social recognition and its denial which is the basis of the Ego-Alter interdependence (Marková, 2003). The previous research of Fanon (1965), Derrida (2003) and Khanna (2008) found that
melancholia manifests itself through the subversive interruptions of the subaltern who are a class of people that occupy a threatening position to hegemonic power. One could theorize what has been analysed in this study as the re-manifestation of melancholia through the perspective of a group whose objective is to criticize the status quo in order to inspire action. Considering the turbulent past of Algeria and the liminal position of women who have been regularly denied subjecthood through unequal rights and violence, it seems as if the persistence of the basic theme of tradition/modernity which is re-thematized through conflict is intricately related to the melancholia and the loss of subjecthood of subversive groups. When considering then social representations and their manifestation through times of conflict, it is not only of importance to consider what they are, but rather consider questions of why they reappear and how they are related to their context.

8.2 Reflections on method and theory

8.2.1 Reflections on method

The methodological perspective which I took to research was based in combining aspects from both Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978; 2004), and Discourse Analysis (Potter & Wetherell 1987; Potter 2004), for the analysis of rhetoric and arguments (Aristotle; Billig 1987/1996; Potter 1996) which I considered to be well suited for considering social representations from a dialogical epistemology (Moscovici 1961/2008; 2000; Marková 2003). The use of multiple methods allowed for me to engage in a close and reflexive process of analysis with the purpose of gaining a deep understanding of the phenomenon of violence against women and how it relates to this particular context and medium of communication.

By combining these two methodologies however, I am well aware that neither of them were observed in full which I am sure many who advocate a strict adherence to a single methodology would be critical of. From my perspective however, both of these methodologies although based in fundamental principals are largely open to interpretation based on the requirements of the study. Although I have described how the process of combining these methods worked in practice in section 6.4, by reflecting on this process I can perhaps conceptualize how they came together as the extension of discourse analysis on grounded theory. As the earliest parts of data analysis concentrated so heavily on coding, and reflection through memoing, I found myself both frustrated and stuck with how to go from these practices to actually writing something which I could present as my results. I found that by “running the data open” through analytic coding, I did not know exactly how to close it again, nor did I want to draw conclusions too early. At this point, I decided to engage in textual analysis based in discourse both so that I could get something written, and so that I could analyse the codes as they changed and evolved through the text. Discourse analysis then allowed me to work through the codes directly in the text while allowing the reader to be exposed to the same process. Finally, as coding, reflection, memoing, and textual analysis proceeding alongside each other, when it came time to interpret the
analysis from the perspective of social representations, I had considered the depth of the analysis to be sufficient to do so.

There are of course a number of limitations that I must mention, the first which relates to the small number of articles which were analysed and their general uniformity in perspective by considering violence against women as a social problem in Algeria. The small sample of articles is firstly the result of difficulties in finding comprehensive and accessible archives which most of the Algerian newspapers do not keep an extensive collection of themselves. Secondly, I wished to limit the analysis to only those publications which had significant readership in Algeria both online, and in print. And thirdly relates to my own time constraints and only developing abilities to analyse large quantities of text with the chosen methods. The uniformity of the articles in terms of the perspective which was taken in considering violence as a social problem is the result of that the newspapers which are written from a more conservative perspective did not report on the events of violence in Hassi Messaoud. To get access to other perspectives surrounding this issue of violence would then require alternative means of data sampling and analysis.

As my own interests in this issue reflect my position that violence against women is a problem to be studied, some would consider this study to have been politically motivated and so perhaps an obstruction to a reliable analysis. To assess this problem, I considered the research process as one which should be open to the reader both in providing in-depth details of how the research was conducted, as well as analysing through direct textual extracts. I did try to keep my own judgements separate from the process of analysis, but of course I am surely influenced in both the selection of the topic and the perspective which I took to research as I consider violence against women to be a horrible violation of human rights, and a social psychological problem whose pervasiveness and effects literally spans the globe. I do think however that politically motivated research should not be considered hindering its reliability as one's own motivation as a researcher can be an important force to engaging in good quality research.

