

# The Journal of Studies in Language, Culture and Society (JSLCS)

Editor in chief  
Dr.Nadia Idri



جامعة بجاية  
Tasdawit n Bgayet  
Université de Béjaïa

## *Journal of Studies in Language, Culture*

<http://www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/PresentationRevue/681>

**Scope of JSLCS**

**Topics include but not limited to:**

Linguistics and languages, civilisation and literature, sociology, psychology, translation, anthropology, education, pedagogy, ICT, communication, cultural/inter-cultural studies, philosophy, history, religion.

**ISSN: 2716-9189 (Print)**  
**E-ISSN: 2676-1750 (Online)**

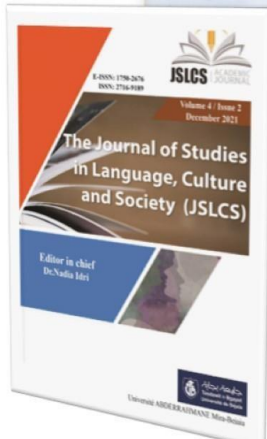
**LEGAL DEPOSIT: décembre-2018**

**Journal of Studies in Language, Culture and Society (JSLCS)**

<https://www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/PresentationRevue/681>

*Journal of Studies in Language, Culture and Society (JSLCS)* is an academic multidisciplinary open-access and double-blind peer-reviewed journal, edited by the University of Bejaia, Algeria. The journal is free of charge and publishes original research papers that turns around phenomena related to language, culture and society. JSLCS welcomes papers that reflect sound methodologies, updated theoretical analyses and original empirical and practical findings related to various interrelated disciplines.

The journal accepts original papers, reports, and reviews, and book reviews written in English.



**Contact :**

[jlsbejaia@gmail.com](mailto:jlsbejaia@gmail.com)

**Editor-in-chief: Pr. Nadia Idri, Bejaia, Algeria**

*Journal of Studies in Language, Culture and Society (JSLCS)* is an academic multidisciplinary open access and peer-reviewed journal that publishes original research that turns around phenomena related to language, culture and society. JSLCS welcomes papers that reflect sound methodologies, updated theoretical analyses and original empirical and practical findings related to various disciplines like linguistics and languages, civilisation and literature, sociology, psychology, translation, anthropology, education, pedagogy, ICT, communication, cultural/inter-cultural studies, philosophy, history, religion, and the like.

### **Publisher**

© Faculty of Arts and Languages, University of Bejaia, Algeria

<http://univ-bejaia.dz/jslcs/>



All open access articles published in JSLCS are distributed under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution- 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)

The research works published in this journal are free to be accessed. They can be shared (copied and redistributed in any medium or format) and/or adapted (remixed, transformed, and built upon the material for any purpose, commercially and/or not commercially) under the following terms: attribution (appropriate credit must be given indicating original authors, research work name and publication name mentioning if changes were made) and without adding additional restrictions (without restricting others from doing anything the actual license permits). Authors retain the full copyright of their published research works and cannot revoke these freedoms as long as the license terms are followed.

## **Editorial Team**

### **Editor in Chief**

**Dr. Nadia Idri, Faculty of Arts and Languages, University of Bejaia, Algeria**

**Guest Editor:** Olfa Gandouz, University of Gabès, Tunisia.

### **Associate Editors**

Ahmed Chaouki Hoadjli, Université Mohamed Khider de Biskra, Algeria.

Ali abdelamir Abas Elkhamis, علي عبد الامير عباس الخميس, Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Babylon, Iraq.

Anissa Daoudi, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom.

Anita Virga, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

Aydin Sejma, International University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Bénito Koukpohounsi, University of Abomey-Calavi, Benin.

Charles Andrew Breeze, Navara University-Spain.

Denis Legros, University of Paris 8, France.

Elkhiar Atamna, Najran University, KSA.

Ghania Ouahmiche, Université Oran 2 Mohamed Ben Ahmed Oran, Algeria.

Habib Akhrouf, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris, France.

Hanane Sarnou, Université Abdelhamid Ibn Badis de Mostaganem, Algeria.

Hind Amal Mostari, Université El Djilali Liabès de Sidi Bel Abbès, Algeria.

Jelisaveta Todorovic, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia.

Michel Hogene, Hague University of Applied Sciences, The Hague, Netherlands

Moufoutaou Adjeran, Université d'Abomey-Calavi, Benin.

Mourad Bektache, University of Bejaia, Algeria.  
Nacif Labeled, University Mentouri Bros. Constantine 1, Algeria.  
Olfa Gandouz, University of Gabès, Tunisia.  
Raba Abderaouf Mohamed Aamer, ربيع عبدالرؤف محمد عامر, Faculty of Education, University of King Khaled, KSA  
Rehab Yousef, University of Beni Suef, Egypt.  
Richard Coates, ACE - Arts and Cultural Industries-United Kingdom.  
Sabri Koç, Başkent University, Ankara, Turkey  
Serge Ramel, Haute école pédagogique du canton de Vaud (Lausanne), Switzerland.  
Shair Ali Khan, International Islamic University, Islamabad, Iran.  
Shirly Lawes, Institute of Education, UK.  
Shiyab Said M. Modern and Classical Language Studies, Satterfield Hall Kent State University United States.  
Suhair Al Alami, Department of General Studies, Ghurair University, Dubai-United Emirates.  
Yaser Khajavi, Salman Farsi University of Kazeroun, Iran.

### **Reviewers**

Abdelhak Hammoudi, ENS El Eulma, Setif, Algeria.  
Abdelkader Nebbou, Université de Béchar, Algeria  
Ahmed Chaouki Hoadjli, University of Biskra, Algeria  
Ali Khan Shair, International Islamic University, Islamabad, Iran  
Anita Virga, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa  
Chahrazed Hamzaoui, University Center of Ain Temouchent, Algeria  
Dallel , University of Mostaganem, Algeria  
Fouad Boulkroun, University Center of Mila, Algeria  
Gameel Abo Elabass Zakeer, University of Minia, Egypt  
Hacene Hamada, ENS Constantine, Algeria  
Hanane Saihi, University of Biskra, Algeria  
Hayat Meskher, ENS Bouzerea, Algeria.  
Hichem Souhali, University of Batna, Algeria  
Hind Amal, University of Sidi Belabes, Algeria  
Labeled Nacif, University Mentouri Bros. Constantine 1, Algeria  
Leyla Bellour, University Center of Mila, Algeria  
Manisha Anand Patil, Head, Yashavantrao Chavan Institute of Science, India  
Melouka Ziani, University Abdelhamid Ibn Badis, Mostaganem, Algeria

Mimouna Zitouni, University of Mohamed Ben Ahmed, Oran 2, Algeria

Missoum Maamar

Mohammad H. Abood, Department of Educational Psychology, Hashemite University, Zarqa, Jordan

Mourad Touati, University of M'sila, Algeria

Nesrine Ghaouar, University of Annaba, Algeria

Nouara Kharouni, University of Bejaia, Algeria

Nour El Houda Kheloufi

Patil Vishnu Wamanrao, University Quarters, Aurangabad, India

Rachida, University of Blida 2, Algeria

Radia Bouguebs, ENS "Assia Djebbar" Constantine, Algeria

Salim Kerboua

Samira Moussaoui, University of Bourdj Bouararidj, Algeria

Sara Merrouche, University of Oum El Bouaghi, Algeria

Serge Ramel, Haute école pédagogique du canton de Vaud (Lausanne), Switzerland.

Serge Thomazet, ESPE/University Clermont-Auvergne & Laboratoire ACTé, France

Suaad Hadi Hassan AL- Taai, University of Bagdad, Iraq

Yahia Zeghoudi, University of Tlemcen, Algeria

Yasmina Kdjafri, Abdelhamid Ibn Badis University, Mostaganem, Algeria

Raba Abderaouf Mohamed Aamer, ربيع عبدالرؤف محمد عامر, Faculty of Education, University of King Khaled, KSA

Ali abdelamir Abas Elkhamis, علي عبد الامير عباس الخميس, Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Babylon, Iraq.

Mabrouk Boutagouga, University of Batna, Algeria.

**APA Formatting:** Dr. Radia Bouguebs. ENS "Assia Djebbar" Constantine, Algeria.

### **Secretary**

Bouguebs Radia

Ecole Normale Supérieure de Constantine, Algeria

Ourida Idres, University of Bejaia, Algeria

Contact:

[jlcsbejaia@gmail.com](mailto:jlcsbejaia@gmail.com)

Tel: 034816824

© University of Bejaia, 2020

## Contents

---

<b>Coulibaly Issa:</b> A Morphological Approach to <i>ɲɛ</i> “Eye”-compounds in Bamanankan .....	1
<b>Katia Berbar:</b> EFL Teachers’ Perceptions and Experiences with the Moodle Platform during COVID-19 Pandemic: A Case Study at the University of Tizi-Ouzou .....	11
<b>Souad Smaili:</b> Between ‘Becoming Like-natives’ and ‘Multilingual’: A Post-structuralist Orientation to Imagined Identity and Agency .....	24
<b>Imane Errami &amp; Chaimae Chinig:</b> Territorialized social movements: the Maghreb, from the margins to the center The case of the Hirak Rif movement.....	35
<b>Papa Malick Ba:</b> White Supremacy: America's Original Sin? .....	44
<b>Imen Ratoul &amp; Mustapha Boudjelal:</b> Algerian Female Engineers Challenging the Masculine Culture of Engineering: a Look at Gender and Prevailing Barriers .....	55
<b>Naime Benmerabet:</b> “We vs. They” and the Polarizing Strategy in Bush's West Point speech (June 1, 2002): The Securitization of Iraqi Regime .....	66
<b>Yamina Ghani &amp; Belabbes Ouerred:</b> Integration of the Transitivity Model to probe Gender issues in Literary texts and its Implication on Teaching English as a Foreign Language .....	76

Issa Coulibaly, P.h.D<sup>1</sup>  
University of Languages and Humanities  
Department of English, Bamako, Mali

## A MORPHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO $\eta\epsilon$ “EYE”- COMPOUNDS IN BAMANANKAN

### Abstract

This paper explores the extent to which lexical compounds are formed from the head  $\eta\epsilon$  (eye) in Bamanankan, a major language spoken in Mali. The study is guided by Vydrine’s (1999) construct of the classification of parts of speech in Bamanankan. The corpus is composed of words extracted from the electronic version of the Inkey Bambara dictionary and casual conversations. The study reveals that the majority of  $\eta\epsilon$ -compounds are characterised as nouns out of which a large part is both noun and verb. This particular finding is in line with Dumestre (2011) that there is porosity among the Bamanankan parts of speech.

**Keywords:** Bamanankan, compound, constituent, lexical meaning, parts of speech, semantics.

### 1. Introduction

A substantial body of research has been devoted to the study of body-parts expressions. Some of them focused on the structural and semantic analysis of some polysemous body-part words, including eyes, in the Russian, German, and Adug languages (Mugu, 2002, Hsieh and Kolodkina (2009). On the one hand, Yu (2004) compared Chinese and English to detail the conceptual metaphors containing eyes. On the other hand, Agyekum (2013) addresses the pragmatic use of ‘mouth’ expressions in Akan. Though there is a substantial body of literature on Bamanankan prosody and the distribution of parts of speech (Blecke 1988, Vydrine 1999, Dumestre 2011), the study of “ $\eta\epsilon$ ” (eye) as the head in the production of compounds is yet to be conducted. Therefore, this paper is meant to contribute to the description of words structure, particularly of the lexemes derived from  $\eta\epsilon$  (eye) in Bamanankan, a major language in Mali. Words like  $\eta\epsilon da$ , which literally translates the ‘door of eye’, will be explored in this study.

Bamanankan is classified as part of the Mandé group of the Niger-Congo family of African languages. It refers to the language spoken by the Bamanan, a major ethnic group of Mali. It is the majorly spoken language in Mali as a result of several historical realities. Of particular interest is Canut’s (1996) assertion that Bamanankan expanded in Mali due to several historical factors, namely, the history of the Mandingue Empire, the evolution of **Jula** through trade between the Southern and the Northern parts of Mali alongside with other West African countries. Canut goes deeper as to claim that other deciding factors include the use of Bamanankan in the command of the colonial military troops, the geographic situation of the capital city (Bamako), the centralization of political power in the South in the Bamanankan speaking zone, and the movement of populations from rural to urban areas. Those factors

---

<sup>1</sup> Email: [issacoul@yahoo.fr](mailto:issacoul@yahoo.fr)

largely contributed in the increase of the number of Bamanankan speakers. For this reason, Skattum (1997) and Konaté et al. (2010) hold that this language is either spoken or understood by about 80% of the Malian population as mother tongue and about 44% use Bamanankan as a vehicular language particularly in the southern and central parts of the country.

## 2. Typological Notes

Typologically, Bamanankan is a tonal language: a rising and falling tone fulfilling a distinctive function between lexemes. The word order in a declarative sentence is Subject-Object-Verb (S O V) and gender is not expressed by grammatical means. For instance, the terms *cε* and *muso* translate ‘man’ and ‘woman’ respectively. However, only the latter is added to animal names in an attempt to mention the female category as in *misimusu* ‘cow’, *wulumusu* ‘bitch’, *falimusu* ‘she-ass’, and *jakumamusu* ‘she-cat. An important feature of Bamanankan is the possibility of using the majority of its verbs as nouns without any morphological change and this is an indication that the distinction between these two parts of speech (noun and verb) is blurry (Bleckle 1988).

## 3. Theoretical Framework

This study builds on Vydrine’s (1999) inventory of parts of speech in Bamanankan. Following Vydrine (1990), the Bamanan language encompasses verbs of process and qualifying verbs. The first group of verbs is referred to as dynamic because these verbs conjugate with the suffix *-tɔ* which expresses the process as in: *natɔ* (coming), *taatɔ* (going), or *wilitɔ* (getting up). By opposition qualifying verbs are intransitive and they accept only two predicative markers: **ka** and **man**. The first is a particle which links a subject to a predicative adjective to express the affirmative form. The latter is another particle connecting a subject to a predicative adjective to express negation. They are placed after the noun they qualify as it can be seen in the examples below:

- Cε in **ka** jan.
- Man dem. Posit Pred mark tall.
- Man this be tall → This man is tall.
- Cε in **man** jan.
- Man dem. Neg Pred. mark tall
- Man this not be tall. → This man is not tall.

In his analysis of the different approaches to the problems of parts of speech in Bamanankan, Vydrine (1999) holds the view that there are three (3) main parts of speech: syntactic (nouns, verbs, adjectives), morphological (qualifying verbs), and auxiliary (predicative markers, particles, conjunctions, and postpositions). Specifically, he maintains that any lexical unit that goes with the combination **N + dòn** or **tε** and appearing as the head of a syntagm is a noun. Accordingly, we can have the following example:

- (3) Bataki dòn. ————— Bataki tε.
- letter pos.pred. letter neg.pred.
- It is a letter. It is not a letter.

In addressing the phenomenon of “eye” derived lexemes in Bamanankan this paper is structured in the following sections: introduction, typological notes on Bamanankan, theoretical framework review of related literature, methodology, the morphological analysis of “je” compounds, and conclusion.

## 4. Studies on Body Part Expressions



Turpin (2002) addresses the question of how feelings are expressed in Kaytetye, a language spoken in Central Australia. She explores the extent to which specific body part terms relate to different types of feelings, based on linguistic evidence in the form of lexical compounds, collocations and the way people mention feelings. Her investigation highlights that particular body part terms collocate with different feeling expressions for different reasons. This collocation is either due to the fact that the body part is the perceived locus of the feeling, or a lexicalized polysemy of a body part term, a metonymic association between a body part, behaviour, and a feeling.

Charteris-Black (2004) notes a high frequency of body part metaphors in American Presidential Speeches. She points out that several parts of the body are metaphorically used to refer to particular actions. Thus, “the **hand** is metonymically associated with all types of physical action, the **heart** with feeling, the **head** with thinking and the **eyes** with seeing (and metaphorically with understanding)” (Charteris-Black 2004, p. 105).

With different lenses, Agis (2007) investigated the use of different facial sensory organs in Judeo-Spanish and Turkish proverbs and idioms to express a certain emotion from a cognitive pragmatic perspective. He utilized various proverb and idiom dictionaries indicating negative and positive emotions through facial organs: the eyes, the ears, the nose, and the tongue. He used Lazarus’ (1991) classification of positive and negative emotions according to which the negative emotions include: disgust / hate, fright / anxiety, shame / guilt, sadness, jealousy / envy, and anger. By contrast, the positive emotions encompass happiness / joy, relief, pride, and love / affection. The statistical analysis revealed that more Judeo-Spanish proverbs and idioms employ the eyes and ears in order to express disgust / hate, and only the eyes to express jealousy / envy and love / affection, whereas more Turkish proverbs and idioms employ the nose to express sadness, anger, and pride, and the tongue to express disgust / hate and sadness for some socio-cultural reasons.

In a different register, Almajir (2013) directed his attention to the study of the head with its sub-parts which are the eyes, the ears, the nose, the mouth, the face, and the forehead in the Hausa language. To do so, he used the model of descriptive lexical semantics. His study sets out with the assumption that the head and its sub-parts are a rich repertoire for metaphorical meanings. For example, with respect to eye, he postulates that “An eye is an opening for information to reach into the heart. Raw information received has to be processed by the heart before it can turn into knowledge and wisdom. Therefore, eyes are windows into the mind and can be a source of polysemy when used in various expressions” (p. 103). Almajir’s paper concludes that the figurative use of body part terms represents a rich source of metonymic and metaphoric expressions in everyday language use.

Lusekelo and Kapufi’s (2014) study was concerned with the investigation of the way names of body parts are artistically used to convey meanings and messages in Kifipa, a Bantu language spoken in Tanzania. They focused on the metaphoric expressions relating to foot, waist, heart, eye, breast, finger, head, brain, and mouth. Their study revealed that the metaphoric use of names of body parts in Kifipa relies on Watts’ construct of politeness (2003), stylistic, and cognitive hypotheses (Jilala, 2012) (as cited in Lusekelo & Kapufi, 2014, p. 106). These expressions are also beneficial in word economy. They further postulate that the context of use alongside with the background knowledge is determinant in decoding metaphors related to names of body parts. Contrary to Lusekelo and Kapufi, Hsieh and Lu (2014) made a cross-

linguistic cognitive and semantic investigation of eye expressions in Chinese, Spanish, and German. The analysis of the data collected from corpora and dictionaries revealed that the verbs of eye expressions are of paramount importance in expressing emotion. They also demonstrated that the verbs deriving from other body parts, such as the **hand** and the **mouth**, are extended to the sight domain and assist in communicating emotions effectively.

Overall, the aforementioned studies echo similar characteristics of terms derived from body parts in that they are a source for metaphoric use. However, these studies did not view body parts expressions with the lenses of word formation processes. Therefore, the present study will focus on eye-derived expressions as a source of word formation process in Bamanankan.

## 5. Methodology

The majority of the data for this study were sourced from the electronic version of the dictionary Inkey Lexique Pro Bambara Mali. The words constituting the corpus have been selected on the basis of the morphological structure provided in the aforementioned dictionary. It was also the main reference in crosschecking the spelling of various other lexical units used in this paper. Some other words were collected from casual conversations and radio news. Besides, a part of the data was compiled from peer interactions in the staff room of the department of English during off-pick hours. Fellow lecturers, who taught Bamanankan to first-year university students, also contributed in the correct production of some of the compounds. In addition, a fellow lecturer assisted the author of this study with the literal translation of several words into English. The corpus for this study contains 40 lexical units because whenever it was difficult to highlight the structure of any morpheme, that one was ruled out from our data. The table below showcases

**Table 1.***Eye Compounds with their English Equivalents*

	<b>Bamanankan</b>	<b>Literal meaning</b>	<b>English equivalent</b>
1	ɲɛbila	Eye leave	Prospect, preparations, preliminaries
2	ɲɛda	Door of eye	Face
3	ɲɛdimi	Eye pain	Something that should be done instantly, conjunctivitis
4	ɲɛdiya	Eye sharp, tasty	Physiognomic
5	ɲɛdɔn	Eye knowledge	Knowing how
6	ɲɛdona	Eye entrance	Disobey, lack of respect
7	ɲɛfilatigi	Owner of two eyes	A witch
8	ɲɛfo	Eye say	Explain
9	ɲɛgoya	Eye bad	Not physiognomic, jealousy
10	ɲɛgan	Eye heat	Suffering, pain
11	ɲɛjugu	Eye wicked	Greedy, wicked
12	ɲɛjuru (jan)	Eye rope	Desire, curious
13	ɲɛji	Eye water	Tears
14	ɲɛkumun	Eye sour	Sadness, gloomy
15	ɲɛkili	Egg of eye	Eye
16	ɲɛkɔmi	Eye wink	Wink
17	ɲɛkɔɔ	Eye under	Before, near
18	ɲɛmalo	Eye shame	Shyness
19	ɲɛmine	Eye catch	Lead, direct
20	ɲɛmɔɔ	Eye person	Leader, boss
21	ɲɛnatɔmɔ	Eye choose	Choose, select
22	ɲɛnabɔ	Eye moving out	Share out
23	ɲɛnafin	Eye darkness	Nostalgia
24	ɲɛnaje	Eye enjoyment	Jubilation, feast
25	ɲɛnamini	Eye dizzy	Dizziness
26	ɲɛnasisi	Eye smoke	Sadness
27	ɲɛnawoloma	Eye select	Choice, selection
28	ɲɛnɔɔ	Eye stick	Prefix
29	ɲɛsen	Eye leg	Front leg
30	ɲɛsi	Eye hair	Eyelash, eyebrow
31	ɲɛsisi	Eye burnt out	Bad appearance
32	ɲɛsigi	Eye sit	Prospect, preparation, destiny, make provision for
33	ɲɛsin	Eye direct	Face, focus on
34	ɲɛsɔɔ	Eye find	Solve
35	ɲɛsuma	Eye shade, recovery	Happiness, wealth
36	ɲɛsiranya	Eye scare	Fear
37	ɲɛtaa/ ɲɛtaga	Eye, front part movement	Development, progress
38	ɲɛwolo	Eye skin	Eye lid
39	ɲɛyɛɛ	Eye opening	Initiation, childbirth, to be on the alert
40	ɲɛpini	Eye search	Research, cast a spell on

Table 1 includes a set of words having similar meanings. As a result, they can be interchangeable. For example, **ɲɛkumu** (14) and **ɲɛsisi** (31) are germane terms translating similar facial features; **ɲɛnatɔmɔ** (21) and **ɲɛnawoloma** (27) are also near in meaning. By contrast, some words are antonymous such as **ɲɛdiya** (4) and **ɲɛgoya** (9); **ɲɛgan** (10) and **ɲɛsuma** (35); **ɲɛnafin** (23) and **ɲɛnajɛ** (24).

## 6. Morphological Analysis of ɲɛ-Compounds in Bamanankan

Eye compounds follow the general morphological structures, that is, they are made up of Noun + Noun, Noun + Verb, or Noun + Adjective. The clue to the particular word formation process of the corpus is the noun **ɲɛ** (the head) + another part of speech which is either a verb or an adjective. The internal morphology of the terms under study applies to the structures below:

Noun + noun = ɲɛda, ɲɛmalo, ɲɛji, ɲɛjuru, ɲɛdimi, ɲɛsuma, ɲɛdiya, ɲɛgoya, ɲɛkili, ɲɛwolo

Noun + verb = ɲɛsigi, ɲɛbila, ɲɛyɛle, ɲɛkɔmi, ɲɛpini, ɲɛtaa, ɲɛnɔɔ, ɲɛsin, ɲɛsɔɔ.

Noun + adjective = ɲɛjugu, ɲɛnafin, ɲɛgan

Some of the compounds under study contain a linking element between the two constituents. This element is /**NOUN1+na+NOUN2**/ as in **ɲɛnamini**, or **NOUN+na+VERB** as in **ɲɛnabɔ** and **ɲɛnatɔmɔ** which is germane to **ɲɛnawoloma**. Hence, there couldn't be **ɲɛnamini** and **ɲɛnawoloma** without **-na-** inserted into the middle of compounds to “help them conform to the phonotactic rules of the language” (Harley, 2006, p.94). Overall, the corpus presented in table 1 contains seven (7) instances of compounds having the **-na-** link. They range from number 21 through 27 in the table. However these two terms can be differentiated only in use as illustrated in the sentences below.

(1) Muso ye malo ɲɛ na tɔmɔ.

Woman aux. rice eye link el. Pick up.

The woman processed rice.

(2) Cɛ in bɛka fini ɲɛ na woloma.

Man this part. cloth eye link el. sort

This man is sorting cloth.

Compounding is a word formation process which allows the combination of two or more words in one compound. A compound consists of a head and constituents. A distinguishing feature of Bamanankan is that of the left-headed compound. This means that the left head functions as the semantic one whereas the right constituent is the modifier. This is well illustrated in the examples below with regard to eye derived lexical units.

3 (a) ɲɛ+sigi (prospect), ɲɛ+dɔn (knowing how), ɲɛ+mɔɔɔ (leader)

(b) ɲɛ+siranya (fear), ɲɛ+fila+tigi (witch)

In 3(a) the compound contains the left head “**ɲɛ**” to which one constituent is added; hence, we have: **ɲɛ** + sigi, **ɲɛ** + dɔn, **ɲɛ** + mɔɔɔ. These constituents translating respectively “sit”, “knowledge” and “person” modify not only the meaning of “eye” but also its grammatical category. Therefore, “ɲɛsigi” and “ɲɛdɔn” can be either nouns or verbs. The sentences below showcase this possibility.

3 (aa) U ye ɲɛsigi jumɛn kɛ?

They aux. preparation what do?

N bɛ i ɲɛsigi sinin.

I aux. you make provision for

tomorrow.

What preparation did they do?	I'll get something for you tomorrow.
3 (ab) Geseda <b>ɲɛdɔn</b> tɛ Ali la.	A tɛ o <b>ɲɛdɔn</b> .
Weaving knowing how not Ali post pos.	S/he neg. that know.
Ali has no knowledge of weaving.	S/he does not know that.
3 (ac) Anw <b>ɲɛmɔɔ</b> nana kunun.	Anw ɲɛmɔɔ tɛ.
We leader came yesterday.	We leader not.
Our leader came yesterday.	He is not our leader.

In the examples 3(aa) and 3(ab), **ɲɛsigi** and **ɲɛdɔn** are used as nouns in the left column. They are verbs in the right column. However, 3(ac) proves that **ɲɛmɔɔ** can only be used as a noun, be it in the affirmative or negative form.

- (4) (a). **ɲɛsiranya** (fear) and **ɲɛfilatigi** (witch)  
 Denw carila dutiki **ɲɛsiranya** kosɔn.  
 Children disperse head of family fear because of.  
 Children dispersed out of fear of the head of the family.
- (b). **ɲɛfilatigi** bɛ kabako caaman kɛ.  
 Witch aux. miracle lot of do  
 The witch does several miracles.

It can be inferred from the examples above that conversion (the possibility for a word to change from one class of word to another one without any alteration) as a process of derivation is prominent in the corpus for this study. As a result, several items in table 2 below are not only nouns because they can be followed by the predicative markers **dɔn** or **tɛ**, but they can also be prefaced by **ka** which indicates that they are verbs. Thus, **ɲɛbila dɔn** (it is a preliminary), **ka ɲɛbila** (to prospect), **ɲɛkumun** (sadness), and **ka ɲɛkumu** (to be gloomy) are, among others, instances of zero change.

