Young Algerian Women Discuss Their Experiences and Negotiations with Patriarchy in Their Everyday Lives.

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Outline

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work, I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as references.

Dedication

In loving memory of my mother Hafida, whose love and guidance continue to illuminate my path, I dedicate this thesis as a testament to her enduring influence on my life. To my mother:

Amidst the tapestry of wisdom's quest,

My mother's love, the guiding star, shines bright;

A beacon through the labyrinth of thought,

Her spirit weaves the fabric of insight.

Words cannot adequately express my love, gratitude, and appreciation to my siblings: Imad, Mohammed and Jilali, whose support, love and encouragement were essential to the completion of my PhD thesis.

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Abstract

The prevalence of patriarchy in Algeria continues to shape the experiences and daily lives of women encompassing their societal roles, personal relationships and social interactions. This research explores how the hierarchical institutionalisation of male dominance on women in Algeria infiltrates the everyday lives of women in both the public and private spheres. It addresses women's everyday lives concerning gender roles, gender inequality and labour division. I apply theories of patriarchy, symbolic interactionism and private/public spheres dichotomy to investigate their experiences and understandings of their everyday confrontations with patriarchy. I ask: how do young Algerian women perceive and negotiate ideas of patriarchy and gender roles in the context of their everyday lives and experiences? This research uses semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with 32 young Algerian women aged 18-25 from four different Algerian cities: Oran, Algiers, Annaba and Adrar. The research finding highlights how patriarchy manifests into two major themes in the Algerian society which are domesticity and honour culture. Young Algerian women experience patriarchy through impression management in the public and private domain. They take control how other people perceive them. Domesticity is interconnected with respectability and honour. Also, Algerian mothers can be agents of patriarchy that ensure gender socialisation and perpetuation of patriarchy. The Algerian family and culture enforces male domination on young Algerian women through their continuous search of respectability and acceptance by assuming their assigned traditional gendered roles. However, these women are promoting change and dismantle of patriarchy through resistance, silence and bargaining with patriarchy. Young Algerian women experience patriarchy in their everyday lives through unequal division of house chores and the enforced honour performances and they negotiate with patriarchal discrimination through active resistance and bargaining for a better future.

Key words: patriarchy, private/public, symbolic interactionism, domesticity, honour, resistance, bargaining.

1. Introduction Chapter

1.1. Introduction:

This thesis explores young Algerian women's experiences and negotiations of patriarchy and gender inequality in their everyday lives. In this chapter, I discuss everyday life sociology and its importance in discerning gender inequality and patriarchy patterns through analysing the mundane daily routines, social interactions and realities of individuals. Patriarchy and gender inequality happens at the micro level of gender-influenced repetitive routines and relationships of women which influence the macro-level phenomenon and structures. I discuss the use of Symbolic Interactionism in relation to everyday life sociology where it can be used as theoretical lens that addresses micro level social interactions by emphasizing the active role of young Algerian women in shaping and negotiating their daily experiences as opposed to the macro level theories that view individuals as passive agents of social structures in their lives. In order to explore patriarchal gendered inequality in Algeria and young Algerian women's gendered experiences, I must give a relevant background about the past direct historical events that led to the current patriarchal discrimination young Algerian women face. I discuss the Black Decade which is the civil war that occurred in the 1990s between the Algerian Government and the Front Islamic Salvation (FIS) political party which led to the death of more than two hundred thousand Algerian lives and caused traumatic experiences for Algerian women. I tackle how this decade has led to the neglect and disempowerment of Algerian women as well as the powerful resurgence of patriarchy and the constraints of Algerian women's movement to the private sphere of their households. In addition, I state my personal motivation for this research and self-reflect on my experiences and thoughts that led to my focus on this topic. Finally, I tackle the significance, the problem of this research, and research aim and questions.

1.2. Everyday Life

Bennet and Watson (2002) indicate that everyday life shows the intricacies of social life in people's lives and how they negotiate them in the repeated routines of daily life. Foyster and

Whateley (2010) describe everyday life as where actual living happens, through involvement in doing mundane routines which are influenced by societal norms. Bauman (1995) argues that studying everyday life shows how individuals navigate life experiences and societal structures through their immersion in daily routines and interactions with others. Lefebre (1986) contends the vitality of studying everyday life in sociology as it offers nuanced and important perspectives on manifestations of societal institutions and phenomena in the quotidian routines and experiences of individuals instead of trivialising it to the mundane. One can delve into the social behaviours and interactions that occur in everyday sites like the private realm of household and public spaces and understand the dynamics of social relations. By analysing the micro level social dynamics through exploring the mundane routines and social exchanges of people, social structures and patterns can be understood (Crow & Pope, 2008). Bennett and Watson (2002) recommend studying everyday life routines and interactions in order to understand broader social structures and hierarchal power dynamics in society.

Examining the insignificant daily routines and interactions reveal how macro level structures operate in society. Dissecting the recurrent and known micro-level occurrences in individuals' daily lives influence the macro-level structures of society. Sutton (1998) clarifies that the repetition patterns of our everyday routines and interactions deliver a general structural framework of our lives that divulges the complex impact of societal ideologies and structures on ourselves and experiences. This thesis investigates how the routines and social interactions in the everyday lives of young Algerian women are shaped by the macro level social gender structures. Bradley (2007) argues that everyday life sites such as the household are influenced by gender and social structures. Therefore, it is vital to investigate how everyday social interactions are shaped by gendered structures in gendered everyday sites. Investigating how women experience gender inequality in their everyday routines and interactions shows how systematic inequality impacts people's lives on larger scales.

Sociological research on everyday life inquires into the often overlooked social practices and relations of under-researched women and marginalised groups in different contexts and cultures. Sociologists shed light on these categories of individuals' lives due to the unprecedented growth of movements for social rights such as feminism and anti-racism. Scott (2010) explains that incorporating a gendered lens into everyday life through social movements such as feminism has changed our perspectives from focusing solely on social structures towards the lived experiences and gendered subjectivities of people, expanding our

understanding of society's mechanisms. Gender shapes our everyday life experiences and perspectives. It transforms everyday sites such as the home where it becomes a site of social relationships and it influences our identities and involvements and the sociology of everyday life helps to uncover this influence in the realities of women. Examining young Algerian women's everyday lives in the domestic and public spheres through a gendered lens will highlight the complex patterns of patriarchal gendered norms in their experiences and negotiations.

Sociology of everyday life can support the creation of social change in individuals' lives and society's structures. Both Lefebre (1971) and DeCerteau (1984) advocate researching everyday life as it is influenced by various societal structures, and hence it is also a setting of agency, negotiation, resistance, and change where people can challenge the macro level systems of inequality and discrimination. Critical inquiry and nuanced analysis in the mundane practices and social interactions of women highlights the problematic and complex dynamics of patriarchal relationships and can lead to social change. Some everyday life sociologists employ symbolic interactionism in order to understand people's interpretations of their social interactions.

Symbolic Interactionism, established by Mead and later on by his disciples, is used as a theoretical lens for studying everyday life that seeks to address micro-level social interactions by emphasizing the active role of people in shaping and negotiating their daily experiences as opposed to macro-level of Positivism, which viewed people as passive agents of social structures in their lives. Garfinkel (1967) expounds that people take active roles to mold their lives instead of passively receiving and accepting the input of social and cultural structures. Hochschild (1979) explicates that role creating and negotiating are central to this approach. In symbolic interactionism, research focuses on uncovering how people create and maintain social structures through the emphasis on understanding the daily interactions. It emphasizes understanding the nature of social interactions that actively produce social structures instead of being fixed phenomena imposed on people.

Symbolic interactionism in everyday life as a theory aims to explore and highlight social interactions and meaning of people in their daily lives that shape their and other people's realities. Blumer (1969) explains that researchers, in symbolic interactionism, investigate the relationship between individuals' lives and their social behaviours and interactions. Symbolic interactionism sees reality as dynamic social construct influenced by the interactions of

people rather than being fixed and objectives. Everyday life's routines and performances are subjective socially constructed realities of individuals as the outcome of their relationships' interactions and interpretations. Symbolic interactionism is important to understand young Algerian women's realities in their everyday lives in accordance with the imposed patriarchal gendered norms. Waller (1937) indicates that symbolic interactionism is used in qualitative methods to understand the mechanism of families' and people's relationships and how individuals interpret and deal with their realities in their everyday lives, such as power dynamics and conflicts.

I employ a feminist informed understanding of symbolic interactionism in order to investigate and understand how young Algerian women negotiate their perceptions and self-reflect on gendered norms and interactions in a patriarchal context.

1.3. Historical Background: Algerian Women in Times of Turmoil

Algeria was colonised by France from 1830 till 1962 leading to a traumatic and challenging era for the Algerian people. Algerians experienced oppression, forced displacement and atrocities during the French colonisation. Nevertheless, the Algerians resisted the oppressive French colonisation throughout the century and officially declared the independence war in 1954 leading to the independence of Algeria in 5th of July 1962. During the Algerian war of independence, Algerian women played a pivotal role in various capacities, displaying unwavering determination and courage in their efforts to overthrow the French colonial rule. Molyneux (1990) states: "the war forced women out of their homes and into the public sphere, where they played a vital role in the struggle for independence (p.197). Algerian women faced a dual burden, as they were not only subject to the atrocities of French colonialism including rape and murder but also expected to balance their roles as both fighters and domestic caretakers for Algerian men within the Algerian rebellion movement. In order to comprehend today's Algerian gendered climate and experiences of young Algerian women, it is crucial to examine their predecessor's historical struggles and their roles within society the French colonisation, post-colonial era and the traumatic decade.

1.3.1. French Colonisation Era:

French colonisation of Algeria in 1830 marked the era of atrocities and crimes committed against indigenous population, genocide, sexual violence and subjugation. The French

employed a ruthless scorched earth policy, which is a military strategy that involves destroying the land of the Algerians including infrastructure, crops, homes and other resources, systematically driving Algerians away from their homeland. Stora (2001) stated: "French colonisation in Algeria was a violent process that entailed the displacement of indigenous populations, the appropriation of land and the imposition of French language, culture and legal systems" (p.19). This included atrocious war crimes such as burning thousands of Algerians in sheltering caves. Maspero (1993) highlighted the French colonialism crimes against the Algerian population especially women and reported how a French officer stated "you ask me what we do with the women we capture. We keep some as hostages; some are exchanged for horses and the rest are sold by auction like beasts of burden" (p.193). This shows how Algerian women were abused and used in expanding the French domination in Algeria.

During the French colonialism period (1830-1962), Algeria women were engaged at various levels of revolutionary activities in the conflict between the French colonial army and Algerian liberation movements. Algerian women also became targets of not only wartime violence by the French colonisers but also propaganda campaigns from both French colonialism and Algerian Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN) as a tactic to win the war. Algerian women became vital in achieving political goals and either dismantling the Algerian resistance or solidifying the resistance purpose and uniting the population under one national front of liberation.

The French colonialism targeted Algerian women through rape, sexual abuse and torture to dishonour and demoralise the Algerian male fighters. Byrne (2020) argued: "rape was used as a weapon of war by French troops against Algerian women. These crimes were often intended to humiliate and terrorize not only the victims, but also their families and communities" (p.136). They also employed media, propaganda and social programs to paint the Algerian society as barbarians that needed to be civilised and promote the idea that its system was essential to save and integrate Algerian women into a civilised and progressive westernised society. The French colonisation targeted the stronghold of cultural, religious and social values of Algerians in the private realm of Algerian families where Algerian women were its backbone (Macmaster, 2009). Targeting the Algerian women aimed to weaken the Algerian society's resistance resolve and the Algerian nationalist movement's credibility and mobilisation of the population. Fanon (1965) described that the French colonial powers

understood how instrumental Algerian women were in dismantling the Algerian identity and rebellion.

The French colonialism sought the conversion of Algerian women through propaganda and media by making empty promises of emancipation, modernisation and a better quality of life. McDougall (2017) explained: "the French conquest of Algeria was not simply a military occupation, but a process of colonisation that aimed to transform the country into an integral part of France, both politically and culturally" (p.9). This pursued to erode traditional Algerian values and resistance by persuading the Algerian women to embrace the French culture and assimilate into the colonial society. The radio broadcasted, allegedly, letters written by Algerian women hoping for emancipation and glorifying westernisation (Lazreg, 2008).

The propaganda tactics involved the unveiling of Algerian women and adopting the French lifestyle. The unveiling initiative coaxed Algerian women to step down from Islamic traditional values into westernisation and assimilation of French culture. The initiative aimed to reshape Algerian societal norms and expectations into embracing western perspectives and relinquishing the Algerian values and will to resist the oppressive colonialism. French colonial political actors sought credibility of colonising and annexing Algeria as the French Algeria when the both Algerians and the French's voice of mutual hope of unity resonates in the global stage. Additionally, Algerian female fighters used to hide and transport necessary items such as medicine or ammunition under their veils and clothes; therefore it was another motivation to reduce the FLN access to resources in their fights against the French army. The colonial power aimed to reduce and remove Algerian women's participation in the independence war and hinder the influence of the FLN.

Additionally, during the French colonisation, numerous French artists and writers exploited Algerian women for their personal gain. Artists and writers like Eugene Delacroix, Jean-Leon Gerome and Marc Garanger abused and coerced Algerian women for their artistic works. This abuse manifested in various ways, including coercing women to pose nude or removing their veils for paintings and photographs, which violated their body autonomy, humiliated them, disrespected their cultural and religious beliefs. These were used as tools of colonial control, imposing French values and norms on the colonised Algerian population and stripping Algerian women of their agency and cultural identity. Moreover, these women were often portrayed as exotic or promiscuous in art and literature perpetuating harmful

stereotypes and reducing them as objects of desire. Ultimately, this exploitation was part of the larger system of the French colonial oppression that dehumanised and subjugated the Algerian people, serving as a painful reminder of the injustices inflicted upon them during this period.

Lazreg believes that the colonial powers took control of Algerian women's voices. In her book "The Eloquence of Silence: Algerian Women in Question" (1994), she examines the effects of colonisation and decolonisation on Algerian women's lives. She criticises colonial writers and artists who misrepresented and abused Algerian women. She argued that French colonisers used photography as a tool to display colonial power and also as humiliation tactic against the Algerian population, which resulted in the lasting physical and psychological abuse and trauma of Algerian women. She critiqued how the French colonialism shifted its focus from Egypt to Algeria in their orientalist views. Algeria became the new orient in the French imagination leading to the application of orientalist stereotypes and preconceptions of the exoticism and inferiority of Algerian culture and society particularly in relation to the veil. Lazreg (1994) criticised how the unveiling initiative of Algerian women was just another façade of the abused forced on Algerian women. She believed that the French powers saw the veil as a symbol of indigenous Algerian culture, and by forcing women to remove it; they were attempting to undermine Algerian identity and bring Algerian women into line with French values and ideas of modernity.

In response to the French colonial agenda to erase the Algerian identity, which largely focused on unveiling Algerian women, Salhi (2009) argues that Algerian men reinforced stricter societal boundaries for women. Algerian men, while they were oppressed under the French colonisation, also shifted their anger and frustration towards Algerian women, oppressing them as a means to assert their control and reclaim a sense of power (Salhi, 2010). This led to increased veiling and seclusion in the private realm with these patriarchal practices being upheld as symbols of Algerian identity and traditional values. The reaffirmation of patriarchy became interviewed with the assertion of Algerian identity, placing women in a dual bind, as Knauss (1987) explains that Algerian women were "double prisoners" where they were oppressed by the French oppressors and the Algerian oppressed men. Fanon (1965) also discusses how the veil, in response to French attempts to unveil women, became a powerful symbol in Algerian society and the Algerian anti-colonial cause, representing a rejection of colonial values.

The Algerian nationalist movement sought the participation of Algerian women in the war against the French colonialism as the pillar of the revolution. The FLN viewed women as additional fighters along with their male counterparts but also as facilitators of the revolution by assigning traditional domestic roles to them. Algerian women had to fight, nurse the wounded fighters and civilians as well as doing domestic chores for the male fighters. Algerian female fighters "prepared food for the fighters, rolled and prepared couscous, washed and sewed the outfits of the militants, housed them, collected money; they were on the lookout, they were liaison officers" (El Korso, 1998). Even when Algerian women fought in the independence war, they were still allocated to doing domestic chores for men. Algerian male fighters depended on the free domestic labour of their female counterparts. There was contradiction between the political rhetoric especially on the international stage that Algerian women's role in the war was vital but in reality they were expected to perform traditional household tasks for male militants. The housework responsibilities were extended from the private sphere of their homes into the public realm of the war. Prevailing gendered norms and expectations persisted, limited the scope of women's participation and perpetuating their subordination in society.

Similarly, Lazreg (1990) criticised the nationalist movement in Algeria for using the Algerian women as a symbolic field of confrontation, similar to how French colonizers used them. During the struggle for independence, the FLN promoted Algerian women as symbols or purity, empowerment, and national identity. Lazreg (1990) attested: "The Algerian woman's body became a battlefield, manipulated to signify resistance against French colonialism and later to reinforce nationalist ideologies, yet it simultaneously masked the underlying gender inequalities within Algerian society" (p.761). Lazreg (1990) highlights the limitations of the nationalist movement's approach to gender and criticises their exploitation of the Algerian women's image and misrepresentation of the lived experiences of Algerian women for their political cause. She (1990) argued:" nationalist movements in Algeria often appropriated women's struggles, positioning them as symbols of national purity while side lining their demands for gender equality, thus reinforcing traditional gender roles even in the context of a liberation struggle" (p.768). The nationalist movement and the French colonisation, although seemingly different in their ideologies, were essentially two sides of the same oppressive coin for the Algeria women. Both exploited women for their own gain, promising liberation and rights, but ultimately perpetuating the very abuse and subjugation they claimed to fight against.

1.3.2. Post-Colonial Algeria:

Even with the necessity of employing Algerian women in the independence war, the FLN did not prioritise addressing the issue of women's rights and emancipation (Bouatta, 1997). The fight against the French colonisation in order to mobilise the population needed to counter argue against the French westernisation ideology, but the FLN risked being perceived as regressive traditionalists if they counter argue against the emancipation of Algerian women and provide legitimacy to the French colonisers (Bouatta,1997). The FLN devised a dual approach to manage and confine the issue of Algerian women's rights. They asserted that winning the independence war against the French colonisation precedes the question of Algerian women's emancipation and rights and that this emancipation would be achieved naturally as an outcome of gaining the national freedom. They insisted that women's emancipation and equality would arise later due to the liberation from the French colonisation. Therefore, the main focus was directed towards securing the independence from the oppressive French regime and leaving other concerns to be dealt after the victory.

The FLN tactically engaged Algerian women to reinforce the liberation movement and reframe the independence conflict as a national one instead of a gendered one as the French colonisation authority publicised. Despite public declarations that the Algerian women were equal to men and played equivalent roles in the conflict, a 1956 FLN handbook called "Women's Movements" described a different reality as noted by Danielle (1999). Sjoberg & Gentry (2008) explained:" despite the promises of emancipation made during the war, women's rights and gender equality were not prioritised in post independent Algeria"(p.94). The handbook outlined roles for women that were rather supportive to those of male fighters. These roles involved providing moral encouragement, offering provisions and shelters, nursing, cooking and assisting both fighters and wounded civilians. This revealed a disparity between the publicised equality and the actual expectations placed on women within the national movement.

After the declaration of war in 1954, most Algerian women supported the fight for national liberation. In the initial stages of the conflict, Algerian women assumed the roles dictated of them by the FLN, such as transporting weapons, acting as messengers, cooking and nursing the wounded. Fanon (1965) stated: "they participated in missions of every kind: they were the backbone of the networks supplying food, medicine, munitions and arms; they transported

messages, money and dispatches; they were couriers for the liaison officers. They were nurses, they planted bombs, took up arms in street fighting and on some occasions led a Fidayine commando group" (p.48). Women became more crucial to the struggle in both urban and rural areas, slowly transforming the perception of gender roles within the movement. Algerian women exceeded expectations and demonstrated their value, leading to their official inclusion in covert operations as the movement expanded. These women partook in various tactics, including planting bombs, engaging in combat, and attacking the occupying forces.

Demonstrating remarkable bravery, Algerian women utilized the veil as a powerful instrument to serve the freedom movement. This tactic involved unveiling Algerian women in order to fulfil their operations. These women would unveil themselves transforming their appearances to blend in as a pro- French colonialism ally and plant bombs in public places frequented by the French soldiers. Their disguise and planting bombs covert operations was crucial in the Independence War (Lilley, 2012). The choice to wear or not wear the veil turned it into a powerful symbol and an image of defiance. Amrane-Minne (2020) said "the veil was used as a tactic of resistance and a means of outsmarting the colonial power" (p.71). When veiled, the Algerian woman embodied traditional values, nationalism and anti-French colonialism. However, when she unveils, she blended in, collected information and munition while also participating in various operations. Algerian women's adaptability to veil and unveil during the war allowed them to challenge stereotypes and make significant contributions to the war effort.

Algerian women integrated themselves into the revolution's support system and assumed direct militant roles, transcending their previous supportive positions and the gendered expectations of the FLN. Yet, despite the growing the growing and crucial involvement of Algerian women across diverse sectors of revolutionary operations, no female leaders emerged throughout the entire conflict of the independence. From the beginning of the war, the FLN strategically incorporated women into the revolution to counter the French colonial narratives that painted Algerians as sexist and oppressive. It capitalised on the symbolism of Algerian women's participation. However, the FLN limited Algerian women's aspirations and access for higher positions by assigning them to lower ranking roles without much justification for their lack of promotion to leadership or emancipation, effectively maintaining traditional gender hierarchies within the movement. Algerian women's liberation remained confined within the scope and constraints of nationhood, Islamic beliefs and cultural values.