To assess the overall quality of this study, I must reflect if the research questions and objectives which I have had have been answered. The research questions which were asked were rather open and allowed for exploration of the data, namely, they considered what the social representations of violence against women are, how they are built and how do they change. Social representations, as it is understood as the process of representing, were represented through the thematization of the basic antinomy of modernity/tradition in their contextual form of morality/immorality, equality/inequality, justice/injustice and security/insecurity. They were built through the processes of anchoring, objectifying and naturalization, and thematized in argumentation. Their change was considered throughout the process of analysis which proceeded chronologically, and as well by considering how the basic theme of modernity/tradition changed in their contextual representations while still being grounded in the basic need for social recognition between the dialogical interdependence of the Ego and the Alter.
My primary objective was to understand how others understand violence against women as a social problem in both its causes and effects which are dependent on their common-sense knowledge and are circulated through discursive practices. My secondary objective was to be so clear that by sharing my knowledge the reader could also understand the same. My primary objective I have satisfied to the best of my abilities given the constraints of time and space, whether the secondary objective has been satisfied is up to the reader to decide.

The generalizability of my results cannot really be stretched too far, nor are they meant to be. I considered the study of a single case which is strongly interdependent on its context and so believe that in other contexts how violence against women is represented will be different. That being said, this same basic theme was one which was observed by Sakki et. al. (2010) when studying the social representations of women's roles and positions in Cameroon, and so one could think that this theme can be re-thematized in different contexts and seems to be tied to issues of women's rights.

### 8.2.2 Reflections on Theory

Reflecting on the theory of social representations involves discussion about whether it was a suitable framework to the purposes of this study. There is quite an extensive background of criticisms to social representations research 20, many of which criticize the theory for its lack of definition and failure in specifying a unifying methodological framework. These two criticisms are quite valid, and likely results in difficulties in how one should conduct a study based in social representations. For me however, the openness to how one conducts research in social representations, as well as the huge background of perspectives and topics which have been covered has contributed to a field of social psychology which is quite dynamic and exciting. Furthermore, I took my position as a naïve researcher who is completing a Master's thesis as a position to explore a field of knowledge with as much depth as my abilities and time constraints would allow. Although both the lack of definition and diversity of methodologies and perspectives likely contributed to some headaches at times, if this theory had not been so diverse and open than it is not likely one I would have chosen to adopt.

In Marková (2000), she discusses theory as one which should live through its use, which the theory of social representations most certainly does. It was the concept of themata however (Moscovici & Vignaux, 1994/2000) which allowed me to integrate social representations from a dialogical epistemology (Marková, 2003) with the study of argumentation and rhetoric (Aristotle, 1831/1984; Billig, 1987/1996; Potter, 1996). More work is of course required in integrating these perspectives further, but I do consider the study of argumentation to be valuable in understanding how representations come alive through their re-thematization

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20 See for example Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Jahoda, 1988; Billig, 1991; Voelklein & Howarth, 2005 and section 3.6 in this text

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in different contexts. That being said, although an attempt was made to draw together these different perspectives, where I believe to have been weakest is in adequately theorizing on the dialogical interdependence of the Ego and the Alter and how this interdependence can be directly analysed through considering the argumentation of a text.

In considering how arguments construct and are constructed by representations, it opens up greater possibility for social representations to strengthen its critical power by analysing the functional rather than structural aspects of representations. That being said, as there has been extensive debate over whether social psychology should be based in discursive psychology and rhetoric (eg. Billig, 1991; Potter, 1996; Potter & Edwards, 1999) or rather in dialogue and social representations (eg. Moscovici 2000; Marková 2000), then I can imagine that some would not agree with combining these different perspectives as I have.

The debate between rhetoric and social representations has been largely steered by Billig (eg. 1991). Essentially, in efforts to establish social psychology as being based in rhetoric, Billig has often argued for the suitability of rhetoric in social psychology over social representations as he considers that the former is based on thinking, and the latter on universals. In practice, Billig (1991) has considered the process of anchoring in social representations theory to be automatic, whereas the rhetorical processes of categorization and particularization involve argument and thought. An earlier argument I made is that these processes seem to come together, as Moscovici (2000) describes anchoring as being dependent on generalizing, particularizing and naming which sound quite similar to Billig’s (1987/1996) processes of categorization and particularization. In assessing this question through this study, I have considered that representations seems to involve both categorization and particularization, since for example by arguing for the particular category of “three women” the argument was also reaffirming the existence of the comparison category, in this case, the “lone women”. These are however arguments for objects, and not the anchors of representation, although it is through the objects which the anchors seem to take on a system of meaning in a given context. This relates to that in the analysed text, the process of objectification was established early on and quite simply through the rhetorical process of categorization (meaning naming), whereas the process of anchoring one which developed as meaning was being negotiated in its context and the antinomies thematized through more varied use of rhetorical processes.