**Table 2.**  
*Distribution of 'ne' Compounds*

	<b>Compounds</b>	<b>Nouns</b>	<b>Verbs</b>
1	nebila	+	+
2	nedā	+	-
3	nedimi	+	-
4	nediya	+	-
5	nedōn	+	+
6	nedona	+	-
7	nefilatigi	+	-
8	nefō	-	+
9	negoya	+	-
10	negan	+	-
11	nejugu	+	-
12	nejuru (jan)	+	-
13	neji	+	-
14	nekumun	+	+
15	nekili	+	-
16	nekōmi	+	+
17	nekōrō	+	-
18	nemalo	+	-
19	nemine	-	+
20	nemōgō	+	-
21	nenatōmō	+	+
22	nenabō	+	+
23	nenafin	+	-
24	nenaje	+	+
25	nenamini	+	+
26	nenasisi	+	+
27	nenawoloma	+	+
28	nenōrō	+	+
29	nesen	+	-
30	nesi	+	-
31	nesisi	+	+
32	nesigi	+	+
33	nesin	+	+
34	nesōrō	+	+
35	nesuma	+	+
36	nesiranya	+	-
37	netaa/ netaga	+	-
38	newolo	+	-
39	neyeɛ	+	+
40	nepini	+	+

The upshot of table 2 is that 38 words, representing 95%, correspond to the characteristics of nouns out of which 18 words, making 47%, can be both nouns and verbs. Only two terms, (5%), are exclusively verbs. This observation concludes with Hurford's et al (2007, p.227) submission that "a derived word formed by combining two pre-existing words in a language is

called a **Compound** word because they consist of two pre-existing root words in the language rather than a root word together with either a prefix or suffix.” All of the data collected for this study comply with this definition apart from **ɲɛsiranya** in which –ya is the suffix expressing the state in Bamanankan.

## 7. Conclusion

This paper has discussed major lexical units derived from **ɲɛ** (eye) in Bamanankan. **ɲɛ** is a rich head for the production of several compound nouns and verbs. Two major assumptions deserve particularly being noted: all N+N compounds play the role of subject or object in a sentence. The N+V compounds can either be subjects or verbs in a sentence. They are formed by a recursive system of rules that enables the formation of several nominal and verbal lexemes. The particular word formation process in **ɲɛ**-compounds is non-morphological to which Vydrine (1999) refers as conversion. The compounds under study are obtained by way of three major combinations: noun + noun, noun + verb, and noun + adjective and few instances the lexical units of our concern contain a linking element.

## References

- Ağış, F. D. (2007). A comparative cognitive pragmatic approach to the judeo-spanish and turkish proverbs and idioms that express emotions. A Master’s thesis submitted to Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences English Linguistics, Ankara.
- Agyekum, K. (2013). The pragmatics of ‘mouth’ expressions in Akan. *In Ghana Journal of Linguistics 2.1: 1-17*, pp. 1-17.
- Almajir, T. S. (2013). The polysemy of body part terms in Hausa within the frame of image schemas. *Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures*, 47, 93-111
- Amani L. & Daudi, I. K. (2014). An analysis of metaphoric use of names of body parts in the Bantu Language Kifipa. *International Journal of Society, Culture and Language*, 2 (1).
- Blecke, T. (1988). La fonction du morpheme **tun** en Bambara. Une analyse dans le système de temps, aspect et mode. [Llacan.vjf.cnrs.fr](http://Llacan.vjf.cnrs.fr). consulté le 11/08/2020.
- Canut, C. (1996). Dynamique plurilingue et imaginaire linguistique au Mali : entre adhésion et résistance au Bambara. *In Langue et Société*, 78, pp.55-76.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2004). *Corpus approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, Basingstoke.
- Creissels, D. (1985). Les verbes statifs dans les parlers manding. *In Mandenkan*, 10, pp 1-32.
- Dumestre, G. (2011). A propos du Bambara, ou de l’art d’accommoder les restes. *In Mandenkan*, 47, pp. 3-11.
- Harley, H. (2006). *English words: A linguistic introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Hsieh, S. C-Y., & Kolodina, E. (2009). Eyes and hands expressions: Embodiment of lexical meanings. *Proceedings of the 18th international congress of linguists (CIL 18)*, Seoul: Korea University.
- Hsieh, S. C-yu., & Lu, Hui-chuan (2014). Emotion and culture of eye metaphors in Mandarin, Spanish and German. *In CIRCULO de Linguistica Aplicada*, 58.
- Hurford, J. R., Heasley, B., & Smith, M. B. (2007). *Semantics: A coursebook*, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed). Cambridge University Press.

- Konaté, M. K., Diabaté, I., & Assima, A. (2010). Dynamique des langues locales et de la langue française au Mali : un éclairage à travers les recensements généraux de la population (1988 et 2002), Observatoire démographique et statistique de l'espace francophone/Université Laval, Rapport de recherche de l'ODSEF.
- Lusekelo, A, & Kapufi, D. I. (2014). An analysis of metaphoric use of names of body parts in the Bantu language Kifipa. *International Journal of Society, Culture & Language (IJSCL)*, 2(1), 106-117.
- Mugu, R. Y. (2002). Polysemantics of somatic lexicon in Russian and Adug. Unpublished doctoral thesis, Maikop State University.
- Skattum, I. (1997). L'éducation bilingue dans un contexte d'oralité et d'exoglossie: Théories et réalités du terrain au Mali. In *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 6, (2), pp. 68-97.
- Tijjani, S. A. (2013). The polysemy of body part terms in Hausa within the frame of image Schemas. <https://www.cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta>.
- Turpin, M. (2002). Body part terms in Kaytetye. In *Pragmatics & Cognition* 10:1/2, pp. 271–305. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Vydrine, V. (1990). Les adjectifs prédicatifs en Bambara. In *Mandenkan*, 20, pp. 47-90.
- Vydrine, V. (1999). Les parties du discours en Bambara : Un essai de bilan. In *Mandenkan*, 35, pp. 73-93.



**Katia Berbar, Ph.D.<sup>2</sup>**  
Faculty of Letters and Languages  
Mouloud Mammeri University, Tizi-Ouzou, Algeria

## EFL TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES WITH THE MOODLE PLATFORM DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC: A CASE STUDY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TIZI-OUZOU

### Abstract

The Coronavirus (COVID-19) has disrupted teaching and learning worldwide. The rising concern about the rapid spread of the virus resulted in the closure of all educational institutions and the reliance on online academic platforms like Moodle to continue teaching activities. In this regard, the main aim of this descriptive study was to investigate the perceptions and experiences of fourteen teachers with the Moodle platform during COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, taking the department of English at the University of Tizi-Ouzou as a case in point. To collect data, an online questionnaire comprising closed and open questions was designed using Google Forms and sent to the respondents via email. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected. Quantitative data were subjected to statistical analysis using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences, whereas qualitative data were treated using thematic analysis. The results of the study indicated that the majority of the participants held negative perceptions of the Moodle platform. They advocated face-to-face education and were firmly against teaching through Moodle. The findings also disclosed some advantages and disadvantages of teaching through Moodle such as lack of training. The results implied that there is a need for attitude change and the development of teachers' technological literacy.

**Keywords:** COVID-19 epidemic, lockdown, Moodle e-learning platform, teachers' perceptions and experiences.

### 1. Introduction

The spread of the Coronavirus around the world forced several countries to apply lockdown and social separating measures (Mailizar et al., 2020, p.1). In Algeria, the first case of COVID-19 was diagnosed on February 25, 2020, in the province of Ouargla. To restrain the transmission of the disease, the Algerian Government imposed a national lockdown and curfew measures starting from mid-March 2020. Since then, all schools and higher educational institutions were shut down. This unexpected lockdown forced teachers and students to work and study remotely from home for the rest of the semester. To complete the second semester's syllabus, the Ministry of Education urged Educational Departments to consider alternative teaching methods. Consequently, many Algerian universities resumed the semester through online learning platforms.

Online learning or e-learning has become a necessity during COVID-19 lockdown period. To continue with the academic work and keep students engaged during the pandemic, many Algerian universities implemented the Moodle e-learning platform. The University of Tizi-Ouzou started using this online educational platform in March 2020 to upload courses and assignments and provide tests and quizzes. Since COVID-19 required teachers to maximise the utilisation of Moodle, it is important to find out their opinions towards this virtual platform. Therefore, this study aimed at investigating the perceptions and the experiences of EFL teachers at the University of Tizi-Ouzou with Moodle during COVID-19 outbreak.

---

<sup>2</sup> **Email:** [berkatouche@gmail.com](mailto:berkatouche@gmail.com)  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5487-0496>

## Review of Literature

### *1.1. E-Learning during COVID-19 Pandemic Lockdown*

The current era is witnessing an information revolution in which communication and media technologies are a determining factor in the significant changes affecting a variety of sectors, including education. With brisk technological advances, there is an urgent need to develop strategies to revolutionise the field of education. The advent of e-learning, based on multimedia and the Internet, has taken the educational industry by storm. With the unprecedented advancement in computing disciplines, many countries have made substantial strides towards implementing this electronic web-based learning in educational programs, and Algeria is no exception. Indeed, Algeria has introduced several pedagogical transformations to enhance the quality of education by offering training programmes and incorporating e-learning (Ghounane, 2020, p. 22). However, the application of e-learning in Algerian education is still at its infancy and faces several challenges.

Integrating e-learning in education during the pandemic crisis of COVID-19 has become more important than it has ever been. The rapid spread of the disease around the world resulted in the closure of all educational institutions and left teachers and students dependent on e-learning. COVID-19 outbreak affected not only the health sector but also the field of education (Hoq, 2020, p. 458). Indeed, Krishnapatria (2020) asserted “This ‘lockdown’-like scenario has disrupted the traditional learning process nationwide and transformed it into an internet-based learning” (p. 1). To avoid the proliferation of this dangerous disease, traditional face-to-face education was prohibited and replaced by digital online education. Radha et al. (2020) claimed that in the time of COVID-19 epidemic, the education sector entered a digital age where teachers are virtually connected to their students (p. 1088).

Many studies were conducted to explore the use of e-learning during school closures because of COVID-19 epidemic. Hoq (2020), for instance, examined teachers’ views regarding e-learning implementation during the pandemic period. A self-administered survey was addressed to thirty-three male teachers of the Management and Information Technology Department of Jubail Industrial College in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia from March to May 2020. The survey comprised ten statements answered on a five-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”. The obtained data were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences. The results showed that most of the teachers had positive attitudes towards e-learning. Hoq (2020) stated, “All the teachers wholeheartedly co-operated to make online education successful” (p. 462).

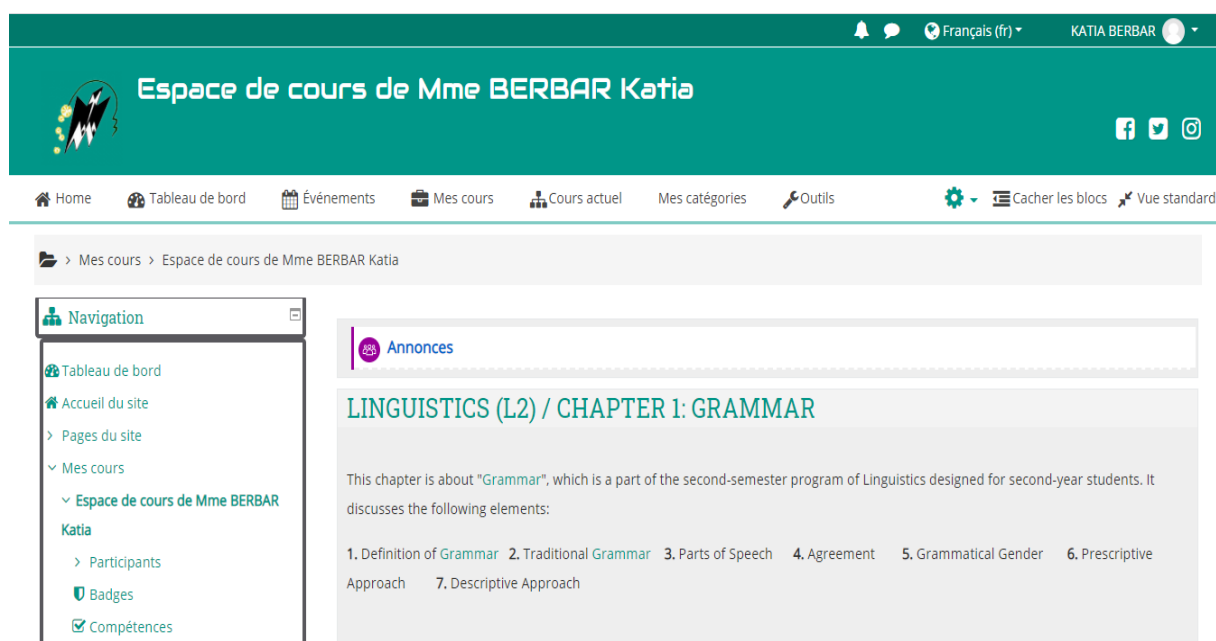
In another study, Kar (2020) investigated secondary school teachers’ attitudes towards online teaching during COVID-19 lockdown. A descriptive cross-sectional study was conducted in the North 24 Parganas district of West Bengal in India. A five-point Likert scale was created using Google Forms and directed to the participants in August 2020. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences version 22 was used to analyse data. The research findings revealed that teachers’ viewpoint of online teaching was unsatisfactory. This was mainly due to the lack of experience and knowledge about online teaching.

Effective implementation of e-learning amid COVID-19 depends essentially on teachers’ perceptions. The above-mentioned studies reached contradicting conclusions and focused mainly on teachers’ attitudes overseas. At odds with what is happening abroad, little if no research was conducted in Algeria. Therefore, more research is needed to delve into Algerian teachers’ perceptions of e-learning, and more specifically the Moodle platform, during COVID-19 lockdown.

## 1.2. Moodle E-learning Platform

Moodle is an acronym that stands for Modular Object-Oriented Dynamic Learning Environment. This internet-based portal was designed in 2002 by Martin Dougiamas at the Curtin University of Technology in Australia (Kurti, 2008, p. 3). According to Dharmendra et al. (2011), “Moodle is a Course Management System (CMS) - a software package designed to help educators to create quality online courses” (p. 34). Similarly, Oproiu (2015) stated that Moodle is an open-source learning management software that creates a collaborative and virtual learning environment where learning is realised online (p. 427). Teachers can use this free e-learning tool to produce internet-based courses and create an interactive learning environment with their students by using communication facilities such as chat rooms and forums. Students, on the other hand, can use the platform to join the courses, get access to the activities and tests uploaded by their teachers, and work collaboratively with their classmates on the different assignments. Bouguebs (2019) indicated that since Moodle allows students to study at their own pace, their motivation to learn is boosted (p. 4).

Nowadays, Moodle is used in different sectors, including education. With the rapid technological advancements, many higher education institutions around the world use Moodle as the main platform to create an Internet-based learning system. In Algeria, many universities integrated the Moodle platform to take full advantage of modern technology and create an interface for e-learning. The University of Tizi-Ouzou adopted the Moodle learning system in March 2020 when the application of e-learning became required due to COVID-19 pandemic lockdown. The platform can be accessed via the university web academic portal <https://teleensm.ummo.dz/>.



The screenshot shows the Moodle user interface for a course. At the top, there is a green header with the course title "Espace de cours de Mme BERBAR Katia" and the user name "KATIA BERBAR". Below the header is a navigation bar with icons for Home, Tableau de bord, Événements, Mes cours, Cours actuel, Mes catégories, and Outils. A sidebar on the left contains a "Navigation" menu with options like Tableau de bord, Accueil du site, Pages du site, Mes cours, Espace de cours de Mme BERBAR Katia, Participants, Badges, and Compétences. The main content area features an "Annonces" section with the title "LINGUISTICS (L2) / CHAPTER 1: GRAMMAR" and a paragraph of text: "This chapter is about 'Grammar', which is a part of the second-semester program of Linguistics designed for second-year students. It discusses the following elements:". Below this text is a list of seven elements: 1. Definition of Grammar, 2. Traditional Grammar, 3. Parts of Speech, 4. Agreement, 5. Grammatical Gender, 6. Prescriptive Approach, and 7. Descriptive Approach.

Figure 1. The Moodle Platform of the University of Tizi-Ouzou

## **2. Methodology**

### *2.1. Research Objectives and Research Questions*

This descriptive case study was conducted to investigate EFL teachers' perceptions and experiences with the Moodle platform during COVID-19 pandemic lockdown. In addition, this research work was designed to determine teachers' perceived advantages and disadvantages of teaching through Moodle. More specifically, the study attempted to answer the following research questions:

1. How do teachers from the department of English at the University of Tizi-Ouzou perceive the use of the Moodle platform during COVID-19 epidemic lockdown?
2. What are teachers' perceived advantages of teaching through Moodle during COVID-19 lockdown?
3. What are the challenges of teaching through Moodle during the pandemic of COVID-19?

### *2.2. Data Collection Instrument*

Data were collected from fourteen teachers affiliated to the department of English at the University of Tizi-Ouzou. Due to physical isolation triggered by COVID-19 virus, it was impossible to meet the participants and gather data face-face-face. Therefore, an online questionnaire comprising closed-ended and open-ended questions was used to collect the relevant data. Closed-ended questions aimed to gather numerical data, whereas open-ended questions sought to obtain qualitative data and detailed information from the respondents. The questionnaire comprised three sections. The first section gathered background information about the respondents. The second section was about their perceptions of the Moodle platform. The third and last section intended to ascertain teachers' perceived advantages and disadvantages of teaching through Moodle. The questionnaire was created using Google Forms and sent via email on September 9, 2020, to obtain responses from the respondents. The answers were received between the 10 and 12 of September 2020.

### *2.3. Data Analysis Procedures*

To examine the data obtained from the online questionnaire, both quantitative and qualitative data analysis procedures were used. To be more specific, the data gained from the closed-ended questions were treated quantitatively using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 24). This computer software package is mainly used in Social Sciences to perform statistical analysis. Descriptive statistics were used to calculate frequencies and percentages. The information got from the open-ended questions were treated qualitatively using thematic analysis. In other words, the respondents' replies were categorised, coded, and grouped into key themes. Thematic analysis is a valuable data analysis tool because it helps the researcher to analyse an extensive set of data and detect similarities and dissimilarities amid data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

## **3. Results and Discussion**

### *3.1. Background Information about the Respondents*

To obtain demographic data about the respondents, the teachers were asked to specify their gender, degree held, and teaching experience. Table 1 recapitulates the respondents' basic characteristics.

Table 1  
*Characteristics of the Respondents*

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
<b>Gender</b>	Male	6	42.9
	Female	8	57.1
<b>Academic Degree</b>	B.A/Licence	1	7.1
	Master	2	14.3
	Magister	8	57.1
	Ph.D./Doctorate	3	21.4
<b>Teaching Experience</b>	Less than a year	1	7.1
	1-3 Years	4	28.6
	4-6 Years	0	0
	7-10 Years	3	21.4
	11-15 Years	2	14.3
	16-20 Years	1	7.1
	21 Years and over	3	21.4

The analysis of the first three questions revealed the participants' profile. Among the fourteen respondents, 57.1% are female while 42.9% are male. Most of the teachers (57.1%) have a Magister degree, while 21.4% hold a Doctorate degree. The majority of the teachers have been teaching English from seven years and over. This means that most of the respondents are experienced teachers.

### *3.2. Teaching through Moodle during COVID-19 Lockdown*

The fourth question asked the respondents to state whether they were demotivated to teach during COVID-19 lockdown. The analysis of this question revealed that the majority of the participants responded negatively. To be more specific, 10 teachers out of fourteen (71.4%) claimed that they were not demotivated to teach during the lockdown period. This means that these participants are always motivated to perform their job as teachers and are willing to teach under any circumstances. Four teachers out of fourteen (28.6%), on the other hand, answered this question positively. Their lack of motivation was mainly due to the absence of interaction with their students. For them, this lack of contact and feedback from students implies that teaching is taking place in a vacuum. The following declaration exemplifies this point:

As a teacher, I need to be more present and more clear about the instructions and what I expect from my students. The lack of face-to-face communication makes it even harder to get my message across and be understood by my students. It sounds superficial and lacks humanity.

The fifth question requested the respondents to specify whether they have used any course management software like Moodle before the epidemic. The majority of the participants (71.4%) indicated that they have never integrated any online management learning system into their teaching. This entails that before the pandemic of COVID-19 these teachers relied on traditional face-to-face teaching and have never incorporated e-learning. 28.6% of teachers have already attempted to use virtual learning environments. This means that these teachers combined traditional classroom setting and e-learning. The Moodle platform, for instance, can be used as a tool to create this blended learning environment.

When asked whether they have received any specific training on the use of the Moodle platform, 57.1% reported having received no training. This lack of training and knowledge may explain their reluctance to use any course management software like Moodle before the lockdown. 28.6% of the respondents stated that they took part in an online training programme

provided by the university during the lockdown. This training consisted of a series of videos explaining how to use the platform. 7.1% engaged in a kind of self-training. The same percentage (7.1%) received training at a specialised school.

The seventh question was related to the purpose(s) of using the Moodle platform. The analysis of this question showed that eleven out of fourteen teachers (91.7%) use Moodle to upload their course. It was also found that none of the teachers assigns daily/weekly tasks via Moodle to support their courses. Only one teacher (8.3%) initiates online discussions with students about the courses. Three teachers (25%) quiz and test their students via Moodle, whereas three other teachers (25%) use the platform to keep their students informed regularly. The findings related to this question unveiled a lack of teacher-student interaction. The majority of the teachers do not assign home assignments and do not assess students' learning. They just support the continuation of teaching by posting lectures in PDF, Word, and PowerPoint formats. The students can then download and revise the lectures in their free time.

Concerning teachers' satisfaction with the Moodle platform, the results of the eighth question demonstrated that 23.1% were satisfied with teaching through this e-learning portal. These teachers found that Moodle is informative and useful. 76.9% of the respondents reported being unsatisfied. Given the lack of training and knowledge and the absence of interaction with students to discuss the different lectures, it is no surprise that the majority of the respondents were displeased and disappointed. Statements like "not really, because I don't completely master it", "Not 'satisfied' is actually not the appropriate word. I'd rather say, 'not convinced' because there's no face-to-face interaction and no feedback from students. Therefore, the learning objectives are only partly achieved" and "No interaction with students. Other tools need to be used such as video conferencing and webinars" illustrate this point.

When asked to describe their feelings when using the Moodle platform, nine out of fourteen teachers (64.3%) professed that they are frustrated and left behind. Due to the lack of adequate training and insufficient knowledge and skills, the teachers felt incompetent to use the platform. They did not feel confident and were more relaxed when teaching through the traditional face-to-face instructional method. 21.4% of the respondents asserted being confident and relaxed, while 14.3% declared that they are excited and motivated. These teachers are proficient and familiar with the basics of the platform.

The tenth question contains eight statements answered on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". The respondents were asked to specify the degree of their agreement or disagreement with each statement. The results are displayed in terms of percentages in Table 2.

Table 2  
*Teachers' Perceptions of the Moodle Platform*

Item N <sup>o</sup>	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	Moodle can replace traditional face-to-face teaching.	0%	14.3%	14.3%	42.9%	28.6%
2	The course is better delivered through Moodle than through face-to-face teaching.	0%	0%	21.4%	35.7%	42.9%
3	The use of the Moodle platform during the pandemic is useful and convenient.	0%	42.9%	35.7%	21.4%	0%
4	Moodle facilitates students' access to the different courses and activities.	0%	7.1%	35.7%	50.0%	7.1%
5	Moodle allows me to interact and communicate with my students.	0%	14.3%	28.6%	42.9%	14.3%
6	Moodle allows me to test my students.	0%	14.3%	21.4%	50.0%	14.3%
7	Moodle does not suit me and my students.	28.6%	42.9%	7.1%	21.4%	0%
8	In the future, the department/university should rely more on Moodle.	14.3%	14.3%	28.6%	42.9%	0%

As it is demonstrated in Table 2, 71.5% of the teachers disagreed and strongly disagreed that Moodle can replace face-to-face teaching. The majority of the respondents were against using Moodle as a replacement for face-to-face classroom instruction. Similarly, Verma and Priyamvada (2020) found that more than half of the teachers (56%) were opposed to the use of virtual instruction as a substitute for face-to-face teaching. Regarding the second statement, it was found that 78.6% of the respondents denied the fact that the course is better delivered through Moodle than through face-to-face teaching. The results related to the first two statements suggested that the majority of the teachers prefer face-to-face teaching and believe that it is more effective than online teaching. Concerning the third statement, 42.9% of the informants found that the Moodle system is useful and convenient during the pandemic of COVID-19. This might be because the platform allowed the resumption of scholarly activities despite the lockdown and social restrictions. The respondents believed that this emergency remote teaching was a better solution than postponing education. However, 35.7% of teachers remained undecided while 21.4% rejected the statement. The findings related to the fourth statement divulged that 57.1% of the participants affirmed that Moodle did not facilitate students' access to the different courses and activities they uploaded. This means that students faced difficulties to access the platform and could not download the teaching materials and activities posted by their teachers. 35.7% of the teachers were uncertain, while 7.1% supported the statement. The interpretation of the fifth statement indicated that more than half of the respondents (57.2%) contested that Moodle allowed them to interact and communicate with their students.

Likewise, the results of the sixth statement showed that 64.3% of the teachers reported that Moodle did not allow them to test their students' learning. This means that the teachers did not stay in touch with their students virtually during the outbreak situation. Since the platform

was an unplanned solution in response to the sudden crisis of COVID-19, it was mainly designed to publish documents and academic content and did not permit the teachers to give online lessons where they can interact with their students and provide them with feedback. Sharing documents and publishing course content alone is not sufficient. Interactive lessons, activities, and discussions are integral parts of online teaching and learning. For online teaching to be effective, real-time quizzes, chat rooms, and videoconferencing should be integrated to create a learning environment similar to a classroom. The analysis of the seventh statement revealed teachers' attitudes towards Moodle in terms of its fitness. Most of the teachers (71.5%) agreed and strongly agreed that Moodle does not suit them or their students. According to these teachers, traditional face-to-face teaching is more suitable for them and their students than virtual online instruction. As for the eighth and last statement, the findings demonstrated that 42.9% of the teachers refuted that Moodle should be an integral part of the educational process in the future. 28.6% of the respondents were in favour of combining face-to-face teaching and online instruction through Moodle after the lockdown phase. The same percentage (28.6%) could not decide whether the department/university should rely more on Moodle in the future. Teachers' reticence to use Moodle with face-to-face traditional teaching in their future teaching experiences might be due to the lack of formal training to use the platform. The teachers were never introduced to the basics of Moodle before COVID-19 lockdown. The lack of training and requisite competencies to use this platform could negatively affect teachers' readiness and engagement towards online teaching. The results showed that teachers are not yet ready for online teaching and need training. Therefore, it is necessary to engage teachers in training programmes, workshops and seminars, raise their awareness about the potential of online teaching, encourage them to incorporate it into their teaching practices more frequently, and prepare them for the future if any situation similar to COVID-19 arises.

Lack of preparation and experience to handle online classes may lead to negative perceptions. Indeed, the results of the study showed that the majority of the teachers viewed this transition to full online teaching negatively. This entails that teachers' perceptions of using the Moodle-based teaching platform during COVID-19 crisis were negative.

### *3.3. Teachers' Perceived Advantages and Disadvantages of Teaching through Moodle*

Even though the application of the Moodle platform was necessary during COVID-19 lockdown, there are advantages and disadvantages. The last two questions asked the respondents to mention the benefits and drawbacks of teaching through Moodle. Teachers' responses to these open-ended questions were coded and grouped into main themes.

Consistent with the findings, the most cited advantage of Moodle was that this platform keeps students engaged with their studies during the lockdown period. Students can download and review course materials, lectures, and assignments posted by their teachers. This point is illustrated in statements like "To remind students that they're still students at least. I mean at least they can be provided with some courses so they don't forget everything", "It keeps students informed about the state of art and what they should study to get ready for the next semester", and "In critical situations like the one in which we live these days, the Moodle has kept the students in touch with their studies". Another perceived advantage of Moodle was that it facilitates the teacher's job and saves time. Moodle allows teachers to share educational materials with their students from the confines of their homes, thus decreasing the time required to complete the syllabus. One of the teachers admitted, "Moodle helps students and teachers to perform their jobs effortlessly without necessarily moving to university. Hence it is not time and energy consuming". Another respondent confessed, "No particular advantage is in view except maybe less physical efforts and more time saving". The third advantage mentioned by the respondents was that Moodle offers a safe system for both teachers and students. To be more specific, Moodle allows teachers and students to work and study from home for the rest



of the semester and limits their chances of being infected by this dangerous disease. For example, one of the participants said, “It helps teachers as well as students to be safe in the period of Covid 19 pandemic”. Similarly, another respondent declared, “Conducting lectures using Moodle is a safe option to protect both teachers and students from the risks of the Coronavirus”.