The nationalist narrative was characterised by a distinctively masculine and patriarchal tone emphasising the preservation of the traditional Islamic family structure, where women were pushed once again to the private realm to perform domestic roles (Mehdid, 1996). Algerian male politicians effectively side lined the issue of women's rights, hindering progress in political, judicial and social spheres for women (Bouatta, 1997).

Despite Algerian women's vital contribution in acquiring the independence, there were no substantial changes to conventional gender roles and women's rights. The FLN aimed to maintain the patriarchal ideology while avoiding tackling women's emancipation issue and demonstrated wilful ignorance regarding the rape and sexual assault Algerian women faced at the hand of French colonial armies. Knauss (1987) argued:" the active participation of women in the Algerian war challenged traditional gender relations and the existing power structure. Women transcended their subordinate position in society and took an active part in the struggle. This involvement not only altered power relations between men and women but also served to empower women and enhance their sense of self-worth" (p.175). In fear of the growing power Algerian women held, the newly formed Algerian government limited the focus only on few female combatant martyrs, such as Hassiba Ben Bouali, as symbolic empowerment figures. In doing so, the government effectively marginalised and silenced the experiences of countless female militants, implying only these few were worthy of recognition and remembrance. After the independence, Algerian politicians exhibited deep denial to Algerian women's rights and the atrocities they experienced (Salhi, 2003). Both female militants and civilians narratives were disregarded and remained unnoticed due to various political and cultural restrictions surrounding their experiences. These taboos encompassed topics such as torture, political opposition, sexual assault and rape.

Hermann (2014) examines how the dominant masculinity among Algerian male nationalists, particularly in the FLN, impeded women's liberation and rights. Hermann (2014) argues that the patriarchal nature of the nationalist leadership marginalised Algerian women's contributions and neglected their participations in the struggle for independence. Informed by Djebar's insights, he reveals how the prioritisation of male-centric views within the movement both hindered women's roles and perpetuated gender injustices, thereby limiting their opportunities for recognition, leadership and reinforcing their exclusion from the political sphere.

To constrain the rising activism about women's emancipation, the FLN established L' Union Nationale des Femmes Algeriennes / the National Union of Algerian Women (UNFA) as the sole women's organisation to receive official recognition. Publically, it was designed to assist Algerian women's rights question, however, it lacked autonomy and served only FLN's interests. The FLN avoided addressing women's issues, but at the same time reclaimed and exploited the Algerian women's contributions in the independence, integrating in into the narrative of the new regime (Cherfati-Merabtine, 1994). Over time, it became evident that the UNFA was ineffective in promoting women's rights. Smaller independent organisations emerged to address social issues, publish women's journals and criticise the legislation. Lazreg (1994) explained: "UNFA was unable to address the women's question due to its lack of autonomy from the ruling party FLN. As a result, independent women's movements emerged to advocate for women's rights, but they were often seen as subversive and faced significant obstacles in their efforts to promote gender equality" (p.143). Nevertheless, since the government operated on the system of one party rule of the FLN, these organisations were under the risk of treason and anti-nationalism.

In the decades following the independence, one significant factor influencing Algerian women's rights and politics was the Family Code. Although the post-independence constitution ensured equality between genders, attempts to reform the family code at the expense of women's rights began early on. This was long before the 1984 family code, which transformed the state's submission to Islamic pressure. Leaders like Ahmed Ben Bella and Chadli Benjdid side lined the female war veterans and made compromises with Islamic factions in order to secure their political power.

In 1981, a new family code was announced but kept in secret, and as details were leaked, it revealed alignment with Islamic policies and values. The secrecy surrounding the content of the code prior to its adoption exemplifies the power dynamics that the Algerian women were excluded from of its decision making process which significantly impacted their lives and hindered their futures and safety. Algerian women, feeling betrayed by their government that created and ruled the law in secrecy; organised protests leading to the deferral of the code (Salhi, 2003). During these demonstrations, the UNFA claimed that women were unaware of their rights and dismissed concerns over the proposed code. Algerian feminists argued that the UNFA had not only failed to promote and protect Algerian women's interests but also neglected genuine social and political issues faced by Algerian women.

As a result, a new autonomous feminist movement emerged that highlighted the state's betrayal towards Algerian women and veterans that were promised rights and emancipation for their contributions in the independence war. As Lazreg (1998) argues, Algerians (specifically women) experienced betrayal by their government for not enacting the change they needed, protecting them, and rewarding them for their efforts leaving them with the need for active political uprising and change. Despite continued resistance, a more Islamist aligned family code proposal was submitted in October 1983 under secrecy. The code was adopted by parliament in June 1984. It included anti-feminist and patriarchal laws that allowed men to divorce without reason, permitting polygamy, and establishing men as uncontested family heads. Other disadvantageous laws included requiring women to have their patriarch's consent for marriage, establishing unequal divorce right making it difficult for women to dissolve a marriage compared to men, and mandated unequal inheritance where women can only inherit half or less of what men receive. The code essentially created a legal disadvantage for Algerian women placing them to a minor status under the law and impeded feminist activism contributing to the resurgence of patriarchy in the Algerian country. Lazreg argues that the Family Code law and the rise of Islamist faction mimicked the French colonisation by imposing new social and political order that abused Algerian women similarly to colonialism. She argued:" the rise of Islamist movements in Algeria has led to a form of social and political recolonization, imposing a new order that mirrors the dynamics of colonial domination" (p.45). As Algeria transitioned into the traumatic period of the black decade, Algerian women faced increased hardships and their struggle for equality intensified.

1.3.3. The traumatic Black Decade of Algeria:

In order to understand young Algerian women's experiences with patriarchy, one must know the complex context of Algerian society and culture and what led to the current circumstances of gender inequality. Algeria experienced a civil war during the 1990's, where it is widely known as the Black Decade. However, it has been shrouded in mystery because of political censorship and the Amnesty Law, which prevents Algerian people from publicly discussing and examining it. This civil war claimed the lives of over 200,000 Algerians and ended after the election of ex-president Abdelaziz Bouteflika and enacting the Amnesty Law in 1999. McDouglall (2006) elaborates that there is still sensitivity and ambiguity around this conflict where many people and politicians evade the use of civil war as a term and refer to it as the

Black Decade, the Traumatic Crisis or the Terrorism. Historical research has documented and analysed the French colonialism and Algerian people's struggles for their independence, as well as the aftermath in post-colonial history where the Front Liberation National (FLN) party took dominance over Algeria's social, economic, and political fronts. McDouglall (2006) and McAllistair (2013) explain that the Front Liberation National, which was mainly formed by the educated politicians that helped in the political front of the independence war, aimed to decolonise Algeria from the long aftermath of the French colonisation by changing the social and political landscape. The party was dominated by men and sought to overshadow the contribution of Algerian women in the independence war and shift the gendered norms towards patriarchy in the quest of decolonising Algeria.

There are several reasons that led to the rise of civil war in Algeria. Algeria was experiencing economic distress during the 1970's and 1980' due to the plummeted revenues of oil and gas, which are the main resources for the Algerian government. This latter was no longer able to afford social welfare for the Algerian citizens, who were already struggling economically due to the French colonisation aftermath due to unemployment, lack of businesses, and housing. The decolonisation process empowered Algerians to focus on Arabic language in education, yet when it came to the job market; French language was required as most of the businesses and administrations used only French language. This spurred the anger of Algerian people amidst the economic crisis. Stora (2001) states that Algerian people suffered an economic crisis due to the lack of medical and educational infrastructure. The Algerian Government was struggling with international debts and wide political criticism.

One of the political opponents of then, the one and only leading party FLN that formed the Algerian government was the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS). This party called for the Islamisation and the reinforcement of Islamic doctrines in Algerian society and politics. It aimed to overthrow secularism in the Algerian government and swap it for an Islamic state. This party enlisted some Algerian citizens who earned Arabic education degrees due to the decolonisation yet were neglected the opportunities of employment. The enlisted Algerians formed the Islamic Army Groups that sought to challenge the authority of the Algerian Government.

Another factor that sparked the widespread criticism again of the Algerian government and led to the civil war was the enactment of the Family Code in 1984. This law is heavily inspired by the Islamic doctrine and successfully implemented because of the rising power of

the Islamic Party under the influence of the government's need to decolonise Algeria from French values. It was a critical attack on Algerian women's rights and enshrined gender inequality in Algerian society and politics. Hargi (2009) explains that this political decision simplified Algerian women's participation in the Independence War and limited their access to public life. Salhi (2010) clarified that the Family Law legalised discrimination against women rendering them vulnerable against men's injustices and violence while hindering their access to the legal system for protection and support. I argue that this is one of the factors that led to the resurgence of patriarchal norms in Algerian society and gendering the division between the private and public realms by neglecting Algerian women's war achievements and constraining them to the private sphere through limiting their access to the public sphere and legalising violence against them.

The frustration and anger against the Algerian government led to the rise of Algerians' protests and manifestations in 1988 and resulted in the deaths of more than 500 Algerians. This was a turning point in the political landscape of Algeria towards democratic pluralism. The Algerian government was forced to change the one political party (FLN) rule and accepted the formation of new parties, including the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), which called for anti-secularism and Islamisation of the state. When the FIS party won the electoral elections in 1991, new changes were introduced in Algerian politics and society. Ait Hamou (2004) explains that the party forced gendered spaces, including separation between men and women in schools and workplaces, and prohibited cultural activities such as art and music under the pretext that it negates Islamic values. In addition, Ait Hamou (2004) indicated that they forced modest fashion and hijab on women in public spaces, which was accompanied by the rise of both physical and verbal assaults on women with no chance of legal protection. I argue that this is another factor in the resurgence of patriarchal gender inequality Algerian women have to endure in their lives as Algerian men started to embrace their new perspectives on their superiority on women due to the extremist Islamisation of the state.

By 1992, the Algerian Government realised that the FIS party would win the following election and continue its Islamised policies; hence, it proclaimed that the FIS party was illegal and annulled the elections. With the assassination of the President Mohammed Boudiaf, in 1992, the Front Islamic Salvation Party was accused of his murder[1]. The FIS

[1] The president Mohammed Boudiaf was assassinated by his bodyguard who expressed his affiliation to the Islamist party, hence there were some claims that the FIS part instructed its militia to infiltrate the late President' secret service and kill him.

retaliated and declared war against the Algerian Government using its militia of recruited extremists. This was the epitome of the Black Decade, where the FIS party became known as terrorists, using its Islamic Army of Salvation and the Armed Islamic Group to commit horrific atrocities leading to the deaths of thousands of innocent civilians. According to Ait Hamou (2004), the FIS party's militia launched brutal raids against government officials, workers, the police forces, their families and friends, journalists, authors such as Tahar Djaout[2], and artists such as Cheb Hasni[3]. This reign of terror targeted both government associated workers and innocent civilians through bombing schools and various public areas, resulting in the death of more than 200,000 Algerians. On the other hand, in 1997, more than 700 Algerians were slaughtered in the towns of Rais and Bentalha by the FIS; however, the survivors blamed the police force for not saving them. There was also widespread criticism upon learning that the government army refused to protect and help the victims, leading to doubting the Algerian government's alleged hidden role and agenda in instigating and helping the FIS crimes.

The Black Decade's traumatising era ended after the rise of ex-president Bouteflika into power in 1999. Bouteflika instigated the end of the civil war through the enactment of the Amnesty Law which gave presidential pardon and amnesty to the Islamic militia members if they surrendered. This law, unfortunately, meant that their crimes were pardoned, the victims and survivors did not receive justice, and the public media and discourse were silenced from talking about the war crimes. Only in 2005 were the media and academia allowed again to discuss the civil war while naming it officially The Black Decade. Nevertheless, the discourse was mostly political, focussing on the historical narration of the events rather than introducing ethnographic explorations of the Algerian victims and their families. The debates never tackled Algerian women's suffering and painful experiences specifically with rape and sexual violence and shrouded the crimes in media and history.

Lamarene-Djerbal (2006) explained that women were primary targets of these horrific crimes, whether they were officials or civilians, and Ait Hamou (2004) stated that the FIS party army targeted women and female relatives of the government workers through "a series of bombings, killings, slaughtering, abductions, rapes, village massacres, and beheadings" (p.,118). I argue that these horrible war crimes against the Algerian government, men and

[2] Tahar Djouat, an Algerian novelist and journalist, was the first assassinated intellectual in 1993 in the Black Decade.

[3] Cheb Hasni is an iconic Algerian Rai singer named as the king of romantic songs; he was murdered by the Islamic Army Group on 29th September 1994.

specifically women, are the last factor in the resurgence of patriarchy, gender inequality, and constraining Algerian women in the private sphere and limiting their access to public spaces while enforcing modest fashion. Most Algerian men and families forced their female kin to drop out from schools and work while imposing hijab and modest fashion in fear of becoming another target of the FIS party armies and getting raped, killed, and potentially bringing "shame "to their families' honour.

Algerian female writers aimed at documenting and sharing the traumatic experiences and stories of Algerian women. Their experiences and trauma were largely neglected and hidden under the guise of the collective Algerian experience of pain and harrowing crimes. The Black Decade crimes were simplified and un-gendered in the political and academic landscape. There was an aim to silence women's voices through neglecting their achievements and contributions in the independence war and their traumatising experiences in the Black Decade. Debate about Algerian women's contribution in the fight against French colonialism was focused only on three women: Djamila Bouheirad, Djamila Boupasha, and Djamila Bouazza, while forgetting and disregarding other Algerian female fighters in politics, education, and academic research. Similarly, politics and academic research in Algeria brushed over rape and sexual violence crimes as it was deemed dishonourable. Female writers were accused of dramatising and gendering the crimes of the Civil War. The government and enactment of the Amnesty Law silenced writers from discussing the atrocities of the war and mostly female writers from documenting and highlighting Algerian women's experiences.

Algerian female writers used novels in order to narrate Algerian women victims of rape, murder, and sexual violence crimes in the Black Decade. They criticise the patriarchal political and religious discourse that sought to hide the gendered crimes and silence Algerian women's voices and narratives. Djebar (1995) is the first writer who gave voice and representation to both Algerian female fighters in the Independence War and victims of civil war. She criticised, ethnographically and autobiographically in her novels, the rape and murder crimes against Algerian women and condemned how Algerian female teachers and students were targeted in the traumatic decade, such as the case of the raping and slaughtering of 12 female teachers in the west of Algeria in the 27th of September 1997, who were on the bus while leaving the male driver as the sole survivor. Djebar's writings often explore the experiences of Algerian women during and after the colonial period focussing on their struggles for independence. Her novels and memoirs vividly portray the tension between

traditional values and the pursuit of autonomy, offering both personal and collective reflections on the challenges faced by women while highlighting how the broader context of colonialism and war shaped the lives and identities of Algerian women.

Al Faroup (2005), another Algerian female writer, does not shy away from describing and depicting the harrowing experiences of what she calls "death's excursions" that Algerian women faced during the Black Decade and including statistics in her novels. She shed light on the rape and violence committed against women and how targeting women became a means of war in various regions of Algeria. Al Farouq's (2005) writing shows her deep understanding and importance of these women's stories. She also elaborates and documents the violent experiences Algerian women had to endure, but also the ostratisation, alienation, and victim blaming of female survivors by society and patriarchal structures. Malika Mokkedem (1993, 1999), is another prominent Algerian novelist who centred her works on the experiences and struggles of Algerian women, often highlighting issues such as patriarchy, religious fundamentalism, and the limited rights afforded to women within the Algerian society. Through her novels, such as "Les Hommes qui Marchent/ Men who Walk" and "L'interdite/ The Forbidden Woman", Mokkedem explores themes of injustice, indignity, and the societal constraints placed upon women. Her works often examines the aftermath of French colonisation while offering insights into the realities faced by Algerian women.

Zhour Ounissi is another prominent Algerian author whose works primarily focus on the Experiences of women within Algerian society, with a particular emphasis on gender equality and women's empowerment. Her novels and short stories challenge the traditional expectations placed on Algerian women. In "Loundja w Lghoul" (1993), she highlights the struggles of Algerian women, while "من يوميات مدرسة حرة/From the Diaries of a Free Female Teacher" (1979) underscores the importance of gender equality amplifying the voices of Algerian women.

Similarly, Mostaghanemi (1993-1997) also illustrates Algerian women's experiences and struggles of the horrific era in her novels and attributes the continuous dilemma due to the overshadowing of patriarchal social, political, and religious institutions on Algerian women's victims' realities. She clarifies that experiences and pain are gendered while she explores Algerian women's traumas, their interpretations, and navigations in their lives. Most of the academic literature focuses only on the struggles of Algerian women during the eras of French colonialism, the Algerian Independence War and the Black Decade (Fanon, 1959; Lazreg, 1994; Salhi, 2009). This focus tends to overshadow the more nuanced experiences of

contemporary Algerian women, who face ongoing struggles related to patriarchy, autonomy and equality.

1.4. Motivation of Research:

Questioning my internalised gendered values led me to start doing this research about young Algerian women's experiences and negotiations with patriarchy in their everyday lives. Growing up, I experienced the scare of the Black Decade, where I witnessed the frightened people escaping and shouting upon hearing the sounds of loud explosions. My parents and I were part of these crowds. After that day, people were more careful about going out, and I remember some of my distant female cousins were forced to drop out of their studies.

Later on, as I became more aware of my social environment, I understood that a village in my town was attacked by the FIS and all of its residents were slaughtered while another location in my town was bombed, leading to the deaths of innocent civilians. I understood that girls were forced to drop out of their studies or get married early on in order to avoid being attacked by the Islamist extremist army. I never understood when I was young why Algerian parents felt the need to seclude their daughters and other female relatives from the private realm of the household. I grew up in the Black Decade era where women stuck to their homes instead of accessing public spaces, and I believed it was the social norm. I was taught that a father's decision is the most important thing in the family, and the purpose was to shield the vulnerable daughters from the unforgiving society. I learnt that women should stay at home and focus on doing house chores, and even when they are studying, they were limited to a time curfew. I learnt that the most precious thing a woman can possess is her virginity and chastity. I also learnt that the family's honour lies in the girls' efforts to safeguard their virginities and perform chastity and honour in private and public spaces. This meant dating was not allowed, and premarital sex was a disaster for women that could lead to the dishonour of the family, violence, and maybe death for the 'dishonourable girl'. I learnt and internalised the fear of causing the loss of honour for my family.

Growing up, I witnessed the silent dedication and arduous work my mother invested in maintaining our household. Countless hours were spent cooking, cleaning, taking care of the family and ensuring our home was a functional and comfortable sanctuary. Rarely was her devotion acknowledged or appreciated, as society often diminishes the value of domestic labour. Due to the incessant demands of household chores and the pressure to fulfil the

expectations of a "good woman", my mother frequently found herself on the brink of exhaustion, struggling to keep up with the workload and battling patriarchal expectations that pervaded her daily life. A feeling that I am sure is shared by many other Algerian women. Unbeknownst to me at the time, I was observing the intergenerational transmission of gender roles and housework skills. My mother began to teach me the same skills she had mastered, and by the age of ten, I was actively contributing to daily chores such as washing dishes and cleaning the house. As I matured, my role in the household expanded, and by the age of fifteen, I had assumed responsibility for all domestic tasks, including cooking and cleaning. This shift in duties arose as my mother transitioned into the workforce, further emphasising the significance of her tireless efforts in maintaining our home. The influence of these experiences shaped my understanding of the often unrecognised labour that upholds our daily lives, and the essential role of mothers in fostering both life skills and traditional gender roles within our society.

During my studies in Algeria and associating with various friends' circles, there was always the notion of showing off about one's own skills in doing house chores when the discussions led to this topic. My friends often talked about their cooking and cleaning skills or about their daily routines. I also shared my positive experiences, but I did not ponder the struggles and challenges that accompany them. When I came to the UK and lived with different British and international roommates, I realised the difference in our daily lives and internalised gendered norms. While, I cleaned and cooked every day adhering to my Algerian upbringing and cultural expectations, my roommates rarely cooked and cleaned only once or twice per week according to our shared home cleaning schedules. On my first year, while living once on a university accommodation, a male staff member wanted to clean our shared flat's shower head as per the official routine cleaning schedule. I remember the embarrassment I felt that moment of letting a man clean instead of me, and I could not let him do his job regretfully, so I did it instead of him. I was focused on what others would think of me and how my self-image as woman would be if I let a man do a "woman's job".

Upon this incident, I started tracing my actions and thoughts about my internalised Algerian patriarchal gendered norms and unequal division of domestic work. I understood that I, as most Algerian girls and women, have been taught and accepted that unpaid domestic labour is a woman's job and it is shameful to let men perform women's work. I recalled on my past experiences in my family's home where I was taught doing house chores from a young age, and I was delegates some chores such as doing the dishes and cleaning the kitchen while my

brothers were playing and hanging out with friends. This is a shared experience between Algerian girls. I internalised the idea that doing house chores is beneath men and emasculating, I should not ask or expect help in domestic work from my male relatives. I heard: the kitchen was where I belong, whether women study or become successful, they all need to do housework and stay virtuous to get married eventually. After long reflection on "my beliefs," I decided to explore other Algerian women's narratives and life stories. I kept researching resources that could detail, explain and analyse Algerian women's experiences, but I was met with a significant literature gap as this topic is under researched and overlooked. Through this research, I investigate Algerian women's realities, experiences, interactions, interpretations, and negotiations with patriarchy in their everyday lives.

1.5. Research Questions

Young Algerian women experience patriarchy and gender discrimination in their daily lives. Their experiences vary because of their differences in circumstances and struggles. Hence, they may interpret and understand patriarchy differently, leading to different forms of resistance in their navigation through the patriarchal system. My research investigates these experiences, understandings, interpretations, and negotiations with patriarchy in young Algerian women's everyday life.

For exploring these young Algerian women's narratives, the research questions are:

- How do young Algerian women experience patriarchy in their everyday lives?
- How do young Algerian women understand and interpret patriarchy in their everyday lives?
- How do young Algerian women negotiate and resist patriarchy in their everyday lives?