As I have not adequately engaged in other theoretical frameworks outside of social representations, it is difficult to assess if this theory brought something to my study which would have not been considered otherwise. I did find that engaging in discursive analysis to be suitable if the goal is to provide a descriptive account of a given social psychological phenomenon, however these practices can be used to consider social representations as a process of world making which goes beyond the level of the descriptive. How social representations work through discourses to mediate the processes of individual and collective consciousness really comes into play once one begins to try and analyse this in practice.

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21 The emphasis of Social Representations on structure rather than function has been critiqued by Bauer & Gaskell (1999)
representations was used in interpreting the analysis was intricately based on the functional aspects of argumentation and thematization.

8.3 Future directions

To assess future directions of research based on this study, I consider the importance in expanding on a field of knowledge about forms of violence against women from the perspective of social psychology. More specifically, I consider it valuable for social representations research to study this phenomenon more closely in order to contribute to greater depths of knowledge about how others come to understand the violence which is happening around them. Ideally, forms of research in this field should be as emerged as possible in the context in which they are studying and could benefit from ethnographic research methods. The purpose of widening knowledge of the common sense understanding of violence against women is to get a better grasp of how this practice is enacted through the context in which it is embedded, in order to influence policy makers and open up the potential for action.

Voelklein and Howarth (2005) emphasize the need to take a critical perspective to social representations research by clearly theorizing issues of power, political relations and moving beyond the status quo. This is what further integration with applying the study of rhetoric to social representations research could contribute to. Furthermore, if social representations is to develop in the direction of emphasizing dynamics and change, then it will be necessary for researchers to look beyond analysis of the status quo, and instead focus on heterogeneity and the voices of resistance which are shaping our world.

It goes without saying, that the future of social representations is dependent on considering the phenomenon as one that is dynamic and dialectical. In doing this, more integration with other related fields in social psychology, sociology, and cultural anthropology could be beneficial in deepening the scope of its relevance in understanding social practices. Something which was only alluded to in this study and which I hope future studies will consider, is the importance of studying topics of social research as being intrinsically tied to their social and historical contexts. Guerin (2001) came to some similar conclusions within the field of psychology, and within the field of sociology the importance of shared history on a group theorized through studies on collective memories (Halbwach, 1950). I hope that the field of social psychology and the study of common sense knowledge continues to have exciting and dynamic future as it has in the past and think this is best achieved through integrating concepts and theorizing power, dialogue and resistance.
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Affair of the assaulted women in Hassi Messaoud, 2004, December 27.
'El Haicha the trial of shame, 2004, December 16.
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Violence against women and precarious work, 2005, April 9.
The affair of women in Hassi Messaoud: Left for dead, a conviction piece of an unpunished crime, 2010, February 2.
They are attacked at night by hooded youth: the hunt for women living alone in Hassi, 2010, April 11.
Violence against women has Hassi Messaoud: Victims and associations require protection of the state, 2010, April 15.
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Le Carrefour D’Algérie

In Hassi Messaoud 15 women associations create a collective of solidarity, 2010, April 4.
Le Matin

The draft for the 33% quota of elected women clashes with the conservatives, 2011, September 9.

LITERATURE

Arab, H. (Personal communication, April 20, 2012).


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Appendix 1: Memo-based categories of general themes of arguments following open-coding

1. The violence
2. The courtroom
3. Role of feminist and human rights groups
4. Role of the authorities
5. Role of the citizens
6. Information systems
7. Silence of the perpetrators
8. Silence of the women
9. Role of the media
10. Role of Islam
11. Issue of Work
12. Role of Women
13. Issue of Health
14. Rights
15. Public Security
16. The “three women”
17. Citizenship
18. Justice
19. Private/public
20. Honour
21. Prostitutes
22. Democracy
23. Nationalism/colonialism
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### Appendix 3: How rhetorical processes were coded for and an example of each