Concerning the disadvantages of teaching through Moodle, the respondents’ answers were coded into four key themes. The first drawback mentioned by the participants was the absence of face-to-face interaction and feedback from students. The lack of direct interaction prevented teachers from explaining the teaching materials and ensuring that learning took place. One respondent stated, “The problem with this Moodle is that the teacher does not see his/her students. As a teacher, I couldn’t interact more actively and more fruitfully with students. The teacher/student relationship weakened considerably, and the teacher’s role weakened accordingly”. Another teacher acknowledged that:

No physical presence is the only issue so far. As a teacher, I need to be more present and more clear about the instructions and what I expect from my students. The lack of face-to-face communication makes it even harder to get my message across and be understood by my students. I feel like I am speaking to a brick wall.

The second hurdle reported by the participating teachers was the difficulty for the students to access this e-learning platform. Many students had access issues and could not consult the lectures and assignments posted by their teachers. Since the platform was an ad hoc solution during the pandemic, the students faced registration problems like getting a username and password. One teacher specified, “The main obstacles are mess in the organisation of the Moodle platform and the inaccessibility of this platform by the majority of students”. The third challenge was teachers’ and students’ lack of knowledge and skills to use the Moodle e-learning system. As the results of the study indicated, most of the teachers received no training to use Moodle. Their unfamiliarity and lack of training hindered the effective adoption of the platform. The statement “The biggest problem was the lack of training to use it effectively by both teachers and students” exemplifies the situation. The fourth problem the teachers faced was technical. To be more specific, slow Internet connectivity can be a major hindrance to adopt Moodle appropriately. The success of online teaching depends on an adequate Internet connection. For example, one participant pointed out

Internet connection makes it nearly impossible to submit one single course. I think that our country is far from imitating developed countries in terms of teaching online. The reason is that we do not have the least means for that. This is what makes it difficult, if not impossible, to succeed in this task.

Considering these disadvantages, the teachers further commented on the adoption of the Moodle platform. The majority of the respondents stressed the need for adequate training about the use of Moodle. For an effective application of the Moodle e-learning platform, both teachers and students should be engaged in extensive training programmes. One of the questioned teachers suggested that:

I think that teachers and students should be trained in order to use Moodle correctly especially at the level of Higher Education. Since Moodle is applied in various Algerian universities, the ministry of higher education should take serious actions so as to offer special training programs on how to use this platform.

Another teacher submitted that educational institutions should not completely rely on online teaching. According to him, fruitful teaching and learning take place when online instruction is blended with conventional face-to-face education. This allows the teacher to save

time. That is to say, in face-to-face teaching, the teacher can interact directly with students and explain the content of the course, while in online teaching he/she can publish further teaching materials related to the lecture and different learning activities. A third suggestion was related to Internet connectivity issues and the value of the Internet in supporting online teaching. Based on the comment of one teacher, connectivity problems such as slow Internet speed constitute a threat to the success of online teaching, especially during COVID-19 lockdown where instruction entirely took place in virtual digital environments. Consistent with this teacher, a decent and reliable Internet connection is necessary for the success of online teaching during the educational disruption caused by the Coronavirus.

#### 4. Conclusion

COVID-19 crisis gave rise to online teaching and learning as a substitute for face-face-classroom instruction. Educational activities were carried out remotely using digital platforms like Moodle. At this point, it is important to examine teachers' viewpoints regarding this online platform. Therefore, the present study was conducted to explore the perceptions and experiences of EFL teachers at the University of Tizi-Ouzou regarding teaching through the Moodle platform during COVID-19 outbreak. The results showed that the teachers were not prepared for this change and held negative perceptions towards teaching through Moodle. The majority of the teachers preferred traditional face-to-face teaching to online instruction. They found teaching through Moodle less appealing, mainly owing to the absence of interaction with students and lack of training and technological knowledge. Therefore, to increase the efficiency of Moodle and carry on instructional activities during future crises, it is important to provide teachers with training sessions on the adoption of this software into their teaching practices. This may widen their outlook towards the use of online teaching platforms.

A limitation of this study is that the number of the participants was relatively small. In order to obtain more generalizable results, further research is needed to gather data from a large sample of respondents from other educational departments throughout Algeria. Another limitation is that this study covered only teachers' perceptions and experiences with the Moodle e-learning platform during COVID-19 pandemic lockdown. It would be interesting to explore students' insights as well. Further studies should investigate students' perceptions regarding their experience with using Moodle as a learning tool during the outbreak of COVID-19.

#### References

- Bouguebs, R. (2019). Approaching a reading course via Moodle-based blended learning: EFL learners' insights. *Modern Journal of Language Teaching Methods (MJLTM)*, 9(11), 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.26655/mjltm.2019.11.11>.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 77-101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp0630aa>.
- Dharmendra, C., Chanchal, K. B., Abhishek, C., & Anita, S. (2011). Effective e-learning through Moodle. *International Journal of Advance Technology & Engineering Research*, 1(1), 34-38.
- Ghounane, N. (2020). Moodle or social networks: What alternative refuge is appropriate to Algerian EFL students to learn during Covid-19 pandemic. *Arab World English Journal (AWEJ)*, 11(3), 21-41. <https://dx.doi.org/10.24093/awej/vol11no3.22>.
- Hoq, M. Z. (2020). E-learning during the period of pandemic (COVID-19) in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia: An empirical study. *American Journal of Educational Research*, 8(7), 457-464. <https://doi.org/10.12691/education-8-7-22>.
- Kar, S. (2020). Teachers' attitudes towards online teaching (e-learning) during Covid-19 lockdown. *Journal of Information and Computational Science*, 10(8), 351- 358. <http://www.joics.org/gallery/ics-3979.pdf>.

- Krishnapatria, K. (2020). From 'lockdown' to letdown: Students' perception of e-learning amid the COVID-19 outbreak. *ELT in Focus*, 3(1), 1-8. <https://doi.org/10.35706/eltinf.v3i1.36944>.

- Kurti, E. (2008). *Students' experiences on eMesimi: An e-learning system in University of Prishtina, Kosova*. Unpublished thesis. School of Mathematics and Systems Engineering, University of Prishtina, Prishtina. <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:205989/FULLTEXT01.pdf>.

- Mailizar, Almanthari, A., Maulina, S., & Bruce, S. (2020). Secondary school mathematics teachers' views on e-learning implementation barriers during the COVID-19 pandemic: The case of Indonesia. *Eurasia Journal of Mathematics, Science and Technology Education*, 16(7), em1860. <https://doi.org/10.29333/ejmste/82400>.

- Oproiu, G. C. (2015). A study about using e-learning platform (Moodle) in university teaching process. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 180, 426-432. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.02.1400>.

- Radha, R., Mahalakshmi, K., Sathish Kumar, V., & Saravanakumar, A. R. (2020). E-learning during lockdown of Covid-19 pandemic: A global perspective. *International Journal of Control and Automation*, 13(4), 1088-1099.

- Verma, G., & Priyamvada. (2020). COVID-19 and teaching: Perception of school teachers on usage of online teaching tools. *Mukt Shabd Journal*, IX(VI), 2492- 2503.

## Appendix Teachers' Questionnaire

Dear colleagues,

The present questionnaire intends to gather data regarding EFL teachers' perceptions and experiences with teaching through the Moodle platform during COVID-19 epidemic lockdown. Your answers are very important for the completion of this work. Therefore, you are kindly asked to answer the following questions. Your answers will be anonymous and confidential, so please answer as honestly as you can. Thank you in advance for your precious time and participation.

### Section 1: Background Information

**Instruction:** Please indicate your answer to the following questions by checking the appropriate circle.

1. Please specify your gender

- Male
- Female

2. What type of degree do you hold?

- B.A/Licence
- Master
- Magister
- Ph.D./Doctorate

Other, Please specify.....

3. How long have you been teaching English?

- Less than a year
- 1-3 Years
- 4-6 Years
- 7-10 Years
- 11-15 Years
- 16-20 Years
- 21 Years and over

**Section 2: Perception and Experience with Moodle during COVID-19**

**Instruction:** Please indicate your answer to the following questions by checking the appropriate circle or give full responses when necessary.

**4.** Are you demotivated to teach during COVID-19 lockdown?

- Yes
- No

If the answer is 'no', please justify your answer.....

**5.** Have you ever used course management software like Moodle before the epidemic?

- Yes
- No

**6.** Have you received any training to use the Moodle platform?

- No training
- Self-training
- Online training provided the university

Other, please specify.....

**7.** For which purpose(s) do you use the Moodle platform?

- Upload my courses
- Assign daily/weekly tasks that support my courses
- Initiate online discussions with my students about the course
- Quiz and test students
- Keep students informed on a regular basis

Other, please specify.....

**8.** Are you satisfied with teaching through the Moodle platform?

- Yes
- No

If the answer is 'no', please justify your answer.....

**9.** How do you feel about teaching through the Moodle platform?

- Confident and relaxed
- Excited and motivated
- Frustrated and left behind

Other, please specify.....

10. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Item N°	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	Moodle can replace traditional face-to-face teaching.					
2	The course is better delivered through Moodle than through face-to-face teaching.					
3	The use of the Moodle platform during the pandemic is useful and convenient.					
4	Moodle facilitates students' access to the different courses and activities.					
5	Moodle allows me to interact and communicate with my students.					
6	Moodle allows me to test my students.					
7	Moodle does not suit me and my students.					
8	In the future, the department/university should rely more on Moodle.					

**Section 3: Perceived Advantages and Disadvantages of Teaching through Moodle during COVID-19 Pandemic**

*Instruction:* Please indicate your responses to the following questions.

11. According to you, what are the advantages of teaching through Moodle?

.....  
 .....

12. What obstacle(s) have you encountered while teaching through Moodle?

.....  
 .....

13. Would you please add any other comments or suggestions you consider important for this issue. Thank you very much for your help and cooperation.

.....  
 .....

Souad Smaili<sup>3</sup>

School of Arts and Humanities, University of Northampton, UK

BETWEEN “BECOMING LIKE- NATIVES AND “MULTILINGUAL”: A POSTSTRUCTURALIST ORIENTATION TO IMAGINED IDENTITY AND AGENCY

### Abstract

Do learners of English as a foreign language (EFL) develop imagined identities in target language learning? Are their identities affected by their use of other languages? How do relations of power foster the complexity and multiplicity of the developed identities in language learning? To explore these questions, an interactive theatre course was carried out at a university in Algeria. The students who took part in this course were undergraduates aged between 19 and 31 years old. The participants have a rich linguistic repertoire as they are multilingual, who make use of Berber as their mother tongue; Arabic as their first language; French and English as foreign languages. This study aims at promoting change in the way students learn English through introducing innovative tasks to the EFL classroom. The study adopted a poststructuralist framework, which is highly grounded in Norton’s perspective on identity (Norton, 2000) and Bourdieu’s concept of power relations in language use (Bourdieu, 1991). I applied interpretive phenomenology as a research design, where in-depth interviews were conducted with the participants. Their scripts written in the three languages: English, French, and Arabic were considered in the analysis. The findings of this study revealed the effectiveness of using narratives and drama tasks in the EFL classroom. The findings also revealed that the proposed method involved the participants in an interactive and imagined space where they empowered themselves, constructed their agency, and developed new self-understandings which covered their multiple and imagined identities.

**Keywords:** imagined identities, multilingualism, post structuralism, power relations.

### 1. Introduction

The spread of English worldwide, and the need for a global communication created a shift in the approaches and system to English language teaching in Algeria (Bouazid, 2014). In her thesis Bourouba (2012) believes that new approaches are used in teaching English to fill in the gap created by traditional methods of teaching. The latter aimed at realizing language mastery through exposing the students to fully learn the target language (i.e. English). These include the ‘grammar-translation method’, ‘audio-lingual method’, and structural situational approach. These traditional methods were later replaced by other new approaches that were highly emphasized by the English language reforms in Algeria. These have encompassed the communicative language teaching (CLT) and Competency-based approach (CBA). The former focused on language competence, discourse, and grammar (Morandi, 2002). The latter, which is called CBA, is a continuous approach for the CLT (Bourouba, 2012). CBA’s aims at enhancing communicative competence among EFL/ESL students, but what makes it distinctive from communicative approach is that it focuses on functional and interactional aspects of language learning rather than emphasizing interaction only. CBA allows students to interact with others to express themselves, discuss their culture and interpret their opinions using the four skills (speaking, listening, reading, and writing) competently (Bourouba, 2012).

In effect, being in the context and observing teachers’ way of instruction, learners’ status in the EFL classroom and what students learn, is different from what explanations and English

<sup>3</sup> Email: [aseelderbal2019@gmail.com](mailto:aseelderbal2019@gmail.com)  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4467-9567>

curriculum say about these new approaches. My experience as an EFL student at this university, and the background knowledge that I gained from my experience as a teacher-trainee provided me with a general view on how English is taught, and on the gap, which might result in students who are not aware of their identities, their voices, and their roles in the classroom. According to my observation, some teachers of English still dominate their classrooms, and the students still attend their classes to consume information and use it back in the exams. Therefore, traces of traditional approaches are still present in the teaching and learning processes. Bringing authenticity to the EFL classroom and making learning more social than structural may allow students to voice themselves and to raise their awareness of the power and agency they can achieve in learning English. Fielding and Rudduck (2006) suggest that students who impose their voices in the classroom can promote change and empower themselves in terms of becoming decision makers, responsible, reflective, and more interactive, and build their character. These features give them self-empowerment and foster their identity in learning (Fielding & Rudduck, 2006).

Taking this further, this paper, which adopted the poststructuralist understanding of language learning and identity, sets out to explore whether interactive theatre can serve as a social and imagined space for Algerian EFL learners to bring their social experiences and dreams into the classroom, and whether it allows them to gain a self-positioning and agency to master English like native speakers. The linguistic profile of the participants in this study drove my attention towards the different social roles they perform as being the son, the daughter, the sister, the teacher, the student or the parent of somebody. It also made me consider the identities they develop in each language they use while performing those social roles. These research thoughts and reflections enabled me, as an interpretive, to explore whether the new identities that might emerge from learning English as a foreign language are different from the identities they formed when they used other languages such as Arabic, French or Berber. Therefore, I have included theatrical tasks where French and Arabic were used in both writing and performance to further explore this aspect.

## **2. Theoretical Framework**

### *2.1 Theatre in Language Learning*

Theatre promotes social interaction and communication between individuals, which may not be enhanced through reading and writing only (Pinkert, 2005). My study adopts one of interactive theatre techniques known as 'forum theatre. This method allows the use of imagination, critical thinking, and problem-solving capacities. It serves as a space where individuals can perform multiple roles such as being the narrator of the story/scenario, the audience who interacts with the characters, and the actor. This drama technique is designed for achieving various needs including change in organizations, creativity, and other needs in educational settings. It gives the chance for non-heard voices to become observed by others. It lets them make decisions on what they dream to become or plan to be in their future career. It is also an opportunity to master the target language through the interactive space it provides. Applying this in EFL learning may help the students to enhance the plurality of EFL students' voices/identities in the educational context (Kore, 2014, pp.4-5). Additionally, when both teacher and learners walk into their classroom, they should not leave their experiences and desires outside of the teaching/learning processes. Rather, the social being that lives inside the teacher/learner should walk with him and it is up to the teacher to introduce interactive tasks that make the learners travel with their desire to navigate the power relations and invest their different desires in learning (Norton, 2001).

The scenarios designed by the participants in this study are reflections of the experiences they lived in the past, present, or stories they formed as their future dreams/desires. These

personal stories may result in identity development. As Somers (2008) notes, personal writing can drive the person into three basic dimensions: organising recent experiences into a set of memories; being able to forecast future events, and here I refer to the concept of imagined community and the notion of becoming.

Furthermore, dramatic activities such as theatrical plays afford students with the chance to bring their voice and self-empowerment into the classroom. Hence, they can make their selves visible to others, as Thompson states: “I believe that the writing of a play is the writing of the self, and the acting of the role is the acting of a deeper and invisible part of the self” (Thompson, 2003, p. 31).

## *2.2 Identity and Self-Positioning*

Ivanic and Camps (2001) state that the features of speech a person uses can all be considered as signs of building the notion of ‘who I am’ in the context of English language learning. They also claim that all genres of writing contain features of self-representation and self-positioning which indicate the voice of the writer and his agentic self in his social group (Ivanic & Camps, 2001). Thus, revealing our voice in writing does not end only in the notion of self-representation and providing a self-positioning to our self, and other selves we construct, but it has also to deal with the negotiation of our identities as they are socially and discursively formed (Matsuda, 2001). Matsuda (2001) also claims that voice and identity are not constructed in a unique language only, but every language being the person’s mother tongue, his second or foreign language, all give the person various possibilities of shaping his/her own voice and identity. This is because the linguistic elements that may exist in a language might not exist in another language. The learner then gains power and agency when he decides what linguistic capital and which symbolic resources he/she would like to learn (Bourdieu, 1991). These types of capital strengthen power relations and shape learners’ identities.

## *2.3 Language and Power in the Poststructuralist Approach*

Individuals put their agency into practice when they decide what accent, genre, language codes to use in their speech, and being a multilingual or a bilingual offers the speakers a range of identities that they can use according to their social context and self-representation. It is in this social context that the individuals possess a range of social roles and gain different characteristics depending on the social groups they interact with, their duties and the languages used in their interactions (Vasilopoulos, 2015). Selecting the appropriate language to interact with people in the context is one aspect that allows identity construction as people use language to access the social group they desire to be part in (Norton, 2000). Interaction in the target language community is a sign of language learning, but also a sign of forming one’s linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Norton, 2000). Norton (2000) in most of her works on identity recommends that language teachers should encourage their students to be aware of their right to interact with each other as this fosters their role, identities, and positioning. This can be achieved through classroom tasks that the teacher designs and get the students engaged in.

Talking about identity and capital, poststructuralists (Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Weedon, 1997) believe that people possess a range of identities and multiple selves that change according to time and space. When constructing these identities, or demonstrating self-empowerment in the social group, the individual uses ‘agency’ to control these tasks and invest in the language they desire to learn or access (Norton, 2000; see also Bourdieu, 1991). Duff (2015) states that the notion of ‘agency’ is crucial in EFL settings because it allows the learner to imagine, accept, or refuse other roles or identities. This can be viewed in their use of language, contribution to the social group and any type of resistance during their interaction Duff (2015). Additionally, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) state that imagination underpins the construction of different types of identity. Norton (2001) used the



term ‘Imagined communities’ and ‘imagined identities’ as key concepts in her work to support students’ awareness of their right of using the foreign language in the classroom dynamically. According to Norton (2001), imagination is all a “creative process of producing new images of possibility and new ways of understanding one’s relation to the world that transcend more immediate acts of engagement” (Norton 2001, pp. 163-164). Poststructuralists (Norton, 2000; Norton, 2001; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004) perceive language as symbolic features that are used by individuals to empower themselves and impose their agentive selves in the society, which are, in turn, elements that embody identity construction (Zhao, 2011).

Bourdieu (1991) states that all types of linguistic interactions convey relations of power, and every single word or intonation the individuals, that he considers as ‘agents’, use in their daily communication can promote authority and power. This latter also differs depending on the group where this interaction takes place and the language being used. For Bourdieu (1991) not all words express the same power relations as there are words that might exist in a language but not in other ones. Thus, the power relations they convey are distinctive. These relations of power occur only in the social spaces because language is an essential component of social life. Bourdieu’s approach in linguistics is defined by the concepts of ‘habitus’, ‘field’ and ‘capital’. Each term has a role in shaping ones’ identity (Bourdieu, 1991). In language learning, every student develops a certain ‘habitus’ in interaction (speaking) and in writing, which is not necessarily marking his linguistic competence, but a ‘linguistic habitus’ that determines his social identity and future desires (Bourdieu, 1991). By ‘field’, he refers to the space where different actions, knowledge and other resources occur. These resources are what he calls ‘capital’. Capital can be presented in several types listed by Bourdieu as follows: ‘symbolic capital’ which refers to the vocabulary the individual uses in a given community to access to their linguistic resources; ‘linguistic capital’ which indicates the ability of the individual to use expressions to interact in a particular social group (Bourdieu, 1991); ‘cultural capital’ which, as mentioned in recent PhD thesis (Zhao, 2011), refers to knowledge and thoughts that features distinctive groups and classes within a given society; and economic capital related to money wealth, and other properties the individuals own (Bourdieu, 1991). These capitals and the individuals’ habitus all form relations of power in linguistic interactions, where identities are negotiated, within the social community (Bourdieu, 1991).

### **3. Methodology**

#### *3.1 Context and Procedures*

This study was conducted at the Department of English at a university in Algeria. 18 EFL students from both Bachelor’s and Master’s Degrees participated. I designed an exploratory course which lasted for two months covering ten sessions of reflective writing and theatrical performance. I adopted interpretive phenomenology as an approach for both data collection and analysis (see Frost, 2011; Smith, 2008).

I conducted in-depth interviews with the participants to support the research findings. I also designed drama and narrative tasks in each session to allow the students write about their experiences, write theatrical scripts collectively, and perform them on stage. These scripts and stories were collected to enhance the findings of this study.

#### *3.2 Analysis and Initial Findings*

In this paper, I have selected the interview transcripts of three participants that I referred to as cases and excerpts from their scripts. One of these scripts included some French sentences, while; the other ones were written just in English. I gave to each case a pseudo name to ensure their confidentiality. To analyse the data, I adopted Kleinman (2004) phenomenological strategy of data analysis. Kleinman (2004) claims that phenomenological analysis goes through global

reading of the data to achieve a general meaning about the transcripts. Then, the researcher should do secondary reading and extract units of meaning. Each unit of meaning should be clustered with those that convey similar sense. However, units of meaning that seem useless to the research should be deleted. Once clusters of meaning are formed, the researcher should start a description making a link to his study, and this is called ‘imaginative variation’. The researcher will then create essential units of meaning and start reciprocity, or reflection on his participants’ speech, behaviour and any point that was mentioned in his data. The final step is going back to the raw data and making a general structure which will be then an interpretation of the final results.

The table below provides a description for the three cases’ in-depth interviews:

**Table 1:** Description of Passages from the In-depth Interviews

Cases	Description and interpretation
Sali	<p>Sali is a 24 years old student of English at university, based in the school of education. She grew up in a small Berber region. Her native language is Kabyle. However, she speaks French fluently since her childhood due to her mother who was an Algerian migrant in France for 17 years. She also speaks Arabic, which she acquired at school. My interview with Sali, which lasted for an hour, revealed several issues in relation to her experiences and dreams as an EFL student and other elements that are tied to her participation in the theatrical sessions. Sali reported that using English fluently became one of her objectives since she studied English and that her desire is to achieve native-like-accent in learning. The excerpt below demonstrates Sali’s speech:</p> <p><i>I can say that being a student of English means a lot for me, it means dreams and objectives in life that I started to realise one by one. Before I study English at university I used to listen to my cousins who live in America when they visit us at home I just say to their English wow and I dream to speak like them. Now I am a student of English <u>so I am trying my best to achieve this dream of speaking like native speakers. I want to speak English fluently but I find difficulties, so I just switch to French or Kabyle...but when I came to theatre play on stage and sharing my thoughts with others and learning from them I even developed my accent from some students who speak very well. It let me play roles I never played in society such as being a man, being a mother, a teacher...</u></i></p> <p>This transcript revealed a challenge that Sali experienced in the EFL setting to gain language mastery. It shows how Sali enhanced her English accent compared to how it was before attending the sessions. It also shows that she developed new identities she did not experience before. It is the theatrical course that fostered the emergence of Sali’s new identities.</p>

Loundja	<p>Loundja is a 23 EFL student at university, based in the School of Literature and British Civilization. She spent her life in a Kabyle speaking city, while she was speaking mostly Arabic because of her parents who were originally from an Arabic region. Similarly, she claims that English is used just inside the academic setting, while she does not use it in the society, and this hindered her from achieving language mastery. She reported in her interview the following:</p> <p><i>I sometimes wish and try to use English as often as possible because we do not use it outside this academic context which then hinders us from improving our speaking though we try that but <u>the context where we live pushes us to use Kabyle or Arabic...</u></i></p> <p>She also added:</p> <p><i><u>I feel I did develop myself and my speaking skill in those sessions like last time when we did the play of somebody in the bus reading a novel and others mocking at him... I said oh my god if I am like this in reality I felt I am ugly, exactly I could see myself in reality and out of my comfort zone looking being a different person.</u></i></p> <p>Loundja wanted to develop her speaking ability and to become able to use English fluently inside and outside the classroom. The theatrical course helped her to achieve this objective. Most importantly, the plays she wrote and performed onstage with other participants let her discover new characters in herself as it made her experience other characters that she did not expect to live. This may have developed in her an awareness of new identities she can develop in language learning.</p>
Bilal	<p>Bilal, who is 22 years old, is a first year Master student of English at university, based in the school of Applied Linguistics. He has a mixed ethnicity. His father is Palestinian, while; his mother is Algerian. Both of his parents speak Arabic, but Bilal lived for 15 years in Bejaia city where he learned Kabyle. Being an English student let him have the desire to master English, and he reported in the interview the following:</p> <p><i>... um English, I use it at university and outside as well with few friends because <u>I want to master English especially British one...</u> so I watch TV in English, I listen to radio in English I write in English all what I do at home I try to do it in English to be able <u>to become a linguist</u></i></p> <p>...</p> <p>He added:</p> <p><i>I had some fear to act onstage, but it was helpful that <u>I could develop myself and to express my ideas and my personality to the spectators watching me. This let them know me who I am and my personality. I played many roles: sometimes a worker in supermarket, sometimes a father and sometimes a son. It let me be different person each time. I also practiced my English like when I wrote and perform in English I felt I was adapting myself to British culture I was forcing myself to be an English person. But when I wrote in Arabic it was totally different why because in Arabic does not change me I am always the same person exploring the experience in the same language like repetition of what I did but no development in my personality compared to performance in English. Even last year I got a scholarship to study for six months in France, and I went there with two other students so it was really difficult when I arrived to the residence I was like found that <u>I should speak in French everywhere even</u></u></i></p>

outside but at that time I only want to tell people there I want to speak English and I used to ask them in English like when I look for streets and shops...I really I really wished that time if France speaks English and I just felt that English is my native language or second not French...so I mean that that I speak more freely in English I am not productive in French compared to English. Even you know what I cannot write a sentence in Arabic this will take me hours I now just become attracted by English...

Bilal discussed his objective, which is achieving fluency in English learning. Thus, he took the challenge of learning English inside and outside the academic setting. In the course, he could develop his speaking skill through the practice of the language during performances onstage. He also could develop his character and experienced new ones. However, his talk on comparing his performance in English and Arabic/French revealed that he developed new identities in English. While he felt that when he writes and performs in Arabic/French, he does not get the chance to navigate a new identity. English influenced his linguistic competence. In other words, he feels less productive in other languages while he can freely use English. His last sentences on the experience he lived in France made him realise his need to speak in English. Additionally, a linguistic struggle emerged in his story. He found himself obliged to use French to communicate with others, while he had no desire to use it and he switches to English all the time. This complexity and struggle can be the result of becoming aware of his new facet of identity as an EFL student.