1.6. Research Aims

Feminist literature about Algerian women in relation to patriarchy and gender is scarce. In order to tackle the gap in literature, this study aims to:

- investigate young Algerian women's experiences with patriarchy and how it manifests in their everyday lives.

- Explore young Algerian women's understandings and interpretations about patriarchy, gender discrimination, and women's subordination in their daily lives.

- Explore and analyse how young Algerian women negotiate and resist patriarchy within their families and society contexts.

1.7. Significance of the Research

The findings of this research add to the body of knowledge of women studies and literature and other social sciences and humanities academic fields. Literature around Algerian women's experiences and narratives is scarce, and this research aims to add to the understanding of the experiences and perspectives of young Algerian women while highlighting the various approaches they assume to navigate, negotiate, and push back against patriarchal structures in their everyday lives. This research's purpose lies in shedding light on different perspectives of the complex realities of Algerian women's experiences within the Algerian patriarchal society.

In order to explore the narratives of young Algerian women about patriarchy and gender discrimination in Algerian society and family, this research employed a qualitative research approach where I interviewed 32 young Algerian women using face-to-face in-depth interviews. All of the participants were recruited from university campuses in four Algerian cities. These participants pursued higher education and either lived on the university accommodation or their family's home. Their age ranged from 18 to 25 years old and they were unmarried by the time of the data collection. Using the qualitative method and in depth interviews allowed me to receive detailed narratives of their experiences with patriarchy and their struggles in their everyday lives and society.

1.8. Statement of the Problem

There is significant research and literature about women's experiences and struggles in various fields, however, specific research and data about Algerian women and their experiences, perspectives, and resistance within a patriarchal context remain underexplored

and under researched. Existing literature around women is mostly focused about politics and history in Algeria (Salhi, 2003; Lazreg, 1994; Branche, 2011; Khalil, 2014). Algerian women's narratives about their everyday life experiences with patriarchy and gender inequality are almost non-existent and absent in both academia and society. Academic research neglected studying Algerian women nuanced topics despite their continuous struggle with patriarchy in their whole lives. Generalising Arab women's experiences and negotiations with patriarchy is unsound research practice. Researchers need to understand and recognize that Arab women's experiences and negotiations with patriarchy and gender inequality are complex, multifaceted, and unique to each's context. Sweeping generalisation of academic understandings causes the simplification of Arab women's struggles and losing insightful and authentic data about their experiences and navigations against patriarchal gendered norms and values in their everyday lives. Although there are similar shared patterns, Algerian women's stories and experiences differ from other Arab women. Each Arab country's social and cultural setting presents a different take on patriarchy and women's experiences. Algerian women are subjected to gender inequality and patriarchal structures that manifest in various aspects, such as the unequal division of unpaid domestic work and the gendered cultural expectations of maintaining the honour of their family through the performance of chastity and virginity. This research aims to understand how young Algerian women understand, interpret, experience, and negotiate with patriarchy in their everyday lives.

1.9. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis includes seven chapters in order to explore the research questions and objectives that serve the purpose of investigating young Algerian women's experiences with patriarchy in their daily lives.

Chapter one serves as an introduction to the dissertation, where I discuss everyday life sociology since the research focusses on young Algerian women's experiences in their daily lives. I include a historical background about the French colonisation, the Independence War in Algeria, the Black Decade, and the Family Code which led the resurgence of patriarchy in Algeria. I list the research questions and aims. I also introduce the research motivation, importance, and a brief breakdown of the thesis.

In chapter two, I highlight the literature review that concerns this research. I focus on bringing relevant literature around the major themes of this dissertation. The literature review introduces patriarchy as the main concept. This research questions how Algerian women

experience patriarchy in their everyday lives; hence, it focusses on domesticity and honour literature. In addition, it focusses on relevant literature on resistance against patriarchy in order to analyse young Algerian women's negotiations of patriarchy. This research literature review also highlights the implemented theories, which are symbolic interactionism and gender socialisation.

Chapter three highlights this research's employed methodology. This chapter discusses the qualitative method literature and tackles the methodological research journey of gathering data. It explains the chosen data collection approach, participants' recruitment, and sampling method. It also tackles positionality, power, and ethics.

In chapter four, I begin to analyse and introduce domesticity as the first major theme in the resulted collection of data. This chapter explores how young Algerian women experience patriarchy in the form of unequal division of unpaid house labour and role taking of gender normative practices. Chapter four discusses subthemes in relation to domesticity in order to investigate the narratives of young Algerian women's daily lives.

Chapter five introduces honour as the second major theme from the analysed data. This chapter describes and analyses young Algerian women's understanding and interpretations of honour and its significance to patriarchal beliefs within their families and daily life contexts. This chapter examines patriarchal limitations on young Algerian women's freedom of clothes, sexuality, and movement in their daily lives in order to safeguard their virginity and their family's honour.

Chapter six highlights young Algerian women's negotiations with patriarchy in their daily lives. It explores and analyses the approaches the participants chose when navigating through patriarchy. These approaches were resistance, where young Algerian women chose speaking out and taking action against patriarchal discrimination, keeping silence, and bargaining with patriarchy for better opportunities in their everyday lives. Finally, chapter seven offers a conclusion to the research where it provides a reflective summary of the research findings, strengths, future research recommendations, and methodological limitations.

1.10. Conclusion

This research aims to explore young Algerian women's gendered realities and experiences with patriarchy in their everyday lives. In this chapter, I explored the field of everyday life

sociology, which is all about examining the seemingly mundane routines and interactions of individuals to uncover larger patterns of gender inequality and patriarchal structures. At the heart of this approach is the idea that gender inequality does not just exist on a societal level but rather is embedded in the everyday routines and interactions of these young Algerian women. Moreover, in this chapter I discussed the Black Decade that contributed to the existence of the current patriarchal gendered inequalities in Algerian society. I examined how this historical event led to the resurgence of patriarchal domination of men over women, widening the division between the private and public spheres where Algerian women were restricted to the household and had limited access to education and workplaces. I addition to the historical context, I also delved into my own personal motives for doing this research, sharing my own experiences that led to this specific topic. I then moved on to discuss the importance and relevance of this research, highlighting the problem that needs to be addressed. Finally, I laid out my research aim, questions, and a breakdown of the thesis chapters.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

Patriarchy is entrenched in Algerian society and culture as one of the countries of the classic belt of patriarchy. The Algerian patriarchal structures enforce gender discrimination, male domination over women, and the restriction of Algerian women to the private sphere of their households while limiting their access to the public one. This chapter explores the definitions of patriarchy in academic literature while trying to locate a suitable theory that could explain the nuanced, complex realities and experiences of young Algerian women's everyday lives. This thesis elaborates on several theorists including Walby and Akgul. I discuss gender inequality in terms of unpaid housework division between men and women while highlighting the invisible and under researched contribution of children to domestic work. I explore literature around how young girls are socialised and parentified by their parents into internalising the household labour inequality. In addition, I tackle the literature around honour and virginity understandings that centres this performance in the everyday lives of Arab and Algerian women while also discussing masculinity's influence in perpetuating these challenges on women. Finally, I address literature about women's negotiations with patriarchy. I talk about women's agency and how it is manifested in various forms, such as resistance and bargaining patriarchy.

2.2. Patriarchy

Patriarchy refers to the rule of the father in the etymological definition. Pierik (2018) defines patriarchy as "the father who rules over a family". Patriarchy exemplifies the father's role as the family's household head in society, where he can dominate over his wife, children, and other relatives. Patriarchy is the systematic domination of women by men in some or all of society's spheres and institutions (Giddens and Sutton, 2014, p100). It provides men with power and domination over women systematically (Meagher, 2011). Myers and Shaw (2004, p.84) specified that "a patriarchal society is one dominated by men, in which women accept, or are forced into, subservient roles". Morrissey (2003) identifies the father as the main figure of domination and authority over family and women. Pre-feminist definitions of patriarchy

designate the authority and domination of the father figure as crucial aspects of the concept. Geetha (2007, p8) states: "Patriarchy is the absolute rule of the father or the eldest member over his family".

Patriarchy originates from the premodern era, where it manifested in diverse cultural, social, and political systems in various societies (Moghadam, 2004). A-historic definitions of patriarchy focused on hierarchal relationships. Weber (1947) conceptualised patriarchy as the hierarchal rule of old men over younger men and women. Gerth and Mills (1958, p.296) defined it as "the authority of the father, the husband, the senior of the house, and the sib elder over the members of the household and sib". Moghadam (1992, p6-7) explains that "In classic patriarchy, the senior man has the authority over everyone else in the family, including younger men and women, are subject to distinct forms of control and subordination". Lerner (1989) theorised patriarchy's definition as the materialisation and adoption of the father's authority over his family which was caused by multiple factors such as history, culture, and demographic progression in premodern societies. Lerner (1989) focused rather on the history and origins of patriarchy.

However, feminist scholars shifted the definition of patriarchy from premodern conceptualisation that focused on age hierarchy and both men and women as equal subjects of men's domination towards defining patriarchy as the male systematic rule and domination of women (Miller, 2001). Feminist scholars highlighted and redefined patriarchy as the systematic subordination of women as opposed to definitions that revolve around social hierarchy between men, as traditional theorists would argue (Dialeti, 2013). As one of the significant feminist scholars, Walby (1996, p 21) redefined patriarchy as "a system of social structures and practices in which men oppress, exploit, and control women". The patriarchal system employed myriad of society's structures, such as religion and culture, to establish the dominance of men over women within family and public spheres.

Feminist literature theorises women's oppression through various definitions of patriarchy (Firestone, 1970; Mies, 1986; Walby, 1990; Geetha, 2007). Walby (1990) interprets patriarchy as the institutionalisation of men's control and superiority over women in society. Sultana (2011, p.7) argues that "patriarchy, which presupposes the natural superiority of male over female, shamelessly upholds women's dependence on and subordination to men in all spheres of life". Patriarchy revolves around subordination and gaining power over women. It is the systematic empowerment and domination of men towards women in all life's aspects.

Allam (2008) identifies the significant part of the patriarchy definition as men's domination over women. This exemplifies in different structures of society leading to detrimental impact on women's experiences in their everyday lives.

Patriarchy is used as a concept to criticise and investigate gendered oppression of women. Pierik (2022, p74) argues that "for modern feminists in everyday life, simply identifying a practice as patriarchal is enough to critique it". Feminist research connected women's subordination with patriarchal practices (Beauvoir, 1949; Lerner, 1986; Pateman, 1988). Rich (1977) describes patriarchy as:

> *" A familial social , ideological system in which men, by force, direct pressure, or through rituals, tradition, law and language, customs etiquette, education, and the division of labour; determine what part women shall or shall not play in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male"*

Unlike the classic definition of patriarchy, feminist scholars located the gendered subjugation women face within different sociocultural structures. They hypothesised it in the sociocultural and political construction of gendered oppression rather than solely focussing on, the essentialist's biological differences between men and women. Women experience gendered differentiation and discrimination early on even before they can assume their race, ethnicities, and class identities. Young girls' gender experiences differ from young boys. As an example, young girls are taught to be obedient, feminine, play with dolls, and raise baby dolls in order to internalise the feminine and motherly instincts within them, whereas boys are taught to be brave, free, and taught them to be more expressive while playing with cars and construction toys that instils within them the need to seek opportunities of advancement and freedom. Hence, patriarchy functions on the various structural gendered oppression and inequality.

Patriarchy can help us to understand gender inequality and women's subordination. Walby (1990, p 1) argues: "The concept of patriarchy is indispensable for an analysis of gender inequality". In order to investigate and understand young Algerian women's experiences, interpretations, and negotiations with patriarchy in their everyday lives, Walby's theorisation is inevitable. In the context of defining patriarchy, Walby describes feminist methods that tackled various aspects of gendered discrimination against women. The first method is

Marxist feminism, where it connects gender discrimination to capitalism and class. It explains patriarchy as the result of men's profit of women's free domestic housework and inequality in the wage gap of paid work. On the other hand, radical feminism describes patriarchy as the sociocultural domination of men over women through various systematic practices. The third method is liberal feminism, where it centres women's lack of rights to equal prospects such as education and labour market. Marxist and radical feminism's merger presents the final method of dual system, where it interplays both economic and sociocultural reasons in understanding the gendered discrimination women face in their lives.

Walby (1996) refers to patriarchy as the social and political systems in which men hold the majority of power and privilege, while women are systematically disadvantaged. It is a network of structures and practices that perpetuate gender inequality. Walby pinpoints three main areas in defining patriarchy. The prime concern revolves around how gender inequality is framed. Some researchers define patriarchy as men's domination over women, based on biological differences, while others argue that it refers to social structures and practices that systematically disadvantage women. Walby (1996) claims that conceptualising patriarchy solely on biology runs the risk of reducing complex social issues to a simplistic explanation that separates men and women solely on biological differentiation. Many theorists reject this view, as it fails to consider the myriad of social, cultural, and historical factors that shape gender roles and social status. In a nutshell, she believes that a definition of patriarchy should acknowledge both the social and biological dimensions of the concept. Walby (1996) opts for an encapsulating definition of patriarchy as a "system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, exploit, and oppress women" (p. 21). This definition acknowledges the social structures and practices that reinforce male dominance, while also recognising the role that biology may play in shaping these dynamics.

Walby's second point of contention in theorising patriarchy is whether definitions of patriarchy should be restricted to the domestic sphere or whether they should encompass the broader social and cultural environment. Walby (1996) debates the limits of patriarchy's conceptualisation to the family dynamics or its extension to the wider social and cultural context. Theorists describe patriarchy as the social and cultural structures where men exert power over women primarily through the domestic sphere while emphasising on the patriarchal hierarchal family structure with age and gender as key factors in determining power dynamics. Walby (1996) rationalises that age and power hierarchy between men are vital for the patriarchal system and the control they exert on women. Walby's definition

focusses on the internal dynamics of the household, while other researchers look at a broader systematic around power structures and social institutions that perpetuates gender inequality and detaches from the domestic sphere of the household.

Walby's third concern revolves around the fundamental driver of patriarchy and how that should be incorporated into the definition. Patriarchy is a multifaceted system of oppression that encapsulates different aspects where theorists might focus on, such as unpaid labour, violence against women, and sexuality. Walby (1996) clarifies that patriarchy should not be defined as a one size fits all theory and suggests anchoring the concept of patriarchy to gender inequality as a whole since it covers all of the different ways patriarchy can manifest.

Walby (1990) introduces a more comprehensive theory that includes more structures as part of the multi-faceted definition of patriarchy. Walby (1990) argues that patriarchy is composed of six interrelated structures that work together to maintain male dominance over women, these are: unpaid household work, paid work, the state, male violence, sexual relations and institutions such as media, education and religion (p.21). These patriarchal structures operate by exploiting women in unpaid labour in the home, limiting their access to the job market and opportunities in the workplace while underpaying them for the same performance and expertise as men. In addition, the state's adoption of patriarchal biased motives where it actively creates regulations that benefit men at the expense of women as well as its failure and inaction in addressing male violence against women and holding abusers accountable. The state becomes complicit in perpetuating violence against women by its inaction. Moreover, Walby highlights how patriarchal norms curb women's sexuality freedom while enforcing heterosexuality on them. Finally, patriarchy influences how women are viewed and treated in cultural institutions, such as religion, education, and the media where the patriarchal norms continue to shape the way women are perceived and treated thus perpetuating gender inequality. According to Walby (1996), these structures are the most significant social relationships that shape gender relations in patriarchy. She contends that by analysing these structures, one can understand the diverse ways in which women are oppressed and how patriarchal practices play out in different contexts.

Walby adds that these six structures function in intricate mechanisms of patriarchy. She distinguishes between private patriarchy, which focusses on household dynamics, and public patriarchy, which operates in wider society and involves societal structures. In the context of private patriarchy, the household functions as a site of gender oppression, where the male

exercises control over the female. This control is enforced through the institution of the nuclear family, which serves to reinforce traditional gender roles and to maintain the male's dominance over the female. This power dynamics is sustained through social norms and institutions such as religion that privilege men over women, creating a system of oppression and inequality within the home. This system is perpetuated by the deliberate exclusion of women from the public sphere and their confinement to the private realm of the family home. This does not signify that women have no access to the public sphere; however, public patriarchy entails widespread exploitation of women when they have limited access and opportunities in the labour market and politics.

One of the criticisms of Walby's theorisation is the notion that she relied on other feminist explanations instead. She is criticised of giving out examples of patriarchal practices in the six structures rather than creating her own theory of patriarchy. Walby's research on patriarchy has certainly made its mark on feminist theory, but her focus on structural analysis has been critiqued for overlooking the actual experiences and perspectives of individuals. Some critics argue that Walby's approach is too theoretical and fails to account for the complexities and nuances of people's lives and the ways they negotiate and navigate the structures that shape them. Pollert (1996) suggests that Walby's structures result in a static view of the social processes, where everything is seen as predetermined by the structures in place, rather than as the product of people's actions and choices within those structures.

In addition to existing critiques, Lennon and Alsop (2020) discuss Walby's (1990) shift from using 'patriarchy' to 'gender regime'. They point out that while Walby argues the shift avoids the term's problematic associations with essentialism and ahistoricism, it may also risk losing the critical edge and historical depth that the concept of patriarchy offers. Lennon and Alsop (2020) question whether this change in terminology might dilute the feminist critique of deeply entrenched male dominance. They critique Walby's structural approach and question the extent to which it addresses the intersectional nature of oppression fully. In addition, Lennon and Alsop (2020) suggest that Walby's (1990) emphasis on structural determinant might underplay the importance of individual agency and everyday resistance in transforming gendered power relations. Lennon and Alsop (2020) also highlight a critique raised by McDowell (1999 cited in Lennon and Alsop, p, 68) regarding Walby's failure to explain why women might remain attached to oppressive gender regimes. Walby's (1990) structural framework does not sufficiently address the complexities of women's experiences, including the potential pleasures and securities derived from gendered relations, even when they are

oppressive. They suggest that this omission limits the explanatory power of Walby's framework in capturing the lived realities and emotional investments of women in patriarchal contexts. This critique underscores the need for a more dynamic understanding of gender relations that accounts for both structural constraints and individual agency.

Nevertheless, Walby's conceptualisation of the private and public patriarchy and how gender inequality transforms between the two realms is vital in understanding young Algerian women's patriarchal experiences. She clarifies the systematisation of patriarchy in the private and public realms of society. In order to understand women's subordination experiences, Walby divided patriarchy's occurrence in the two domains of private and public.

Public patriarchy focusses on the male domination of women and gender inequality in society. It aims to oppress women's equal access and opportunities of education, work, and salary. Walby (1990, p178) argues:

> *" Public patriarchy is based on structures other than the household, although this may still be a significant patriarchal site. Rather, institutions conventionally regarded as part of the public domain are central in the maintenance of patriarchy".*

Public patriarchy employs various social, political, religious, and economic structures through institutions such as the government, foundations of religion, media outlets, and labour market. Public patriarchy institutionalises women's subordination and men's dominance through enacting state laws, religious doctrine, gendered normative roles, propaganda, and curbing women's access to higher job positions and equal wages. Thus, leading to the continuous struggle of women in gaining power, agency, education, and financial freedom that could ensure the dismantle of patriarchy.

Comparably, private patriarchy identifies male dominance and women's subordination in the private realm of the household and family. Walby mentions: "Private patriarchy is based upon household production, with a patriarch controlling women individually and directly in the relatively private sphere of the home" (1990, p 178). Walby (1990) recognises the family and home as the operational motive in directing inequality towards women. The private domain of the family oriented household establishes gendered normative roles where women perform free house chores and men are the main providers, which shifts the power balance

inside the dynamics of the family. The family and household become a location of patriarchy reproduction where the father enables himself and other male kin over their female relatives and ensures women subordination. This private patriarchy is executed through various sociocultural, religious, and economic structures. Walby's six structures manifest in private patriarchy where women are obliged to do free domestic labour for the profit of men, their access to the labour market is restricted, their sexuality and reproduction freedom is denied, the state is patriarchal and enforces patriarchal laws that are detrimental to women, domestic violence is normalised and women are discouraged from reporting it and finally, the culture established gendered norms through various means such as media in order to control women and guarantee the reproduction of patriarchy. Private patriarchy displays absolute gender inequality and women's subordination through the family and the authority of the patriarch. I argue that young Algerian women experience patriarchy in their everyday lives in the private and public domain through the manifestation of these structures.

2.3. The Use of Patriarchy

Safir (2019, p16) states: "All women face the same patriarchal experiences and challenges ". However, patriarchy causes oppression of women, but the degree and the mechanism differ. Pierik (2022) questions the universalism that patriarchy conceptualisation could enable because of its use as a general umbrella that fuses "patriarchal practices, power, and structural inequality" (p74-75). Theorists aimed to abandon patriarchy towards gender inequality where gender is not the only motivation behind women's subordination. Butler (1990, p5) explains; "The notion of a universal patriarchy has been widely criticised in recent years for its failure to account for the workings of gender oppression in the concrete cultural contexts in which it exists". I argue that patriarchy should not be a universal and one standard definition that fits all experiences of oppressed women. It is not fixed; rather, it is prone to change to accustom to the changes of male dominance and women's subordination. The subordination and oppression of women is universal, but the how and contexts vary in time and space.