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rhetorical process</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Source of example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Detail</td>
<td>… in Hassi Messaoud (a rich oil region 627km south west of Algiers)</td>
<td>The affair of violence against women in Hassi Messaoud (<em>Le carrefour d’Algérie</em>, 27.04.2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Categorization</td>
<td>The <em>lone woman</em> of Hassi Messaoud...</td>
<td>Victims of rape, aggression, and death threats (<em>Le carrefour d’Algérie</em>, 12.04.2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensus</td>
<td>This anniversary will mobilise the Algerian feminist organizations, who, under the watchword “20 years, is enough!”...</td>
<td>Status quo for women (<em>Le Monde Diplomatique</em>, 03.2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Voicing</td>
<td>Finally the OVIF reiterates their “indignation against these barbaric acts”.</td>
<td>The punitive expeditions against the women continues... (<em>Le Matin</em>, 11.07.2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive Voicing</td>
<td>Hundreds were victims of collective rape...</td>
<td>The aggressors encouraged by the silence of authorities (<em>El Watan</em>, 14.08.2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalization</td>
<td>Also, the absence of civil support and the mediatization of this event...</td>
<td>Violence against women in Hassi Messaoud: The victims and associations demand protection from the state (<em>El Watan</em>, 29.11.2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intention promoting verb</td>
<td>..[they] decided to make a punitive expedition...</td>
<td>Aggression against the women of El Haicha (<em>El Watan</em>, 15.12.2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 part list</td>
<td>Tired, still traumatized, and desperate...</td>
<td>El Haicha, the trial of shame (<em>El Watan</em>, 16.12.2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimization</td>
<td>It was <em>only</em> in 2005 that it was declared a “major risk zone”.</td>
<td>Emancipated women trapped in Hassi Messaoud (<em>Le Monde Diplomatique</em>, 06.2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximization</td>
<td>The <em>majority</em> of assaulted women work in the bases of the oil companies...</td>
<td>15 associations create a group of solidarity (<em>Le Carrefour d’Algerie</em>, 26.04.2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme case formulation</td>
<td>“<em>No woman</em> has been elected on feminist demands”</td>
<td>The draft for the 33% quota of elected women clashes with the conservatives (<em>Le Matin</em>, 09.20.2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerrymandering</td>
<td>[The state] will discharge of logistics of outsourced companies who, with the liberalization of the market in the 1990s, flourish in the shadow of the multinationals.</td>
<td>Emancipated women trapped in Hassi Messaoud (<em>Le Monde Diplomatique</em>, 06.2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetorically sufficient argument</td>
<td>… they have the right to go where they want.</td>
<td>The affair of assaulted women in Hassi Messaoud: Towards an observatory monitoring to alert on the denial of rights (<em>El Watan</em>, 26.04.2010).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetorical question</td>
<td>Were the allegations against these women proven?</td>
<td>Until when will these punitive expeditions against women [cease]? (<em>Le Matin</em>, 20.07.2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category entitlement</td>
<td>According to Nabil Boukadir, the <em>representative of sports</em> at this level....</td>
<td>Hassi Messaoud: Feminine sports comes out of the anonymous (<em>El Watan</em>, 14.05.2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence speaks for</td>
<td>If only a few of the thirty or so were present on the 15th of...</td>
<td>Aggressed women in Hassi Messaoud (*El...</td>
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<td><strong>itself</strong></td>
<td><strong>december, it's for a numerous reasons....</strong></td>
<td><strong>Watan, 23.12.2004)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stake management</strong></td>
<td><strong>It is because their living conditions are still precarious that they agree to testify today when they are invited to seminars for example.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Victims of Hassi Messaoud: Finally an early settlement (El Watan, 12.17.2005)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vague</strong></td>
<td><strong>A number of other associations, volunteers and political parties should be at the gathering.</strong></td>
<td><strong>In support of the women of Hassi Messaoud (Carrefour d'Algerie, 01.05.2010)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Repetition</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nor cries, nor tears of children, nor the pleas of the elderly...</strong></td>
<td><strong>They were attacked in the night by hooded youth: hunt of women living alone in Hassi (El Watan, 11.04.2010)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hyperbole</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ubiquitous, garbage accompanies us in every corner of the neighbourhood...</strong></td>
<td><strong>Emancipated women trapped in Hassi Messaoud (Le Monde Diplomatique, 06.2010)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disclaimer</strong></td>
<td><strong>[it is because of the trauma that the victims faced] that a great number of us finished by forgiving our torturers .</strong></td>
<td><strong>Beaten women in Hassi Messaoud (El Watan, 16.06.2009)</strong></td>
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**Appendix 4: Chart of single article rhetorical processes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>El Watan</th>
<th>Detail</th>
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<th>Concerns</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Vt</th>
<th>Passive</th>
<th>Part 3</th>
<th>List</th>
<th>Minimiza</th>
<th>Rhetorical</th>
<th>Rhetoric</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Evidence</th>
<th>speaks for itself</th>
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### Speakers
Feminist groups