Further to the interviews, the following excerpts were taken from the theatrical scripts that the above three participants wrote in the course:

**Excerpt 1: ‘The last summer holiday’**

**Loundja:** *ah, before I Forget, I brought you some clothes and books, but the most important thing is that I had brought you with the mobile that I promised last year.*

**Saliha:** *Really, thank you so much dear, really, I have neither words nor expressions to express my joy...*

**Sali:** *aha me too I have brought a souvenir from champ Elise for the sweetest girl which is my cousin.*

**Excerpt 2: ‘I lost my soul’**

**Sali:** *Hi Lynda [sadness on her face] ...*

**Lynda:** *oh! Hello my friend, I think you are not fine! What’s happening with you?*

**Sali:** *oh dear, I still cannot forget my grandmother. She died two years ago. That was a sudden change for me. Her loss was huge because I did not lose just a grandma but a real mother and friend. She always encouraged me in my studies. When I told her I will become a teacher of English she hugged me and said ‘I am proud of you’. Now she left and the only thing that keeps me strong is my studies and my dream that I want to achieve to make her happy. I will teach English soon and talk about her for my students...*

### **Excerpts 3: 'France but I want English'**

**Bilal:** *Oh! Look Yacine, the 'Eiffel Tower', let's have some pictures.*

**Yacine:** *Oh! J'adore ce monument. Ci très jolie. [French vocabulary]*

**Bilal:** *Hey man common! We are not French students why are you using French and not English?*

**Yacine:** *but we are in France and French people speak French not English. Let's ask this lady to take a picture for us next to the Eiffel Tower.*

**Bilal:** *[Asking the lady], Bounjour Madam, Vous Vous [thinking about what to say] I mean pictures please.*

*Yacine: What happened with you Bilal? That's easy why you couldn't speak French?*

**Bilal:** *I am confused my friend. I lost my French vocabulary. My brain turns back to English unconsciously. It becomes difficult for me to use French because I am more competent in English....*

## **4. Discussion**

The sentences highlighted and underlined in blue in the above data were analyzed and interpreted into units of meaning. The main units that emerged include Sali's and Bilal's challenges to access the resources of English (Symbolic capital), self-representation in English and other languages, and emergence of new identities. I am explaining these findings below.

### *4.1 Symbolic Capital*

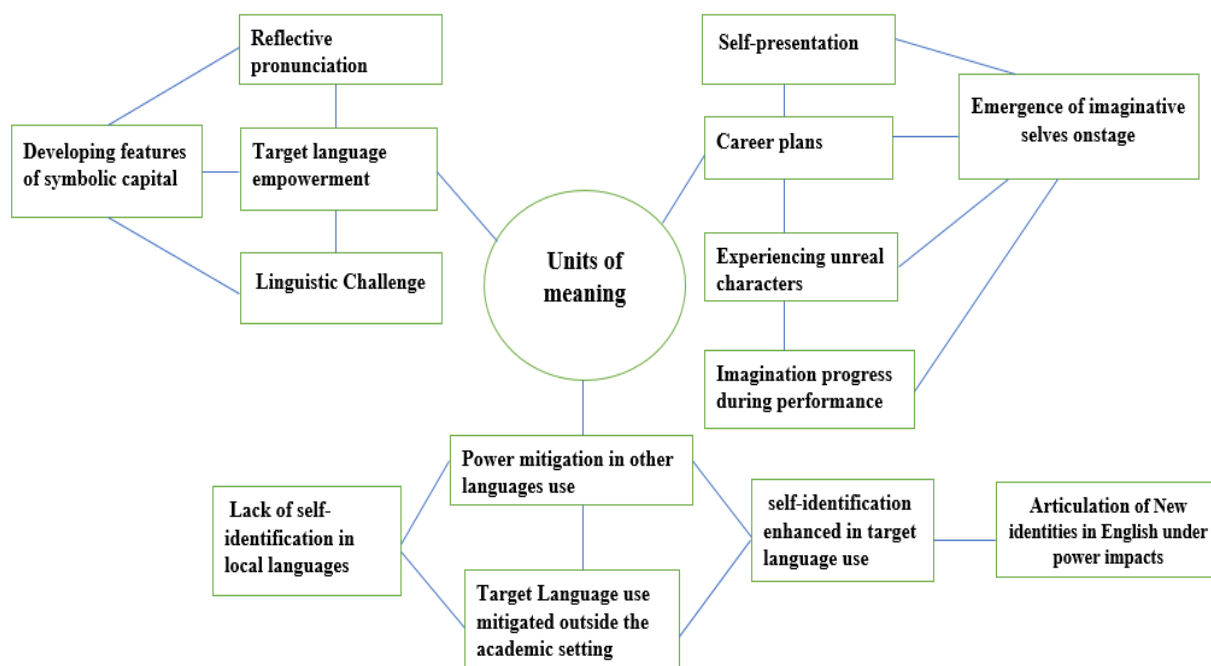
The findings of this phenomenological analysis showed how the theatrical course helped the three participants above to improve their pronunciation and interactive competence and made them define themselves as legitimate users of English. The course also allowed them to create a self-representation where they imagined themselves as native speakers achieving different professional and social roles that empowered their symbolic and cultural capitals in language learning. As Norton (2000) claims in the literature, accessing the target language demands strong power relations, such as learning more vocabulary and using it with native speakers, becoming fluent and learning the target language accent (symbolic capital), and learning their culture (cultural capital). My study supports this claim. For instance, Sali developed the desire to access the target language through enhancing her interaction with her native-speaking cousins, who live in the US. This may have allowed her to invest her linguistic competence and take the most of the resources available to her in those English interactions. Therefore, Sali may have gained a symbolic capital that also may have contributed into shaping her linguistic identity (i.e. identifying the self as a native-like speaker). However, Loundja and Bilal could navigate their power relations in language learning through the progress they showed during their attendance in the theatrical course. Both of them mentioned that the course enhanced their vocabulary, pronunciation and made them speak English as much as they could. The latter is one of the characteristics of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991).

### *4.2 Self-Representation in English and Other Languages, and Emergence of New Identities*

The participants in this research mentioned that their identities were highly articulated in their use of target language learning (English), while their use of other languages such as French and Arabic made their identities passive and sometime less articulated compared to English. Here comes the concept of imagination. In other words, using English (either in speaking or writing) during the theatrical course might have offered the students a discursive and imaginative space where they could get access to different imagined worlds. It is this

imagination that opened the door to new identities to emerge. Some of those identities were connected to the participants' future roles (imagined identities), and other identities relate to the different social and academic roles that the participants perform in their social world. For example, an imagined 'career identity' emerged from the data, and this can be seen in Bilal's phrase: 'to be able to become a linguist'. This imagined identity, which I referred to as 'future becoming', also emerged in Sali's transcript. Sali mentioned her desire to become a teacher of English, which is driven by a contextual dimension that is the impact of her grandmother (see Abes, Jons & McEwens, 2007). However, a language struggle is revealed in Bilal's story that he lived in France, and Loundja's claim on the social barriers she faces in English language use. These participants gained agency and power in using English within the academic space, while they show some refusal to use French instead of English outside this space. A resistance in using English and other languages such as French is demonstrated in the data. This means that those participants could use their voices to promote change in the way they want to learn English and to decide where they want to use it, the people they want to use it with (natives) and their need to speak English in different contexts.

The findings in this realm confirm the presented literature in regards to identity development using different languages (see Matsuda, 2001). It seems that using a different language results in new identities in the person as is the case with the participant Bilal. The distinctive point here is that this participant feels that other languages do not give him the chance to develop new identities compared to English. The findings also support the poststructuralist's perspectives of identity that it is fluid and emerges in interaction (Norton, 2000).



*Figure 1: A summary of the Phenomenological Analysis*

## 5. Conclusion and Implications

To sum up, this study aims at exploring imagined identities amongst learners of English as a foreign language within multilingual classrooms, and how power relations affect those identities: English, French, and Arabic. It also seeks to find out the images that these learners provide to themselves, and their language positioning. Furthermore, this study has a

pedagogical aim which consists of raising awareness amongst the students towards their identities as EFL learners and towards their need to promote change in the way they learn English. The findings I reached through analysing the data gathered from three cases showed that learning a foreign language enhances students' desires to use the resources of that language in their academic and social settings. Linguistic challenge, collaborative learning, contextual influence, and imagination control their power relations in the target language. Furthermore, introducing the theatrical course developed their imaginative capacities, agency, and enhanced their self-understandings structured through relations of power. The more capitals they navigate in language learning, the more they develop themselves and their identities.

Based on these findings, I suggest that more interactive tasks and theatrical courses should be integrated in the Algerian EFL context to further develop students' identities and investment in language learning and to help them get access to their desirable learning communities.

### References

- Abes, S. E., Jones, S. R., & McEwen, M. K. (2007). Reconceptualizing the model of multiple dimensions of identity: The role of meaning-making capacity in the construction of multiple identities. *Journal of College Students Development*, 4(1), 1-22. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/210889/summary>.
- Bouazid, T. & Le Roux, C., S. (2014). Why Algerian students struggle to achieve in English literature: An appraisal of possible root causes, teaching in Higher Education. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 19(8), 882-894. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13562517.2014.934341>.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Polity Press.
- Bourouba, N. (2012) Teaching writing right: Scaffolding writing for EFL/ESL students: Case Study: Algerian EFL Secondary School Students Challenges and Opportunities (PhD thesis, US SIT Graduate Institute). [https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/ipp\\_collection](https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/ipp_collection).
- Duff, P. (2015). Transnationalism, multilingualism, and identity. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35, 57-80. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S026719051400018X>.
- Fielding, M., & Rudduck, J. (2006). Student Voice and the Perils of Popularity. *Educational Review*, 58(2), 219-231. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00131910600584207>.
- Frost, N. (2011). *Qualitative Research Methods in Psychology: Combining Core Approaches*. Open University Press.
- Ivanic, R., & Camps, D. (2001). I am how I sound: Voice as self-representation in L2 writing. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 10, 3-33. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1060-3743\(01\)00034-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1060-3743(01)00034-0).
- Kleiman, S. (2004). Phenomenology: To wonder and search for meanings. *Nurse Researcher*, 11(4), 7-19. <https://doi.org/10.7748/nr2004.07.11.4.7.c6211>.
- Kore, L. H. (2014). Art for Art's Sake: An introduction to the use and value of forum theater. <http://teh.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Art-for-ART-FORUM-THEATRE-Route-9.pdf>.
- Matsuda, P.K. (2001). Voice in Japanese written discourse: Implications for second language writing. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 10, 35-53. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1060-3743\(00\)00036-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1060-3743(00)00036-9).
- Morandi, F. (2002). *Pratiques et Logiques en Pedagogie: Practice and Logic in Pedagogie*. Université Nathan.
- Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning*. Longman.

- Norton, B. (2001). *Non-participation, imagined communities and the language classroom*. British Columbia Press.
- Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (2004). Introduction: New theoretical approaches to the study of negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. In A. Pavlenko and A. Blackledge (Eds.). *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*. Multilingual Matters, 1-69.
- Pinkert, U. (2005). The concept of Theatre in Theatre Pedagogy. In S. Schonmann (2011). *Key Concepts in Theatre/Drama Education*. Sense Publishers, 1-30.
- Smith, J.A. (2008). *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods*. London: Sage.
- Somers, J. W. (2008). Interactive theatre: Drama as social intervention. *Music and Art in Action*, 1(1), 1-26. <https://ore.exeter.ac.uk/repository/handle/10036/3128>.
- Thompson, J. (2003). 'I will tear you to pieces': The classroom as theatre. In K. Gallagher & D. Booth, *How Theatre Educates: Convergences & Counterpoints*, (25-34).
- Vasilopoulos, G. (2015). Language learner investment and identity negotiation in the Korean EFL context. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 14(2), 61-79.
- Weedon, C. (1997). *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*. Blackwell.
- Zhao, Y. (2011). L2 creative writers: Identities and writing processes. PhD thesis, University of Warwick). <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/5229312.pdf>.



**Imane Errami; P.h.D<sup>4</sup>**

Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, Mohammed 5 Rabat.

**Chaimae Chinig; P.h.D<sup>5</sup>**

Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences Mohammed 5 Rabat.

## TERRIRIALIZED SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: THE MAGHREB FROM THE MARGIN TO THE CENTER: THE CASE OF THE HIRAK RIF MOVEMENT

### Abstract

This study raises some questions related to the relationship between the countryside region and the central authority, and the title deliberately stipulated this relationship, with the aim of explaining the role of the latter in shaping the features of the state's political practice towards the rural community, as this practice is based on historical foundations and includes political relations between Rulers and the Ruled. As it is known, the Rif region had a great role in the history of Morocco, and this role was embodied in multiple stations in which it was either a creator of events or an active party in its course, which allows studying its relationship with the state, and coming out with elements in the light of which the economic and social aspect is understood as the fruit of the political system (Halbwachs, 1950). For all these considerations, we will try through this paper to present some scenarios that would shed light on the causal relationship between the reality of development in the countryside and its political history.

**Keywords:** collective identity, margins, social mobilizations, welfare state, social state, uneven development

### 1. Introduction

Starting from a long-term ethnographic survey (2016-2019) on the "Hirak Rif" movement, this article questions the modalities of politicization of marginalized communities. Located in the north of Morocco, On October 28, 2016 in Al-Hoceïma, Mohcine Fikri died crushed in a dumpster while trying to recover the merchandise that had been confiscated by the authorities. The 31-year-old was a fish merchant. He was accused of being in possession of nearly 500 kg of swordfish, which was banned from fishing during this period. He was killed opposing the destruction of his cargo in a dumpster. His death was the starting point for the protest in the Rif. It is a region of northern Morocco whose history is marked by the repression and marginalization it suffered during the reign of Hassan II. Then the events of 1958-1959, followed by the issuance of a military dahir to make Al Hoceïma a military region, and the unrest of 1984 and the disturbances of 1984 and called the Rif people a slogan (awbash) in an official letter from the late King Hassan II, and all these elements reflect the state of the rift between the region and the central authority continuing until today that the era of reconciliation could not erase it. Rif residents agree that the reconciliation experience did not succeed in folding the countryside file in a way that amounts to reconciliation, where memory and history have been surpassed, until 2016, many Rif youth were arrested, the emigration of others and accusing the population of seeking separation and "work" abroad these concepts are consistent with the historical concept that was described by the region before independence "bled Siba"; what this means is that the Rif protest practice Identity memory practice, governed by social frameworks. This was observed through the presence of the Amazigh flag (Tamazgha) and the flag of the countryside of the countryside (Bandu Nereef), and the adoption of a discourse based on the principles of local and regional identities: common language (Tarifit), race, and collective history: Muhammad bin Abdul Karim al-Khattabi)and the slogans he raised The

---

<sup>4</sup> Email: [ir146378@gmail.com](mailto:ir146378@gmail.com)

demonstrators. In addition to "pledging allegiance to the protests," Whenever the population of the Rif contests the policy of power, the Makhzen (Gaillard, 1909; Bellaire, 1999; Reynier, 1930) responds with violence and marginalization of the region, thus preparing the conditions for a new cycle of protest and repression. This in fact explains, to a large extent, the motive behind choosing the subject of this study, it appears that focusing on the historical factor is also very important to understand of the protests and to move away from interpretations one-dimensional focusing on economic and social dimensions only. The objective of this article is to include the study of the mobilizations of marginalized communities in a more global sociological analysis.

## 2. The Hirak: a Convergence of Heterogeneous Actors

Since 2011, North African societies have seen political upheavals, numerous political, social, economic and institutional crises have resulted in popular revolutions or uprisings, massive protests also affect Morocco from the 20th February. Indeed (According to a study by Rachik (2014), the number of demonstrations in Morocco rose from an average of two occurrences per day in 2005 to eight in 2010 to reach fifty-two in 2012.)

At the end of October 2016, Morocco once again saw great protests in the Rif of what should be called a "movement of the margins" opposing the local populations to the state. New collective protest actions; in the Rif are the product of inequalities accelerated by the entry into a neoliberal "era", which reveals the misdeeds of the accelerated widening of inequalities.

The emergence of the Hirak in the Rif at the end of October 2016 and the popular enthusiasm it aroused during 2017 made visible the long process of maturation of what should be called a "movement of the margins". In a restricted territorial context like the Rif, collective action is based on community or mythical ties, kinship relations, blood ties, neighborly relations or spatial proximity. The community social bond becomes the fuel of social protest. In Rif's case, the collective emotional dimension remains the first step in causing social discontent. But the explanation that we can put forward is rather linked to the far-reaching public policy carried out by the state, each time causing individual and collective frustrations. To better understand the recent social protests that have shaken public opinion, we must read them in their modern historical context.



(Wall writing in Al Hoceima)

### 3. Hirak Rif: Are we Facing a Social Movement?

The social movement is defined as: "a combined action of a group, with the objective of modifying the existing social organization or the defense of institutions threatened by other social movements" (Willems, 1970, 206). The sociological literature emphasizes three essential points in the definition of the concept of the social movement: the notion of grouping and organization, the notion of program, social demands or ideology and, the notion of mobilizing actor. For Alain Touraine the three essential factors to define the social movement are; the identity of the movement - its opposition to an oppressive power - the totality (the project of society). Furthermore, linked to the same context according to Neveu (2011) the great problem of defining the social movement is centered on "the hyper-specialization" which is gaining in the social sciences. Fragmenting them into micro communities of specialists ... However, the analysis of social movements cannot do without connections to fields of research such as the media; public policies; international relations... A second obstacle is that; because of their challenges; social movements give rise to hybrid discourse between science and taking sides. It can therefore be useful to exercise a double critical vigilance: questioning the normative load or the poorly mastered commitments in certain scholarly discourses; but also know how to identify in explicitly militant approaches the presence of fruitful intuitions; of a practical sense of activists who can be rich in social intelligence " (Neveu , 2011, p. 128).

Indeed, this component is the main explanation for the differences between the multiple movements. In this context Giddens underlines that the emergence of social movements in the West could be thought of as a passage towards democracy. That is, the citizens trying to move beyond classical liberal democracy.

Another perspective is provided during the sixties by Ted Robert Gurr (1970) which allows the analysis of collective discontent. This theory makes it possible to distinguish protest as a conflict between socially constructed expectations and between the actual satisfaction which creates certain cases of frustration.<sup>1</sup> Gurr (1970) defined frustration as: "a state of tension, an expected and denied satisfaction, which generates the potential for discontent and violence. He sees the intensity of the frustrations as the fuel for social movements" (cited in Neveu, 1996, p. 40-41). This point of view is very revealing in the Hirak. The people of Rif believe that they do not occupy the social position which should correspond to their expected social status. The lexicon used by the demonstrators reflects this situation of frustration. The notion of **al-Hogra** (الحكرة) expresses the feeling of not being perceived socially at its true value. It is from this theoretical framework that we can examine the participation of women in the Hirak of Rif in Morocco, which integrates all social strata of Rif dominated by the Makhzen as the main antagonist.

#### *3.1. The identity of the Hirak Rif movement*

For decades the Rif region suffered from social poverty; a very high unemployment rate (22% of the population) - Illiteracy - - Provincial poverty - low medical coverage (1 doctor per 2,000 inhabitants) - economic activity based on sea fishing and transfers from relatives living to the foreigner - delay in the implementation of "El Hoceima, flagship city of the Mediterranean" - (which raises social expectations and hopes) also suffers from spatial exclusion.

What we also learn, that after the tragic death of Mohcine Fikri, this young seller of fish crushed by a dumpster on October 28, 2016, King Mohammed VI demanded the opening of a thorough investigation, but that did not calm the anger of the demonstrators, who responded by

demanding sweeping changes, launching programs to build hospitals and universities, and investments. By sacrificing ministers and executives to calm Al Hoceima's anger, the king has dealt a further blow to the lack of confidence already displayed by public opinion with regard to politicians

But by sacrificing them, the king dealt a further blow to the social intermediation in crisis and the lack of confidence already displayed by public opinion with regard to politicians. Because the royal decision reinforces the already predominant feeling: the mediation institutions are no longer credible and therefore find themselves rejected by the protesters who demand the direct intervention of the king; meaning that the protesters are not framed by organized civil or political structures, rather what unites them is a common belonging to my - tribal - historical identities, which produced spontaneous field leaders that are independent of any political or union organization or Collectivist. Indeed, the possibility of "political affiliation" among the activists, was causing a lot of confusion. This issue was dealt with from a major perspective: It is considered that belonging is a test that raises the possibility of containment and penetration by the state and its representatives, which explains why the leaders of the movement made statements rejecting the organizational structure of the protests, to the point of distrust of the existence of real institutions representing the state, and this was clearly stated, when Activists demanded the king to intervene. The thing that indicates a complete departure from traditional institutions and their narrowness in the movements' demands, if not to say their inability to find adequate answers to their demands, The decline of the mediation channels is a sub-factor that contributed to the aggravation of the situation, mainly related to the absence of negotiation structures between the state and society, which the researcher Khamleish talked about in relation to the movements of March 1965 and June 1981.

The Hirak (Movement) of the Rif focuses and reflects like a mirror the fight of all the oppressed of Morocco for another society. Indeed; we cannot understand what is happening today in this region of Morocco without appealing to the past. The memory of this region keeps traces of painful memories with all the powers that dominated Morocco (The Rif War (1921/1926 by Abdelkrim l-Khattabi) (the Rif is presented and considered as a region of "siba" "Bled siba"; <sup>ii</sup>. The independence and integration of the region into the new state (the events of 1958 - 1959) and 1984 following protests against the rise in food prices - King Hassan II called them people of the region Nador, Al Hoceima, Tetouan and Ksar el-Kebir of thugs, "awbach", I: "These are retarded thugs who live on terrorism and theft [...], who use the youngest to commit their crimes [...]. These are the young people who go out into the streets. [...] The order was given for them to suffer the same punishment as their elders."



(An image permanently present in the Al Hoceima protests)

In 2011 ; a new movement born in the Rif which was the product of a national context which corresponds to February 20. Unfortunately each time that the population of the Rif contests the policy of power, the state responds with violence and the marginalization of the region has deemed the protest of the Rif as undermining its internal security and to foment a plot against the State and belong to a separatist movement.



(Slogan raised during the protests in Al Hoceima)

**- remain visible: ex; Gender put to the test in the Rif: Hirak in the feminine**

The participation of women in the Movement (Hirak), despite the social and religious constraints that characterize this conservative region, remains remarkable. Because the economic and social conditions of women in the Rif are beyond comparison with those of men. These women, in their majority, are victims of the trinity of misery: degrading poverty, oppressive illiteracy and "shameful" femininity. So, the frustration of Rif women finds its meaning in the disconnect between their personal aspirations and the reality marked by the existence of multidimensional violence; Their life is a frantic struggle for survival. The victims

of this painful trinity suddenly appeared to protest, unprecedented with all the protest movements that the Rif has known at different historical stages. On the contrary, the Rifain woman has never participated in any protest rally that Morocco has known in general.

The specificity of the Hirak movement; this is its "territorial space", where collective action is based on community or mythical links, kinship relations, blood ties, neighborly relations or spatial proximity. That is, the community social bond becomes the fuel of social protest.

Social relations there are more spontaneous, more emotional, more united, warmer, on the other hand in large cities where social relations are more anonymous, utilitarian and rational; which means that there is a common element between men and women in the Rif which is perceived as an external aggression likely to fruit the feeling of frustration and territorial belonging. "The fight against the Makhzen" the main antagonist which perpetuates inequalities, social and economic inequalities. Makhzen - State "and" Rif "are designated as two entities whose objectives do not coincide. In our opinion, the protests in the Rif were not determined solely by internal factors (unemployment - absence from university ...) or by exogenous factors such as the pressure of the IMF and the World Bank on the State , which resulted in the freezing of public investments and the liberalization of the prices of basic necessities. However, the deeper reasons for the ongoing protests can be found in the political history of the region women chant with slogans "Long live the people" ('acha acha'b), "His Majesty, the people" (jalalat acha'b), "His excellence, the people" (fakhamat acha'b), "Freedom , dignity, social justice ”“ we are not scum ”(hna machi awbach); with men; they have adopted different forms of protest; occupation of squares and streets - gatherings and demonstrations... etc. Women are also massively affected: said Nawal Benaissa "It is true that we are in a conservative society, but the arrest of our brothers, our husbands, our nephews left us no choice. We also had to go out to demand their release... I am addressing all Moroccans: the Rif is bleeding; The state oppresses us. . But we will continue to fight this injustice. They can arrest as many activists, young people and women as they want, we are not going to give up "

Nawal Benaissa <sup>iii</sup> became one of the main spokespersons for the Hirak protest movement, following the arrest of its leader, Nasser Zefzafi, in May 2017.



(Nasser Zefzafi, Moroccan activist and "Hirak" leader, at a demonstration in May 2017

<https://www.cn.reuters.com>)

It should be noted that Nawal was arrested four times between June and September 2017. In February 2018, she was sentenced to a 10-month suspended prison sentence and a fine in the amount of 500 dirhams (approximately 50 US dollars) for “participating in an unauthorized demonstration”, “insulting law enforcement officials”, and “incitement to commit criminal offenses”. Al Hoceïma Criminal Court confirmed the verdict on January 17, 2019.

They have therefore implemented a plurality of forms of action; despite the arrests did not desert. These examples show that women in the Rif have never taken to the streets exclusively for their own rights. They were and still are an integral part of a larger agenda for more social justice. Or, their exit into the public space was only a tactic to show the capacity to frame the movement, and this does not reflect the nature of the Rifaine society, which remains a fundamentally conservative society despite the manifestations of creativity. The article starts from a conception that makes public space not only a physical space, but also, and primarily, a space for public debate and collective action.

After nighttime protests during Ramadan, Rif activists set up new forms of protest, such as beach rallies as illustrated bellow.



### **Protest on the Beach in Al Hociema**

([https:// www.amazighworldnews.com](https://www.amazighworldnews.com))

#### **4. Conclusion**

The conclusions of this paper lead us to assert that the protests that the rural community is experiencing today have a large part of the "historical grievance" because the rural population has always been looking for the possibility of establishing a social relationship with the state apparatus through "conflict" because this factor is its only way to emphasize the necessity dealing with society in all its groups and preserving its dignity. Which explains why the rural protests were a mixture of two generations of protest movements: a generation whose demands were tied to what was materialistic of an economic and social nature, and the last post-material linked to symbolic demands of identity. As we have indicated, social suffering is not necessarily linked (to the poverty line ...), but is seen as a state of misery and a gap between the constructed social expectations and the perception of the present. Rif's experience can actually help us understand what is happening in the margins allows, in our opinion, to better understand larger forms of mobilization while inscribing them in a historical process of constantly evolving political protest. Returning to our topic briefly, we can say that all the slogans carried by the demonstrators reflected the anger of the rural population and their rejection of the state's policy in the social and economic fields. What distinguishes these slogans is that they do not refer to any ideological background except that they are based to a large extent on "history". This new expression of protest reflects a discourse in which belonging to a specific group (the Rif) and the feeling of belonging to Moroccan society are intertwined. It should be noted that identity has long been a source of meaning and social significance, especially since our Moroccan society, like many societies, is going through a historical stage characterized by the disintegration of institutions and the loss of their legitimacy. The endeavor of rural people, through their behavioral embodiment, is to gain recognition and lift the marginalization of their region. They are also constantly looking for a tactic to suppress the hegemonic ideology and symbolic components of the state. As for the separation accusation they face every time they go out to protest, it remains just "improvisation from the state", which exacerbates the situation in the absence of all the material elements for this charge.