Western feminist research problematises the use of the patriarchy concept (Davis, 1981; Acker, 1989; Lewis & Mills, 2003). Several theorists are abandoning the expression of patriarchy in order to explain the structural oppression of women (Schussler Fiorenza, 1992; Connell, 1995; Walby,2009; Crenshaw,2017. Barrett (1980, p. 15) claims: "The use of the

term patriarchy assumes that the relation between men and women is unchanging and universalistic". Feminist literature attributes this abandonment to the change of time and social norms (Sharabi, 1988; Walby, 2009; Newbigin, 2010; Akgul, 2017; Moghadam, 2020). Relationship dynamics changed as opposed to how patriarchy had instituted the naturalness of men superiority over women. Feminist scholars avoid patriarchy conceptualisation that implements its universalism, essentialism and naturalism as its aspects (Crenshaw, 2017; Pierik, 2022). Walby resists the avoidance of patriarchy definition and faults the problematic association of biologist and universalist approaches to patriarchy's explanations. Walby (1986, p. 28) argues:

> *" It is in the way it is used in specific texts as it involves problems of reductionism, biologism, universalism, and therefore the inconsistent definition of patriarchy needs to be overcome in an adequate analysis of gender inequality".*

Conversely, other researchers opted for alternatives to the concept of patriarchy. Pierik (2022) contested the use of patriarchy and proposed using 'patriarchal power' instead. Pierik (2022) argues that using gender inequality and hierarchy would fit the context more since "feminist political use of patriarchy actually moves beyond the patriarch" (p.80). Pierik (2022) suggests moving from the conceptualisation of "the fatherly authority" towards "patriarchal power as a specific way of asserting power over bodies" (p 82). Pierik (2022) locates patriarchal power, while evading essentialist perspectives, in the "interaction with the lived body as situation" rather than the household (p.83). I argue that Pierik's theorisation of patriarchal power and avoidance of patriarchy may not help in understanding the whole picture of gendered oppression in the context of non-western societies where father authority is a key aspect of women's subordination.

Joseph (1996, p.14) defines patriarchy in Arab society as "the prioritising of the rights of males and elders and the justification of those rights within kinship values, which are usually supported by religion". Arab patriarchy employs and functions on kinship and family relationships. Joseph (1996) situates the Arab patriarchy core in the family. Masoud (2016) explains that the family is the most important and primary component where the father or father figure displays his governance over his female and young male kin. Arab patriarchy is kinship based that establishes men's superiority over women. The family and tribes in Arab

society centre patriarchy around kinship, household, and the reputation of the tribe. Ayat (2020) explains that not all Arab societies revolve around tribalism but the sense of belongings in the present. Unlike the Middle East, where tribalism is imperative, Northern African countries' tribalism is less common nowadays. Nevertheless, its Arab patriarchal system emphasises family kinship and father authority.

Sharabi (1988) distinguishes between western and Arab patriarchy where he provides a new lens about political and sociocultural factors that differentiate Arab patriarchy. He criticises the downfall of the Arabs' in various aspects of life. Sharabi (1988) criticises Arab societies and governments' failure to adopt western modernity, which led to an altered version of patriarchy instead coined as neopatriarchy. He analyses patriarchy in relation to modernity where he theorises neopatriarchy as the preservation of patriarchal practices in modernised Arab society. Arab societies assimilated some western modernity but conserved the patriarchal practices and values. Sharabi contradicts Marxist feminism's ahistorical origins of patriarchy and implies that it is 'traditional and premodern'. He argues:" Patriarchy as a socioeconomic category refers to traditional, premodern society" (1988, p. 16). Sharabi's perspective and understanding of patriarchy is useful in understanding patriarchy in Arab society, however, he focuses on and accredits modernity from a western context and does not tackle the non-western one while missing out on the actual nuanced complexities that patriarchy causes in the lives of women.

I understand western feminist researchers' standpoint on patriarchy and their avoidance of using it to explain gendered oppression. However, I will be using it in order to investigate young Algerian women narratives and experiences of gendered oppression and hardship in their everyday lives since Algeria is part of the patriarchal belt. Oakley (2002, p. 218) argues: "The notion of patriarchy gives us a theoretical framework for understanding the nuanced experiences of our everyday lives". In order to understand young Algerian women's experiences with patriarchy, I suggest that compound patriarchy theory by Akgul (2016) is necessary. It is the combination of several theories of patriarchy that can help us investigate, analyse, and interpret the complex and multidimensional aspects of gender inequality in Arab and Algerian society. Akgul (2016, p. 57) explains that compound patriarchy:

> *"Is a social structure of multi-layered oppression, in which more than one oppression operates at the same*

> *time, created by horizontal and vertical relations in the society, causing and resulting from gendered, racial, ethnic, and international hierarchy to control, among others, men and women, and through a system of metaphorical reproduction of oppression".*

Akgul (2017) theorises the intricate and multidimensional gender inequality and oppression of the patriarchal system as compound patriarchy. Akgul (2017) asserts that both men and women can be agents and victims of patriarchy. He explains the complexity of patriarchy, where horizontal patriarchy is "inequality within equality" (2017, p 44). In this aspect, women oppress themselves for the benefit of men, whereas vertical patriarchy focusses on the hierarchy between individuals like men on women, women on other women, but also the government on men and women. In addition, Akgul (2017) elaborates on the multifaceted patriarchal system by highlighting patriarchal relativity, where men's privileges are connected to gender inequality and women's subordination and highlights the connection of "patriarchy, privilege, and compensation" (p. 44). It indicates the primacy of men's desires and wants before women's, which establishes a hierarchal system where men's needs acquire importance and urgency while instructing that they are women's obligations to ensure fulfilling them, thus configuring the patriarchal domination over women (Akgul, 2016, p.63).

Akgul (2017) debates various concepts of patriarchy that do not fully consider Middle Eastern contexts and advocates for compound patriarchy as an inclusive definition that could approach patriarchal structures aspects in the Arab world that some western definitions do not. Akgul (2017) explains that compound patriarchy is a result of the complex structures of oppression women face in their lives. This oppression is no longer a simple issue but rather a multidimensional one with many interconnected factors at play. These intervening variables complicate the issue and make it harder to fully understand and address. Women can be agents in patriarchal oppression perpetuation. They endure and spread the oppression on other women in order to ease some of the patriarchal burden and dominance they face. Akgul (2017) expounds that women sacrifice their efforts and endure the patriarchal oppression in hope of obtaining power and authority to escape the continuous domination of men. Akgul's compound patriarchy can offer an understanding of women' struggles and experiences with patriarchy as some of the definitions either focus on one aspect of patriarchy or choose to neglect other aspects out of the definition. Several definitions fail to account for honour for

example, as a critical factor in patriarchal structures and norms, which is vital in order to understand Arab and Muslim women's complex experiences and interpretations.

2.4. Domesticity and Unpaid Housework

Bianchi et al (2000) conceptualises performing unpaid household chores as a "contested terrain" where household members collaborate, delegate, negotiate, and debate over every day domestic work (p. 191). Research data of 90 countries from 2001 till 2019 underscored a significant gender disparity in the performance of unpaid domestic labour where women spent on average 2.5 hours every day doing housework more than men (UN, 2021). The disproportionate burden of unpaid labour women shoulder can be viewed as a symptom of a patriarchal system that ascribes these responsibilities to women without due consideration to their other contributions or aspirations. These implications of this unequal distribution of labour are far-reaching and multi-faceted, touching on issues of gender roles, power dynamics, and societal expectations.

Despite social and cultural shifts towards gender equality, women continue to carry the brunt of unpaid household labour and childcare responsibilities (Nordenmark, 2000). A majority of men and women report perceiving their household division of labour as fair and equitable, according to multiple studies (Boushay & Glynn, 2012; Oun, 2013; Ruppanner et al, 2017). However, these self-reported perceptions may not reflect equality in house chore division in an objective manner, and there may be underlying gender and social biases that influence how individuals perceive equity in dividing domestic chores. The definition of housework and the allocation of responsibility are likely to impact perceptions of gender equality in domestic labour. Research has shown that equal division of domestic labour depends on the amount of time men spend on traditionally female tasks according to women (Dempsy, 1997). Housework includes routine chores such as cooking and cleaning, but some researchers argue that it should have a broader definition that encompasses all necessary tasks, such as house repairs and maintenance (Baxter, 2000).

Academics debate about the interplay between gender, individual attitudes, and broader societal factors that influence housework division and equality in the family dynamics. Sanchez and Kane (1996) elaborate on several factors that manipulate the division of housework between men and women in the household. Some theories view household work in a utilitarian way, focussing on the overall contribution and value of the domestic labour. The

first reasoning of unequal unpaid domestic labour patterns is time and availability that concern individuals access to the paid work and contribution to the household finances. Some researchers argue that factors like time availability due to work/unemployment schedules, the resources, and the power dynamics within the household play a significant role in dictating the distribution of housework between men and women.

Within the scope of time and availability, individual financial resources have also been identified as crucial factors in unequal allocation of housework. Research has found that women with fewer economic resources, such as staying at home wives or mothers are more likely to accept an unequal division of labour than women with greater resources. This may be due to a sense of limited options and reduced bargaining power, leading to a greater willingness to accept gender inequality in the family and household dynamics (Gager et al, 1998). I argue that one of the reasons contributing to unequal patriarchal division of unpaid housework in the Algerian household and family is the time, availability, and lack of financial resources Algerian women experience due to patriarchal constraints in the private and public spheres.

Another factor that shapes housework distribution with the household is the gender ideology of the specific context, where it moulds family dynamics and empowers men over women. Empirical feminist research has shown that traditional gender beliefs view women's primary role as carers and homemakers, and thus, they should assume a greater burden of household labour compared to men (Sanchez & Kane, 1996). Even when women contributed financially to their household, they are still considered the primary carers of the family. Schwartz's (1998) research demonstrated that, in heterosexual relationships, when wives had high-paying careers, the husbands tended to feel that their wives did not have to do as much housework, but they did not actively contribute to a more equal division of labour. This suggests that, even when the wife can be the primary breadwinner, traditional gender roles and expectations are the main factor in unequal unpaid housework distribution. Hertz (1986) contends that regardless of income or access to help, women are obliged to assume the role of household manager by planning and supervising the outsourced help. Moreover, both Berheide (1984) and Devault (1997) argued that even when domestic chores are shared, women do "invisible work" while they have to supervise the chores performed by the men of the family because of the gender normative roles of women as homemakers. Allan and Walker (2000, p. 7) determined gender as the main factor in the unequal division of housework, they stated:

> *"There is no better predictor of the division of household labour than gender. Regardless of one's attitude about gender roles, the resources one brings to the relationship, and how the time one has available, there is nothing that predicts who does what and how much one does in families than whether one is a woman or a man".*

Nevertheless, some studies revealed that one of the key reasons why men shy away from household duties is the differing standards between genders (Coltrane, 2000; Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Arosio, 2017). Lamb et al. (1989) fault women for having higher standards of doing house chores and expressing frequent dissatisfaction with quality of their husbands/male relatives' contributions to housework and child care. Lamb et al (1989) justify the unequal division of housework due to the criticism of women. Similarly, both Coltrane (1989) and Walker (1989) review that women refuse to abandon their share of doing house chores because they identify with the femininity that is associated with traditional gender norms and roles as carers and maintain their bargained power over their households. In addition, Coltrane (1989) asserted that unpaid domestic work is unfairly divided because doing housework is viewed as unmasculine and emasculating for some men. Patriarchal gender roles dictate that men are superior and unbefitting of the inferiority of doing house chores. They should instead be breadwinners in the public sphere, while women should be confined to the private realm of the household, providing free labour and care.

Given the societal construction of gender, it is conceivable that a woman's absence from the home for personal activities may not be viewed as a debt to be repaid later in the form of additional time spent on household duties (Gentry et al., 2003). This perspective assumes that women are not controlled by traditional gender roles and can allocate their time based on their preferences. However, because patriarchal gender roles often dictate that women are the primary responsible for various household tasks, it is crucial to consider the implications women face because of gendered norms. Under the conventional patriarchal norms where women are expected to shoulder the majority of household responsibilities, any time spent outside of the home is considered a deviation from that expectation. This dynamic perpetuates traditional gender roles, where women are the main performers of domestic labour and have to compensate for the time they neglected their roles. Therefore, I argue that young Algerian women are required to compensate for their absence from the home, because of their studies, by performing more household chores.

Romanticising housework is another reason attributed to the unequal division of housework between men and women. Daniels (1987) argued 'family work' often goes unnoticed and undervalued because it is done in private; it is unpaid because it is considered done for the family out of love and duty. Weeks (2017) argues that feminists often criticise the ideology of romantic love for downplaying the realities of patriarchal inequality. She argues that the romanticised idea of love obscures the unequal power dynamics between partners and delegating housework to women in the name of love in heterosexual relationships (p., 43). The concept of love can give the impression that an unequal distribution of domestic duties is selflessness and an inherent part of a relationship, rather than a consequence of unequal power dynamics and structural discrimination, which later on manifest in the family dynamics leading their children to internalise gender norms and stereotypes.

However, most research about gender equality and patriarchal division of unpaid domestic labour focusses on couples in heterosexual relationships and neglects other elements such as children's invisible involvement and contribution of housework in the family. Children's performances of domestic labour shape their understanding of familial obligations in the gendered socialisation process. Previous research mostly focused on the impact of industrialisation on compulsory education of children rather than their involvement in domestic work (Nasaw, 1985). Even today, there are few studies that enquire about children's roles in the modern household and families (Blair, 1992; Shelton & John, 1996; Gager et al, 1999; Lee at al, 2003). Graig and Powell (2018) argue that downplaying the significance of children's contributions to household chores compared to adults family members led to neglecting researching this issue. Sociologists have primarily focused on the experiences of adult family members and the implications of household tasks on the perpetuation of existing gender inequalities. Corsaro (1997) emphasises investigating children's roles and understandings of household responsibilities within their families.

There is a literature gap about children's perspectives and every day experiences concerning social structures and gender norms in the modern household. Tang (2010) denounces how the majority of research on household chores has centred the division of labour between husbands and wives, neglecting other family members and their contributions to the maintenance of the household. Existing research focused mainly on parents' perceptions of their children's learning and partaking in doing housework instead of exploring the actual children's own engagement with household tasks. Few researchers like Galinsky (2000) included children's views on family life but did not specifically address children's experiences of domestic

responsibilities, including the time and effort they spent. Investigating children's participation in household work provides new and valuable insights into how children are socialised and the role they play in their families.

Studies about domestic work reveal that children usually engage in domestic labour by helping in cleaning, cooking, caring for younger siblings, and running errands (Glainsky, 2000). Blair (1992) indicates that parents view that, in addition to providing assistance to parents, assigning chores to children is seen as a valuable tool for developing their independence, responsibility, and skill set. Both White (2019) and Rende (2015)'s studies specified children's participation in housework led to growth in social and practical skills as well as their amplified contribution to housework in the future. Whereas, Klein et al. (2009) reported that children were motivated to assist in household chores out due to the sense of familial love, duty, and obligation internalised in them. They felt a strong responsibility to help their parents and contribute to the household, which they viewed as a crucial part of their role in the family.

Gender and age are considered the hallmark features of children's participation in doing domestic labour. Their participation in household chores is influenced by the cultural norms and gendered values that vary in different societies and families (Tang, 2011). Gill (1998) contends that there is a pervasive belief in western culture that children are responsible for pitching in housework with the rationale that this will contribute to both the family and their personal growth and maturity. In the Arab world, children are expected to help with different house chores from a young age due to traditional values (Fida, 2015). Brannen (1995) argues that gender and age influence different patterns of household chore engagement and division. Children continue to undertake more housework responsibilities as the get older (Bonke, 2010). Antill et al. (1996) document that the allocation of domestic chores becomes more aligned with patriarchal gender roles where girls are restricted to private realm chores such as cooking, cleaning and boys are tasked with outdoor chores such as repairs or running errands. Gager et al.'s (2010) research has consistently demonstrated that girls are tasked with a greater amount of their time to domestic chores than their male counterparts. Girls spend more time than boys doing house chores because of traditional roles and unequal division of house labour. Klein et al (2009)' study revealed that girls undertook a significant broader range of domestic chores; 28 chores, while boys only took part in 9 (p., 105). The study recounted that girls performed greater tasks in their households, whereas boys spent less time and effort doing outdoor chores because of conventional patriarchal standards.

This gendered disparity in household labour has been observed across cultures and contexts, suggesting that it may be a result of socialisation and gender expectations. A common framework used to explain the disproportional division of household chores and their categorisation of private and public spheres between daughters and sons is gender role socialization. Gill (1998) explains that socialisation has been widely adopted as an explanation for children's involvement in household chores, as it refers to the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, values, and behaviours necessary to function in their social environment. In this context, children learn how to perform household tasks based on their socialisation into their families' gendered roles and cultural values.

While gender role socialisation provides a framework for understanding the division of household labour, the impact of class dynamics, even when not overtly visible, plays a crucial role in shaping women's experiences. In Algeria, where class distinctions may be less pronounced compared to other contexts, the interaction between socioeconomic status and gender expectations still affects how domestic responsibilities are managed. This nuanced relationship underscores the importance of exploring how these subtle class influences intersect with entrenched gender norms to affect women's daily lives and domestic roles.

In Algerian, class distinctions are relatively nuanced and less visible as opposed to other countries. Class disparities mainly resurface when it comes to house chores and responsibilities, as Algerian women from all socioeconomic backgrounds are primarily expected to take care of domestic tasks (Bekkar, 2020). This burden remains regardless of a woman's professional status or economic contribution to the household. Knauss (1987) underscores the relationship between class, gender and patriarchy that have long contributed to the systematic subordination of women. Knauss (1987) emphasizes that socioeconomics structures frequently limit Algerian women's access to career and resources. The socioeconomics in Algeria which is marked by high unemployment and poverty exacerbates the vulnerability of Algerian women. Patriarchal culture perpetuated the values of men as providers which established women's economic dependency on men often leaving them trapped in abusive situations with limited agency and resources. In addition, in Algeria, most men own the family home leading their female kin to subjugation under the implicit threat of homelessness. Class and gender's abusive intersection is particularly apparent in rural places and among lower class families in Algeria.

Wealthier families with higher access to resources are more likely to outsource housework by hiring domestic help. While Algerian women from wealthy families have greater agency to outsource housework by hiring domestic help, they still have to manage household responsibilities due to societal and cultural expectation. On the other hand, Algerian women with limited resources have reduced agency, as economic constraints and cultural norms do not allow them the same level of freedom to make such choices. Employing domestic help is generally frowned upon and expensive, which exacerbates the burden on women, who must balance their professional lives with the demands of a patriarchal society that expects them to maintain impeccable homes and provides home cooked meals (Salhi, 2016). The lack of shared domestic responsibilities between spouses further perpetuates this inequality. This is true even in cases where the wife is sole or primary breadwinner or when both partners contribute financially to the household. Knauss (1987) argues:" the intersection of class and gender played a critical role in maintaining the subordination of women. In many cases, women's roles were confined to domestic spheres, and their economic contributions were undervalued, further perpetuating their marginalisation" (p.89). The combination of patriarchal pressure and Algeria's current economic climate places significant stress on women. The employment of domestic workers could potentially alleviate this burden, but such an option is often inaccessible particularly for those who are not wealthy (Bekkar, 2020). Consequently, many Algerian women find themselves struggling to navigate their professional obligations while also fulfilling societal expectations within the domestic sphere.

In conclusion, class dynamics in Algeria significantly impact gendered labour, particularly domestic work. While economic resources can alleviate some of the domestic burdens traditionally shouldered by women, the intersection of class and gender in Algeria continues to reinforce a significant divide in the experience of housework. Class disparities perpetuate gendered inequalities in the home, leaving many women with double burden of professional work and unpaid domestic labour.

While the intersection of class and gender contribute to shaping the dynamics and distribution of tasks within households, The Algerian government's efforts in providing free education represent a critical dimension in expanding women's opportunities. Access to education has been a key factor in enabling Algerian women to seek financial independence and challenge traditional gender roles. Despite the nuanced class dynamics that influence women's experiences with domestic work, the government's initiatives in education and support for female students aim to mitigate some of the barriers. This commitment reflects an ongoing

effort to enhance women's agency and reduce gender disparities, even as societal norms and economic constraints continue to present challenges.

In Algeria, access to education is considered a fundamental right, and the government has implemented various measures to ensure its availability to all citizens. One crucial aspect of this support is the provision of free education, which had a significant impact on women's access to higher education and consequently the labour market (Bencherifa & Dougherty, 2014). This aimed to reduce illiteracy of the Algerian population caused by the French colonialism but also to avoid cultural attitudes prioritising men's education over women which often result in an uneven distribution of resources within the families (Mebtoul &Rezzoug, 2001). This commitment to free education has allowed Algerian women to pursue financial independence and gain agency within their families and relationships. Nevertheless, despite the government's efforts to promote gender equality through education, societal norms and economic barriers still pose challenges for women seeking higher education. To support Algerian women's access to higher education, the Algerian government provides free university accommodation for all students, including female students (Bencherifa, 2011). This initiative addresses concerns from the conservative patriarchal Algerian families regarding safety and distance from home, as well as financial constraints. The accommodations adhere to patriarchal code offering security, supervision and time curfews. Class disparities within the Algerian's education system are less pronounced, with the exception of wealthy families having the option to pursue education abroad (Boutefnouchet & Medhioub, 2021). However, the government's emphasis on free public education and banning private schools has minimised class based barriers for most Algerians. Overall, the government's commitment to free education has created opportunities for women to challenge patriarchal traditional gender norms and strive for greater agency and equality, both within their families and in society.