### The violence 2010

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<tr>
<td>Femmes seules</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Come from the north</td>
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<td>Mothers</td>
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### Precautionary living conditions (G correct)

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### A majority of women

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<td>Are silent WRT HM</td>
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<td>Role should be of security of all citizens</td>
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### Are starting to respond

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### Feminist groups

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<td>Fighting violence against women in general</td>
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### Hassi Messaoud

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### Information / media

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### Inequality

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### Need to keep fighting for HR

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### Freedom of work is a right

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### Rights of a citizen

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## Appendix 5: Chart of collective rhetorical processes

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<th>Active Voice</th>
<th>Passive Voice</th>
<th>Nominalized</th>
<th>Intention</th>
<th>3 part list</th>
<th>Minimize/Maximize</th>
<th>Extreme</th>
<th>Gerrymar Rhetoric</th>
<th>Rhetorica</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Evidence</th>
<th>Stake</th>
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<td>Rape/attempted murder not held against the perpetrators</td>
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<td>Problematic when associations are involved in defending victims</td>
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<td>Defense for victims should have been assured</td>
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<td>Come from the north</td>
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<tr>
<td>Are being punished in the name of</td>
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<td>Their only crime is living alone</td>
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<td>Forgive the perpetrators</td>
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<td>Reasons why women were absent</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>Mothers</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suffered great pressure</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Did not forgive the perpetrators</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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*Note: The table details the various rhetorical devices and strategies used in the discussions surrounding the violence and the court processes.*
| Precarious living conditions | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| A few were virgins | x | x | | | | |
| Lost their jobs | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Isolated women | x | x | | | | |
| Are working in the kitchen/cleaning | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Accused as being immoral | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Are said to be moral | x | x | | | | |
| Are not deserving of state protection | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Are blaming authorities | | | | | | |
| Are traumatized | x | x | x | x | x | x |

A "majority" of the women... x x x x x x
proy x x x x
at least they are working x x x x
some do not like the negative x x x x
representation of women of HM x x x x
overly sexual in dress (some) x x x x
defenseless x x x x
left Hassi Messaoud x x x x
We were not alone (the ones giving testimony) x x x x
Uneducated x x x x
Not a prostitute x x x x
Testimony not believed x x x x

**The Three women**

| Courageous | x | x | x | x | x | x |

Fighting for their right to justice x x x x x
Are alone as a result of lack of justi x x x x
Blaming authorities | x | x | x | x | x | x |

Only ones in court / fighting x x x x x
Traumatized x x x x

The perpetrators in court | x | x | x | x | x | x |
Mothers x x x x x
From the west of the country x x x x x
Will never forgive their aggressors x x x x x
Continue fighting because their living conditions are precarious x x x x

Have suffered pressure since the trial x x x x | x x x x x |
Accusing feminist groups of misappropriation of information x x | x x x x |
Main preoccupation is repairing damages in court (money) x x | x x x x |
Have lost hope in achieving justice x x x x |
Will return to HM (threat) | x x x x x |
Importance of finding work x x x x |
Chose not to return to the life they were mean to live | x x x x |
Are not prostitutes x | x x |
Are not poor | x | x |
Supporting the new victims in their fight | x | x |

**The men**

| Assailants / aggressors | x | x | x | x |

Fantasized by an Imam x x x x x
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Absent in court</strong></th>
<th>x</th>
<th>x</th>
<th></th>
<th>x</th>
<th>x</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Are being protected</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Put pressure on the women so that</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Were let go on lighter charges</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lied</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>A group of unknown</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Have turbans</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Drugged or drunk</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Vigilantes</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Organized</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Filmed their acts</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Attacked in the name of morality</strong></td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td><strong>(2001)</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
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<td><strong>Hassi belongs to the people of the Sahara</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>minors/ youth</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Are from HM</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Are relentless</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Were not pursued for 2010 violence</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
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</table>