## References

- Bellaire, M. (1908). Proclamation de la déchéance de Moulay Abdelaziz et la proclamation de Moulay Abdelhafid par les ulama de Fés . *Monde Musulman*, vol .V.
- Edouard Michaux-Bellaire, E. M. (1999). L'administration au Maroc. In *Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Alger*, 37-401.
- Gaillard, H. (1909). Le makhzen . Etendue et limites de son pouvoir. In *Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du nord*, 9-348
- Halbwachs, M. (1950). La mémoire collective. Presses universitaires de France. Paris.
- Neveu, E. (2011). Sociologie des mouvements sociaux : La découverte. Collection Repères. Reynier, A. (1930)l'ancien makhzen. 1550-1912. Conférence donnée par M. le Contrôleur civil Reynier pour la Direction générale des affaires indigènes. Rabat. Publications de la résidence générale de France au Maroc.
- Willems, E. (1970). Dictionnaire de sociologie. Librairie Marcel Rivière et Cie

**Papa Malick BA<sup>6</sup>, P.h.D**

Assistant Professor of American Studies,

Department of English,

Cheikh Anta Diop University, Senegal,

## WHITE SUPREMACY: AMERICA'S ORIGINAL SIN?

### Abstract

Writing about white supremacy in the US may sound unoriginal and trite but I believe it is way too important to continue studying it with regard to its relevancy and the challenges it continues to pose to justice, equity and harmony in the American society. Undoubtedly, it is path breaking to say that it is America's original sin even though we have long been made to believe that racism is America's original sin. Ideology and force have been its main vehicles. In other words, racism, or rather racialism, and violence allowed it to become institutionalized and to subtly operate. Power and privileges are at its heart and it seeks their accumulation and control. That is why it is the most decried and biggest internal problem of the nation. In the face of deeper divide of the US national fabric, regular discriminatory practices and hate acts against African-Americans that often culminate to countless murders and what seems like hereditary poverty, it becomes more than relevant to tackle the problem and find its solutions. Thus, this paper intends to study how white supremacy has become the nation's original sin, its characteristics, the ways in which it operates and its consequences on African-Americans particularly. It contends that it has established and rooted itself in the nation's fabric since settler colonialism in the America's in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It has been consolidated and institutionalized through nation-building and maintained itself through astute resilience. At the end, this capacity to adapt itself and continue to exist despite serious challenges makes it hard to be routed.

**Keywords:** White Supremacy/Supremacism, African-Americans, Discrimination, Injustice.

### 1. Introduction

White supremacy is the source of mostly all the problems African-Americans are facing in the US today. Its construction and consolidation are the biggest challenges to their emancipation and aspiration to political and socio-economic justice. Despite the tremendous efforts deployed in all spheres, acts of white supremacists, explicit and implicit, are commonplace and seem to be treated complacently by the State and judicial authorities. Many cases, past and present, can be used as illustrations and tend to make people pessimistic about its end. Lately, the horrendous and public murder of George Floyd by suffocation in Minnesota in June 2020 by a white policeman has triggered unprecedented world reactions of indignation, protest and condemnation of the lethal effects of white supremacism on African-Americans.

It is anachronistic to say that almost every aspect of American life bears the imprint of white supremacy: education, politics, religion, housing, the military, the entertainment industry, the cultural, social and economic life, to the point that many simply don't differentiate it from racism. Thus, it is very popular to hear the rhetoric "racism is white supremacy" and "white supremacy is racism". Historically, the roots of white supremacy go a long way back and

---

<sup>6</sup> Email: [papakingpmb@gmail.com](mailto:papakingpmb@gmail.com)

predate the building of the nation. It has been there since the beginning of the White Anglo-Saxon Protestants' (WASP) settler colonialism in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. From enslavement to Independence, through Secession War to the Civil Rights Movements up to "Trump-America", white supremacy has had the opportunity to construct, feed, consolidate and mold itself into a variety of privileges today. It has done irreparable harms and uncountable victims among the black community for over such a long period, roughly four hundred years, making it hard (but not impossible) for African-Americans to catch-up. So, early bigoted policies have outlined today's African-American possibilities and generated all the evils we are denouncing here.

In its simplest definition, it is a term used to describe both an ideology and practice. As an ideology, it assumes the centrality and superiority of people defined and perceived as "white". As Practice, it is the collective and all-encompassing cultural, political and socio-economic system of privileges for "whiteness". In other words, white supremacy is a narcissist system borne out of capitalistic needs through the enslavement and domination of specific peoples, particularly people of African descent, so as to keep the most important powers and privileges offered by the American society - political, social and economic mainly – and through the use of prejudices, oppression and injustice. From a broader sense, it has also been perceived as Euro centrality. It is illustrated in different ways such as racial profiling, police brutality, the surveillance (state) of blackness, mass incarceration, voter suppression, the ghettoization of African-Americans through housing projects, gentrification and job exclusion to name a few. These proceedings, in a way or in another, reckon old practices such as the "black codes", the overseeing of enslaved Africans in the plantations, lynching and the "separate but equal" laws during Jim Crow.

Thus, the objective on this paper is to analyse and find answers to the following questions. How did white supremacy become America's original sin? What are its characteristics? How does it operate? How was state apparatus used to construct and consolidate white supremacy? What are the different ways in which it gets concretely entrenched in the nation's political and socio-economic life? How does it disfavour African-American communities and how do the latter resist it? How can it be defeated?

To answer these questions, I will use an historical, ideological, judicial and socio-economic approach. The historical approach will allow me to look into history so as to find the roots and routes of white supremacy in the US. For this, among other works, I will question and analyse the relevance of Howard Zinn's accounts of the beginning of white settler colonialism in the Americas, its support to the construction of white supremacy and its consequences on dominated peoples, namely native Indians and black people. Also, we will need to convey the various productions of pioneering physiologists, anthropologists and biologists that are at the intersection of history and ideology. They will serve us to deconstruct the ideological scheming behind whitewashing and white superiority in general. From a judicial perspective, I will look at the early use of the law either during enslavement, nation-building or Jim Crow that tried to give a legal basis to white domination over blacks. Lastly, the socio-economic approach will allow me to discuss the impact of white supremacy on African-Americans.

To this effect, the first argument this paper makes is that what we have so long been fed and manipulated to accept and repeat as racism is, in reality, white supremacism which is at the heart of the construction of the American nation. To me racism does not exist and what we falsely call racism is simply supremacism or the belief and acting as if one is superior to another on the basis of established prejudices (explicit or implicit). Second, I contend that invisible/implicit/systemic white supremacism is more detrimental than the visible/explicit one and is mainly motivated by the preservation of power of all types (political, social, economic, intellectual and cultural) and domination over African-Americans. Third and last, I maintain

that it is aberrant and totally irrational to hope for the elimination of structural white supremacy from the state which is its main supporter, promoter and protector.

## **2. Racism or White Supremacy?**

The formation of prejudices against “the other” under the guise of racism has undoubtedly been linked with human mobility or migration through invasion, domination and conquest. Generally, invading people tend to consider themselves as the rulers and to mobilize a variety of prejudices, particularly racist, that they use as a superiority device to validate their economic, political and social domination. This is how fifteenth century capitalistic explorations and imperialism have contributed to the dissemination of white supremacy, using the false pretense of race to mask atrocities and cruelties exerted on the dominated other. So, these two opportunities have been ceased to construct white supremacy in the United States: enslavement and nation building.

In this perspective, it is important to say straightforwardly that racism equates white supremacy in all aspects. They are not the two different sides of a coin but one side of it. Racism was undoubtedly invented and implemented to sustain the advantages and opportunities inherently related to it for the benefit of its inventors: the White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASP). On the American continent, it started during the first contacts between white settler colonialists and native Indians. Christopher Columbus and his crewmembers are made famous and remembered for their looting and massacre of masses of native Indian populations who welcomed them in the Island of Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic). Unquestionably, this story of invasion, conquest, bloodshed and enslavement, praised as heroic adventure in the US where Columbus Day is a celebration even though he never laid foot there, marks the beginning of settler colonialism of the Americas.

The genocidal and cruel encounter between Columbus and Native Indians is acclaimed by his contemporaries and successors who unveiled and populated the New World. The enslavement and exploitation of Arawak Indians (who docilely greeted and welcomed him) to meet his wild dreams and visions of gold was a turning point in the history of transatlantic exploitation of human labour. He sent expedition after expedition and huge raids against Arawak men, women and children and ended up entirely decimating them (Howard Zinn, 2003, p.5). This period, commonly referred to by many Eurocentric scholars as the starting point of American history, is unfortunately remembered by people of African descent as gloomy and cruel as it marked the mass murder of thousands of Arawaks. A number of clichés and fallacies have accompanied it and have certainly contributed to their racialization as they were based on the Columbus’s “horrible” account of them. Columbus (an Italian sailor in the service of the Spanish King and Queen Ferdinand and Isabella) and his Spaniards crew members have described and depicted the Arawaks in dehumanizing terms so as to justify their enslavement. They have consequently laid the basis for all future invasions of the Americas and beyond, particularly the US as Zinn supports: “What Columbus did to the Arawaks [...], the English settlers of Virginia and Massachussetts (did) to the Powhatans and the Pequots” (2003, p. 11).

Today, a solid and strong momentum is being achieved in the US, though started decades ago, to counter master narratives and offer people the truth about Columbus and his evil deeds against indigenous peoples. According to Johnnie Jae, over “141 cities, 15 states [and] numerous universities officially recognize Indigenous Peoples’ Day” in the place of or alongside Columbus Day. However, the struggle continues on two fronts. The first one is to definitely overcome the inexact portrayal of Christopher Columbus as a hero in American History books. The second is to obtain the official national recognition of Indigenous Peoples’ Day to replace Columbus Day.

Over a century later, around the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, during one of the most horrific human trafficking through the black Atlantic, a larger scale system of human trade and exploitation was built and consolidated by the same European people. They have made millions of victims who have crossed the Atlantic from Africa to America for free labor until the 1860s. As with Indians, they have mobilized a plethora of myths and pseudo-scientific literature (Eugenics) to validate and pass their classification, drawing on the works of Swedish botanist, Carolus Linnaeus "*Systema Naturae*" (1735), German physiologist and anthropologist, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach "*On the Natural Varieties of Mankind*" (1776). The Caucasoid or what is described today as White or Caucasian has been ranked as the best race and the Negroid or what is described today as Black as the worst one which is meant to be exploited and subdued. As a consequence, African descended people were depicted as everything "inferior" and "backward" and "white" people as everything "superior" and "civilized".

Thus, little by little, white supremacists in power imposed and influenced the different understandings of race they defined as a natural not a social construct. Such understandings had even penetrated African societies and supremacist pseudo-science became the new mode of explaining and spreading white supremacy. It reached its epitome with supremacist rule (government) in colonial as well as independent America when it was instituted. From "Black Codes" to *de jure* racism, Black people have been excluded from the privileges and opportunities offered and guaranteed by the US Constitution and enslavement considered as their only "natural" condition. Most members of the Convention that drafted the Constitution in 1787 embodied white supremacist ideologies. So, despite the strong words by Thomas Jefferson that "*all men are created equal*," Black people were covertly or overtly excluded. They did not deserve the privileges of "*life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness*" as people characterized by the inability of reasoning. At the time of the American Revolution, white supremacy was already an institution that existed in all colonies and formed the basis of their social structure and economy.

Clearly, the construction and evolution of white supremacy has inherently been linked with the making of the races or racialization and systemic racism. The exclusion of African-Americans through the institutionalization of racial rule is the foundational basis of the building of the American nation despite all the rhetoric of Enlightenment ideas having inspired the drafting of the Constitution. Somehow, the issue of their integration made nation building incomplete. The establishment of clear boundaries between them and supporters of white supremacy has had heavy consequences on the life on the first as those hard racial lines defined and limited their socio-economic possibilities in a society they were initially excluded from then treated as second-class citizens.

As a matter of fact, people of African descent have been excluded from citizenship and related advantages by the fundamental law of the nation. Despite the magnificent values of "*life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness*" granted by the 1789 Constitution that created the federal union, other provisions, catered to accommodate southern states' desire to carry on the enslavement system, denied the federal government the power to legislate against it where it already existed. In addition, the 1790 Immigration Law limited as well the right to citizenship through naturalization to "free white persons" only. Consequently, African-Americans have basically been deprived of all other rights as human beings. They could not own a property, they could not sell or buy, they could not be witnesses in a court of justice and they could not marry without the consent of their enslavers. In summary, they simply had no rights as they were only good as enslaved people. To this effect, Coates (2014) contends:

Having been enslaved for 250 years, black people were not left to their own devices. They were terrorized. In the Deep South, a second slavery ruled. In the North, legislatures, mayors, civic associations, banks, and citizens all colluded to pin black people into ghettos, where they were overcrowded, overcharged, and undereducated. Businesses discriminated against them, awarding them the worst jobs and the worst wages. Police brutalized them in the streets. And the notion that black lives, black bodies, and black wealth were rightful targets remained deeply rooted in the broader society. (Coates, 2014)

However, this exclusion culminated with the Dred Scott case. In 1857, Dred Scott, an enslaved African made a legal case for freedom on the basis that he had lived in parts of the United States (Missouri) where slavery was illegal. The Supreme Court ruled that Scott, an enslaved African, was not an American citizen and therefore could not sue in a federal court. It hence declared all blacks ineligible for citizenship. Subsequently, white supremacy was able to resist, either radically or tacitly, all notable challenges through structural and systemic racism and the domination and exclusion of enslaved Africans continued in the best way, mainly in the South.

Thus, Charles Wagley has eloquently summarized the reasons why the American supremacist problem started and will be hard to efface. He identified three main factors. The first one is the economic factor, related to the plantation regime and all the resources it generates for its dependents. The second is cultural and explains that the culture of enslavement has been inherited by the WASP and that they are willing to continue it. Third and last, there is a sociological factor, borne after the Civil War, which particularly consisted of defending their antebellum social status (cited in Bastide, 1957, p.449).

Today, the reality is striking. In a well-documented article published in *The New York Times* dated September 9 2020, Lu et al. give the figures of the effects of white supremacy. White people make 80% of the forces of power in the US or 742 out of the 922 most powerful people. In almost all walks of life, the access by African-Americans to historically white-dominated public and private institutions is viewed as a threat and an assault on white privileges and power and has been prevented or reduced. The illustrations by Lu et al. are simply gloomy:

- 29 prosecutors charge people with crimes and only 12 are Asian, Black or Hispanic;
- 24 people lead the Trump Administration and only 3 are Asian, Black or Hispanic;
- 9 justices sit on the US Supreme Court and only 2 are Black or Hispanic;
- 8 men are military chiefs and only 1 is Black;
- 25 highest-valued companies and only 6 are Asian or Black;
- Only 4 Black chief executives running Fortune 500 companies;
- Of the people who head universities ranked in the top 25 only 1 is Hispanic;
- Of the 15 people who direct major news organizations only 3 are Black or Hispanic;
- The 5 people who have the most influence over book publishing are all white;
- The people who edit the 10 most-read magazines are all white;
- Of the 14 people who influence most of the music that is produced and played only 2 are Black or Hispanic;
- Of the 25 people who run the top TV networks and Hollywood studios only 3 are Black or Hispanic;
- Of the people in charge of the 25 highest-valued fashion companies only 3 are Asian or Hispanic;
- Of the 99 people who own baseball, basketball and football teams only 6 are Asian, Black or Hispanic;

- Of the 100 people who write laws in the Senate only 9 are Asian, Black or Hispanic;
- Of the 50 State governors only 3 Asian, Hispanic or Native American;
- Of the 431 people who currently write laws in the House only 112 are Asian, Black, Hispanic or Native American.

These figures describe the most powerful institutions in the U.S. and the people who run them. They are a good illustration that white supremacy is not merely the work of hotheaded demagogues, or a matter of false consciousness, but a force so fundamental to America that it is difficult to imagine the country without it (Coates, 2014)

### **3. The Fluidity/Invisibility of White Supremacy**

One of the most distinguished characteristics of white supremacy is its fluidity, invisibility and its capacity to reinvent, readapt and sustain itself after moments of insurgencies and turbulences to dismantle its structures. It has never derailed from its objective of keeping the most important power, privileges and resources in the American society. Though, the ways of reaching them may have varied at specific times. At different moments in American history, it has been shaken by landmark events and situations but has never disappeared.

As a matter of fact, it is necessary to distinguish two forms of white supremacy: the visible and the invisible one. From a general perception, visible white supremacy can be alluded to all acts of open racism perpetrated at the individual or collective level and that are based or have been motivated by the belief in white supremacism. The most noticeable ones are those that have been committed and have involved innumerable black victims, and include the murders during the black Atlantic and in the plantations to the lynchings and racist assassinations of recent times. However, in the eyes of many Race Studies experts, this form of white supremacy is a simple diversion today in the face of the more harmful and more in-rooted one (Diangelo, 2018) . It is epitomized by the declining Ku Klux Klan and many other far-right affiliated hate groups that are authors of a number of hate crimes against Black people.

African-Americans have tremendously suffered from the violence exercised by white supremacists and affiliated groups. The black body has never meant something to them and this perception has been incepted since enslavement and plantation life. It used to be savagely mutilated in numbers and exposed when it tried to revolt or escape captive life. It was used as guinea-pig in experimental science or as “breeding tools”. It used to be dumped as thrash when it was tested inapt for field work. It used to be considered a material object in the hands of the most affordable buyer or a sexual gadget in the hands of whoever desired it. It used to be sadistically buried or burnt alive. Thus, white supremacists’ perception of Blackness continues to be influenced and guided by these age-old considerations.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, the black body received the same representation as before, or worst, and lynching became the most horrendous weapon in the hands of white supremacists who continued the same type of murders as during enslavement. It was more prevalent in the South where former exploiters of African captives’ free labour used it as retaliation weapon against emancipation along with discrimination and socio-economic exclusion. Encouraged by the existence of frontier lynch law and lynch-law regimes, thousands of victims were made among the African-American communities who were murdered in the most atrocious manners. They were shot, knifed, burned or hanged. For instance, according to Brundage (1993, p. 8), in the South only, the number of black victims of lynching reached three thousand between 1880 and 1930. This motivated their large displacement in areas where they believed they could save their life. However, everywhere they lived with constant fear and vulnerability that they could be attacked and killed any time simply because they are black, whether in rural south or urban north. As Christopher Waldrep puts it, African-Americans

perceived lynching as white “authority to kill without fear of punishment” and as such, it “more effectively controlled black people by being so terrifyingly unpredictable” (2009, p. xv).

To understand how deeply entrenched lynching was in American society is to study it in relationship with the law. From the time it started in the years following Emancipation Proclamation in 1865, a number of political and judiciary initiatives have unsuccessfully tried to curb it by making it punishable under law. In early 20<sup>th</sup> century, successively in 1922 and 1937, the Senate had blocked antilynching bills passed by the House of Representatives. It is only in 1990 that Congress succeeded to pass the first federal hate crime law, the Hate Crime Statistics Act, that was unfortunately ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court three years later, in 1993. Then, in 1994, Congress enacts the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act which required the U.S. Sentencing Commission to enhance sentences for people convicted in federal court of hate crimes (Waldrep, 2009, p. viii).

The epitome of lynching was reached with the violent bombing and destruction of a whole African-American neighbourhood, “Little Africa”, in 1921 in Tulsa, Oklahoma, where 200 African Americans were murdered (Palmer, 1998). Also known as the “Black Wall Street”, Tulsa was home for successful African-American businesses. The main cause of the massacre was false rape accusation of a black man over a white female elevator operator. White mobs burned down and looted the thriving African-American economic neighbourhood on Greenwood Avenue, including their homes and businesses, with the complicity of local law enforcement officials, the local police and national guardsmen. This episode has been described as the most damaging and deadliest in US racial violence history with uncountable black deaths and property destruction. However, today lynching is undoubtedly replaced by police killings and profiling of the black body. From the unaccountable murders of masses of African-Americans with the pretext of the war on drugs during the Reagan era to the most recent ones in Trump America, visible white supremacy has never ceased to operate with the deceitful complacency of successive establishments.

On the other hand, it is important to underline invisible white supremacy which is more entrenched and detrimental to African-Americans. In fact, it operates and reinvents itself in three different ways. The first is pretexted democratization, the second is theatrical inclusion programs and the third is the use of fanciful theories/concepts like “colour-blindness”, “multiculturalism” or “political correctness”. Thus, when we look back in history, we can easily see that initiatives like the Emancipation Proclamation of 1865 and the Civil Rights Acts of 1965 are pretexts for more democracy in the US which is always a democracy for “whites”. On the other hand, Reconstruction and Affirmative Action were both fallacious inclusive programs that pretended to redistribute resources and wealth to disfavoured communities but there is no need to assess their result. Finally, language and theory serve as well white supremacy’s resilience through the ban of politically loaded words and concepts to the creation and popularization of new ones that people are fancifully made to accept. At the end, what happens is simply a demonstration of political ingenuity of the administrators of white supremacy to adapt to situations any time that they face irresistible resistance. In all evidence, the consequences of white supremacy on African-Americans are tangible. They have the poorest education, healthcare and they continue to be discriminated in the job market, housing, loan approvals and law enforcement. For instance, The Pew Research Center estimates that white households are worth roughly 20 times as much as black households. Coates (2014) adds that the concentration of poverty has been paired with a concentration of melanin.



#### **4. Black Resistance to White Supremacism**

In this section, I am going to analyse black agency, mobilization and resistance to white supremacism. Specifically, I will look at the different categories of resistance and their impact and consequences on the ideology and practice.

As a matter of fact, African-American resistance to white supremacy has been scaled and followed specific circumstances. At all times, it has been characterized by a combination of action and theory that always look to overcome it. In other words, the resistance combines physical protest and intellectual mobilization that have yielded appreciable results over time. When we look back at history, we can easily see that these two have seriously and strongly challenged it to its core despite external diversions of all sorts. As we can see, from the early beginning of the construction of white supremacist ideology up to now, several landmark African-American actions, individual or collective, successful or unsuccessful, have initiated and maintained this resistance.

The first ones, even though they might look very distant, can be traced back to plantation revolts and conspiracies. Others go even further back into slave ship revolts to date the beginning of resistance to the ideology and practice of white supremacy. Aptheker (1983), one of the pioneering specialists of slave revolts, found “records of approximately two hundred and fifty revolts and conspiracies in the history of American Negro Slavery” (p. 162), with the first ones dating back in the “latter part of the seventeenth century” (p. 163). The most famous and early ones are the 1791 Haitian Revolution led by Toussaint L’Ouverture, the 1733 St. John (now United States’ Virgin Islands) Slave Revolt in the Danish West Indies against the owners and managers of the island's plantations, the Stono Rebellion (sometimes called Cato's Conspiracy or Cato's Rebellion) in 1739 in the colony of South Carolina, the Amistad sea rebellion also known as United States versus Libellants and Claimants of the Schooner Amistad in 1841, and the Tacky’s War or Tacky’s Rebellion which occurred in Jamaica in 1760. Other cases of resurrections, most of which inspired by religion mainly, occurred during enslavement as well.

After these attempts, with a coalition of anti-enslavement revolutionaries, African-Americans have also tried to take advantage of the egalitarianism and promises of free government and the Declaration of Independence offered by the American Revolution and Independence in the 1770s and 1780s, to resist and overcome white supremacism in vain. However, at the end of the Civil War of the 1860 and Civil Rights Movement of the 1960, African-American activism and resistance have made possible several concessions from the executive and judicial apparatus such as emancipation through the Thirteenth Amendment (1865), the rights and responsibilities of citizenship through the Fourteenth Amendment (1868), the right to vote through the Fifteenth Amendment (1870), desegregation in all walks of life and completion of voting right.

Today, at the turn of the twenty-first century, the Black Lives Matter Movement seems to encapsulate the resistance and cause the biggest unease to structural white supremacism together with the consistent parallel work achieved by other entities like the Congressional Black Caucus, the NAACP, Colour of Change, Grassroots Law, Venus Roots, Campaign Zero, The Equal Justice Initiative, the National Coalition on Black Civic Participation and the Center for Law and Social Justice, to name but a few. From black mayorship, to black governorship and black President, African-Americans are pushing forward to integrate the very system of white supremacy structure despite countless hurdles. All these achievements are made possible with the courageous and commendable intellectual works of committed African-American scholars as well.

Without a doubt, it is clear that action alone is not sufficient to effectively address the resilience and reinvention of white supremacy. Old and new bodies of disciplines were invented as well: race and ethnic studies, critical race theory, diaspora theory, Afrocentricity, class and gender theory, postcolonial theory, subalternity theory and postrace theory. They all have a common interest: “to explain how and why and in what form racial distinctions operated in such changed circumstances” (Winant, 2004, p. 197) but also to overcome colour-based injustice and inequality promoted by white supremacy. Great names of African-American thought have left indelible marks in raising consciousness and substantially shaking white supremacists everywhere.

Resistance against white supremacy has been characterized by the interplay between conflict and compromise. From accommodationism, to separatism to black radicalism, “official white supremacy” resorts, every time, to minor concessions which particularly accommodate the political, social, economic and cultural hopes of African-Americans and other minority middle-classes to the detriment of millions of poor lower classes. This capacity of “absorbing and adapting much of the “dream,” and repackaging itself as “colourblind,” pluralist, nonracialist, and meritocratic,” (Winant, 2004, p. 22) is how it maintains continuity and is best proof of its resilience. However, this appears “neither stable nor satisfying [...] and [...] also filled with threats of “ethnic cleansing,” resurgent neofascism, and perhaps equally insidious, renewed racial complacency” (Ibid).

Overcoming white supremacy is, undoubtedly, not an easy task, particularly when we consider that the State which is best hoped to do it is implicitly its main promoter. This means that it is useless to place such demands and hopes on it. On several occasions, it has proven itself incapable of neutrality and stopping discriminatory practices. Quite often, it does not hide its siding and support for white supremacy as is illustrated by President Donald Trump’s considering the Black Lives Movement (created to peacefully defend and promote Black people’s rights) as a terrorist organization and his refusal to condemn hate crimes by white supremacist affiliates and militia. So, until African-Americans and justice-minded people exercise power to oblige the state to address institutionalized white supremacy, racial injustice and discrimination will never be defeated.

It is not exaggerated to say that all the sins that have been committed against African-Americans were in the name of white supremacy. It has been behind the racialization of people through the deployment of numerous prejudices and clichés and sometimes violence, specifically vis-à-vis black people. To illustrate how fundamental it is for the white nationalists, Coates (2014) states that “white supremacy is not merely the work of hotheaded demagogues, or a matter of false consciousness, but a force so fundamental to America that it is difficult to imagine the country without it”.

## **5. Conclusion**

The problem of white supremacy in the United States poses a big challenge to national harmony between different communities, particularly the white and black ones. It is deeply rooted in the very structures of the nation’s fabric. Enslavement and its consequences have been central in building it and racial differences exploited to consolidate it. Despite strong agency and serious challenges, starting with plantation revolts, to the Civil Rights Movement and Black Lives Matter movement, African-American resistance is still unable to overcome it. More than ever, white supremacy continues to have a grip on all aspects of life in the US and whiteness to keep the power and privileges.

White Supremacy is best characterized more by its invisibility than what is visible. Many people would think that supremacism describes the people we generally see on the media parading and shouting hatred and verbal violence against African-Americans and other

minorities in the US. It is important to differentiate between hate and extremism as openly displayed and proclaimed by white extremist groups like the KKK in white hoodies and torches marching and shouting “blood and soil” and structural -lesser popular- supremacy that does more harm to the country and that continues to deepen the American socio-economic divide. In other words, the reduction of white supremacy to popular hate and extremism generally hides from understanding the reality of supremacy and tackling it.

Overall, in this paper I have tried to show that white supremacy is America’s original sin. As I demonstrated, white nationalists belief and acting as if they are superior to African-Americans on the basis of established prejudices will not disappear soon considering the high stakes included, mainly power and privileges. It is structural and is implicitly protected by the system itself through strategic resilience and fluidity that allow it to survive and resist challenges of all sorts.

### References

- Aptheker, H. (1983). *American negro slave revolts*. International Publishers.
- Bastide, R. (1957). Le noir aux Etats-Unis d’Amérique, introduction. *Bulletin International des Sciences Sociales, UNESCO, IX(4)*, 449.
- Bell, D. A. (2008). *Race, racism, and American law, sixth edition*. Aspen Publishers.
- Bennett, Jr. L. (1993). *Before the Mayflower: A history of Black America*. Penguin Books.
- Brundage, W. F. (1993). *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880–1930*. University of Illinois Press.
- Coates, T. (2014). The Case for Reparations. Atlantic, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2014/06/the-case-for-reparations/361631/>
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York University Press.
- Diangelo, R. (2018). *White fragility: Why it’s so hard for white people to talk about racism*. Beacon Press Books.
- Fleming, C. M. (2018). *How to be less stupid about race*. Beacon Press.
- Goldberg, D. T. (1990). *Anatomy of racism.*: University of Minnesota Press.
- (2009). *The threat of race: Reflections on racial neoliberalism*. Oxford and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- (2002). *The racial state*. Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Graham, K. M. (2012). *Beyond redistribution: White supremacy and racial justice*. Lexington Books.
- Joseph, P. I. E. (2001). Black reconstructed: White supremacy in post civil rights America”, *The Black Scholar*, 25(4), 52-54.
- Jung, M., et al. (2011). *State of white supremacy: Racism, governance, and the United States*. Stanford University Press.
- Kaplan, H. R. (2011). *The myth of post-racial America: Searching for Equality in the Age of Materialism*. Rowman & Littlefield Education.
- Kauanui, J., & Kehaulani, K. (2016). A structure not an event?: Settler colonialism and enduring indigeneity. *Lateral: Journal of the Cultural Studies Association*, 5(1).
- Lieberman, R. C. (2005). *Shaping race policy*. Princeton University Press.