2.4.1. Gender Socialisation and Mother's Roles

Martin et al. (2002) argue that current theories about how gender develops in individuals have similar approaches. One of the theories of gender values and expectations transmission is gender socialisation. Bandura (1969) explicates that children copy their parents' social behaviours, influencing their social perspectives and understandings. Turner (2002) argues

that children develop social identities when they understand their genders through their families' and environment. Hayes & Flannery (2000) argue:

> *"Research shows that expectations are gendered and reinforced throughout life. The gendered expectations communicated to women during childhood and adolescence continues to be reinforced and challenged in adult women's lives."* (p., 65)

Gender socialisation researchers tackled the transmission of different gender roles between men and women due to the family's traditional patriarchal values. The process of gender socialisation involves the cultivation and reinforcement of socially constructed values, and characteristics, influencing boys and girls to adopt and internalise gender roles and societal expectations, thereby shaping the formation of gender identities within a given society (Dietz, 1998). Gender socialisation begins in infancy where parents assign different gendered assortments to boys and girls. It starts with names, clothing, colours, and toys. Later on, as the child is growing, parents them the expected gendered attitudes, skills, behaviours, and duties. Peters (1994) examined how gender socialisation manifested within the family scope through the allocation of traditional gendered duties around the household such as house chores and also gendered privileges, such as allowances, time curfews, and receiving presents. Peter's (1994) research indicates that duties and privileges are gender divided and socialised during children's development, girls received more duties and fewer privileges as compared to the boys. They had to perform house related chores while receiving similar or often less allowance, gifts, and stricter time curfews. As time passes, both socialised girls and boys assume and understand what is socially and culturally expected of them and what they can benefit from. I argue that young Algerian women are socialised from a very young age to assimilate societal and cultural gendered roles and norms leading to the recreation of patriarchal gender inequality through the allocation of unequal house labour division and teaching them 'appropriate' gender attitudes while they receive far less privileges than their male siblings.

Parents play a key role in shaping and influencing their kids' perspectives and understandings (Leaper, 2002). Hilton and Haldeman (1991) explain that parents with conventional patriarchal relationship dynamics lead to the influence of their children's beliefs into acquiring and adopting the same gender roles. Ruble & Martin (1998) explain that research

about family and parent's role in gender socialisation and transmission of gender values focused on social learning theory's assimilation approach. Marks et al. (2009) argue that mothers play a critical role in the gender socialisation of their daughters, influencing their realities, experiences, and perspectives. They argue that mothers are the main parents who shape their daughters' gender understanding and performance of gender roles, whether intentionally or not. Chodorow (1974) indicates that gender socialisation occurs in the mother-daughter relationship because of the closeness and stronger connection mothers bring into the relationships due to gender similarities as opposed to the fathers. Another aspect of parents' involving their children in the assimilation of gendered roles is parentification.

2.4.1. Parentification

Parentification occurs when children are placed in the position of fulfilling adult responsibilities within the family when role reversal characterises in the parent-child relationship. In the relationship between a parent and child, the parent is expected to take on the adult role of providing emotional and physical care, as well as guidance and support, to help the child develop age-appropriate skills (Mihar 2018). Parentification transpires when a child is tasked with adult-level responsibilities within the family, including emotional and practical tasks that would typically be handled by an adult (Jurkovic, 1997). Parentification can disrupt the balance and harmony of family relationships, leading to confusion about roles and boundaries. When the vertical relationship of the parent-child, where the parent assumes leadership and authority over the child is distorted with the child's taking on parental duties, it causes a shift in the dynamics of the family.

Parentification was coined by pioneer theorists including Minuchin, Montalvo, Guerney, Rosman, & Schumer (1967) that aimed to explain the parental roles enforced on children to perform within the family household. Parentification happens when a child or teenager has to take on the parental duties before they're ready or should have to. This can include doing house chores, caring for younger siblings, or emotionally supporting a parent. Chase (1999) categorised parentifiation into an instrumental and emotional variety of role reversals. The instrumental responsibilities include tasks to help meet the physical needs of family members, like cooking, cleaning, and grocery shopping, while the

emotional ones involve providing emotional support, like giving advice, mediating conflicts, or being a confidant.

The phenomenon of role reversal between parents and children has been the subject of extensive theoretical discussion and empirical investigation within the field of psychology. The term role reversal is used in the literature to describe situations where a child is tasked with caring for a parent. This can involve the child providing emotional support, guidance, and performing chores, often without receiving these things in return. This dynamic can have emotionally taxing consequences and is extensively researched in psychology. Though the existing literature on parentifiation has yielded valuable knowledge regarding its psychological effects on children, it has largely failed to consider the social construction of gender as a key factor in this phenomenon (Jurkovic, 1997; Chase, 1999; Hooper et al, 2011). The role that gender plays in shaping parental expectations, child behaviour, and societal norms should not be ignored in future research on parentifiation.

Parentification literature often uses gender neutral terms such as parent, which can downplay the different expectations and challenges of mothers and fathers within the family (Jurkovic, 1997; Chase, 1999; Hooper et al, 2011). In the conventional nuclear family structure, in which gender roles are rigidly defined, mothers are typically confined to the private realm, where they are assigned the task of managing the household and caring for the children, while fathers are relegated to the role of sole breadwinner (Nentwich, 2008). With the unequal division of parenting and housework load between the parents enforced by the traditional societal norms, the mothers are more likely to seek help from their children, mainly from daughters in certain cultures, leading to the creation of gendered parentifiation. Multiple studies have indicated that parentifiation is more commonly instigated by mothers rather than fathers, suggesting that gender based roles and expectations may influence the prevalence of parentifiation within families (Perrin et al., 2013; Jacobs et al., 2006; Mayseless et al., 2004). Therefore, I argue that patriarchal societal expectations enforced on Algerian mothers as the main caregivers in the family lead to their active engagement in parentifiation behaviours more than the fathers.

Early research on parentifiation in psychology focused only on men as the subject of this phenomenon, while it failed to recognise women's experiences. Nonetheless, theorists like Chase (1999) have argued that both girls and boys can experience parentifiation and centred children sacrifice of their needs for the benefit and priority of their parents' needs in her

definition of parentifiation. Chase (1999) suggested that parentifiation is a gendered phenomenon where daughters and sons take on different gendered types of tasks. Parentification is a phenomenon aligned with traditional gender roles where daughters and sons are tasked with conventional gendered chores and practices. Thomas (2017) revealed in her study "Is Parentification a Gendered Issue" that all of her female participants were tasked with reinforced traditional gendered roles in their experiences of parentifiation by their mothers. They were assigned to gender normative household chores such as cooking, cleaning, and taking care of their parents and younger siblings, which evidenced that parentifiation is a gendered phenomenon based on patriarchal societal expectations of gender in her research. In a similar sense, I contend that Algerian girls are parentified from an early age by their mothers to perform gender- stereotypical responsibilities by learning and doing house chores and caring for their families, which reinforce the dominant patriarchal narrative of women's roles as carers and unpaid domestic workers.

2.5. Honour

Honour discourse in Algerian society is influenced and shaped by patriarchal societal, cultural, and religious values. Patriarchy enforces honour culture and the performance of virginity on women. The patriarchal family is breeding ground for patriarchal norms, where children are socialised into internalising gendered roles. Hamdi (2001) explains that in the Algerian family and culture, sons are taught to be the breadwinners in preparation for their ascending into patriarchal roles of their own families in the future, while daughters are taught to be obedient and submissive housekeepers and constrained into the private realm of the household, assuming their eventual roles as homemakers and carers of their husbands and families. Hamdi (2001) explains that in order to achieve this patriarchal ideal family dynamics, sons and daughters are taught to maintain the honour of their families' honour; girls learn the concept of virginity and the responsibility of preserving it, while boys are taught to supervise their sisters' virtue performance and defend them from other men's advances. Gender socialisation of honour culture in young girls and boys' lives renders them aware of their everyday social interaction and practices in relation to maintaining their family's reputation.

Virginity is a controversial and taboo topic in Algerian culture. Honour and the maintenance of virginity define Algerian women's social interactions in their everyday lives and how it affects other Algerian feminist debates such as premarital sex, rape and sexual abuse. In

Algerian and Arab societies, virginity represents purity and chastity (Minwali, 2010). This shows the importance of virginity and the hymen in Algerian society, as it symbolises the ideal features of a woman. Bravender et al. (1999) expound how the intactness of the hymen is a cultural and societal requirement of a girl's virginity and 'purity' when research about medical examination of virginity does not signify the lack of sexual activity. Mernissi (1987) explains that in Islam's doctrine, sexual relationships are only permitted within the scope of marriage; hence, patriarchal structures rendered the intactness of virginity and hymen as a symbol of purity and not committing premarital intercourse. Minwali (2010) contends that this enforced patriarchal expectation of virginity and chastity places a constant and stressful burden on Algerian women. They are expected to remain virgins, act virtuous and prove their virginity through medical examination when they get married. Although Islam as a religion prohibits premarital sexual relationships for both men and women, social and cultural norms in Arab and Algerian societies dictate implicit double standards where men are allowed to be sexually active before marriage without facing the same dishonour, stigma, and repercussions women have to endure.

Ghounane (2017) highlights the significant role that concepts of honour and virginity play in the lives of Algerian women, where these values are closely tied to societal expectations and linguistic practices. She indicates that honour, particularly related to a woman's virginity, is central aspect of her identity and reputation within the community. This emphasis on honour profoundly impacts the language women are allowed to use, as certain topics, especially those related to sexuality, are considered taboo and inappropriate for discussion. Ghounane (2017) points out that the control over language is a way to regulate and preserve the honour of women, with the use of certain words or expressions being restricted to avoid bringing shame or dishonour to the individual or her family. At the same time, language is used to reprimand women for not following honour codes. Language is weaponised for the perpetuation of patriarchal honour codes. Consequently, these linguistic limitations reinforce the patriarchal social structures that prioritise Algerian women's purity and compliance with traditional gender norms while men do not experience the same restrictions.

Obermeyer (2002) elaborates on the double standards that North African women face compared to men when it comes to sexuality, where men's sexual needs are seen as natural, but women's bodies are scrutinised and monitored according to their performances of purity and chastity. Obermeyer (2002) also adds that the existence of double standards in approaching honour, virginity, and sexual relationships in North Africa attains even divorced

and widowed women ' Hajjala' where they are chastised in society due to their 'lack of virginity' that can prove their performance of honour. I argue that young Algerian women are compelled by patriarchy to preserve their virginity and perform chastity in their everyday lives through their daily routines, social interactions, and choices.

Marriage is considered as the most sacred institution in Algerian culture that culminates the epitome of honour and virgin performance. The performance of young Algerian women's virginity ends at their weddings' first night. They have to prove to their families, their husbands, and their in-laws that they preserved their families' honour and remained 'pure'. Marriage becomes a compulsory step for all Algerian women pushed by the patriarchal idea in order to prove their virtuousness. Arab and Algerian men often refuse to marry women who lost their virginities because of premarital sex as they are seen as dishonourable and 'dirty' women that would bring shame to their husbands and in-laws. Virginity is commodified and determines the value of women in marriage.

Bouzebra (2019) supports the idea that marriage is not just a personal choice but a societal necessity deeply rooted in the patriarchal and honour based culture of Algeria. He discusses how societal transformation and modernisation have not fully dismantled traditional values, particularly those related to honour and marriage. According to Bouzebra (2019), the persistence of patriarchal norms means that a woman's marital status is closely tied to her adherence to societal expectations of virginity and chastity. In this framework, marriage is seen as the ultimate validation of a woman's honour, and deviations from this norm, such as choosing not to marry, are often viewed with suspicion and may result in stigma and scandal. Bouzebra's (2019) analysis of the social and cultural dynamics reinforces the argument that in the Algerian society, marriage remains a crucial aspect of maintaining one's honour and conforming to traditional expectations, thereby supporting the view that marriage is perceived as inevitable decision for women due to the pressures of patriarchal culture.

Moreover, unmarried Algerian older women usually face the criticism of either their avoidance of marriage or lack of potential suitors due to alleged loss of honour. On the other hand, Algerian men can choose to stay single or get married late without facing similar societal criticism. Algerian women gain credibility and respectability through the institution of marriage as evidence they complied with patriarchal social expectations and conformed to the role assigned to them. I argue that young Algerian women lack agency in choosing to get married or stay single because of patriarchal performance of honour.

Patriarchal culture of honour instigates the celebration of virginity performance in marriage. Deflowering the intact virginity is often celebrated ritual in Algerian wedding traditions, considering it an honourable feat for the family of the bride. Guessous (1997) talked about deflowering rituals of the marriage first night, where the mother of the bride gloriously shows off the stained sheet that proves her daughter's virginity and innocence. The mother, the daughter, and the guests become witnesses and audiences to this performance. Minwali (2010) explicates that this tradition serves as the ultimate proof of the family's attainment of honour. Cindoglu (1997) confirms that this tradition is practiced in several Arab cultures, and it represents the culmination of the patriarchal dominance over women's bodies, virginities, and sexual activities.

Saving virginity through surgical fabrication provides women an escape from the repercussions of families' dishonour and societal stigmatisation. Mernissi (2003) elaborates on the restoration of virginity through surgical repair of the broken hymen. She contends the necessity of fabricating lost virginities in order to save women's lives and avoid shame. This restoration can only serve its purpose if it is done in secrecy and before society learns about this lost chastity and disruption of the honour performance of the woman and family. It is meant to prevent the loss of a family's honour, not restoring it in the aftermath. It also loses its purpose if the husband, later on in the marriage, learns about this fabrication. Mernissi (2003) explains that the fabrication of virginity averts societal threats to women and lets them continue their performance of chastity and innocence.

Patriarchy enforces the culture of honour, where it controls women's sexual and reproductive freedom through virginity preservation. The emphasis given to the virginity and honour performance is predominant in the Arab and Algerian culture and justified through religious understandings and concerns about paternity, the legitimacy of the birthed children, and the protection of the father's name. Feminist research criticises the use of virginity as a tool for patriarchal constraints and domination on women's sexuality and body (Mernissi, 1982; Bartky, 1990; Valenti, 2009). Men and family' honour and social prestige become determined by women's sexual behaviour and carried in the woman's body.

One contributing problematic aspect to the honour dilemma in Algerian culture is how it is highly influenced by Algerian men's interpretations of masculinity. Benmara (2010) argues that masculinity is created and tightly related by men's dominance over women. Kandiyoti (1987) argues that men are threatened by emasculation and loss of masculinity. Benmara

(2010) contends that masculinity depends on one's reputation and honour in society. Benmara (2010) also argues loss of masculinity in society due to the dishonour of the family caused by female relative leads to anger and overcompensation of masculinity among peers by committing violence and murder against the dishonouring women. Men resort to honour killings in order to 'cleanse' the family name and regain some of the lost honour and masculinity, such as in the case of Turkish honour killings[4]. Yet, as Benmara (2010) argues if a man is deemed emasculated through his lack of protection of his family honour, female kin 's safety against sexual assaults and his retaliation against the cause, then he is open to societal criticism and his female relatives receive sexual advances because he is unable to protect them. Silvia (1999) connects the role of men in the family to their acquired masculinity.

Short (1996) explains that research about masculinity in patriarchal societies showed that masculinity is a social construct rooted in the social and cultural norms and interactions in relation to what constitutes femininity instead of biology. It is always changing and intersecting with social identities and experiences. It is also influenced and constructed by the social and physical spaces that men live in. In this stance, Arab and Algerian men are expected to perform "protective masculinity" (Ozyegin, 2009) where protecting family and female relatives for foreign sexual assaults is a key component of achieving masculinity. This results in domination over women's lives and bodies to attain this purpose as Goksel (2006) argues. Cindoglu (1997) contends that men claim ownership over their families and female relatives and exercise their masculinity through patriarchal supervision of virginity and honour.

[4] Honour killings in Turkey are a culturally motivated form of violence against women often resulting from perceived shame and dishonour brought to the family due to social and moral norm violation(1). Honour killing crimes persist in Turkey even when the government has implemented legal reforms and penalties; these crimes continue to draw international attention (1). However, honour killings are not unique to Turkey; they have also been documented in various countries across the globe, particularly the Arab world and other developing nations (2). Chesler (2010) states: "Honour killings are a global phenomenon, occurring in countries as diverse as Bangladesh, Brazil, Egypt, India, Italy, Morocco, Pakistan, Sweden, Turkey, Uganda and the United Kingdom" (p.1). Honour killings, in fact, are more prominent in the Arab world but lack international and academic attention as compared to Turkey. Abu-Odeh (2010) argues:" the regulation of the female sexuality is a cornerstone of the social order in Arab societies, and the honour crime is one of the mechanisms through which this regulation is enforced" (p.920). Honour killings are often recorded as normal crimes while showing leniency for the male killers as Abu-Odeh (2010) explains:" legal systems in Arab countries often reflect and reinforce these societal norms providing leniency for perpetrators of honour killings and thus perpetuating the cycle of violence" (p.941). Honour killings are justified and perpetuated through societal norms and the legal system by giving men reduced accountability. Husseini (2009) asserts:" In Jordan, the average sentence for men who kill their wives or female relatives in the name of honour is six months to one year" (p.14).

In Algerian society, the interplay between masculinity and honour profoundly shapes gender dynamics, particularly in the context of sibling relationships and broader familial control. Bouzebra (2019) argues that in Algeria, the family functions as a microcosm of the broader patriarchal society, where hegemonic masculinity is reinforced through daily practices and social interactions among family members. The patriarchal structure endows brothers with authority over their sisters, not merely as family protectors but as enforcers of traditional gender norms. This masculinised role is rooted in a cultural narrative that valorises male dominance and links it directly to the protection of female into maintain family honour. As such, the perceived dishonour brought by female relatives often compels men to resort to extreme measures to reaffirm their masculinity and rectify the family's reputation. These patriarchal ideals are entrenched in both societal practices and legal frameworks, such as the 1984 Family Code, which institutionalises male guardianship and restricts women's autonomy. Consequently, the rigid enforcement of modesty, restricted mobility, and limited access to public spaces for women reflect the broader patriarchal objectives of persevering familial honour and reinforcing male authority. This complex interplay of gender roles and legal constraints underscores the persistent influence of patriarchal values in shaping women's lives and opportunities within Algerian society.

Algerian society's gender norms have long been influenced by patriarchal structures and conservative interpretations of Islamic principles. This resulted in strictly defined gender roles in both private and public spheres and limitations on women's access public spaces, education, employment and political participation. The gender norms advocate for the father's rule over female kin but also for brothers' control over their sisters in reaffirming gender performances and patriarchal culture of honour. Joseph (1994) highlighted that brothers acquire patriarchal authority from their fathers, assuming roles of protectors and controllers of their sisters, thereby perpetuating patriarchal norms. Joseph (1994) criticises the romanticism of brother-sister relationship in the patriarchal lens as it is projected on mutual love but it reinforces patriarchal control and gender order between siblings. Joseph (1994) argues: "given patrilineal endogamy and a family culture in which a woman continues to belong to her natal kin group and her male kin continue to be responsible for her throughout her life, the romantic view valorises the link to a brother as the woman's lifeline" (p.52).

As a reflection of these deep-rooted norms, the 1984 Family Code institutionalised these gender norms, granting men guardianship over their female kin and considerable control over family matters including decisions related to polygamy, marriage, divorce, inheritance and

child custody. The Family Code infantilises Algerian women by placing them in a permanent minor position where they cannot get married without the consent of their patriarchs. This law limited Algerian women's opportunities in education, careers and financial independence while affirming their places in the private sphere and performing all of the household chores enabling men to profit from their free labour. Marcus (2018) attests that ": A critical factor limiting women's economic participation is the unequal division of caregiving responsibilities in the household" (p.3). This statement underscores how traditional patriarchal roles continue to constrain women's autonomy and advancement.

Benali (2009) and Jansen (1987) underscore the deeply ingrained patriarchal structure of the traditional Algerian family, where authority and social organisation are heavily in favour of men. Benali (2009) describes the family as a hierarchical entity, with the father holding ultimate decision-making power and men generally being the most valued members, tasked with financial provision while women are confined to domestic roles. Jansen (1987) further elaborates on this patriarchal foundation, noting that a woman's identity is defined through her relationships with men (as a daughter, a sister, a wife, a daughter in law, and a mother) regardless of her social or educational status. This subordination is legally reinforced by the 1984 Family Code, which assigns men the duty to protect and provide for women, thereby sustaining women's social, legal, and economic dependency.

Societal changes and women's activism have contributed to reform efforts, leading to amendments in 2005 that expanded women's rights within marriage and granted them greater autonomy in decision-making. It has become vital to challenge these restrictive gender norms in Algeria. Marcus (2018) affirms that in order" to level the playing field, we must tackle discriminatory social norms that perpetuate gender inequality and constrain women's economic advancement" (p.6). Despite these advancements, traditional gender norms continue to shape Algerian society, particularly within the family unit. Intergenerational transmission of gender norms established by Islamic interpretations and the Family Code has been a significant factor in perpetuating traditional roles and expectations. Within families, socialisation processes enable older generations to pass on their beliefs and values to younger generations, reinforcing the existing gender order (Alvarez & Miles, 2008). This framework of male authority and gender norms not only shapes interpersonal dynamics but also manifest in tangible practices and regulations aimed at controlling women's behaviour and public presence, illustrating the broader societal commitment to maintaining patriarchal values.

In the patriarchal Arab society, there are additional measures that men enforce on women in order to protect the family's honour. These measures include imposing modest fashion and hijab on women. The measures are justified using Islamic teachings that encourage women to dress up modestly and cover their bodies. Women who do not comply with these restrictions of dress code are often the target of shaming and intentional sexual assaults. Women are asked to embrace their femininities through modest clothing, while men are prohibited from wearing feminine outfits and gold jewellery in order to maintain aspects of their masculinity. Men are also culturally encouraged to grow their beards and moustaches as a sign of maturity and masculinity. There is an allocation of masculinity symbolism to male facial hair where a dishonoured man is sometimes referred to as a man without a moustache.