**Islam**

| **Blaming islam for the violence** | x | x | x |  |  |
| **Blaming Islam for lack of justice** | x | x |  |  |  |
| **Islam would never support these acts** | x | x |  |  |  |
| **Islam would never forgive these acts** | x | x |  |  |  |
| **Islam lead violence is barbaric** | x | x | x |  |  |
| **Islam a justification for the denial of rights** | x | x |  |  |  |

**Authorities**

<p>| <strong>Lack of police responce</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Violence in general the result of an</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Are silent WRT HM</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Protecting islamists /men</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Role of security of all citizens</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Role to ensure the law</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Role to ensure justice</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Actively contributed to non justice</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Police need to be taught</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Are silent WRT HM</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Justifies non-righs with idea of gender born of globalization</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Are starting to respond</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Violence against women as a public health problem</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Role to sanction the perpetrators of violence</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Need to support the victims fight against their aggressors</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Reflect the inequality of the society</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Protect the foreign companies of HM</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Against quotas</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>In the shadows of multinationals since liberalization in the 1990s</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |
| <strong>Are pressuring the women to stop pressing charges?</strong> | x | x | x | x | x |</p>
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<th>Did not pursue HM because of public security (avoiding protest)</th>
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<th>x</th>
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<td>Response through money</td>
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<td>Are allowing for the UN rapporteur on free expression</td>
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<td>Discrepancy between what the state says and other information received</td>
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<td>Wants to stay away from private matters</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>Blaming Minister of Interior</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blaming Minister of Work</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>Did respond WRT 2001 violence</td>
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<td>Role to protect female workers</td>
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<td>State’s concern over public security</td>
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<td>Refuse to speak out about the family code</td>
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<td>Have been silent</td>
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<td>Are supporting the victims</td>
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<td>Are calling for justice</td>
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<td>Fighting against the response of violence against women</td>
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<td>Have created the CDS in the name of solidarity with the victims</td>
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<td>Are too few to change anything</td>
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<td>Have been discredited (AFEPEC)</td>
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<td>Exploit the symbolic and political meaning of the tiral</td>
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<td>Have abandoned the victims</td>
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<td>Are calling for solidarity</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>Hassel Massaoud</td>
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<td>Used as a justification for fighting for x</td>
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<td>Profiting from the sufferance of women</td>
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<td>Synonym with violence against women / collective memory</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>One of the most surveilled cities</td>
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<td>Violence is ongoing</td>
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<td>rich</td>
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<td>male dominated</td>
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<td>corrupted political environment</td>
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<td>lawless city</td>
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<td>Synonymous with injustice</td>
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<td>Highly publicized</td>
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<tr>
<td>Would never tolerate such acts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Violence the result of foreign companies in HM</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stigmatized because of the violence</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
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<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for justice</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lack of justice = lack of security</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Justice should be based on the law</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>Responsibility of the authorities</td>
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<tr>
<td>HM model of justice</td>
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<tr>
<td>Justice failed</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>Are a target because of society’s feelings</td>
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<td>Alone = little virtue</td>
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<td>early mothers</td>
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<td>blamed for failed marriages</td>
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<td>Are stigmatized</td>
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**UN visit**

A savior for all violated women | x | x |

**Violence general**

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<td>Rape = to be made dirty</td>
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**Crime**

| To work | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| To be a woman | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| To be put in the situation to be raped | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| To have moved from where they came | x | x | x | x | x | x |

**Social Problems**

| Declining economy / unemployment | x | x | x |   |   |   |
| male unemployment and marginalization | x | x | x |   |   |   |
| Liberated women | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Precarious female workers | x | x | x | x | x | x |

**Society**

| Thinks that the women of HM are bad | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Denying the facts that were present | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Calls all of the attention a "destabilization" | x | x | x | x | x | x |
Appendix 6: Picture from the El Watan

Pertains to the 17th extract and analysis (El Watan, They are attacked at night by young hooded youth: The hunt for women living alone in Hassi, 2010, April 11)