- Lu, D. et al. (2020). Faces of power: 80% are white, even as U.S becomes more diverse. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/09/09/us/powerful-people-race-us.html>
- Maldonado-Torres, N. (2010). The time and space of race: Reflections on David Theo Goldberg's interrelational and comparative methodology. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 44(1).xc.
- Mills, C. W. (1997). *The racial contract*. Cornell University Press.
- Moses, W., J. (1998). *Afrotopia: The roots of African-American popular history*. Cambridge University Press.
- Omi, M. & Howard, W. (1994). *Racial formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. Routledge.
- Palmer, C. A. (1998). Passageways: An interpretive history of black America, Volume II: 1863–1965. (pp. 113–21). Harcourt Brace.
- Waldrep, C. (2009). *African-Americans confront lynching: Strategies of resistance from the civil war to the civil rights era*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Winant, H. (2004). *The new politics of race*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Winthrop D. J. (1974). *The white man's Burden: Historical origins of racism in the United States*. Oxford University Press.
- Yudell, M. (2014). *Race unmasked*. Columbia University Press.
- Zinn, H. (2003). *A people's history of the United States: 1492-Present*. HarperCollins Publishers.

**Imen Ratoul<sup>7</sup>**  
Faculty of Foreign Languages  
University of Mostaganem, Algeria  
**Mustapha Boudjelal, P.h.D**  
Faculty of Foreign Languages  
University of Mostaganem, Algeria

**ALGERIAN FEMALE ENGINEERS CHALLENGING THE MASCULINE CULTURE OF ENGINEERING: A  
LOOK AT GENDER AND PREVAILING BARRIERS**

**Abstract**

The present article focuses on women's integration into male-dominated domain to offer insights into Algerian female's experiences in engineering as a male-dominated occupation. It aims to identify some of the many barriers imposed by cultural assumptions on female workers in general and engineers in particular. Although, their experiences varied, they revealed that Algerian female engineers encounter significant resistance from male-counterparts. To fit the above need, this study is meant for the examination and identification of the historical nature of engineering. Thus, it draws on the resources of well-known methodological frameworks as CDA and FCDA that serve to fully understand the problem of women in engineering with men and the taken-for-granted masculinities of engineering. Every case of female's experience is representative of three main challenges; female's numerical minorities, (in)visibility issues at engineering workplace and the combination between work and family life. Evidently, the dominance of masculine culture of engineering strongly legitimizes male's presence as the norm and restricts female's entrance in engineering. To this end, traditional ideas about the division of labour as well as gender discrimination continue to force the stereotypical notions about men's and women's career choice and perception of work.

**Keywords:** Barriers, female engineers, gender, male-dominated, masculine culture of engineering.

**1. Introduction**

The reality of Algerian women has been subjected to constant changes intermingled with social, political and religious contexts of each period. Therefore, approaching Algerian women's economic participation remains a highly complex issue especially when it is linked to power dynamics, gender relations, patriarchal systems and stereotypes that intersect together within the process of naturalization of different social conventions and norms which put women's status into question. Particularly, the public role of women is a central issue in Algeria. As women become more educated today, they gain more rights and freedom that influence their participation in the labour force. This trend of women empowerment brought up the tendency to be engaged in male's jobs. Rebah (2007, p. 09-10) argues that women who start to own business and act as directors "put the catalogue of permitted gender roles into question. The woman who inserts herself into the masculine domain defies existing structure". Women's work is no longer based on pure financial or marital needs; therefore, it defies acceptable social norms since work continues to be part of individual's identity and a source of satisfaction. Women engaged in non-traditional professions i.e. masculine domain, encounter constraints in the course of in/visibility as a highly complex process marked by exclusion and disadvantaged practices. Women working in masculine domains are the ones who work hard as workers and

<sup>7</sup> Email: [imeneratoul@gmail.com](mailto:imeneratoul@gmail.com)

Dr Mustapha Boudjellal: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4499-8733>

Imen Ratoul: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5324-0636>

at the same time to gain recognition as women to receive equal treatment as men because they are also subject to the men's "gaze" (Foucault, 1977) in terms of their feminine bodies.

The cultural environment of engineering is strongly related with how workers both create the culture of their environment and how they are affected by such environment that reinforce the naturalized and the taken for granted gendered practices. Beyond, engineering workplace privileges men i.e. masculinity and forces women to "fit in" the male dominated norms of engineering that is a hard task for women to perform in order to challenge the institutional gender relations to be accepted as workers in such domain.

Evidently, Research about the experiences of women in engineering professions and education highlights the tension and challenges that surround the field of engineering when it comes to the gendered practices and the underrepresentation of female engineers since the culture of engineering workplace and education is perceived as men's domain and a male's oriented occupations.

## 2. Literature Review

### 1.1. Power Dynamics at Workplace

Researchers in discourse analysis studies paid attention to the particular way that discourse contributes to construct gender as well as professional identities at workplace. In this regard, workplace culture is a context of the existent realities about power relations and gender norms tied to the normative position of the social groups i.e. men and women. Power relations strongly operate in the workplace through overt or covert ways -decided upon by the dominant members- to govern people's behaviour, interaction, styles, actions and relationships through prevailed talk and action which are unmarked, naturalized and normalized. Holmes (2006, p.19-20) claims "both power and gender relations may be constructed unobtrusively, through taken-for-granted, 'naturalized' conversational strategies, and reinforced in everyday, unremarkable, workplace interactions. It is those who are in positions of power deciding what is correct or appropriate in an interaction: who may talk, for instance, and for how long; what counts as a relevant contribution, and what is considered a digression."

In 1995, Adkins examines the practices constituting gendered workplace through the "gendering of contemporary labour market" which highlights the role of power relations between men and women in employment. She argues (Adkins, 1995 cited in Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004, p. 60) "advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, and meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female". According to Adkins' study (1995), men and women working in leisure parks perform their work differently; women's work is doubled in order to fit the norms of this kind of workplace; a woman had to be a worker like man and a "sex worker" that is to say she is a sexual object more than being a worker like man in terms of being attractive to her co-workers and bosses. Adkins (1995, p. 147) states "to be workers, women had to be "attractive" workers and carry out forms of sexualized work, whereas men did not have to do this"(cited in Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004,p. 60) . Adkins argues that men's and women's works are gendered regardless of their performative roles as well as their status as workers in their occupations. Through Adkins lens, femininity and masculinity are produced through the gendered practices which are deeply influenced by the social expectations as well as essential differences and categorizations dictated between men and women.

### 2.2. Engineering: The Relevance of the Masculine Working Culture

Sagebiel (2008) claims women's big challenge is to work in a masculine domain as a minority group. They make a hard work to prove to the company that they are fully fledged to gain acceptance compared to male engineers who feel that they are in their own space. Sagebiel (2008, p. 423) states that women have "*to prove that they are competent, working hard, know*

*what they are doing and what to be taken seriously*". One reason is tied to women's status and different position as secondary to men in the family and society. Sagebiel (2008) further explores women's coping strategies in order to survive and assert themselves in men's culture in order to demonstrate difference and equality. Being minority group, women have to use "great self-assurance" in order to cope with traditionally masculine culture that is mainly "the culture of sexist jokes" (2008:424). Yet, they find obstacles with men who in turn show "much more self-assurance" than women. For instance, women have to adopt a coping strategy to deal with "sexist or stupid jokes" by "finding a joking way to react on sexist jokes" that need "a lot of sensitiveness and delicacy" which is not the case for men. In the same vein, Sagebiel (2008) draws on the career progression barriers that face women in engineering; among the barriers that women engineering managers identify are those related to societal and company internal reasons tied to:

- Gender stereotypes
- Traditional ideas about gender division of labour
- Traditional role concepts
- Men's networks and restricted entrance of women on the other hand

Besides, men's network stands as a barrier against women's progression in engineering that is oriented by hegemonic masculinity. As a result, men share their network even after working hours (informal network) while women are excluded and do not participate because they prioritize their family duties.

### 2.3. *The gendered/ing of engineering workplace*

Women's enrolment in engineering is decreased due to "*the subtle taken-for-granted gender dynamics*" to get membership in engineering. Faulkner (2006) raises a central question "*how are the practices, cultures and identities of engineering more appealing, comfortable for and supportive of (more) men engineers than women?*" i.e. her study demonstrates how engineering practices are gendered to the way they create particular masculinities and femininities in engineering. In order to re-establish their belonging into engineering, engineers have to learn to behave according to the company's context and culture. Faulkner (2006) provides the following analysis for the purpose of identifying the problems and causes that face the progress of women in engineering.

#### 2.3.1. *The problem of retention*

The main reason behind this issue is the educational context of engineering because many students find engineering difficult and governed by inclusive gender dynamics about gaining membership in the gendered/ing engineering community. These power dynamics serve the masculine culture as claimed by Faulkner (2006:14) "*the masculine coding of engineering work is evident in the assumption of hands-on skills, in stereotypes of the engineer, and in the celebration of technicist engineering identities. Through numerous gender dynamics, engineering workplace culture function, to varying degrees, as men's spaces which women engineers (and some men) have to 'fit in' to or remain on the margins of*". Faulkner (2006) elaborates the term "gender in/authenticity" to highlight the "normative pressure" in which men are expected to be the norm and perceive engineering as a self-evident choice and more "gender authentic" for them and always make women's presence as different from the norm i.e. men's position is never questioned, unremarkable and unnoticed while women's presence tends to be "unusual" and a gender/sexually visible. Hence, Faulkner (2006) states that gender in/authenticity refers to "*the non-congruence of gender and engineering identities for women, and the congruence of these identities for men*".

### 2.3.2. *The image problem of engineering*

There is a problem with engineering per se because people find it difficult because of gender based stereotypes, as Faulkner (2006: 06) states: “*the classic stereotype of engineering is heavily gender marked*”. The image problem of engineering is based on the dichotomy between “*the conventional gendering of a dualism or dichotomy between ‘the technical’ realm and ‘the social’, by which men/ masculinities are readily associated (symbolically) with technology and women/femininities with people*”. Both the “technical” and the “social” are mutually exclusive for men and women of engineering which inherently draws on the conventional gender differences between men and women using different styles in engineering; women use better social and communicative skills, while men use more tools and technology because simply they have pleasure in technology.

There is an evidence of a great mismatch between the actual image of engineering that demands both the technical and the social skills which are provided by both men and women, and the image of engineering that reinforces the gender differences between men and women such as:

-Both men and women are attracted by science and technology

-It is claimed that men and women use different styles of working; women rely on social skills (the communicative skills) while men use more technological and latest tools. Yet, the vast majority of men and women engineers have better social skills i.e. they work on improving their social interactions like “*handling conflicts, difficult work relationships, collaborating with clients and contractors, team building and motivating staff, mentoring junior staff, working under pressure*” (Faulkner, 2006).

The study of Faulkner (2006) uncovers a strong operation of gender stereotypical image that revolve around the practices of engineering i.e. more supportive of men who value technology than women who are socially skilled. This fact draws on the conventional dualism of the “technical/ social” as mutually exclusive in engineering culture; thus, gender inauthentic for women. In order to challenge the conventional gendering of the technical/ social dualism i.e. associating men/ masculinities with technical and women/ femininities with social things, people have to draw on the mismatches between the image of engineering and the actual practices in engineering through recognizing the applicability of both technical and social skills -decreasing the “technicist” image of engineering-as a way to promote and normalize the proportion of women.

### 2.3.3. *Troubled engineering identities*

As it is claimed by Faulkner (2006), engineering is a mixture between the technical and the social skills. Yet, engineering provides “*troubled engineering identities*” which are sustained with both gender and professional dynamics. The mismatch between social / technical dualism and the actual image of engineering empower men with technical skills associated with masculinities as “*strongly masculine coded*” and indoctrinate the stereotypical images of the real engineer. Hence, engineer’s professional identity is based on the “available masculinities of real engineer” while women engineers’ status remains at risk and “fragile” compared to men’s.

Engineering identity is constrained with the gendered practices and the conventional stereotypes about the image of engineering which calls for the urgent need to recognize the diversities that exist amongst individuals in order to attract talented people to get the best valuable culture of engineering without any requests for limited characteristics or demands of social and technical realms polarizing the differences between men and women as essentially different.



#### 2.4. Male strategies for female exclusion from engineering

The study of Tonso (1996) highlights the cultural and professional processes that systematically exclude female engineers from engineering reinforced by gender stereotypes about femininity “as different” from the norms of this profession dictated by man as a dominant group. Tonso (1996) aims to investigate the different ways students develop “*an engineering culture better suited to modern exigencies, might do to promote changes in the “traditional” culture of engineering*” (1996:94). Tonso (1996), then, makes a comparison between being a male and being a female in engineering; being a male student means being comfortable in a culture they belong to, associated by people like them. Thus, their image is reinforced and their presentation is privileged with better opportunities which make their live easy at such culture. Unlike men, female students spend more time, make great efforts and hard work to “fit in” engineering, learn about all the ways to “deal with” male students i.e. learn strategies to cope with the masculine culture, receive negative treatment such as “women are kidded about getting extra points”, have to behave according to the “standard-issue stereotypes” in order to receive the same respect and recognition as males. As stated by Tonso (1996:96) , among the coping strategies women use to survive in this masculine dominated culture to face their fear from exclusion is to “*learn a new language [to become engineer], a language developed by men*”. *Women adopt these coping strategies “in a fashion similar to the responses about men’s privilege on this campus, learning to ignore the realities may be one of the women’s survival techniques*”. Tonso concludes that engineering is still a domain where women are underrepresented, facing pressure to cope with the realities of the masculine culture, ignoring the stereotypical notions which exclude their participation, a culture which should be changed to be “gender neutral” in order to encourage women to participate and hence favour their presence in engineering education and profession as well. Tonso (1996:97) states “*but the fact remains that this sort of culture discourages women from participating ... the time has come to turn our conversation away from how to change women and to undertake conversations about what is wrong with engineering and engineering education and how to change the culture*”.

#### 2.5. Engineering: A context of the tension about the requirements between difference and sameness

Sophie Reissner (2012) work:“The Guys Would Like to Have a Lady: *The Co-Construction of Gender and Professional Identity in Interviews Between Employers and Female Engineering Students*” draws on the ways female engineers negotiate their identities that intersect with gender and professional aspects using the social constructionist approach in order to explore the discursive patterns of female engineers and how they re-construct their professional identity in interactional “androcentric” contexts. Here again, the struggles about the requirements between institutional discourses about “difference” and “sameness” take place referring to the institutional taken for-granted expectations of and about the employees both implicitly and explicitly. The work of Reissner (2012) demonstrates that women must supply “*lot of work both to display that equality and to show the integration of technical and relational skills*” in order to eradicate stereotypical images about women that may serve them to prove their “technical abilities” and their communicative skills concerned with “competency discourses” and reflected in the requirement to “fit in a professional engineering box” as a part of “the matching process” (2012:17).Reissner highlights the tension between the discourse of difference that refers to gender as a “feminine interactional style” and the discourse of sameness which means to have masculine abilities to fulfil the job of engineering which is an institutional taken for granted male-dominated job where women challenge to negotiate and, hence, co-construct their professional identity in a domain which they do not belong to. Reissner (2012) concludes that “difference” and “sameness” that are “defined by cultural members” and act as an “axis” should not be polarized; rather they should be conceptualized as a continuum. She

draws on Bucholtz & Hall (2005) understanding of identity which varies across cultures, they define “*identities are intersubjectively constructed through several, often overlapping complementary relations, including similarity, difference, genuineness/ artifice, and authority/ delegitimacy*” (2005:598). Through being different from the norm, women still face gender stereotypes which continue to consider them as a minority group whose chances to be recruited in engineering are difficult and restricted. The requirements of engineering for employees to be the same are a prerequisite to “fit in” in engineering while the requirement for women to be different receives resistance, difficulty to be hired as well as rejection from male dominant group to assert their masculine normative culture.

### *2.6. The relevance of female bodies in engineering discourses*

Female and male engineers are positioned in terms of their body which is called by Ella Roininen (2008) “*body/work repertoire*” that “*reproduces discourses that ground the gendered distribution of labour directly through sexed bodies. The repertoire connects the productive and reproductive capabilities of male and female bodies to the ways female and male professionals are positioned with regards to the careers*” (2008:145). The study of Roininen (2008) demonstrates that female bodies are put at focus; their bodies are not congruent with technology and masculinities that are dictated as the standard. As a result, women face exclusion from participating in engineering field because “*women do not initially belong to the field of engineering*” (Roininen, 2008:148). In this sense, male bodies go unnoticed; Roininen explains (2008:149) “*the body/work repertoire presents engineering as a masculine activity, where women’s bodies are an abnormality...women’s bodies in the field of engineering constitute a problem primarily for themselves*”. Ella Roininen (2008) emphasises that engineering is still a masculine signed and a male job where women constitute minority professionals reflected in the discursive construction of gender and professionalism related to engineering context.

## **3. Methodology**

Recent research in discourse studies related to workplace has focused on the combination of both qualitative and quantitative paradigms. Angouri (2010) states that workplace discourse has become the focus of many disciplines as Linguistics, Management, Sociology and Psychology. Particularly, Angouri (2003, p. 37) identifies that research in Linguistics aims at: “(a) the identification of patterns of language use and/or development of the skills the employees need in order to be competent users of the language(s) for work related purposes, (b) the study and/ or description of the spoken/ written language –or rather the discourse-workplace participants engage in”.

In attempting to explore the reality of women engineers in Algeria in light with the present constraints in the domain of engineering, the research setting is Algerian “National Society for Research, Production, Transport, transformation, and Marketing of Hydrocarbons” (SONATRACK).60 female participants were chosen from varieties of sub-disciplines in engineering i.e. holding different degrees in engineering including computer science engineering; electronics engineering, mechanical engineering, civil engineering, electro-technical engineering. For this purpose, both qualitative and quantitative methods are used. Accordingly, the analyses of data are both descriptive and interpretative of the ways female engineers portray their identities in a discursive process. To fit the needs and the purpose of the research, the data are gathered from relevant methods such as questionnaires by providing set of questions to female engineers so as to explore they perceive engineering culture as well as to provide a clear understanding of how they negotiate their gender and professional identities in man’s space professional engineering. Also, the present research perspective relies on interviews with female engineers to explore the discursive perspective of female engineers’

familiarities as well as evaluation of their culture bringing to the surface implicit and explicit gender dynamics, social norms, cultural assumptions and institutional practices related to engineering workplace culture. This analysis serves to enrich the data through direct connection with participants to better explore the engineering culture in light with the institutional and conventional discourses about the norms of engineering as well as to provide a fruitful discussion about their persistence and challenges that highlight women's awareness about the restrictions they face. To fit the above needs, the analytical approach draws on both Social Constructionist Approach to examine and discuss the discursive construction of female engineers identities in interactional settings and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis Approach as it relies on female engineers discussions about the realities of engineering since they are loaded with full indications about the discourse used in professional settings and about females' experiences in light with prevailing power dynamics in their work setting.

## 4. Results

### 4.1. Female's barriers at engineering

#### 4.1.1. Females' numerical minorities challenging the male norm

When we asked female participants about the nature of engineering work, all of them said that engineering was a difficult job due to the fact engineering is claimed as a masculine domain which is a main reason behind their numerical minority i.e. their presence is perceived to be unusual and unnatural unlike men who are claimed to be the norm. A female participant confirms the above stated claim:

*"...the masculine culture of engineering doesn't need to be questioned because it is a male signed profession while women who come into it have to learn about the masculine culture and adopt masculine characteristics..."*

When we asked the participants about good professional and successful engineer, all of the female engineers compared their roles and characteristics to men; they considered men as the norm and drew on the hierarchical values between male and female engineering characteristics that were evident in female talks i.e. the masculinities of engineering have high hierarchical values that mobilize men's characteristics and values as the natural norm. One female participant claims:

*"...One cannot deny the fact that male engineers are active and ambitious and self-confident which is mainly due to the perception that their presence is something natural while female engineers reluctant and silent in mixed interactions but sure of their abilities as engineers..."*

This hierarchy of characteristics between male and female characteristics is evident also in the following extract with another female participant:

*"[mmmm] we prefer to talk about the problem and ask for help if needed while male engineers are silent most of the time. They don't ask for help particularly when it comes to technical matters because they claim that they excel in technology even when they talk they are rough and when asking for help you feel that they are hesitant".*

In the above discussion, women categorize their characteristics in terms of differences displaying different working styles as if they are essentially different. The above extract demonstrates that women do not hesitate to ask help from others which is a sign of women's cooperative styles. In addition, they appear to value oral communication skills more than men

do. Other female interviewees present male engineers in a negative sense among a set of male characteristics as “lacking patience” compared to female characteristics. Men prefer instead to “work individually”, they tend to “be proud of their achievements and projects”. Female engineers claim that females “ask for permission” while males don’t do which is justified by their natural presence in their own space to “assume leadership” over female engineers due to the privilege of their numerical dominance; one female engineer states:

*“Engineering is historically over-numbered by men who find it easier to communicate with their peers since the setting is too dominated by males while women sometimes feel neglected because they represent a minority group. So, they interact seldom”.*

As minority group, female engineers articulate their awareness about the hierarchy of power relations that work through the course of engineering workplace. So, women are in a position to be subject to unequal treatment as professionals in light with the technical/ social dualism as well as (in) visibility paradox that highlight the complex work provided by female engineers to reconstruct their professional identities. Also, female engineers articulated the tension they undergo between their passion conducted by their will as a career choice and the normative male practices for female exclusion. Some extracts of male speech show interest in interactional talk about sport issues that tend to exclude women and show a sense of harmony between male engineers. This issue stands as one aspect of the mechanism of silencing to exclude women from participation in interactional setting as well as from work practices.

#### *4.1.2. Women’s (In) Visibility at Engineering Workplace*

Among the obstacles that face women to do their work, 90 % of female engineers stated that they face difficulties to gain membership that force them to adopt coping strategies to be treated equally. Yet, they bring to the surface their femininity so as to manage their difference which in turn sheds light on the following obstacles:

##### *4.1.2.1. The Relevance of Female Bodies*

The working concept of “female body” is relevant and emphasized in female’s speech. Most of the female participants by 83.33% identified some talks such as “you are beautiful”, “you are sexy today”. Most of the female participants make this point clear that they are visible in terms of the relevance of their bodies. One important point to make here is that female bodies are discursively normalized in discursive practice of engineering. One female participant declares: “we just smile when hearing a man speaking about our beauty”. This normalized speech about women’s appearance as sexual object encourages the belief that men are free and entitled to show and to express their sexual and verbal desire to females. Yet, female’s silence indicates the fear from exclusion. Moreover, female bodies are subject to the gaze and highly visible i.e. female engineers find themselves providing a hard work because they need to emphasize their professionalism and impose respect by setting limits to male engineers, a situation that sometimes drives them to quit participating in interactional settings. Consequently, women are subject to exclusion and isolation. Since the work is highly gender marked, they have to work hard to be better suited for the job as they represent a minority group that in turn indicates women’s unnatural presence unlike men whose bodies go unnoticed and normal. So, women may be subject to exclusion which is “a scaring effect” that draws on their passive roles in conversations.

##### *4.1.2.2. Being a Woman: Male’s Culture Dominating Engineering*

All the participants of this study show high level of dissatisfaction with the masculine biases of working environment. This confirms that the first barrier they encounter is the dominance of men’s culture because these women belong to the minority group finding it

difficult: to be taken as professionally competent to cope in the workplace culture, to establish equality to men in a world that they do not belong to and to challenge men's mechanism to exclude women in light with the critical commentary of women's experience in such domain. Another female participant articulates:

*“being a female engineer is not easy at all , we have to work according to that culture as men at the same time we have to be recognized as women engineers”*

One more point to make here in dealing with the realities of engineering, female engineers work more than enough to ensure their professionalism as well as their success and recognition in their job. They work hard to be treated seriously and to gain acceptance from the dominant male group.

#### *4.1.3. The combination between work and family*

All the women in this study consider and give importance to the role played by family concerning their career choice and their persistence in engineering; the fact that 80% of women engineers are married proves that family members are behind their work because they consider that paid work is a prerequisite in today's life to help and supply the needs of the family members financially (husband, children, parents). Also, they consider work as a matter of economic independence and self-reliance. Yet, 30% of participants find difficulty to combine between work and family. So, they have to prove themselves as adequate for engineering job; working hard in order not to fall under the social stereotype that doubts women's ability to fulfil their full potential in engineering workplace. In the same vein, a female participant claims:

*“Engineering needs long working hours... the majority of Algerian women prefer traditional female professions due to many reasons, among them the nature of these kinds of jobs that allow them to combine between work and family ”*

This excerpt reminds us of “the scaring effect” behind women's fear from exclusion in historically male-dominated professions. Women are always thinking about their families and about their failure in doing their job as well as about negative social perception because the role of women is perceived primarily as care takers that forces them to choose traditional jobs associated with femininity to combine between work and family. Beyond, gender dichotomous society is a predominant factor behind occupational sex segregation that expect and force women to be care givers by nature; as Obasanjo (1989, p. 26) asserts “women are givers and nurturers of life” because of their psychology i.e. their social responsibility associated with the biological ones contribute to the stereotypical notions effecting both men's and women's choice and perception of work that drive women to have work-life balance.

Another participant claims the importance of combining between work and family saying

*“Being an engineer doesn't mean that one neglects the fact of being a woman, a wife, a daughter and a mother. We have to do our tasks towards our families a gift we are born with and socialized into being”*

This speech reflects a further step that women perceive themselves as powerful females driven by their abilities and consciousness to fulfil in engineering job.

## 5. Discussion

The present study reveals that women are judged in terms of being different from men who represent the norm in engineering profession. To this end, we have shed important light on the close relationship between engineering and gender. It, then, reviews specific scientific inquiries made about the experiences, particularly, the lives of female engineers living at the margins of engineering world. Hence, female engineers articulate their awareness about the hierarchy between men and women and signify stereotypical assumptions claimed by men of women's incompetence with engineering. They hence argue that engineering work requires a hard work more than men by spending more time because their presence in engineering is socially perceived as unusual i.e. engineering as a masculine domain forces women to work hard not only to be successful and achieve their competence but also to negotiate their professional identities in order to fit in the engineering culture. This is clear evidence about female engineers' resistance to do their job. Here again, the participants sound confident and self-reliant of their abilities to do the career job confronting to the masculine culture that engineering has. Also, these episodes echo women's power and ability driven by their will to fulfil the engineering job. Like any other work, the participants assert their right to be involved within engineering because it is not exclusive to men only.

## 6. Conclusion

The presence of females at engineering has generated a large controversial literature, it has been studied from many different disciplines and each of them focuses on a specific part. Despite their differential perspective, most of these perspectives confirm their unnatural and unusual status as they enter the workplace. Most of these studies advocate female's participation in both educational and professional engineering and support women's role and achievement that favour their challenges to legitimize their presence in such domain. Briefly, Engineering is highly gendered; that reflects to which extent females perceive engineering as typically naturalized male's domain. Most of them are discursively affected by the male norm and the culture of their jobs. The gendered engineering culture legitimizes male's presence and practice that become exclusive for them. Women's fear from exclusion forces them to make great efforts to gain acceptance and membership. . Finally, Algeria needs to increase the representation of women and strengthen the female talents in all sectors particularly masculinised ones. To this end, women may have the opportunity to make changes and challenges in historically male-dominated careers which is central to improve their economic outcomes, to realize their full potential, to seek more equality in career jobs which seem to be a new avenue for Algerian women to explore, mainly, to challenge the institutionalized patriarchal tradition of job distribution.