2.6. Negotiation and Resistance against Patriarchy

Women are not just victims of gender discrimination and patriarchal norms when they embrace their agency to negotiate and resist patriarchy in their everyday lives. Reducing women to victimhood of patriarchal discrimination and gendered norms simplifies their narratives and experiences and removes the realities of their navigation and resistance in these gendered social and cultural structures. Women' agency is their ability to exercise their own autonomy amidst the patriarchal and social structures that aim to limit their own power. McNay (2000) emphasises that women's agency surpasses the ability to make individual choices into expressing one's freedom and power against constraining cultural and social structures. She defines agency as "the capacity for autonomous action in the face of often overwhelming cultural sanctions and structural inequalities" (p., 10). Similarly, Foss et al. (2012) contend that agency is about the ability to create change in one's life and manifest their will through taking action. Bandura (1982) contends that agency is about personal understandings and choices individuals execute on others through their social interaction. Women's agency is the manifestation of their will and having the freedom to make choices. Research about agency acknowledges that women can be resisters as well as perpetuators of gender inequality. Women's agency in patriarchal society can happen through different means of negotiation. I aim to locate young Algerian women's agency manifestation in negotiation, resistance, and bargaining with patriarchy in their everyday lives.

Resistance is a social phenomenon that employs various approaches and actions on a smaller scale in people's everyday lives or on a larger scale, such as public protests and manifestations. Prasad and Prasad (2000) explain that resistance is an expression of agency,

power, and free will that contradicts the enforced social and cultural structures. Weitz (2001, p. 670) argues that resistance is the *"actions that not only reject subordination but do so by challenging the ideologies that support that subordination".* Similarly, Rubin (1996, p.245) defines resistance as *"actions involving consciousness, collective action, and direct challenges to structures of power"* .In resistance, Haenfler (2014) clarifies that people challenge the imposed or established ideals, aiming to generate new ones to replace them. Hollander and Einwohner (2004) explain that resistance can either be done in oppositional form, where it focusses on voicing the agency of change through speech, silence, and writing, while in action refers to the physical manifestation of agency in behaviours against the norms. Hollander and Einwohner (2004) explain that people's resistances can be produced in various means; resistance can occur on the micro level of the everyday life and mundane routines of individuals as well as the macro levels of collective agency in political and historical events. Resistance can be explicit where it is publicised and outspoken as well as implicit where it happens behind the scenes leading to established change over time.

Scott (1985) argues that resistance in everyday life routines and interactions can be invisible, but it should be counted as one as it seeks to create significant change with less visibility. The difference between traditional resistance and everyday life is the notion of visibility, according to Hollander and Einwohner (2004). The size, impact, or visibility of resistance does not matter as long as change happens. Rubin (1996, p. 241) states that resistance can be "everyday acts that chip away at power in almost imperceptible ways". Therefore, under the notion that any resistance form is resistance, I argue that young Algerian women resist patriarchy in their everyday lives through various forms and proportions, such as speaking out and taking action.

Bargaining with patriarchy is another form of women's negotiation with patriarchal structures. Deniz Kandiyoti (1988) established the term bargaining with patriarchy as a reflection of the understudied and neglected third world women's experiences and negotiations with patriarchal structures. She describes the approaches women employ to receive autonomy and power within the patriarchal structures. Kandiyoti (1988) highlights women's negotiations and manoeuvres of gender inequality in their everyday lives. Kandiyoti (1988) argues that patriarchy is not the sole factor in women's oppression and elaborates on other social and economic structures. She instigates research to look beyond the scope of patriarchy in order to understand the multifaceted oppression and discrimination women face in their lives. . Kandiyoti (1988) highlights in patriarchal bargaining the agency women

employ to take some control over their lives and increase their chances in life through manipulation of the patriarchal system.

Kandiyoti (1988) introduced the concept of patriarchal bargain in order to draw attention to the patriarchal power can be challenged by women in different forms with different purposes as opposed to traditional resistance. She elaborated that women can assume the role of agents of change and renegotiate the established traditional patriarchal norms and gender roles. Kandiyoti (1988) compares women's experiences in various patriarchal structures and cultures and locate it in the North African and Middle Eastern regions under the name of "patriarchal belt" according to Caldwel (1971). . Kandiyoti (1988) contends that, in patriarchal bargaining, women resist patriarchal discrimination by using strategies like submission and manipulation in order to secure long term power and stability within their households. She sheds light on the diversity of women's experiences and their complex approaches that are shaped by their ethnicities, class, and race in navigating patriarchal oppression. Lindrige et al. (2016) clarify that within the patriarchal bargaining approach, women have to make compromises in order to survive the system and maximise their opportunities. They highlight that bargaining with patriarchy is a difficult choice women have to endure, as Kandiyoti highlights that it could lead to potential disadvantages as well as opportunities. Kandiyoti (1988) recognises that patriarchal bargaining is a risky approach that could give women some agency and procure opportunities in their lives, but at the same time, it can be oppressive as it still constrains them to the same gendered roles and norms. To this end, I argue that young Algerian women employ bargaining with patriarchy as an approach in negotiating patriarchal structures and discrimination but are also confined to the perpetuation of the same traditional gendered norms.

2.7. Conclusion

Patriarchy is rooted in Algerian society and culture. The patriarchal system in Algeria enforces gender inequality where men control women's bodies and profit from their unpaid labour, as well as confining women to the private sphere. In the pursuit of investigating and understanding young Algerian women's experiences and negotiations with patriarchy in their daily lives, this chapter examined different theories of patriarchy in academic literature and tried to find one that accurately reflects the complex and nuanced realities of women. This

chapter reviewed gender inequality through the lens of unpaid housework and unequal division and highlighted the children' roles in domestic work. I examined gender socialisation and parentifiation literature in order to understand how housework inequality happens. Additionally, I explored the literature surrounding honour and virginity and how it shapes Arab women's lives. Lastly, I examined women's negotiations with patriarchy through resistance and bargaining. This chapter offers an exploration of different facets of gender inequality and the complexities women face in their everyday lives.

3. Methodology Chapter: Journey to Four Cities.

3.1. Introduction

This chapter details my journey through four Algerian cities in the quest of fulfilling my research fieldwork to captivate young Algerian women's narratives of their everyday experiences and negotiations with patriarch and gender inequality manifestations in different everyday life sites. I discuss the methodological approach I used in my research and describe my experience of recruiting potential participants in Algerian universities. I explain my methodological choices of the locations, participants' criteria, and my employment of the in-depth semi- structured interviews method of collecting data. I also recount my research process and the challenges I faced in Algeria. I conclude by tackling my power and positionality as a researcher during my interviews, reflecting on what I have learnt in my fieldwork about the complexities and challenges of doing the research process.

3.2. Researching Everyday Life

As an Algerian woman, I share a scheduled routine with most of other young Algerian women. When I was young, I thought this routine was something unique, and only I did. Once I started talking to my friends, going to their homes, and joining Facebook Algerian girls groups, I realised how much our routines are common. I was supposed to wake up very early and do the housework first, and then I can go to wash up and dress up for school. While my brothers continued their sleep, I was cleaning, and I could not say anything about it. In fact, most of the time I did not even think about it, I just did it. It was a routine, something so familiar and automatic; to the point I did not elaborate on it or think how controversial it is. Until I came to Great Britain and the University of York in order to do a PhD in women studies, I never thought about this thoroughly. I was intrigued to think about the meaning and reasons of my repeated actions on a daily basis. I began thinking that these routines are merely traditional house chore duties forced on me as an Algerian woman by the Algerian society and culture.

Therefore, in order to understand the meaning behind doing these traditional duties, I had to stop looking at the bigger picture and focus rather on the acts of daily routines in everyday

life. In order to understand how patriarchy affects Algerian women particularly, I have to explore the mundane routines through their own stories and experiences. To achieve this, Garfinkel (1967) advocates for unfamiliarizing the familiarity of the mundane everyday life's experiences and interactions, I had limited access to the everyday life sites because I could not interview the participants in their homes for example and also because my participant sample revolves around Algerian female university students which means the university is one of their everyday life sites. I asked them about their everyday lives and routines in order to understand more about gender roles and division. Through in-depth interviews, I designed my question to move from personal interests then to everyday life and later to specific events. I asked about their education background, everyday life routine, domestic chores, family values, personal values, past experiences, and current feelings. I wanted to know about their feelings towards their family and culture values.

By starting the conversation with asking them about their education interest, most of the time they ended up talking about their family, values, and circumstances. The conversation was bound to lead into their everyday lives routine, but even though in certain cases it didn't, I was direct in my questions and asked them about their everyday life routines. In each part of the pre-planned questions for the interviews, I made sure to leave the how you feel about it question after they tell their stories or share a detailed experience. I did not want to confuse the participants. I wanted them to feel comfortable about sharing their personal details because some of them were as willing to share their feelings at first. With this structure, I had high expectations about getting insights into the everyday lives of my interviewees, and this is the reason why I chose to do in depth interviews instead of other methods such as surveys, where it does not give me in depth access to honest and detailed accounts of the real experiences of my participants' everyday lives.

3.3. Choosing Research Method

When I started designing my research methodology and fieldwork, choosing the right method was crucial. Ghauri et al. (1995) explain that the research data collection process usually employs either quantitative or qualitative methods of research. This research uses a qualitative research method where it focusses on exploring and interpreting the needed topic and subjects in question in order to represent them with authenticity (Gahuri et al., 1995). The qualitative method delves into the realities of individuals and societies instead of the rigid statistics of the quantitative method, which that provides a quantified overview of the issue. My research

seeks to understand young Algerian women's experiences and lives instead of putting their narratives and challenges into numbers. Creswell (2007) explicates that qualitative research offers insights into the studied people's narratives through a different approach as opposed to quantitative one. Creswell (2007) states:

> *"Qualitative approaches to data collection, analysis, interpretation and report writing defer from the traditional, quantitative approaches. Purposeful sampling, collection of open ended data, analysis of text or pictures, representation of information in figures and tables, and personal interpretation of the findings all inform qualitative procedures"* (p., 17).

With this research, I want to explore the everyday lives of young Algerian women in relation to patriarchy and uncover how their experiences are intertwined with it. As the aim of my research fieldwork is to uncover young Algerian women's stories and experiences of patriarchy, I needed to conduct in-depth face-to-face interviews with participants. Therefore, the qualitative method presents a better choice. While designing the fieldwork, there was always room for improvement. Therefore, I conducted pilot interviews with my Algerian female friends.

While preparing for the fieldwork, my supervisor advised me to perform pilot interviews. I needed the beforehand experience of face-to-face interviews with fellow young Algerian women to correct my approach in conducting interviews and understanding how much time and effort transcribing the interviews required. I contacted my fellow Algerian female colleagues for pilot interviews. Some of them could not do it because they were too busy since they were leaving for Algeria to do their fieldwork. I managed to do the pilot interviews with three of them. Two of them are from the west of Algeria, while the third participant is from the east. I admit that my first intent during my fieldwork was to only interview potential participants from the west of Algeria because of convenience. It seemed reasonable to do since I lived there most of my life. There would be neither a difference in traditions and values nor a slight difference in accent and dialect, which would help in understanding my participants' experiences and stories.

While interviewing my third participant, I noticed slight differences in culture and values[5] as opposed to the interviewees from the west of Algeria. Even though these were not huge or obvious, I understood that if I wanted my research to explore young Algerian woman's lives, I had to interview women from all of the Algerian cities. However, searching for potential participants and interviewing them in 48 Algerian cities would be hard to accomplish, and the fieldwork may take more than a year to finish. Therefore, with the suggestions of my pilot interviewees, I chose to interview potential participants from four cities in Algeria, which I thought would serve as the cardinal points in it: Oran (west), Algiers (capital, north), Annaba (east) and Adrar (south). While conducting the pilot interviews in Arabic/Algerian dialect calmed down my pre-fieldwork jitter and doubts as opposed to the English language, I realised the problem with the translation of my written in English interview questions; I found it a bit hard to properly translate the question from English to Arabic instantly during the first pilot interview, and the translation was sometimes incorrect, which altered the questions' purpose. Hence, during the second and third, I had on me an already translated to Algerian dialect version of the interview questions which helped the interviews to go as smoothly as possible.

3.4. Designing the Questions

From my feminist perspective, I am interested in and focused on the diverse known and unknown realities and stories of young Algerian women. I emphasised asking questions that would explore the issue of patriarchy in their everyday lives and understanding. Yet, as a feminist orientated researcher, I understood how formulating my research interview questions could end up declaring more about my attitudes and opinions concerning feminism and patriarchy in the Algerian culture. This could have possibly affected my relationship with my interviewees, leading to discomfort or half-hearted answers because my opinions could influence my interviewees into answering the questions with what I expected from them. This

[5] The first thing I noticed is the politeness. I felt she was too polite which is something the Algerians from the east are known for. She was not as conservative as the other two interviewees. She was vocal about societal issues. She wasn't held by her family values as opposed to the others. According to her, eastern Algerian families push their daughters toward pursuing higher education and hobbies such as swimming and horse riding which is culturally inappropriate in the west of Algeria. In addition, I noticed the difference in the dialect vocabulary. I had to ask her several times what she meant. Some of the words I have never heard before in my life. Plus, the accent sometimes made it difficult for me to understand her standpoint because it all sounds, to someone from the west of Algeria like me, happy and cheerful.

is called the hawthorn effect[6]. The interviewees could have agreed or disagreed with my attitudes towards patriarchy intentionally without real reflection on their own experiences.

In my first attempt at designing the questions, my supervisors recommended changing my interview questions because they were repetitive and closed. This could have made my interviewees feel annoyed for repeating their answers, the interview would be boring, and it would have restricted their answers and not let the conversation develop, or the interview would take too long to finish. By the time I conducted my first pilot interview, I had a better vision about the focus of my questions. I changed my questions to be open ended in order to not restrict the interviewees' answers and flexible depending on what the conversation would lead to. I had to narrow and reformulate my questions to be easily understood by the targeted audience.

I intended to explore my participants' everyday lives in relation to patriarchy in Algerian society while not mentioning specific key terms such as feminism or patriarchy that could expose my standpoint of research and hinder their answers. Therefore, I wanted to encourage my participants into pinpointing all of their everyday lives; I started my question list by asking about the name, age, education level, and choice of field, mainly because I interviewed young Algerian female university students but also in order to pave for the first theme, which revolves around their everyday lives. The reason I asked about their daily routines, house chore routines, their past routine experiences, and their feelings about it was because I wanted to explore the shape of their lives being practiced on a daily basis. I was advised by my supervisors to include a vignette to show to the participants just in case the interview conversation does not lead them to talking about their daily traditional duties, such as house chores. Therefore, after much thought, I decided to include a picture of my cousin sitting on the floor kneading dough, which is considered a tiresome daily task that Algerian women could relate to.

[6] Hawthorn effect is a term was coined in 1958 by Henry A. Landsberger which refers to how the participants behave at their best and give the best answers or give the researcher what he is looking for results.

The picture is courtesy of a family relative which shows an Algerian woman kneading and baking traditional bread on daily basis.

Then, I asked about their family values and parents' teaching concerning their routines and behaviour because I believe this is the core of my question. Here, I try to uncover and understand the roots of patriarchy in the lives of young Algerian women, if there is any. Then, I asked about their free time, hobbies, and study time in order to understand and analyse how patriarchy affects these young Algerian women concerning their interests and achievements. And last but not least, I asked them questions about their conduct between the private and public spaces, understanding, and experiences concerning going outside in order to understand how they receive their family values and teach and exhibit them in the Algerian society.

3.5. Location

In this research, I conducted interviews in order to understand the everyday lives of the young Algerian women. Recognising Algeria's extensive geographical landscape and regional variations, selecting participants from multiple cities across the country aimed to provide a comprehensive representation of perspectives within the shared cultural context. I chose four different cities as my interview locations. The interviews' locations were determined after

conducting pilot interviews in York with young Algerian colleagues. The pilot interviews had a decisive effect in designing my research fieldwork. I thought doing interviews in one city would generate enough data to be applicable and valid through all of Algeria's 48 cities[7]. I realised the data would be enriched by extending my field geographical settings. The geographical location was the main factor behind choosing the four cities. Even though Algeria has 48 large cities, I chose the main Algerian cities that serve as cardinal points geographically and culturally. I chose Oran city[8] as the west of Algeria, Algiers[9] as the north, Annaba[10] as the east and Adrar[11] as the south. Algeria as a whole is under researched sociologically.

Therefore, choosing these four cities was not going to pose any originality problem. However, because I am Algerian and I somewhat understand Algerian women's mentality, I realised that it would be very difficult to approach Algerian women as strangers let alone recruit them as potential participants for my research. A safety issue would also arise when it comes to the setting of interviews for the participant and me. I decided to focus on recruiting and interviewing from Algerian universities and accommodations.

3.6. Participants' Criteria

Having decided on the location, I then had to decide on other defining criteria for participants. There were three elements to this: being a young Algerian woman aged from 18 to 25 years old, studying at an Algerian university, and living with their parents during their studies (this is the situation for most Algerian students). My first decision was to only interview young Algerian female students who live in their family homes. However, that would have limited my research and caused lack of interviewees for my research. I decided to interview also students who live in the university accommodation. This would yield different perspectives,

[7] On the 26 th of November 2019, the number of Wilaya/ cities in Algeria was legally changed from 48 to 58 cities. This happened after I conducted the interviews. The ten new cities are located in the south of Algeria.
[8] Oran city is situated in the north west of Algeria. It's the second largest city in Algeria and it is known for commercial, industrial and cultural importance.
[9] Algiers city is the capital and largest city in Algeria. Algiers is located on the Mediterranean Sea and in the north-central portion of Algeria. It is known for commercial, political and tourism importance.
[10] Annaba city is the fourth largest city in Algeria. It is situated on the furthest east point in Algeria and is the closest city to Tunisia. It is known for its industrial importance.
[11] Adrar city is the second largest province in Algeria. It is located in the south of Algeria and it is mostly a desert since it is located in the great Sahara. It is known for its agricultural importance mostly dates exportation industry.

experiences, and opinions. In order to comprehend the Algerian gendered routines and gendered division of domestic work through examining the everyday lives of Algerian women, I interviewed young Algerian women students who lived in their parents' home during their studies. I chose the snowballing method to recruit participants, and this permitted me to have more participants when potential ones fell out. Bryman (2016) calls for snowballing approach as it helps researchers in recruiting the needed participants. Thanks to this, I interviewed young Algerian female students who live in the university accommodation in all four universities. While it was at first, merely because of meeting a good number of participants, I ended up with such great and different perspectives and ideas from their part as opposed to only interviewing students who live in their families' homes.

3.7. Semi Structured in Depth Interviews

My aim for fieldwork was to gather as many diverse responses as possible and to encourage my interviewees to identify aspects of their everyday lives they may not have consciously thought of previously. There, I decided that face-to-face individual interviews would be the best method because my participants would feel much more comfortable and I would be able to get more answers from them as opposed to other methods. Fontana and Frey (2005) argue that face-to-face interviews lead to in-depth information and views about the participants because it sets a personal rapport between the interviewer and interviewees. Fox (2006) states that face to face interviews with participants "*enable attention to be paid to non-verbal behaviour and establish a rapport over an extended period of time*" (p., 6). As a previous participant in group discussion and focus groups of fellow colleagues'' researches, I found it difficult to explain my experiences and perspectives as opposed to having one on one interviews. Therefore, I opted for semi-structured interviews to explore my participants' complex narratives.

Semi-structured interviews allow participants to share their distinctive experiences and perspectives enriching the research data (Patton, 1990). Unlike unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews offer the researcher guided focus and control of the conversation flow with the participants. In the same manner, structured interviews are rigid and inflexible during research as it limits the participants' explanations and flow of thoughts due to the inflexible set of questions. On the other hand, semi- structured interviews "have no rigid adherence" as

Adhabi and Anozie (2017, p.89) argue. Moreover, in-depth interviews permit the participants to express their narratives, and the researcher acquires rich data, as Boyce and Neale (2006) explain that it allows "detailed information about a person's thoughts and behaviours" (p., 3). I needed my participants to feel at ease when they tell me their opinions and not feel restricted or bored by my question. I tried to transition my questions smoothly as if two friends who knew each other for a long time are having a discussion and not rigid questions asked in a list like between an interviewer and an interviewee. Robson (2002) advocates for using loosely structured interview questions as it gives participants the freedom to share their stories while discussing the needed subjects. In practice, I found that most of the time the planned questions were used very loosely, as the women talked about their lives.

Semi structured interviews involve guidelines for the interviewer's research main points but also create a comfortable setting for the participants, leading to detailed discussions about their private lives and experiences. Semi-structured interviews provide the opportunity of probing into the participants' opinions and experiences concerning sensitive topics (Barriball & While, 1994). I was able to interview 32 young Algerian female students ageing from 18 to 25. Because I wanted to receive diverse responses from Algerian women's everyday life experiences, most of the time I did not limit myself to the planned question. I used the critical incident technique, in which Flanagan (1954) suggests questioning the interviewees about both positive and negative experiences in order to understand the participant's perspectives and enrich the research data. From those particular answers, sometimes, I continued asking the participants more about specific experiences in order to understand their interpretation of their reality.

3.8. The Fieldwork

While planning for my fieldwork, I was too ambitious about participants' recruitment. Because the pilot interviews with my Algerian friends gave me the assumption that recruiting participants for my interviews in Algerian universities was going to be an easy task. I thought that the potential participants would accept to take part in the interviews because I was an Algerian woman like them. Nevertheless, I had planned various recruitment techniques in mind before the fieldwork. Some of these techniques worked well while others did not. With the permission of each university administration, I posted on various Facebook universities' groups and pages, I hung leaflets and posters on the universities' pin boards, the universities'

female accommodations' pin boards; and even passed on leaflets in the accommodation rooms' mail boxes.

Since I was going to start my interviews in the city of Oran, with the help of my closest friend in Algeria, I managed to book two participants for interviews as soon as I arrived at Oran University. Recruiting from Oran University was the easiest and most time efficient. I used my friends' contacts, which proved to be the best technique and the fastest, compared to other universities participants' recruitment. Even though I was commuting on a daily basis from my city to Oran city, which did not allow me enough time to properly look for potential interviewees as I was supposed to, my friends were recruiting with me every day. Having a group of friends gave me the courage to go and ask other university female students. Thanks to their help, I managed to recruit nine interviewees from Oran University in total. Oran University interviews went smooth. Every student I interviewed had plenty of stories and experiences concerning daily chores and traditional duties. I had to show the vignette only to two interviewees from Oran. After finishing the interviews at Oran University successfully, I moved on to Algiers University.