## References

- Bucholtz, Mary and Kira Hall. (2005). *Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach*. Discourse Studies, 7. 4–5: 585–614.
- Fairclough, N. (2000). *Discourse, Social Theory, and Social Research: The discourse of welfare reform*. Journal of Sociolinguistics. 4(2), 163–195.
- Faulkner, W. (2007). “*Nuts and bolts and people*”: Gender-troubled engineering identities. Social Studies of Science, 37(3), 331 – 356.
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage.
- Holmes, J. (2006). *Gendered Talk at Work: Constructing Social Identity through Workplace Interaction*. USA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Kanter, R.M. (1977). *Men and Women of the Corporation*. Basic Books: New York.

- Lewis, P, Simpson, R. (2010). *Revealing and Concealing Gender: Issues of Visibility in Organizations*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Pilcher & Whelehan. (2004). *50 Key Concepts in Gender Studies*. Sage, London.
- Rebah, A. (2007). "*La Minorité Invisible*". Retrieved from: <http://www.gloria-center.org/2009/03/gray-2009-03-05/>.
- Reissner, S. (2012). "*The Guys Would Like to Have a Lady*": *The co-construction of gender and professional identity in interviews between employers and female engineering students*. The interplay between professional identities and age, gender and ethnicity. P.231-254.
- Simpson, R. & Lewis, P. (2007). *Voice, Visibility and the Gendering of Organizations*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Tonso, K. L. (1996). *Student Learning and Gender*. Journal of Engineering Education. Vol.85 (2).P, 190-215.

**Naime Benmerabet<sup>8</sup>**

Faculty of Letters, Social and Human Sciences  
University of Badji Mokhtar-Annaba, Algeria

## “WE VS. THEY” AND THE POLARIZING STRATEGY IN BUSH’S WEST POINT SPEECH (JUNE 1, 2002): THE SECURITIZATION OF IRAQI REGIME

### Abstract

This article investigates the manipulation of the pronouns “we” and “they” by President Bush in his West Point speech of June 1, 2002. The US president mobilized these pronominal choices to buttress US claims about Iraqi threat and to legitimize US preventive war against Saddam Hussein's regime whose repercussions culminated in the relinquishment of just war rules. The article focuses on disclosing the ideological implications of these choices through the lens of Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis. It more specifically elucidates how President Bush harnessed these personal pronouns to re-articulate and co-construct the US identity as being the incarnation of absolute good in contradistinction with the identity of the other (Iraqi regime in this context) which was depicted as being synonymous of absolute evil.

**Keywords:** CDA; G. W. Bush administration; Iraqi regime; war on Iraq; "we" vs. "they".

### 5. Introduction

In the immediate aftermath of September 11, 2001 attacks and the ensuing atmosphere of fear and paranoia, the status of the US president as the unchallenged claim maker and truth teller gained more credence. Groping for some kind of explanation to what befell their country on September 11 and what waylaid it, the American people turned to President George W. Bush for assuaging explanations and securitizing measures. This increasingly important status occupied by President Bush granted him ample room for maneuver to frame and depict the political and the security atmospheres in ways that largely echoed the exclusive perceptions and conceptions of tight circles within his administration such as the Neoconservatives and the Christian Right. To that end, President Bush appealed to a series of linguistic tools and discursive techniques to defend and enhance the validity and the legitimacy of his claims about post-9/11 perils in general and Iraqi threat in particular.

The core objective of this article lies in its purport to contribute in the debate on the rationale underpinning US-led war on Iraq and its legitimacy. The article centers on the scrutiny of the use of the personal pronouns “we” and “they” in President George W. Bush's West Point speech (June 1, 2002) to unveil the concealed ideological meanings and implications encoded in his pronominal choices and the characterizations and identifications associated with each pronoun. The article seeks to dismantle clauses where agents are the pronouns “we” and “they” by focusing on identifications and characterizations associated with each of them to prioritize self over other and to confer an aura of morality and legitimacy upon the perceptions and undertakings of self against the other.

The introduction of tools pertaining to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in the field of politics yielded plenty of new paths and a host of novel ways of construing and interpreting the plethora of material emanating from the field of politics. As far back as mid-20<sup>th</sup> century,

---

<sup>8</sup> Email: [nbenmerabet\\_75@yahoo.fr](mailto:nbenmerabet_75@yahoo.fr)



a miscellany of conspicuous shifts in the roles that language can perform and the effects that it can engender occurred. This was largely due to a shift in epistemology which resulted in an important change in the role of language in the theorization and the construal of knowledge (Jaworski & Coupland, 2006, p 3). An important implication of this claim is that language has a constitutive power in that, instead of simply mirroring reality out there, it contributes in constructing reality (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 8).

The core premise of CDA lies at its claim to probe the concealed ideological meanings that spring from chaining up the description of linguistic features of texts to the synergy of clues contained in texts and Members Resources (MR) and the explanation of the broader social and cultural contexts that constitute and are constituted by the text (Fairclough, 1992, p. 135). This implied, from the perspective of CDA experts and practitioners, that the primordial importance to take a critical stance toward taken-for-granted ways of understanding world phenomena in general and politics in particular.

Drawing on M.A.K. Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), Faircloughian three-dimensional framework of CDA laid out a number of analytical devices and tools to be operationalized in order to unpack and demystify the narrative of politicians and to disclose the ways in which the speaker enacted different metafunctions that language can perform (i.e. experiential, interpersonal and textual). However, for the purposes of this study, analyses will be confined to the scrutiny of the interpersonal metafunction and more specifically the ways in which President Bush deployed the pronoun "we" to enhance and fortify feelings of sympathy, belonging and in-grouping within the US. The use of the pronoun "we" in President Bush's speech was paramount in erecting boundaries between the US and its enemy (i.e. Iraqi regime) that is distanced and out-grouped as the US other. This process constituted a pivotal discursive tool in the Bush administration's global agenda aiming, *inter alia*, at the "mythologization," the "demonization" and the "securitization" of the alleged Iraqi WMD threat and hence to legitimize the upcoming US-led war on Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq (Campbell, 1998).

More importantly, it is the pivotal thrust of this study to unveil how President Bush's appeal to the usage of the pronouns "we" and "they" to re-articulate and re-narrativize the identities, the characterizations and the attributes of the US in contradistinction from its other (i.e. Iraqi regime) in ways that would condone, at least from the perspective of the US political and security elites, political and security paradigmatic shifts involving, *inter alia*, the legalization of US unilateralism, superseding nonproliferation with counter proliferation-*la-carte*, rationalizing and legitimizing preventive wars, the revamping of just war rules and the *de facto* reshuffling of the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT).

## **2. Historical and Contextual Information**

The West Point speech, which President Bush delivered less than a year after the 9/11 attacks and a few months after the US war on Afghanistan, came to signal a clear break from the US Cold War foreign and security policies. The speech spelled out the core tenets of the "Bush Doctrine," a document that marked the official fall into desuetude of deterrence and containment. It, most importantly, underscored the obsolescence of nonproliferation and enshrined the merits of counter proliferation especially to curb threats that were conceptualized as being the incarnation of the intersection of radicalism and technology. Indeed, the perception that the perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks were "undeterrable" and "unpredictable fanatics" largely laid the ground for the embrace of one of the most controversial aspects of the Bush administration's grand strategy which is the doctrine of preemption that was laid out in the President's West Point speech and in the National Security Strategy of the United States (NSS) of September 2002 (Fukuyama, 2006, pp.81-82). In fact, the most conspicuous aspect of Bush

Doctrine, as it was emphasized in the West Point Speech, was the clear-cut relinquishment of conventions of international law and the legalist paradigm, specifically those pertaining to *Jus ad bellum* (i.e. moral justifications for going to war) (Walzer, 2004, p. 75). More importantly, the George W. Bush administration operated a decisive break from the Cold War and post-Cold War discourse on nonproliferation as it relinquished multilateral treaty-based nuclear arms control as the official foreign policy of the US, in addition to having relegated the nuclear disarmament commitments of the NWS to a back burner in favor of an "arms control *à la carte*" paradigm (Rajkumar, 2005).

### 3. Methodology

The leveraging of personal pronouns by political speakers stands out as one of the most ubiquitous linguistic tools whereby the speaker encodes and sustains his conceptualization to the identity of the group with which he identifies and the identity from which he seeks to single out and distance his people's identity. Briefly put, the wielding of pronominal choices stands out as a central tool for the delineation of the speaker's categorizing vision to subjects and objects of his speech. For Norman Fairclough, pronominal choices, for instance, impact the discursive construction of both social relations and knowledge and meaning systems, because it is by dint of the manipulation pronouns that a speaker encodes different aspects of his communicative intentions (De Fina, 1995, p. 380). According to Michael V. Bhatia and Anna de Fina, when examined out of context, pronouns stand as "empty signs." However, upon being inserted in any particular context, they assume their whole meaning as speakers often appeal to pronouns such as "we" and "they" to situate themselves and/or the entity with which they identify from others as they may mobilize this pronominal distinction in order to interact with their audience(s) either by bringing to the fore feelings of sympathy, solidarity and belonging or feelings of estrangement and emotional distancing (Bhatia, 2005, pp. 8-9; De Fina, 1995).

The "we vs. they" dichotomy, which hinges on the use of the pronouns "we" to refer to "self" and "they" and to characterize or construct an "other," stands out as a ubiquitous linguistic tool that speakers in the realm of politics use to prioritize their outlook to issues to the detriment of others. This rhetorical tactic is widely spread and exists since a long time. Speakers in the realm of politics often take recourse to this type of reasoning to reinforce their positions and enlist support for their policies and decisions by attributing and characterizing all that is related to self in a positive way all in stigmatizing, demonizing and even de-politicizing all that is associated with their adversaries. In the case of President Bush's West Point address, the "us vs. them" binary served as an effective tool for the US president to bolster his rationale in the discursive build-up of the US war on Iraq. The "we vs. they" is encompassing and reflective of the US long-lasting meta-narratives of "good vs. evil," "barbarism vs. civilization" and "neo-Orientalism" that the West in general and the US in particular often appealed to confer upon its political stance, political righteousness, and moral infallibility (Barnett, 2016, pp. 9, 15).

Similarly, language manipulation is of paramount importance in managing aspects of positive self-identification in contradistinction from negative other-representation, especially by emphasizing positive attributes of the "self" and negative attributes of the "other" on the one hand and de-emphasizing the negative attributes of the "self" and the positive attributes of the "other" on the other hand. In other words, given its decisive importance in terms of articulating and constituting identities and their respective attributes and behaviors, language can be harnessed by language wielders, mainly chief claim makers and unrivaled truth tellers such as presidents, to portray and delineate characterizations of self and other so as to silence and disqualify the enemy by demonizing his identity and securitizing his behavior and actions. By the same token, these claim makers and truth tellers

can draw on their firm command over language and their pervasive influence on public opinion to depict their own identities and those of the communities, cultures and even civilizations with which they identify as being the embodiment and the epitomization of quintessential good.

The article, therefore, utilises Faircloughian three-layer framework of CDA (i.e. description, interpretation and explanation) by sifting through clauses where the agents are the pronouns “we” and “they” in order to demonstrate how President Bush made of use them to refer respectively to self and other (i.e. Iraqi regime). The use of the pronouns “we” and “they” were equally instrumental in establishing and enhancing distinctive and polarizing boundaries between who the self was and what it stood for and who the other was and what it stood for. The strategy of polarization set to motion by dint of pronominal choices was further fueled and energized through the deployment of disparaging and stereotypical depictions and characterizations of the distanced and the disowned entity to which the speaker referred by using the pronoun “they.”

#### 4. Findings

The present study is dedicated to the critical analysis of the interpersonal metafunction in President Bush’s West Point Speech of June 1, 2002. It specifically looks into the ways in which President Bush utilized personal pronouns referring to both self vs. other in representing the identity of the speaker and other participants, conceptualizing relations between "interactants" and expressing the judgments and opinions of the speaker on what is being said (Halliday and Mathiessen, 2014, p. 20; Holtgraves and Yoshihisa, 2008, pp. 73-78)

Even with respect to the ratio of use of pronouns referring to self (i.e. “we”) and “other” (i.e. “they”), there was an easily noticeable preponderance of reference to “self,” which is by and large suggestive of attempts by President Bush to eclipse and drown the “other,” silence its voice as this last was always placed on the receiving end of an unremitting campaign of demonization and vilification. As it is shown in the table below, reference to “self” got the lion’s share with a percentage of 76.66 % against 23.33% for the “other.”

##### 4.1 Description and Interpretation

**Table 1.**

*Number and Percentage of Recurrence of Pronouns in the speech*

	Pronouns	Number	Percentage
Self	We	46	76,66%
Other	They	14	23,33%

**Source:** President Bush’s West Point Academy Speech (June 1, 2002)

President Bush utilized the pronoun “we” to speak on behalf of his party (the Republican Party with all its factions, mainly the Neo-conservatives and the Christian Right), his government, the US Congress and the US army. President Bush’ resort to the use of the pronoun “we” to refer to either or all of the above-mentioned institutions was meant to impress the US people, court its confidence and enlist its support by emphasizing the unrelenting and the unwavering mobilization and commitment of the US official institutions for the purpose of countering terrorism. The idea of wrapping individual perceptions and decisions pertaining to the President’s idiosyncratic reasoning under the garb of shared and common feelings and decisions leaves almost no doubt in the mind of

US public opinion and even international public opinion about the possible fallibility or lack of wisdom in the characterizations and decisions made by the President. The fact of attributing the President’s individual perceptions and decisions to such “embedded membership” (Liddicoat et al., 1999) also serves for mitigating the responsibility of the President and diluting the possible negative implications and repercussions of his undertakings by deflecting attention from him and shedding more light on the entire official institutions of the US.

4.2 Explanation

**Table 2.**

*Excerpts of use of the pronoun “we”*

<b>Number</b>	<b>Excerpts</b>
1.	Wherever <b><u>we</u></b> carry it, the American flag will stand not only for our power, but for freedom.
2.	<b><u>We</u></b> fight, as <b><u>we</u></b> always fight, for a just peace— a peace that favors human liberty.
3.	<b><u>We</u></b> will defend the peace against threats from terrorists and tyrants
4.	<b><u>We</u></b> wish for others only what <b><u>we</u></b> wish for ourselves — safety from violence, the rewards of liberty, and the hope for a better life.
5.	<b><u>We</u></b> will not leave the safety of America and the peace of the planet at the mercy of a few mad terrorists and tyrants.
6.	<b><u>We</u></b> will lift this dark threat from our country and from the world.
7.	<b><u>We</u></b> are in a conflict between good and evil, and America will call evil by its name.
8.	And <b><u>we</u></b> will lead the world in opposing it [evil].
9.	<b><u>We</u></b> can support and reward governments that make the right choices for their own people.
10.	<b><u>We</u></b> will work for a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.

**Source:**President Bush’s West Point Academy Speech (June 1, 2002)

By using the inclusive pronoun “we” in reference to the US government, Congress, the US army and US public opinion, and to which he tied positive characterizations and attributes such as the promotion of freedom (excerpt 1), human liberty (excerpt 2), peace (excerpt 3), generosity and magnanimity (excerpt 4), world safety (excerpt 5 and 6) and the combat of evil (excerpt 7, 8 and 9 ) and terror (excerpt 10), President Bush meant to instill in the minds of public opinion inside and outside the US the unlimited and

bottomless goodness and virtuosity of the US. In addition to reinvigorating and bolstering unity and silencing opposition inside and outside the US, these characterizations were also destined to enlist the maximum of support from international community and international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for his diplomatic and military build-up against Saddam Hussein's regime. The representation of the US and its allies as being unconditionally committed to the defense and the promotion of the above-mentioned ideals was a means to inculcate into the minds of national and international public opinions that the US and its allies were definitely in the camp of good and that those who were not identified as being on the side of the US were necessarily against it and were thus in the camp of evil.

President Bush's mobilization of the "we vs. they" in tandem with positive self-representation in opposition to negative other-representation, which largely undergirded and fueled the US post-9/11 politics, was perceived as being self-serving and self-defeating arguments (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 25). For Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the idea of isolating "good" people from "evil" ones is simply infeasible and fictitious as the "line dividing good and evil cuts through the heart of every human being, which makes President Bush's recalcitrant categorizing dichotomy more dangerous than erroneous (Solzhenitsyn, 1974, p. 615). Indeed, by classifying people, races, ethnies and states into monolithic entities and according to a logic that runs in a collision course with human nature, President Bush fragilized and jeopardized the same world security that he ceaselessly presumed to defend. The adamant and the indiscriminate bundling of every individual, race, state, nation or civilization that does not subscribe to the US contingent, subjective, exclusive and culture-bound conceptions and perception to world phenomena under the rubric of "evil," "axis of evil," "rogue states," "terrorists" or "barbarians" in addition to having fueled and emblazed the US "folly of empire," it also granted "othered," "out-grouped" and distanced peoples and states more solid reasons and arguments to acquire deterrents to protect themselves against the "hubris" of a hyper-power blinded by its absolute over-confidence in its more infallibility and the righteousness of its presumable mission to concretize God's will on earth (Judis, 2004, p. 186). As such, the Bush administration's security strategy, as it was enshrined in a miscellany of authoritative documents and political and security blueprints such as the National Security Strategy of the US (NSS) of 2002, the Bush Doctrine, with its "us vs. them" polarization, which was framed through the prism of the US idiosyncratic and self-serving beliefs and perceptions about the congenital goodness of the self and the intrinsic evilness of the other, it made the world an insecure place for life. Capturing the gist of the grave implications of this conception world affairs, Louis Menand decried the reductionist and the parochial hues of the "we vs. they" and "good vs. evil" binaries as he emphasized that the world is too colorful, too diversified and too pluralized that no discourse can confine it to the straitjackets of a binary representation and as this line of reasoning merely negates free thinking (Menand, 2002, p. 98).

In excerpts 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 the US President mobilized "we-ness" to provide his appraisal of the US identity and mission in the world by focalizing on the delineation of what he considered them to be the functions of the US as an exceptional nation endowed with the unique mission of spreading democracy and freedom and safeguarding world peace. This implied its being granted an imprimatur to conceptualize and devise the appropriate means that it saw fit to accomplish this presumably lofty and universal goal. A conspicuous implication of this idiosyncratic process of "functionalization" was that the US arrogated for itself the right to reframe the principles and laws of International Relations (IR) through the exclusive prism of its

contingent and subjective conception to world affairs. Concurring with the truth-relativizing reasoning of what is true for you' need not be 'true for me,' Friedrich Nietzsche posited that "what we call truth is no more than today's 'convenient fiction' (Campbell, 2011, p. 4). This process of re-invention of IR was by and large fostered by drawing the maximum of dividend from the atmosphere of trauma and awe triggered by the 9/11 attacks, which prompted, at least momentarily, public opinion inside and outside the US to line unconditionally behind the Bush administration in whatever decision or measure it undertook even in contravention of international law and long-lasting IR mores.

**Table 2.**

*Excerpts of the use of the pronoun "we"*

Number	Excerpts
11.	<b>We</b> will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers.
12.	In defending the peace, <b>we</b> face a threat with no precedent.
13.	<b>We</b> cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best.
14.	<b>We</b> cannot put our faith in the word of tyrants, who solemnly sign non-proliferation treaties, and then systemically break them.
15.	<b>We</b> must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans, and confront the worst threats before they emerge.
16.	In the world <b>we</b> have entered, the only path to safety is the path of action. And this nation will act.
17.	The choices <b>we</b> will face are complex.
18.	<b>We</b> must uncover terror cells in 60 or more countries, using every tool of finance, intelligence and law enforcement. Along with our friends and allies.
19.	<b>We</b> must oppose proliferation and confront regimes that sponsor terror, as each case requires.

**Source:** President Bush's West Point Academy Speech (June 1, 2002)

For the sake of demarcating the identity of self and singling out its attributes from those of the enemies of the US, President Bush appealed to the pronoun "they" to refer to the perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks and to the so-called "rogue states" by associating them with evil and delusion (excerpt 20), unpredictable threat (excerpt 22), totalitarianism and hegemony (excerpts 23 & 24) and tyranny (excerpt 25) and identifying and characterizing them as blackmailers (excerpt 21). As it is demonstrated below in excerpts 20 through 25, President Bush utilized the pronoun "they" as an anaphora to refer back to the enemies of the US (i.e. "rogue states" like Iraq), to evil doers and to Muslims which were re-lexicalized in other venues within the speech as "evil" and "terrorists" and depicted them with a negatively-loaded lexis suggestive of the untrustworthy and unpredictable nature of the US enemies who were characterized as being bent on "blackmailing" "harming" innocents and imposing a totalitarian regime. President Bush appraisements to the US enemies were centered on identifying them by dint of their functions (i.e. functionalization). That is to say, the US President Bush's mischaracterizations of Iraqi regime and its like-minded states and

stateless organization (often indiscriminately bundled together under the banner of "rogue states") were drawn upon as a hallmark for the identification and the ascertainment of Iraqi regime as being evil, an epithet that was enough to rationalize and justify the US hard-line stance against it. According to the Director of the Preventive Diplomacy program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, Joseph Montville, "evil" can never be partner in negotiations. "You can't make a deal with evil," he observed. You can only kill it" (Qtd. in Jarratt, 2006, p. 89).

**Table 3.**

*Excerpts of the use of the pronoun "they"*

Number	Excerpts
20.	All of the chaos and suffering <b>they</b> (a few dozen evil and deluded men) caused came at much less than the cost of a single tank.
21.	<b>They</b> (our enemies) want the capability to blackmail us, or to harm us, or to harm our friends — and we will oppose them with all our power.
22.	We must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans, and confront the worst threats before <b>they</b> emerge.
23.	Now, as then, <b>they</b> (our enemies) seek to impose a joyless conformity, to control every life and all of life.
24.	In time, <b>they</b> (Chinese leaders) will find that social and political freedom is the only true source of national greatness.
25.	In poverty, <b>they</b> (Muslims) struggle. In tyranny, <b>they</b> (Muslims) suffer.

*Source: President Bush's West Point Academy Speech (June 1, 2002)*

The "us vs. them" polarization that President Bush enacted in his West Point speech and through which he managed to re-imagine the identity of the US in contradistinction from that of its enemies was of capital importance in delineating the US war on "rogue states" such as Iraq according to a "Manichean" logic, as being a new phase in an eternal and everlasting antagonism between good and evil (Grant, 2006, pp. 94-95). The inculcation of this way of reasoning in the minds of public opinion inside and outside the US deemed to be, especially from the perspective of the Bush administration's political and security planners, as an important stage in a broader strategy envisaging to naturalize and legalize radical and unprecedented transformations in the conduct of its political and security policies. These last were, in turn, exploited for the purpose of rationalizing and legitimizing the upcoming war on Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq. Therefore, President Bush drew on the use of the pronoun "we" to give the impression that the US political elite in all official institutions, from the White House to Capitol Hill to other political actors such as opposition parties automatically lined behind President Bush to buttress his views and decisions about the threat and the most adequate means to curb it. As such, the "we" from this venue, was used, as N.R. Bramley and D. Silverman, posited to represent different facets of the politicians' collective 'selves' and relationships to different 'others'. These 'selves' include: 'self' who has taken on an "institutional identity" and is a representative of an active united political party; 'self' as part of a political party in opposition to another party; 'self' as affiliated with people; 'self' as a

person who needs to deflect individual responsibility by leaning on a collective identity; and, 'self' who presents issues to the people as collective issues, and not as an individual 'self' (Bramley, 2001, p. 126; Silverman, 1987, p. 57).

Sometimes the construction and the promotion of the "us vs. them" binary can be further accentuated by appealing to the techniques of Teun van Dijk's conceptual square (or ideological square) that rests on the emphasis of what is positive about self and what is negative about the other in parallel with the de-emphasis of what is negative about the self and what positive about the other.

## 5. Conclusion

Scrutinized through the lens of Fairclough's three-layer model of CDA, President Bush's appeal to the polarizing structure of "we vs. they" was instrumental in re-articulating and reinventing the identity of the US and its attributes in contradistinction from those of the US enemies. The study has, therefore, come to establish that by deploying the pronouns "we" to refer to self and tie them up to all that is positive and good all in disowning Iraqi regime as the US other through the use the pronoun "they" which was almost always yoked to all that is negative and evil. This process of dichotomizing positive self-identification from negative other-representation was found to be highly instrumental in laying the ground for the re-calibration of the fundamental documents, laws and conventions that govern and regulate International Relations (IR), mainly in terms of threat assessment and declaration of war. President Bush's manipulation of the "we vs. they" binary as a device of othering constituted a pivotal tool for underscoring the uniqueness of the post-9/11 security atmosphere. This self vs. other polarization, with which Bush's rhetoric was imbibed, has also pinpointed the undeterrable nature of the new breed of threats incarnated by the intersection of radicalism and technology as are the cases of Iraq, Iran and North Korea (often bundled together in the US official political lexicon as "rogue states"). Moreover, this categorization of identities ushered in a subtle shift in focus of US security paradigm from nonproliferation to counter proliferation as the central component of US nuclear strategy, together with a blunt disdain to just war norms through the conflation of pre-emptive wars and preventive aggressions. It is worthy of mention in this venue that this "revolution" in the US political and security *modus operandi* continued to shape, or least to tincture, the policies of the subsequent US governments (i.e. the Obama and the Trump administrations), making of the US look more like a rogue state endangering world security and the states that it claimed to be protecting the world from their ostensible evil.

## References

- Barnett, M. (2016). "American Exceptionalism and the Construction of the War on Terror: An Analysis of Counterterrorism Policies under Clinton, Bush, and Obama." *Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism*. 9, 15.
- Bhatia, M. V. (2008). Fighting words: Naming terrorists, bandits, rebels and other violent actors. *Third World Quarterly*, 26 (1), 8-9.
- Bramley, N. R. (2001). *Pronouns of politics: The use of pronouns in the construction of 'self' and 'other' in political interviews*. Doctorate's Thesis. Australian National University, Australia.
- Burr, V. (1995). *An introduction to social constructionism*. Sage. Campbell, D. (1998). *Writing security: United States foreign policy and the politics of identity*. Rev. University of Minnesota Press.



- Campbell, R. (2011). *The Concept of truth*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing political discourse: Theory and practice*. Routledge.
- De Fina, Anna. (1995). Pronominal choice, identity, and solidarity in political discourse. *Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse*, 15(3), 380.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Polity.
- Fukuyama, F. (2006). *After the neocons: America at the crossroads*. Profile Books Ltd.
- Grant, R. W. (2006). *Naming evil, judging evil*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2004). *An introduction to functional grammar* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Hodder Arnold.
- Holtgraves, T. M., & Yoshihisa Kashima. (2008). "Language, Meaning, and Social Cognition." *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 12(1), 73-78.
- Jarratt, S. C. (2006). George W. Bush, "graduation speech at west point (1 June 2002). *Voices of Democracy* 1. <http://doi.org/www.voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/>.
- Jaworski, A., & Coupland, N. (2006). Introduction: Perspectives on discourse analysis. In Jaworski & N. Coupland (Eds.), *The discourse reader* (2nd ed.). (p. 3). Routledge.
- Judis, J. B. (2004). *The folly of empire: What George W. Bush could learn from Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson*. Oxford University Press.
- Liddicoat, A.J.; Bramley, N.R., Collins, B. Nevile, M., & Rendle-Short, J. (1999). *Pronominal choice and group membership in interaction*. Australian National University.
- Menand, L. (2002). Faith, hope, and clarity. *New Yorker*, 98.
- Phillips, L., & Jorgensen, M. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. Sage Publications Ltd.
- Rajkumar, M. (2005). A nuclear triumph for India. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2005/07/19/nuclear-triumph-for-india-pub-17215>.
- Silverman, D. (1987). *Communication and medical Practice: Social relations in the clinic*. Arrowsmith.
- Solzhenitsyne, A. I. (1974). *The Gulag Archipelago 1918-1956: An experiment in literary investigation*. Translated from the Russian by Thomas P. Whitney, Harper & Row Publishers.
- Thompson, G. (2004). *Introducing functional grammar*. Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.
- Van Dijk, T. (1998). "Opinions and ideologies in the Press." In *Approaches to Media Discourse*, ed. by Allan, Bell., and P. Garrett, 25. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Van Dijk, T. (2006) 'Ideology and Discourse Analysis'. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11(2), 115.
- Walzer, M. (2004). *Arguing about War*. Yale University Press.