During the Oran recruitment phase, I contacted the student associations on the Algiers University campus ahead for participants' recruitment purposes, and even though six students showed interest. I gave them appointments for interviews upon my arrival at Algiers University. However, only one of them showed up and did the interviews, while two of the others apologised and the rest I did not hear from them anymore. This happened countless times during these fieldwork recruitment attempts in all four Algerian universities. Upon arriving at Algiers University, I took different approach in recruiting participants because I found some difficulty in finding participants. I waited at the university gate at lunchtime or classroom doors for students to walk in; I also waited at the bus stop next to the university. I attended women studies conferences, I talked to students in the library, and I spoke to the university female accommodation residents, befriended the staff, and attended social gatherings in the accommodations. I had high hopes for the snowballing method during fieldwork planning and methodology reading. It was successful in getting countless appointments from potential participants. Even though I received several cancellations, the interviews yielded great data about young Algerian women's experiences.

I understood that at Algiers University I had to recruit potential participants from university accommodation. The lack of response to my research interviews ads created a dilemma in my

participants search quest; my original idea was to interview only young Algerian female students who lived in their family homes during their studies instead of the university female accommodation. However, I had limited time to finish the fieldwork, and I intended to recruit 32 participants, which meant roughly around eight participants from each of the four cities. I had only two choices: either I become flexible in accepting any female student I could get or be critical of the recruitment and get stuck way past the deadline of my field work. I had to extend my participants recruitment point of view and start accepting the university female accommodation student residents. According to Brannen and Moss (1991), not all researches unfold as they were planned and designed; the research journey is personal and unpredictable. I admit I was a bit worried on the feedback I was getting from the accommodations residents as opposed to the homes-living ones due to the potential different everyday schedules. With this decision in mind, I carried out the interviews and actually noticed some differences in the feedback and the emerging themes of the family home living students versus the university accommodation ones, such as their everyday schedules and routines. Still, I had to try other recruitment methods.

In the meantime, I looked for participants on Facebook. I sent several membership requests to students groups on Facebook and I posted several ads on my research recruitment after receiving their approval. Using Facebook as a social media platform at Algiers University was helpful, I recruited five (5) participants for the interviews through it and 12 from all universities in total. Interviewing participants from Algiers University was a bit challenging because some were not interested enough to talk about their personal daily lives and traditional domestic chores. However, once I showed them the vignette, they instantly noticed that the woman in the picture (my cousin) was sitting on the floor. Some of them related to this saying that she should not sit on the cold tile floors because she will have muscle pain like they some are suffering from due to the daily tile floors cleaning. This provoked them into talking more about their past experiences and traditional roles in their family home. At this stage, I interviewed 8 students from Algiers University, but two of them emailed me saying they wanted to drop out of the research. I did not require them to give any reason. I made sure to state that they can drop out of the research if they wanted to in the information sheet paper. I gave it twenty four hours before I deleted their audio recording and omitted any note I took on my personal research diary. Hence, at this stage, I had two more interviewees to look for.

Researchers need to account for unexpected events that could hinder or alter their data collection plan. During my fieldwork at Algiers University, a student was murdered[12] in the university male accommodation due to lack of security leading to the protest of mourning furious university students against the poorly managed university accommodation system. This made me anxious over the safety of my younger brother since he was my buddy system partner and living in the university male accommodation during this fieldwork. My 17 year old younger brother was accompanying me during this trip for two reasons; the ethics committee stated to have a buddy system[13] for safety issues and also because it is culturally inappropriate in Algeria for a young woman to be travelling long distances without the presence of a family member in case of potential risks or safety such as sexual harassment. However, during the fieldwork and certainly at moments like this, I found myself worried about my brother s safety more than mine since he is much younger than I do and as the oldest of my siblings, I am and always will be responsible for their safety and comfort.

I started noticing a certain double standard pattern in the Algerian cultural and patriarchal values. The reality hit me; I was thought of still being a helpless woman by family, society, and culture. I became once again the helpless Algerian woman who cannot do anything on her own without the help of the men in her life once she leaves her family home. But, at the same time, I had to make sure about my brother s safety and I was going to be blamed if anything happened to him. When I realised that the situation was getting worse, safety became a real issue at this point, and I could no longer recruit any participants or conduct interviews in a safe environment. I noticed a rise in the sexual harassment and assault of young female protestors in the rise of political and student protests. I, unfortunately, was no exception to this. I had to decide quickly and move on to the next university, Adrar, even though I was short on two more Algiers university interviewees.

[12] Assil Bilalit, 21 years old Algerian medical student, was murdered in the Algiers university male accommodation in attempt to steal his car. According to the murderer testimony; he infiltrated the accommodation and broke into Assil's room in order to steal his car's keys, and when he found the victim asleep, he tried to rape him. However, when the victim defended himself, he killed him and stole his car. Since the murderer was not a student, he was not entitled to enter the university housing where the victim was staying. According to the laws regulating university services in Algeria, each university resident has its own card, and no one is allowed to enter it without carrying that card. On 11 February 2019, students of Algiers University organized a protest movement to express their anger about the lack of security in the university residences, which caused the death of their colleague Bilalit Assil. This lasted for more than three weeks which overlapped with the anti-presidential political movement.

[13] While applying for the ethics approval, the ethics committee required that I use the buddy system in case safety issues arise during the fieldwork. I understand its regulation for my safety but thinking about it: I could not escape the same patriarchy trap that I face in the Algerian society and culture. I am thought of as a powerless woman who needs to be guarded by a man, in this case a sibling, but the irony is that I could not even escape from the British/university norms let alone the rigid Algerian ones.

Around the same time, the president of Algeria, Abdelazziz Bouteflika[14] announced his fifth term election, turning millions of Algerians into protesting peacefully on a daily basis, including all of Algeria's university students. This became by far my biggest challenge during this fieldwork; after arriving at Adrar University, I had a lot of participants who either cancelled or did not show up to the interview meetings. Plus, students did not welcome my attempts to recruit them during the protests, probably under the assumption that I was one of the journalists that they were refusing to talk to since they kept reporting 'fake news' about these protests. I completely understood this as an Algerian against 'the misleading journalists' but at the same time it was unfortunate for my fieldwork progress to be hindered by this. Another problem was when the higher education ministry forwarded the spring holiday from April to February and unexpectedly extended it from two weeks into a whole month in order to stop universities students' political protests. However, the students showed up every day in and outside university campus for the peaceful protests.

My fieldwork at Adrar University had ups and downs. The students were more reserved than the University of Oran and Algiers students were. Whenever I approached them, they did not want to talk to me because of the political protests. Plus, sometimes some potential recruits did not even let me finish pitching my research idea because it had some potential sensitive aspect to it. I used mostly Facebook at this stage when I noticed people were not interested in my research. I posted several times on the student group about my research. Indeed, I recruited seven of my participants in Adrar University from Facebook. While some of the interviews' conversations flowed smoothly, other interviewees kept giving me very short answers, not enough to develop discussion ideas from them. I used once again the vignette, and it worked. Unlike, Algiers University interviewees who related and expressed concerns about my cousin's health, they appreciated the fact she is dedicating herself to kneading bread as if it is a must. All of them said they knead the bread every day and two of them even bragged about theirs. Only one of them showed concerns about her health for sitting on the cold tiles. I ended up interviewing 11 female students in total, but three of them decided to

[14] When Abdelaziz Bouteflika announced his candidacy for a fifth presidential term on the 5th of February 2019, Algerians, all over the country including almost the Algerian Universities students, marched protesting peacefully every Friday since 16 February 2019 demanding Bouteflika to step down and several high profile ministers and politicians publically known as the 'thieves' to be tried and jailed. Members of Bouteflika's administration are accused of corruption, embezzlement and fraud charges. During this still ongoing protest, bouteflika resigned, the Prime Minister Ahmed Ouyahya resigned, was tried for colossal embezzlement and corruption charges and jailed. However, the military vice minister Gayed Saleh, publically known as one of the 'thieves', took over the government and banned the new presidential elections which led to more weekly protests.

drop out of the research later on. One of these students stated that her mother learned about the interviews and asked her to drop out because it may contradict their family values. I also waited twenty four hours before I deleted their audio recording and notebook just in case they had a change of heart.

What surprised me the most was when one of the interviewees at Adrar University sent me a post-interview email where it contained insults about my "feminist" research. Feminism in Algeria is viewed as something radical that ruins Algerian values, family, and marriage institutions. The participant referenced me in her email of anarchist activists in Algeria who emerged during the Algerian political movement. Still, she did not want to drop out of the research when I sent her an email asking her if she wanted to. I was running out of time for my fieldwork, and I had to move on quickly to my last stop, which is Annaba's university.

After interviewing eight participants in Adrar University, I realised the importance of having a friend in order to recruit participants in Annaba University. I contacted a friend of mine who is from Annaba City for participant recruitment help. With her help, I managed to recruit eight participants and conduct interviews with them during the rising political protests. Even though the students were still on a forced university holiday, the students kept protesting with the teachers. Having a friend during this research fieldwork proved to be very useful and time efficient. After finishing the interviews in Annaba University, I chose to go back to Algiers University. The student protests calmed down a bit and there were no real safety threat. I went back there after I have recruited two participants on Facebook when I was in Annaba University. I managed to finish the rest of the two interviews in three days. I felt that I had to recruit two more university student just to create equal samples through all the four universities. In the end, I ended up interviewing 32 young Algerian female students in total from four Algerian universities.

To gain a comprehensive understanding of the participants' experiences, it is crucial to first examine their diverse backgrounds and family compositions. In this research, the majority of the participants (29) resided in households headed by the father as the male patriarch, while 4 participants lived in households headed by their mothers due to divorce leading them to navigate the challenges of single parenthood within the Algerian cultural context. 12 participants live in (paternal) multigenerational households where the paternal grandfathers and uncles embodied as additional patriarchal figures. Most participants had both sisters and brothers as siblings with an average of 3 siblings per family. Some of the participants were the

older sisters where it impacted their household chores loads with the enforced patriarchal expectations into assuming the role of guiding, assisting and taking care of their younger siblings.

Regarding parental roles, it is essential to note that despite the cultural expectation of men being the primary breadwinners, 14 out of 33 mothers engaged in paid work outside the home. However, this should not be interpreted as undermining the influence of patriarchy, as women's earnings are often perceived culturally as supplementary to their husbands' income instead of equal. Additionally, several participants' mothers partook in informal work such as baking or sewing from their homes and some had to relinquish their jobs due to marriage or familial responsibilities. The participants' mothers education levels varied significantly with some having higher education and others being forced to drop out at an early stage due to cultural expectations and familial obligations. However, the mothers' education levels did not dictate their current status homemakers or working mothers depending on patriarchal familial values and socioeconomics.

The data does not clearly indicate the socioeconomic status of participants, but it suggests that the majority of families could be classified as middle class, lower middle class or poor. It was difficult to distinguish the participants' socioeconomic status as the distinctions between classes are not always clear-cut. The traditional markers of social class in Western societies, such as income level or occupation, do not necessarily apply in the same way within the Algerian context. The family income is affected by both cultural norms as well as the opportunities to employment. Having one or dual income does not determine the participants' socioeconomic status. In addition, living in a separate home versus a multigenerational household cannot determine the economic class as there are various factors such as housing shortage, low incomes, high cost of living but as well as cultural traditions of maintaining the extended family or generational wealth. The participants' extended family structures emphasize the interdependence and shared responsibilities among family members, which play crucial role in shaping the experiences of young Algerian women within a patriarchal context.

Pseudo name	Age	Speciality	Degree	Year	City/University	Residency
Honesty	19	Biology	undergraduate	2nd	Oran	University
Queen	20	Law	undergraduate	2	Oran	University
Faith	18	Medicine	undergraduate	1	Oran	University
Silver	22	Sociology	MA	1	Oran	Family home
Night	21	Arabic Literature	MA	1	Oran	University
Happiness	20	Biology	undergraduate	2	Oran	Family home
Rose	20	Pharmaceutical	undergraduate	2	Oran	Family home
Hope	24	Law	MA	2	Oran	University
Dream	19	English language	undergraduate	1	Oran	University
Light	18	English language	undergraduate	1	Algiers	University
Rose	18	English language	undergraduate	1	Algiers	Family home
Smile	21	Economy	undergraduate	3	Algiers	University
Honesty	24	Law	MA	2	Algiers	University
Moon	23	Law	MA	2	Algiers	University
Beauty	18	French language	undergraduate	1	Algiers	Family home
Pearl	23	Spanish language	MA	2	Algiers	Family home
Angel	25	Russian language	MA	2	Algiers	University
Winner	22	Mathematics	MA	1	Adrar	Family home
Brave	19	Computer sciences	undergraduate	2	Adrar	Family home
Kindness	22	Mathematics	MA	1	Adrar	University
Memory	24	Mathematics	MA	2	Adrar	University
Prayer	19	Politics	undergraduate	1	Adrar	University
Tenderness	19	Arabic literature	undergraduate	2	Adrar	Family home
Generosity	24	Islamic doctrine	MA	2	Adrar	Family home
Ruby	22	Arabic language	MA	1	Annaba	University
Princess	23	Medicine	MA	2	Annaba	University
Diamond	20	Medicine	undergraduate	1	Annaba	Family home
Gift	20	Politics	undergraduate	1	Annaba	Family home
Lovely	21	English	undergraduate	2	Annaba	university

		language				
Forgiveness	19	French language	undergraduate	2	Annaba	University
Flower	18	Biology	undergraduate	1	Annaba	Family home
Happy	25	Law	MA	2	Annaba	University

This table lists the interviewed participants' information while they are assigned similar pseudonyms in meaning to their original ones.

As shown in the table, I managed to recruit 32 interviewees in research fieldwork, and I swapped their names to pseudonyms that preserve their identities. This table shows each participant's age, education level, location, and accommodation situation. The selection of pseudonyms not only aimed to preserve participants' anonymity but also took into account the multifaceted nature of the translated names. Most Arabic names have more than one possible translation or interpretation, which allowed for the creation of pseudonyms that strike a balance between respecting cultural context and protecting the participants' identities. For example my name Amina could be interpreted as "honesty", "safety", "trust" or "guardian". The chosen pseudonyms often reflect the cultural and linguistic nuances of participants' names, which sometimes embody virtues, qualities, or aspirations. While it is acknowledged that some of the translations may inadvertently lean towards gendered connotations, care was taken to prioritize the preservation of anonymity and cultural authenticity.

The choice of pseudonyms aimed to respect the original meaning and significance of participants' names. It is worth noting that the gendered connotations of these pseudonyms were not intended to reinforce patriarchal norms but rather mirror the participants' cultural background while preserving their anonymity. This approach recognizes that language and naming conventions can be complex and nuanced, particularly when translating across cultures. By acknowledging this complexity and thoughtfully selecting pseudonyms, the research strives to maintain the integrity of participants' identities and preserve their confidentiality.

Reading about the feminist researchers' methodology literature helped me understand the struggle I was going through in my field work .The participants' recruitment process proved to be more challenging than planned. Kelly, Burton, and Regan (1994) delve into the realistic challenges of doing fieldwork while contending that feminist researchers have a lack of information from methodology literature about the complex problems that could arise during their fieldwork. Their candid descriptions and insights about potential difficulties of feminist

research allowed me to discern some of my research obstacles. On the contrary of my naïve assumptions, the fieldwork process was challenging for three reasons, which are the unexpected civil riots against the government, free time/availability, and lack of interest in participating in feminist orientated research interviews.

Most of the potential participants that I approached ended up refusing to participate or cancel their appointments with me because they were on a limited and constrained time frame. They had a specific time to be in their homes, and being late is not tolerated. According to them, their families constrain them with a time schedule so that they would not have any opportunity to have romantic relationships[15]. Time was a major factor in scheduling the interview appointments. I had to plan thoroughly and show flexibility. Some of the interviews happened on weekends and even on lunch hours between classes.

In addition to time flexibility, I had to be flexible and prudent in the interview setting choice. Wengraf (2001) stresses the importance of avoiding interruptions during interviews by planning and creating conducive settings for the interviews in order to reduce distractions and minimise noise. Adhering to this principle helped in limiting the interview setting into university classrooms and campus. The setting choice turned out to be great for the discussion flow and later on for the transcription process.

In the middle of my participants' recruitment, I had to schedule an appointment outside of the university campus following the wishes of the interviewee. My interviewee suggested a cafe next to the university as a setting for her interview. While the discussion went well, transcribing the recorded audio of the interview was a bit hard to transcribe due to the background noise, such as other people talking, laughter, and the sound of workers in the café. I had to do several checking of my transcription, this proving Wengraf's (2001) point. I managed to contact seven of the interviewees (three from Oran, two from Algiers, and two from Annaba) a second time to clarify certain ideas. I thought having a follow up conversation with some of the interviewees helped ease the discussion more than the first one.

One of the follow up interviews was extremely helpful, which concerns Happy from the University of Annaba. Happy brought her friend into the interview s setting. After a small chit chat, I started conducting the interview with Sarah while her friend was just sitting with us

[15] Algerian families go by the Islamic teachings which ask for women and men to not have pre-marital relationships. Therefore, they constrain their time in order to keep an eye on them and prevent them from doing so.

using her phone and even though I was directing my question only towards Happy; her friend did interact with us and shared few of her ideas. Although the talked about experiences were great to share, I could not use her ideas and I had to omit her parts in the transcribing process because while she was enthusiastic about adding her ideas into the interview discussion. Even though she refused to be a participant in my research, I felt the presence of Happy's friend was a bit problematic when Happy became more prudent and wary in her answers about her family values and her past experiences. Her answers about her experiences were too perfect to be true[16]. I am not saying that she had to provide me with the most profound stories or opinions, her first answers could have been the real deal but I felt that something was not right when I started transcription her interview audio.

I contacted Happy once again, hoping she would accept a second interview, but without her friend. She agreed to do the interview, expressing the need to discuss her opinions once again because she felt too uncomfortable to share personal family details in front of her friend. She pointed out that even though she is her best friend, certain things were better kept away from her friend, especially the family problems. Happy jokingly talked about what her friend would think about her if she decided to talk about her personal and familial experiences, she thought that her friend views about her would change or she would lose her 'prestige' in front of her friend. Nevertheless, Happy's second interview discussion went smoother than the first one. She provided me with different and more honest answers about her opinions and lived experiences without any distractions or disturbances in the flow of ideas.

To put it in a nutshell, I had to be flexible with the circumstances and the challenges during the interviews. I am not saying that the challenging interviews are of second rate. I think of it as strength of point in my research, allowing myself to grow intellectually and reflect on my research experience. This research fieldwork allowed me to acknowledge and understand the position and power of the researcher that holds in the interviewer- interviewee relationship. There are two significant factors that arise from this process: power and positionality status between the researcher and the participants.

[16] Such as when she described her daily routines with extreme joy, she kept mentioning that she knew how to cook several complicated dishes, she cleans their home three times a day, she never got bored doing that. She preferred staying at home cleaning rather having a hobby or going out. Again, this might have been real and authentic answer but the way she expressed it seemed a bit not genuine.

3.9. Power

Fieldwork inherently involves navigating a complex web of power dynamics shaped by the various contexts surrounding the research process. Since I was the conductor of the interviews, one might think that I held all of the power in the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. However, this was not the case in the fieldwork part of my research, and I would argue that my participants exercised a great deal of power at this stage. Tang (2002) explains that the power dynamics between the researcher and participants are flexible and unpredictable. First of all, I had to follow their schedules when I arranged appointments; they had free will to talk to me when I approached them, and they decided on their own to either participate in my interviews or cancel their appointments without giving any reasons. Second, they often asserted their power during the interviews by excusing themselves either for taking a phone call, ending the interview earlier than expected due to busy time, or tackling different ideas. Despite this, I felt that my position as a researcher conducting an interview in an Algerian university somehow had weight in the conversation, and I have to recognise that I had some control, if not power, as I had led the conversation through the set of questions.

Some of the participants actually wondered if their answers were enough or looked for my response to guide them into the discussion. While the power factor cannot be detached from the interview process, good manners should always take part in the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. Hence, I showed up most of the time when I could with a cup of coffee or snack for the interviewee as a token of my appreciation for their participation in my research. Plus, as Reinharz (1992) argues that establishing good connection between the interviewer and interviewees through building comfortable setting and trust leads to beneficial results in research process, I made sure to answer all of the questions of the participants about the research and my own experiences as a way to show to the participants the many common possible trait we share as a young Algerian woman too such as the reason why I am doing this particular research topic or about my past experiences about house chores and going out e.g. once when I was younger, I got harassed on the street but when I could not take it and insulted back, I was scolded by my parent for doing that because it would have showed that I am ill-mannered girl and un-lady like. Such examples helped the flow of the conversation and eased the connection between the interviewees and me.

3.10. Positionality

Researchers must be aware of their positionality in their research as it encompasses their social and cultural identity and influences their research process. Hence, researchers should engage in self-reflection of their subjectivities and biased assumptions. Reflexivity is important for researchers through adopting a self-aware approach in their research (Mason, 2002). It should be acknowledged, as Mason (2002) argues, that researchers begin their research with prior personal and cultural perspectives and experiences that could potentially influence how they interpret and understand the collected data. Green (2003) recommends researchers to be conscious of their own subjective lenses in the research process that may influence the planning, implementation, and interpretation of the research findings.

According to Primeau (2003), reflexivity during the research process "addresses our subjectivity as researchers related to people and events that we encounter in the field" (p., 9). In my pursuit of self-reflexivity in this research process, I have to clarify about my positionality in my research to my thesis readers. One major aspect of my location in this research is my nationality. Being an Algerian gave me an insider view, which meant I had to constantly reflect on how my opinions, beliefs, and past experiences would affect my relationship with my participants. Gair (2012) argues that researchers must understand their positionality in their research as it influences the outcome.