INTEGRATION OF THE TRANSIVITY MODEL TO PROBE GENDER ISSUES IN LITERARY TEXTS  
AND ITS IMPLICATION ON TEACHING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

### Abstract

The topicality of this paper lies in the effects of the linguistic utilization of literature that reflects social realities, mainly the crave of discerning complications on the relationship between men and women, inside a foreign language classroom. The aim of the present paper is to study the contribution of the Linguistic Analysis of literary works for unveiling the secrecy of gender dichotomy to the teaching of English as a Foreign Language. Hence, it is the aim of this paper to develop a working systemic-functional model through proposing Lexico-grammatical strategies for the ideational construal in meaning-making. It is based on the analysis of verbs (processes) used by male and female characters selected from some literary works, attached to different cultural backgrounds. This study postulates that analysis of language choice serves as a means to enable foreign language learners have an obvious reflection over gender-specific issues to enhance culture learning. Therefore, we recommend that the aforesaid framework can be utilized as a pedagogical tool in teaching EFL to improve the dynamics of socio-cultural practices taking place in classroom learning context.

**Keywords:** culture learning, gender, ideational meta-function, literature didactics, processes, TEFL

### 1. Introduction

In any EFL classroom, analysis of literary texts is found to be the most challenging problem that both teachers of literature and students face. In teaching English as a Foreign Language, analysis of literary texts is a process which combines a necessity to have a sophisticated literary knowledge including knowledge about the different literary genres and theories alongside a practical tool of analysis. Therefore, in this article, we introduce a linguistic-based literary analysis that EFL students can follow to decipher the way fictional characters are represented. Analysis is performed on two extracts taken from different literary works: George Eliot's *Middlemarch* and Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. Analysis is initiated by use of the transitivity model and ends up with reflections upon gender and cultural issues. The Transitivity Model, which is part of the Functional Grammar Approach to Discourse Analysis, opt to show how teachers can help their learners support their intuitions and enhance their skills of interpretation and reflection upon gender issues related to the foreign culture. This work is an interrelation among three main disciplines: Gender Studies, Literature didactics, and Discourse Analysis.

### 2. Ontologies of Gender: Gender as a Cultural Construct

As it is apparent from the different views regarding Gender, essentialist and constructivist theories present opposing claims about how gender is conceptualized. According to essentialists, there are underlying biological claims which define the evolution of men and women over time. The natural compositions of the human nature including chromosomes, size

<sup>9</sup> Email: [ghnyamina771@gmail.com](mailto:ghnyamina771@gmail.com)

<sup>10</sup> Email: [o.belabbes@gmail.com](mailto:o.belabbes@gmail.com)

of the brain, and hormonal activities are the basis of gender differences and behaviours (Wood, 2009). Though there were some attempts to interrelate studies in genetic research and brain research with social and cultural studies, they encountered little concerns in grinding gender inequalities and men's superiority over Women (Risman & Davis, 2012).

Social constructionism, in contrast, rests on the belief that reality is socially constructed and emphasizes language as an important means by which we interpret experience. Conceptualizing gender from a cultural perspective allows understandings about the way societies define masculinity and femininity. On the other side, it elucidates how individuals are acquainted with cultural values and construct identities according to the requirements of their culture. According to Hofstede (2011, p.12), Masculinity and Femininity as a complex dichotomy refers to "the distribution of values between the genders which is another fundamental issue for any society, to which a range of solutions can be found." Julia T. Wood argues that "Cultural theories broaden our understandings by showing how social expectations and values about the sexes are systematically taught to individuals" (2009, p. 55).

### **3. Gender and Literature Didactics**

In fact, Gender Studies have found their way into most domains of academic research and teaching pedagogy. Although they haven't been widely addressed in foreign language teaching and learning, only a limited number of research deals with gender issues in the foreign language classroom since gender is seen as cultural construct which intersects with "race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, (dis) ability, age, and social status in framing students' language learning experiences, trajectories, and outcomes" (Norton & Pavlenko 2004, p. 504 in Cornill & Volkmann). These variables make gender a key topic within the educational theory, research and practice.

One of the main functions of literature is to invite insights into the lives of people and their sociocultural environments. In addition, learners are frequently faced with all kinds of gender representations in their daily life. They are often addicted to specific rules of gendered behavior and lifestyles. Integrating gender studies is supposed to be "an important point for constructive and critical engagement in the context of literary studies and within a wider concept of cultural learning." (Cornill, 2007, p. 186). The aim is to encourage involvement and critical detachment in literature learning.

Therefore, integrating gender studies in literature didactics is crucial for a set of reasons. First, gender is one of the main categories for social differentiation, and as such it has a major shaping influence on people's lives. Secondly, gender is a cultural system "with its own distinctive and regulatory regime" (Butler 2004, p. 40). In other words, understanding gender also requires specific concepts to gain insight into its systemic characteristics. Gender intermingles with other sociocultural categories (e.g. class, race, age, region) in various ways and, therefore, needs to be studied in its interrelationships with other categories.

### **4. The Evolution of Discourse Analysis**

reas of language study have evolved throughout the field of Linguistics and many other social sciences. Approaches to language study cover several core methods of text analysis as instances of actual language use. Though they slightly differ in strategies and principles, methods to text analysis lucidly provide more than one linguistic study for students, language and social researchers.

The Structuralists study language in terms of words and sentences uttered in a special speech community, and all its members share the same faculty. Accordingly, Ferdinand De Saussure (1966) sees language items as distinct signs presenting an idea or a 'meaning'. Simultaneously, Edward Sapir (1921, p. 15) perceives language elements as sequences of

sounds. However, Brown & Yule (1983, p. 223) set forth that structural input is not always the source of comprehension. Widdowson (2007, p. 4) asserts that ‘ ‘ we identify a piece of language as a text as soon as we recognize that it has been produced for a communicative purpose.’ ’

A much closer examination of Brown and Yule (1983, P. 1) assign two different functions to language: the transactional and the interactional. In the transactional function, people often use language to express feelings, moods, and attitudes. The interactional function tends to enable people to maintain social relationships. From this perspective, these communicative functions take the form of discourses that propose text production and comprehension (idem). Therefore, discourse as a process is undertaken in terms of the different functions that text structures present for writers and convey to readers.

Further approaches to text and discourse are presented by Halliday (1978). For Halliday (1978, cited in Brown & Yule, 1983), meaning is constructed at the ‘interpersonal, ideational, and textual’ level of the social context. The Interpersonal meaning shows what sort of social relationship is enacted between writers and readers, often described as ‘tenor’. The Ideational meaning is more naturalized and objective. It provides descriptions to the type of a particular piece of information, including events, actions and participants, called ‘field’. The Textual meaning is the mode through which texts are produced, whether spoken, written, or visual, i.e., a semiotic mode. Systemic Functional Linguistics, ergo, reveals how the linguistic level is related to the social context via the three meta-functions of language use.

#### *4.1. The Ideational Meaning and Transitivity*

Language in its ideational function concerns the transmission of ideas that represent our inner and outside experience of the world. The ideational meaning, which enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, consists of two components: the experiential meaning and the logical meaning. The former functions to represent experiences of participants and their actions in particular circumstances. The latter is the logical connection of such actions and events. The reflective experiential aspect of meaning is called Transitivity.

Transitivity is a grammatical system that deals with different types of processes which can be found in the language and its structures. It ‘ ‘serves to encode how an action is performed, how the speaker or reader encode in language their mental representations of the world, and how they account for their experience of the world around them’ ’ (Wales. 1994). Halliday (1985) proclaims that transitivity is a semantic phenomenon revealed through processes, participants, and circumstances. For example, ‘birds are flying in the sky’ consists of ‘ ‘processes are flying, a participant birds and a circumstantial element in the sky’ ’ (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 175). As shown in this sample, a participant is the doer of the action. The process is indicated by a verb. The circumstantial element determines the location where the doing takes place. Participants and the process are inherent elements in every experiential type of a clause, whereas circumstances are optional.

There are six types of processes: material, mental, relational, behavioral, verbal, and existential, summarized as follows:

- Material processes are processes of ‘doing’ which involves an Actor and often a Goal. The Actor means the one that does the deed, and the Goal implies directed act. Material processes are introduced by an action verb. Examples of action verbs are: walk, run, read, work, fight, drink, etc.
- Mental processes are processes of sensing which consist of two potential participants, Sensor and Phenomenon. Sensor is the conscious being that feels, thinks, or sees. The Phenomenon is what is sensed, felt, thought and seen. Therefore, Mental processes can be divided into three subtypes: perception (perceive, sense; see, notice, glimpse, hear, feel,

taste, smell), affection (like, fancy, love, adore), and cognition (think, believe, suppose, expect, consider, know, understand).

- Relational processes are processes of being. There are three types of relational processes: intensive (x is a), circumstantial (x is at a), and possessive (x has a). Therefore, they can either describe a quality or represent a relationship between two entities.
- behavioral processes are of physiological and psychological behavior such as, breath, dream, smile, cry, cough, etc. which usually have one participant, the Behavior.
- Verbal processes are processes of saying which consist of three participants, the Sayer, the Receiver, and the Verbiage 'content of the message'.
- Existential processes denote that something exists or happens. It is usually realized by 'there'.

#### 4.2. Transitivity in Literary Analysis

Several studies have voiced concerns about the possibility to use the Transitivity model to analyze literary texts. "Linguistic function and literary style: An inquiry into the language of William Golding's *The Inheritors*" is a ground breaking example which tackles the patterns of Transitivity in analyzing participants, processes, and circumstances. This study illustrates how language is used to express worldviews that characters represent in the novel. Burton's (1982) work on transitivity has motivated a range of feminist work which has tried to make use of linguistics in order to see the way that women are represented by writers. Burton conducts a transitivity analysis of a passage from Sylvia Plath's novel *The Bell Jar* to show that the female protagonist characterized as a deficient and powerless character by the author.

The analysis of literary texts based on this model allows differences to appear between characters in the types of processes they accomplish. Participants, or rather characters, can be active agents generating change or only making sense of the world around them. Therefore, analysis will determine whether "a character is the passive 'victim' of circumstance, or is actively in control of the environment, making decisions and taking action" (Mills, 1995, p. 112).

Furthermore, in most texts of literature, Transitivity patterns can also be subject to social and cultural factors. Analysis possibly introduces different social structures and value systems in the different patterns of transitivity. Reflection upon gender roles that perpetuate gender stereotyping during analysis may give other insights upon cultural issues. So as to carry out the process of reflection and interpretation, some questions can be helpful:

- Who are the characters playing in the text?
- How does the language used by the characters differ?
- How do these differences create gendered identities?
- What cultural issues that these gender identities are displayed in the text?

### 5. Methodology

In this section, processes, participants, and circumstances are analyzed in an extract taken from George Eliot's *Middlemarch* and an extract taken from Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. Both novels belong to two different literary movements. Characters in the selected passages are analyzed from a gender perspective following Halliday's Transitivity framework. So as to illustrate the characters' actions, representations and views, processes are written in bold type as a technique to make readers distinguish the types of processes used to represent characters. The sample analyses do not focus only on the dichotomy man vs. woman but also include the opposition of man vs. man. It applies the three steps developed by Burton (1982, p.202) which are (1) isolating the processes, and determining which participant (who or what) is doing each process; (2) determining what sorts of processes they are, and which participant

is engaged in which type of process; and (3) verifying who or what is affected or seems to be affected by each of these processes. Transitivity basically presents how the world is perceived in three dimensions: the material world, the world of consciousness, and the world of relations. It categorizes potential number and the semantic roles assigned to the participants according to the nature of the processes.

### 5.2.1. Transitivity analysis of a selected passage from the Novel *Middlemarch*

#### *Dorothea vs. Casaubon*

*“Dorothea **felt** a little more uneasy than usual. In the beginning of dinner, the party being small and the room still, these notes from the mass of a magistrate’s mind fell too noticeably. She **wondered** how a man like Mr. Casaubon would **support** such triviality. His manners, she **thought**, were very dignified... ‘I **am reading** the Agricultural Chemistry,” said this excellent baronet, ‘because I **am going to take** one of the farms into my own hands,.’” p.32*

*“I **hope** you are thoroughly satisfied with our stay—I mean, with the result so far as your studies are concerned,’ said Dorothea, trying to keep her mind fixed on what most affected her husband”. p. 357*

*“Yes,” said Mr. Casaubon, with that peculiar pitch of voice which makes the word half a negative. “I **have been led** farther than I had foreseen, and various subjects for annotation have presented themselves which, though I have no direct need of them, I could not preterm it.” p. 358*

.....

*“Doubtless, my dear,” said Mr. Casaubon, with a slight bow. “The notes I have here made will want sifting, and you can, if you please, extract them under my direction.’ ‘And all your notes,” said Dorothea, whose heart had already burned within her on this subject, so that now she could not help speaking with her tongue. “All those rows of volumes—will you not now do what you used to speak of?—will you not make up your mind what part of them you will use, and begin to write the book which will make your vast I will write to your dictation, or I will copy and extract what you tell me knowledge useful to the world?: I can be of no other use.” Dorothea, in a most unaccountable, darkly feminine manner, ended with a slight sob and eyes full of tears (pp.358-359).*

.....

*What I now wish you to understand is, that I accept no revision, still less dictation within that range of affairs which I have **deliberated** upon as distinctly and properly mine. It is not for you to interfere between me and Mr. Ladislaw, and still less to encourage communications from him to you which constitute a criticism on my procedure” (pp. 666-667).*

#### *Sample Analysis*

In order to unveil gender-related aspects, we focus on the processes used by the main characters in the novel. Throughout this short passage, we notice that both characters, Dorothea and Casaubon, use entirely different processes. The female character, Dorothea, frequently uses mental verbs as, felt, wondered, thought, wish, and believe. However, Casaubon’s processes are mainly material such as, I am reading, I am going, and I went.

Dorothea’s ardent desire to ask for a comfort state to her husband is seen through her frequent use of emotional verbs as, I hope. Even, her husband is always the Beneficiary of her actions, as no one else interests her but only him, though his insensitive language. In spite of using some material verbs, Dorothea’s actions are directed to her husband. Meaning, the wife is very keen to help her husband at work, such as, *I will write to your dictation”, “I will copy*

*and extract what you tell me*". Therefore, Dorothea's expected behaviour of crying, being frightened and disappointed is imposed from her husband's mysterious and negative use of power.

Casaubon, over again, in this sample passage mostly uses material processes identified in the clauses. Yet, the processes highlight his powerful position over the female character. The next point observed is that Casaubon processes, in one of these extracts, are virtually negative directed to his wife *'this is not the first occasion', 'I accept no revision', 'It is not for you to interfere'*. Such actions identify him as a strict and selfish man, followed with feelings of anger and negative attitudes. They also show his independent character as well his domination over the female, illustrated through his narrow image of Dorothea.

### 5.2.2. Transitivity analysis of the selected passage from Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*

#### *Marlow vs. the Africans*

*Black shapes crouched, lay, sat between the trees leaning against the trunks, clinging to the earth, half coming out, half effaced within the dim light, in all the attitudes of pain, abandonment, and despair... The work! And this was the place where some of the helpers had withdrawn to die. 'They were dying slowly—it was very clear. They were not enemies, they were not criminals, they were nothing earthly now— nothing but black shadows of disease and starvation, lying confusedly in the greenish gloom. Brought from all the recesses of the coast in all the legality of time contracts, lost in uncongenial surroundings, fed on unfamiliar food, they sickened, became inefficient, and were then allowed to crawl away and rest. These moribund shapes were free as air—and nearly as thin. I began to distinguish the gleam of the eyes under the trees. Then, glancing down, I saw a face near my hand. The black bones reclined at full length with one shoulder against the tree, and slowly the eyelids rose and the sunken eyes looked up at me, enormous and vacant, a kind of blind, white flicker in the depths of the orbs, which died out slowly. (Conrad, 2002, pp. 25-26).*

#### *Sample Analysis*

Participants in the first extract evolves around the Africans and the narrator Marlow. The most remarkable thing is that the group of Africans, as noticed in the subjects and objects of some sentences, are represented through their body parts "black bones, the fingers, the eyelids" and some other strange names "black shapes, the helpers, black shadows, moribund shapes". The narrator is characterized through the personal pronoun "I".

The processes which indicate the actions performed by the participants are distributed into material, relational, behavioral (or physiological), and mental. The material processes mostly consist of verbs in the passive voice past 'brought, lost, fed, sickened' that show a serious moral indictment and a physical force imposed upon the Africans. Some of the relational processes identified by the auxiliary "to be" in the past simple as in, "they were not enemies, they were not criminals, they were nothing earthly" are used to describe the Africans. The behavioral processes in "crouched, lay, sat, leaning, clinging, half coming out, half effaced, went off on all fours, were dying" resemble the passiveness and apathy of these people. In almost all of these, the Africans are denied speech since there is no verbal processes. This makes them being portrayed as phantoms deprived from any aspects of humanity including language. The mental processes are divided into perception "began to distinguish, saw, glancing", cognition as in 'found', and "I stood horror-struck". Such mental processes are ascribed to the narrator Marlow.

As regards to circumstances, they help to give thorough descriptions of the atmosphere in which the story is taking place. The circumstances found in the first extract, such as “within the dim light, in all the attitudes of pain, abandonment and despair, in greenish gloom” show the extent to which the Africans live in harsh conditions under the mercy of the colonizer. As the passage is loaded with metaphors, the narrator also observes the Africans on the verge of dying “had withdrawn **to die**”.

### 5.3. Results: Reflections on Gender and Cultural Issues

#### Passage 1

The passage is a good example of the Victorian patriarchal society. The construction of both characters Dorothea and Mr. Casaubon, in the first extract taken from the novel *Middlemarch* written by George Eliot is complex. This complexity often results in a kind of struggle and a stark contrast between the male and female dichotomy in the story.

Based on our analysis, we notice that their actions are totally different. Casaubon is passionate with a life of action in the public sphere. He exerts a kind of linguistic coercion upon his wife Dorothea “*It is not for you to interfere between me and Mr. Ladislaw, and still less to encourage communications from him to you which constitute a criticism on my procedure.*” He frequently exercises power through his knowledge and status. His actions, ergo, become particularly restrictive and suffocating for Dorothea who “*in a most unaccountable, darkly feminine manner, ended with a slight sob and eyes full of tears*”. Therefore, masculinity, in this passage, is defined by the construction of a relationship between power, knowledge, and status. Yet, Dorothea’s actions are mostly emotional. Dorothea, as a wife, is keen to be obedient and subservient to her husband though she earns disapproval rather than ardent appreciation from him. She attempts to become involved in her husband’s life work “*I will write to your dictation, or I will copy and extract what you tell me*”.

Therefore, these conflicting gender roles are the result of the oppressive expectations that the patriarchal society places on women. Marriage in such a society seems to be dominant and unsympathetic under the legacy of the husband. In brief, difference in language choice endorses gender inequalities. The character Casaubon is a symbol of male patriarchy and oppression whereas Dorothea represents a woman who struggles such discursive practices in society.

#### Passage 2

In the second extract, taken from Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, the characters are divided into the Africans and the narrator Marlow. The narrator’s use of parts of the body “the eyelids, the fingers, black bones” makes the Africans look as non-human who are represented as nothing more than “black shapes crouched, lay, sat between the trees”. In this extract, the narrator stereotypes the Africans as savage and primitive.

Therefore, the passage identifies two different societies: The African and The European. Marlow’s attitude toward black Africans is complex. As we noticed during our former analysis, the narrator refers some aspects of human beings as feeling and thinking to himself rather than to the black people “*I began to distinguish the gleam of eyes*”. In fact, the narrator is only telling what he observes. He is horrified for their dead spirit “*they were dying slowly*”, “*brought from all the recesses of the coast*”, “*lost in uncongenial surroundings*”, struggling to maintain a semblance of self-control. His description of the natives is graphic and effective. Every depiction reflects the mental and the physical mal-treatments to which they were subjected by the more “enlightened” outsiders. The narrator’s image of the Africans who makes no attempt to minimize the harshness of the conditions reflects the ethnocentrism of the European society.



As it is noticed in the passage, the narrator does not identify the gender of the black people, but, instead, he describes them with strange names as “creatures and black shadows”. The absence of the gender identity of the Africans replicates the dominant ideology of the Europeans to suppress these dehumanized people destroying their culture and pertinence to a certain society.

## **6. Suggestions for the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language**

Issues of gender awareness and cultural identity can be explored in the EFL classroom through interaction with literary works representing different gender views, stereotypes, representations and roles which differ from one culture to another. Furthermore, learners ought to be acquainted with the analytical tools appropriate for unveiling such gender-related issues. Such procedures connect Literature with EFL pedagogy courses where students are supposed “to post a series of anonymous gender narratives, one from a female and one from a male point of view” (Donnerstag, J., 2007: 236 In. Cornill, H. & Volkmann, L.)

The use of the Transitivity framework can make the task for teaching literature stimulating and thought-provoking. It can “reduce the burden on students and help them provide evidence for intuitions that the teacher has guided them to.” (McCrocklin, S. & Slater, T., 2017: 92). The framework is also vital in the analysis of characterization. Accordingly, Students can disclose power relations among characters exploring which characters are associated with doing, being, feeling, thinking, etc. They can further reflect upon clichés and prejudices of women and men characters. While performing text analysis, teachers guide students referring to a body of questions, proposed by Volkmann (2010: 175), so as to enhance reflection and interpretation skills:

- What types of roles do women and men have in a text?
- What values and power positions are attributed to men and women in the text?
- What are the attitudes towards women held by the male characters and vice versa?
- Is one gender given more prominence or dominance in a text?
- Are the text’s topics, imagery, style, etc. more “feminine” or more “masculine”? what assumptions do we base our gender ascriptions on?
- Does the text offer glimpses of a less oppressive society, a “gender utopia”?
- How are differences between male and female characters constructed?

While connecting learners with the enjoyment of literature, teachers can further develop students’ reading and writing skills throughout the different practical procedures of the Transitivity framework including analysis of participants, processes and circumstances. Exposing learners to gender-related issues using the Transitivity model, teachers offer further incentives for open discussions. At this stage, a set of questions are suggested to be used for practical interpretations (Volkmann, L., 2010: 169):

- What about the presentation of women?
- What about female authors?
- What about the feminine way of writing, reading and interpreting?
- What about the presentation of men?
- What about gender as a cultural construct?
  - What about the complex interrelationship between gender, race, ethnicity and class?

## **7. Conclusion**

In this article, we introduced the possibility to use the Transitivity framework, which is part of the ideational meaning in Systemic Functional Grammar, to analyze literary texts so as

to probe gender issues. The analyses are displayed on texts taken from two novels belonging to different literary periods. While the novel *Middlemarch* written by George Eliot belongs to the Victorian Literature, Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* relates to Colonial Literature.

Analyzing patterns in transitivity choices makes more general statements about the way characters view their position in the world and their relationship to others. As well as signaling a move away from traditional concerns with the beauty of the language of literary texts to a concern with the ideology encoded therein, the study of literary texts from a gender perspective gives us flashbacks about how society and culture provide common-sense knowledge about men and women's representation and the roles they play in society.

Finally, we recommended that this method seems to be a working pedagogical tool for students which may increase students' interests, motivation and involvement in the learning process. As The Transitivity Analysis is initiated at the linguistic level, this may facilitate students' understanding of the language of the literary text. The teacher, hence, can provide useful strategies to guide students during the analysis process starting with characters, moving to processes, and, finally, circumstances. This pedagogical strategy can be fulfilled through tasks and guiding questions in order to simplify the operation. Thereafter, the teacher makes students reflect upon each individual use of language choice. Students, then, will be able to construct their interpretations upon gender differences, roles, bias, sexist language relating them to socio-cultural issues.

## References

- Burton, D. (1982). *Through glass darkly: through dark glasses*. In R. Carter (Ed.), *Language and literature: An introductory reader in stylistics* (pp. 194–214). London: Allen & Unwin.
- Brown, G. & Yule, G. (1983). *Discourse analysis*. Cambridge University Press
- Conrad, J. *Heart of darkness*. Planet PDF <http://www.planetpdf.com/>
- Cornill, D., & Volkman, L. (2007). *Gender studies and foreign language teaching*. Narr Francke Attempto Verlag GmbH+Co. KG
- Donnerstag, J., In. Cornill, H. & Volkman, L. (2007). *Gender studies and foreign language teaching*. Narr Francke Attempto Verlag GmbH+Co. KG
- De Saussure, F. (1915). *Course in general linguistics*. McGraw-Hill Book Company
- Eliot, G. *Middlemarch*. <http://www.planetpdf.com/>
- Eggins, S. (2004). *An introduction to systemic functional linguistics*. (2nd edition). Continuum International Group
- Halliday, M., & Matthiessen, C. (2004). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. (3rd edition). Hodder Arnold
- Hofstede, G. (2011). Dimensionalizing cultures: The hofstede model in context. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 2(1). <https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1014>
- McCrocklin, S., & Slater, T. (2017). *A Model for Teaching Literary Analysis Using Systemic Functional Grammar*. *Texas Journal of Literacy Education*. Vol.5 (1). pp 81-96
- Mills, S. (1995). *Feminist stylistics*. Routledge.
- Norton, & Pavlenko, (2004). In Cornill & Volkman. (2007). *Gender studies and foreign language teaching*. Narr Francke Attempto Verlag GmbH+Co. KG
- Sapir, E. (1921). *Language: An introduction to the study of speech*.
- Wales, K. (1994). *Feminist linguistics in literary criticism*. D.S.Brewer.
- Widdowson, H., G. (2007). *Discourse analysis*. Oxford University Press.
- Wood, J., T. (2009). *Gendered lives: Communication, gender and culture, 8th edition*. Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

---

<sup>i</sup> This theory is valid for the study of recent social protest movements like the Rif movement.

<sup>ii</sup> Said Charles-André Julien « le Rif avait été ; de tous temps ; un pays siba ; dont la révolte de Bou Hamara (**Jilali ben Driss Zerhouni el Youssefi** surnommé **Rogui Bou Hmara**, بوحمارة) avait accentué le caractère aux yeux des Européens. A la fois bastion et refuge ; ce massif montagneux ; qui s'étend au nord du Maroc sur une longueur de 300 kilomètres et une largeur de 50 à 80 ; était d'accès difficile ; soit par une cote inhospitalière ; avec de rares ports ; soit depuis les vallées de la bordure méridionale. Le cloisonnement et la raideur des versants favorisaient l'isolement des tribus sédentaires ; dans des vallées compartimentées ; généralement surpeuplées ; où les cultures ne suffisaient pas aux besoins et contraignaient une partie des montagnards à l'émigration. Le particularisme aboutissait à un régime de conflits meurtriers entre les individus ; les clans ou les tribus d'une intensité telle que seul le jour du souq mettait une trêve temporaire aux vendettas. Ni les impositions frappant le meurtrier ; suivies de sanctions drastiques s'il se dérobait ; ni les amendes prohibitives imposées aux fractions de la tribu ; ni les interventions arbitrales des cheiks ; destinées à maintenir une acéphalie organisée ; ne réussissaient à empêcher les tueries qui épuisaient le pays » Charles – André Julien. *Le Maroc face aux impérialismes 1415-1956*. Paris . 2<sup>e</sup>éditions J. A. 1978. P121.

<sup>iii</sup> Nawal BenAissa, 36 years old - mother of 4 children -. She was HIRAK's mouthpiece for quite a while .and also Nasser Zefzafi's mother is one of the women who supported HIRAK from the start. She was the one who inspired many women to come out which allowed the passage towards a feminization of the movement