The researcher can take on the role of an insider where they have a personal understanding and perspective of the studied culture or as an outsider with a detached and objective standpoint (Weiner-levy & Queder, 2012). Merton (1972) explicates that to be an insider researcher is to have a more nuanced understanding and empathetic visualisation of the participants' opinions and experiences. As an insider, I share countless instances with my participants, such as knowing the struggle to perform house chores and maintain the dignity of the family due to imposed patriarchal expectations and values. Still, this meant I had to be conscious about my wording during conversations, as Berger (2015) advises researchers to "carefully self-monitor the impact of their biases, beliefs, and personal experience on their research" (p., 220). During interviews, I understood how participants sometimes can limit their narratives and thought expressions due to my situation as an insider. Knowing that I share similar experiences as Algerian girl, some of the participants tried to answer my questions with a similar answer of: "you know the situation" or "I don't have to explain, all girls go through the same things". Being an insider became strength and a weakness at the

same time during the interviews, and I had to dig deeper into my participants' explanations while monitoring my interaction. Sharing similar experiences under the same context of patriarchal structures does not guarantee the same results, narratives, and opinions of other young Algerian women.

Nevertheless, since I conducted my interviews in four different cities in Algeria, I was an outsider at the same time. Reflecting on my positionality, I was to a certain extent an insider in Oran University, which symbolises the west of Algeria. Since I am from the west, I had the privilege of being an insider in this particular phase of my research. As opposed to the other remaining three universities, where I share countless common things with the participants, yet I am an outsider on other different traits such as the accent, traditions, and values. This also helped in delving into young Algerian girls' experiences on the basis of regional cultural differences of values and understandings.

Another aspect of positionality was my feminist beliefs. My past experiences of patriarchy and sexism made me feminist orientated researcher. Some of my opinions could have affected my research relationship with the interviewees. Reflecting on my methodology, I had to be critical of how my positionality would affect my research. I had to recognise how it will affect my relationship with the participants and research as a whole. I recognised that factors such as my age and background would have an impact on the generated data and my interpretation of it. Also, experiencing stress and anxiety while approaching countless potential participants could have influenced my research process. I was an insider because I shared similarities with my participants. That does not necessarily signify that I have the exact same past experiences and opinions but having those similarities helped create a connection with the participants. Plus, it made it easier to understand and interpret their experiences. With the shared experiences such as the everyday life routine and education, discussing their opinions and feelings helped to create a strong rapport. Some of the conversations turned out to be like a friendship talk where it felt like having a conversation between two friends who shared a common background, such as talking about daily chores.

3.11. Ethical Consideration

Researchers should show honesty and transparency in their process to promote credibility and integrity. This research was approved by the ELMPS Ethics Committee of the University of

York. As a researcher dealing with a sensitive topic such as young Algerian women's experiences and narratives of patriarchy in their everyday lives, I have the moral obligation to ensure following the ethical guidelines when dealing with participants, which translates into protecting their privacy and identities, receiving their consent, and explaining my research's aims. Berg (2004) insists on the good ethics of doing research about individuals' private lives, where researchers must ensure the privacy and confidentiality of the research's participants. This meant that before recruiting any potential participants, I had to give an information sheet paper written in Arabic language which explains my research, my aim, and my contact details. I made sure to state orally my research topic and aim, give a brief explanation about my research and where the resulted data will be used. I provided the participants with my contact details if they decide to participate, cancel appointments, drop out of the research or just have queries. I always stated clearly that the audio recordings, the transcripts will be secured, and they have the right to drop out of the research.

Before starting any interview, I provided the participants with a consent form in Arabic to sign and gave them a copy of it. Miller and Bell (2002) insist that researchers must receive the participants' oral and written consent before starting collecting data. In addition, I explained to them that they can pass a question if it is too sensitive or uncomfortable to answer to recall certain experiences. They just had to say pass in Arabic. However, no participant passed any question during the interviews. According to Berg (2004), safety is critical during data collection fieldwork and researchers should take into consideration any potential risks and measures for their own and participants' safety. Therefore, I took several precautions, such as on the Facebook platform, where I recruited a lot of my participants. I used a different newly created profile instead of my original one that contains a lot of aspects of my private life and opinions. I made sure the account is private and secure before I contacted several Algerian Facebook groups for participants' recruitment because there was a possibility that social media users would leave malicious comments in my account or threaten me for asking feminist questions. As well as, changing their names into pseudonyms during transcribing and analysis since Wiles et al (2006) recommend ensuring the confidentiality of the participants' personal information during all research process and interpretation.

Plus, since I travelled to four different cities in Algeria, which are: Oran, Algiers, Adrar, and Annaba. I made sure to always keep in contact with my family, letting them know each arrival and departure destination and time. I had to use the buddy system in this research since the distance between each city was more than 500 kilometres. I always travelled with my younger

brother which proved to be helpful during this research. Nevertheless, I had to be cautious about my brother's safety as well as my own. Safety became a daily feature of the research process after the civil revolution against the Algerian regime. All of the Algerian universities students protested against the Algerian president's authority and civilians' pacific riots in the Algerians streets meant that I had to put safety over research for a while.

3.12. Research Limitations

It is necessary to understand and acknowledge that no research or study is flawless. Kothari (2008) suggests that researchers should show transparency about their work's limitations and weaknesses. This shows the readers their understanding of their work's boundaries and integrity, transforming their shortcomings into strength points. In this section, I will tackle the limitations of my research. I am interested in the experiences of young Algerian women's everyday lives in relation to patriarchy. I acquired the generated data in the research process through interviewing a small sample of Algerian women. My research sample was about 32 Algerian women, and compared to the population of Algeria of more than 40 million Algerians, it is too small to extend the results to all Algerian women. However, I did not seek generalisation of the outcome data, but rather I see this research as a part of study collection that explores Algerian women's lives.

My participants' selection choice does influence my research. I wanted my thesis to focus only on individual Algerian women. My research focused particularly on young Algerian women aged from 18 to 25 years old. This means I would be getting specific information from a specific age range group. Plus, due to the time constraint of only three months of field work, I chose to recruit potential participants from the Algerian universities. The fieldwork was a time consuming process, and I could not recruit potential interviewees from other public spaces or their homes. The most suitable place to recruit was the Algerian university since I limited my participant sample to the age range of 18 to25 years old and the majority of Algerian universities are female students[17]. I see this as a strength point as well as a limitation, particularly when the Algerian political civil riots started marching in the streets. However, my research left out other groups of women, such as mothers, working women, teenagers, and also young Algerian women with different educational levels such as those

[17] It is estimated through the official website of the higher education ministry that more than 65 percent of students are females.

who decided to drop out of studies, not pursue higher education in universities, or get married at a young age. All of the participants had higher education as one of the common points, which means that the collected data represents only a large portion of the educated Algerian women but leaves the others.

Education is a limitation here because it changes the perspectives of the participants' views about ideas such as patriarchy, women's rights, and gender role division. Therefore, I cannot generalise my research data on the majority of Algerian women population, but I can only suggest it. Another limitation is the geographical sampling choice. I chose to recruit from four different Algerian cities that represent the cardinal points of Algeria in an attempt to widen my collected data perspective but Algeria has 48 cities that vary in cultural, historical, and political backgrounds and values. Reflecting on my research, if I had the chance to redo it or for future research proving that I get a longer time frame, I would change a few things in order to reduce the research limitations, such as choosing a sufficient sample, widening the age range, recruiting potential participants from various sites and not only the Algerian universities, which ensures various educational backgrounds, and last but not least, recruiting from all or at least most of the Algerian 48 cities.

3.13. Conclusion

This chapter has described my research methods used in this research process in order to understand young Algerian women's experiences and negotiations of patriarchy in their everyday lives. This chapter provides a critical, reflective description of my research fieldwork journey. It tackles my choices of qualitative framework's approaches with the use of in-depth semi-structured interviews to capture the everyday lives of Algerian girls in everyday life sites such as the home and universities. I justified my use of face-to-face in-depth semi-structured interviews due to the sensitivity of my research topic, as I wanted to delve into the narratives of Algerian women while creating a solid rapport as an interviewer. I tackled my participants' recruitment strategies and process while discussing the challenges I faced because of it. I also reflected on my positionality during the research process of being both an insider and a' somewhat' outsider to the context of Algerian culture and sharing similar experiences of Algerian women with patriarchal societal, cultural, and religious structures. Lastly, I elaborated on the power dynamics I experienced during the interviews

with my participants and the ethicality of m research process. My journey of research field work, across the four Algerian cities: Oran, Algiers, Annaba, and Adrar, has been insightful, challenging, and rewarding. I have met new people and gained new friends, I have acquired different perspectives and learnt about different experiences of young women that deserve to have their voices heard in research and related literature.

4. Domesticity Chapter

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will focus on the unpaid domestic work aspect of the young Algerian women's everyday lives. Feminist research indicates that everyday life practices and experiences construct gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Holmes, 2009). One of women's main sites of everyday life practices is the home, and feminist research has shown that women tend to perform most of the house chores. It becomes crucial to show how gender can be created and shaped in the context of the Algerian home through the repetitive practices of unpaid domestic work. Discussing this aspect will allow me to set up my argument that the Algerian patriarchy is produced and sustained through the impression management of Algerian women in relation to doing unpaid domestic work. I discuss the importance of performing unpaid house chores in the context of the Algerian home in order to indicate its role in recreating and sustaining patriarchy through showing the value Algerian women draw from doing household chores. I posit that young Algerian women acquire value and prestige from doing housework by managing the impression of having a clean home and showcasing "good woman" skills in order to obtain respectability. Therefore, it is vital to have an understanding of how gender overlaps with social status and class during the process of doing domestic work in the Algerian home context. Discussing and analysing the narratives of young Algerian women around their domestic work experiences and practices will give a framing of unpaid housework as a classed gender performance.

I will share research data of 32 young Algerian women's narratives revolving around domestic work in this chapter. Showing who is responsible for doing domestic work in the Algerian homes will indicate how gender is recreated and performed. I inspect young Algerian women everyday narratives and experiences in relation to unpaid domestic work while investigating their emotions linked to such everyday practices; uncovering emotions such as disapproval, boredom, burden and resentment but also approval, gratification, sense of fulfilment, and prestige that these young Algerian women sense from excelling at their gendered domestic work performances.

In order to uncover how young Algerian women experience patriarchy in relation to gender performance and domestic work doing, I tackle how these women get introduced in the world of domestic work through the influence of their mothers. I investigate how young Algerian

women learn to do house chores. I indicate that these domestic work practices and skills are taught to young Algerian women through the intergenerational transmission approach by their mothers, thus showing the significance of the maternal influence in learning doing house chores and being implemented in the structure of patriarchy. Afterwards, I examine the concept of impression management for these young Algerian women and the significance of having a clean home and excelling at doing house chores. I explore how these women employ their domestic work and skills into constructing the image of the good woman in order to obtain respectability.

I employ the dramaturgical analogy and the impression management notion by Goffman (1969) in order to explore and analyse how patriarchy is established and sustained in the Algerian home and culture through attaining respectability, which can be realised in this context through showcasing a clean and tidy home and excelling at doing housework. I discuss how Algerian women and mainly Algerian mothers become agents and perpetrators of patriarchy in the Algerian family through enforcing domestic work in relation to impression management. By exploring the impression management concept, I address how doing domestic work dictates the young Algerian women's gender performance and how it affects their relationships with their mothers and family relatives.

4.2. Doing Domestic Work

Feminist research explores the division of domestic work between the sexes in the family and home (Bianchi et al, 2000; Poortman & Van Der Lippe, 2009; Schiebinger & Gilmartin, 2010) . It delves into investigating the inequality of the housework division through showing who does the majority of the house chores and the amount of time and effort spent on it. My research follows the same path where I interview 32 young Algerian women about their domestic work experiences in detail. I started asking these women about their daily routines, leading the discussion to further investigation about their house work experiences. The young Algerian women, participants in this research, responses aligned and exceeded with the current feminist research that indicates women are the majority doers of domestic work (Dempsey, 1997; Blair & Lichter, 1999; Baxter & Tai, 2016).

The exploration of gendered domestic labour in the Algerian context extends the foundational feminist research conducted by scholars such as Ann Oakley and Betty Friedan. Oakley

(1974) explains; “Housework is a labour that is repetitive, fragmented and invisible (p.44). Ann Oakley’s seminal work” Housework” (1974) was pivotal in shedding light on the invisible labour women perform at home, highlighting how domestic chores are predominately women’s responsibility, a theme echoed in my findings. Similarly, Betty Friedan’s “The Feminine Mystique” (1963) critiqued the idealized image of suburban housewives and exposed the dissatisfaction many women felt due to their relegation to domestic roles. Friedan (1963) challenges the notion that domestic labour is the natural responsibly of women. This perspective resonates with the experiences and narratives of Algerian women. Friedan (1963) criticises the societal expectation imposed on (American) women to find satisfaction solely through housework, family and child care which aligns with the Algerian context, where Algerian women also face similar pressure to adhere to traditional gender roles and often struggle to reconcile their personal aspirations with societal expectations surrounding housework and family responsibilities like their American counterparts. These foundational works established a critical framework for understanding the gendered division of labour, which my research further explores within the Algerian context.

In the Algerian home context, Algerian women are the only house chores responsible party, while Algerian mothers gender socialised and parentified their daughters into doing housework. This is akin to Oakley’s findings where housework was considered a natural duty for women, a notion perpetuated through socialisation from an early age. Young Algerian women’s contribution to the housework is often unrecognised and invisible. The gender socialisation in Algerian aligns with Oakley’s observation that housework is often invisibly passed down to daughters, reinforcing traditional gender roles. The research findings align with the western feminist research where women perform most of the house work and account for the children’s, specifically girls, contribution to housework (South & Spritze, 1994; Cunningham, 2001; Lee et al 2003).

Most recent studies, such as Clisby & Holdsworth’s “Gendering Women” (2014), continue to highlight the persistence of these gendered expectations, even as women increasingly participate in the workforce. They argue that despite societal changes, domestic responsibilities remain largely women’s burden. This mirrors my findings where young Algerian women’s contribution to housework is often unrecognised and invisible, reflecting a continuity in the gendered expectations of unpaid domestic labour. Additionally, Clisby & Holdsworth (2014) offer a comprehensive analysis of gender inequality in everyday life,

examining how societal norms, class and age intersect to shape women's experiences and mental health. Their work aligns with this research on Algerian women's various experiences with patriarchy, as it emphasizes the significance of understanding the multiple dimensions of gender inequality in women's daily lives and the impact on their well-being. Furthermore, "The Second Shift" by Hochschild and Machung (1989), which examined the double burden faced by working women, supports the notion that regardless of geographical location, women disproportionately bear the brunt of domestic duties. Their insights apply to the Algerian context where it helps illuminate the experiences of Algerian women highlighting the systematic factors that contribute to the unequal allocation of domestic labour. This work aligns with my research findings where young Algerian women have to navigate between their education and household responsibilities leading to "double shift". In the Algerian setting, this is exacerbated by cultural expectations and the absence of substantial support systems.

This research is further corroborated by studies in other non-Western contexts, such as Shara Razavi's (2003) work on gender which discusses the reinforcement of traditional gender roles through societal norms. Similarly, Khadija Elmadmad's study "Household Labour in Morocco: A Gender Analysis" (2014) substantiates and affirms the findings of this research on the division of household labour among Algerian women. Her work corroborates the existence of entranched gender inequalities in the distribution of domestic responsibilities within North African societies. Elmadmad's (2014) analysis of Moroccan households mirrors this research's findings on Algerian women, as both underscore the persistent patriarchal gender inequalities that shape the allocation of housework in these contexts.

Sharon Springer's work on the intersection of gender and work in Middle Eastern societies offers a valuable perspective that resonates with the Algerian context. Springer's analysis of the influence of cultural and religious norms on the gendered division of labour in Middle Eastern households provides useful insights into the experiences of Algerian women, who also navigate imbalanced expectations surrounding housework. Springer (2018) illuminates; "In many Middle Eastern countries, the division of labour is strictly gendered, with women overwhelmingly responsible for unpaid domestic chores. This gendered division of labour is renforced by both cultural and religious norms" (p.203). Springer's analysis aligns with this research's finding in concern of the Algerian context, as Algerian society also grapples with

similar gender disparities in the allocation of housework. In conjunction with this, Suad Joseph (2003) examines how cultural norms in Morocco shape women's responsibilities for paid and unpaid domestic work in the private and public life. Joseph (2003) argues that women's disproportionate burden of family care responsibilities negatively impacts their ability to balance work and family commitments and exacerbates gender inequalities. The relevance of Joseph's insights extend to the North African countries including the Algerian context where Algerian women , as shown in this research analysis, bear the primary responsibility for household care in addition to their education and later on in participation in the workforce. By situating this research within broader contexts of feminist scholarship, it allows to extend and build upon various foundational works. This serves to contextualise this research's findings and examination of gender inequalities in household labour among Algerian women.

4.2.1. A Woman's Job

Being good at doing house chores in Algerian culture is traditionally viewed as a feminine virtue and obligation. Young Algerian women's gendered identity is often tied to their ability to excel in doing domestic work and maintaining a tidy home. This perspective aligns with the notion of biological essentialism, which argues that gender roles are innate and determined by biological differences between men and women (Beauvoir, 1952, p.267). Connell (2002) argues: "Gender roles are often perceived as inherently linked to biological differences. This view posits that these roles are natural and immutable due to inherent biological distinctions between men and women "(p.45). However, feminist theory critiques biological essentialism by emphasizing that these skills are learned through socialization during childhood, rather than being naturally gendered abilities (Oakley, 1972, p.186). I discuss these participants' views on their abilities to do domestic work and indicate that these skills are to be learnt through their childhood and instead of it being naturally gendered abilities.

All of the young Algerian women I interviewed admitted that they were responsible for doing all domestic work in their homes. Many of these women confessed that they share the responsibility of doing it with their mothers and sisters. Dream reported that she has been taking on the duty of domestic work at home with her two older sisters for the past few years since her mother got older. She asserted that her older sisters have been doing the housework in their home, and with time she started to share the burden too. On the other hand, nine of these young women confirmed that they shoulder the whole house work responsibilities. They

did not have sisters, and their mothers delegated the domestic tasks to them completely. Beauty, even though she is the youngest among her siblings, admitted that she does all of the house chores because her mother works all day long and she does not have sisters who can share the load of the domestic work. However, many of the participants like Beauty, confirmed that men of their family rarely participate in doing domestic work.

Many of the women I interviewed confirmed that men do not participate in doing housework. Honesty confessed that she never had her father or her three brothers help with the chore at least once. She showed her disapproval and irritation that mean never washed a plate or cleaned what they dirtied. She stated that it was always her job to clean after them. On the other hand, Happy did not hesitate to show her confusion to my question when I popped the question. She even asked me if I was serious about asking such a question, justifying that I, as a fellow Algerian woman, I would know better and I did not have to ask such an obvious question. Her reaction was quite understandable and expected because, at some point in the past, I showed the same reaction, therefore I could relate to the situation. Algerian men do not participate in doing house chores at all and the responsibility of it falls on Algerian women. The research findings about the unequal domestic work in Algeria show that the Algerian home and kitchen become a gendered space, and therefore doing domestic work is a gendered performance.

Most of my interviewees attested that they believed that doing domestic work was their duty as women. Many of the participants argued that performing domestic work is a woman's job while implicitly and explicitly reflecting Algerian gender roles. Brave insisted that, as a woman, it was her job to do housework because it was a woman's natural job. Brave claimed that this was a universal fact, and she learned it since she was very young. This shows how gendering domestic work impacts the gender identity of young Algerian women. Flower started to rhetorically question me about who will assume the duty of every day's housework if women would not do it.

> *"It is women's job to clean and tidy the home so who would do it if we can't do it ourselves at home? Men will never do it! It's not their job it's ours let's be honest .My father or brother will never know how to cook or do the laundry, they're the breadwinners and us as women we should be the family carer, whatever the family needs we*

should do it, it's our duty to clean the house and keep it tidy and cook delicious meals for our family, if we don't do it no one else will do it, this is a given, it's our responsibility in life and toward our families, it's what we all have learnt from since we were just kids".

Flower's ideas about gender roles in Algerian culture are tied to the notion that the men are the breadwinners and the women are the carers. This idea is linked to patriarchy and she admits that this is how she was raised. She stated that she is willing to take on the duty of house chores and accept not sharing its burden with men because her social environment dictates so since she was a child. Similarly to Flower's case, many of these young Algerian women such as Kindness agreed that domestic work is a woman's job because "*that's just how it is* " and women doing house chores is their natural[18] course in life. She stated that her family always implicitly and explicitly mentioned to her that it was her job as a woman to take care of the whole family members through doing domestic work and excelling at being a good woman. This finding shows that the Algerian culture dictates that doing domestic work is a woman's natural job.

Furthermore, Dream and Rose confessed that it came naturally for them to clean around the house, cook, and take care of their family. They reported that a woman's job is to take care of their family through doing house chores. They stated that they share the chores with their sisters, and they rotate the chores between them. Hence, they expressed their gratification when it is their turn to take care of their family, and they admitted that they feel a sense of value and accomplishment when the men in their family cannot do anything without their help. This narrative was shared by many of my participants domestic work experiences. Some young Algerian women, like Dream and Rose, find value and importance in doing domestic work for their family. This shows the importance of understanding gender at the interactional level. Patriarchal gender roles notions heavily impact young Algerian women's gendered identity. They affect their understanding and behaviour towards domestic work in relation to their family and home experiences.

In contrast, Light expressed her frustration about how Algerian society and culture enforce the idea that domestic work is a woman's job. She disapproved of this notion and stated that she

[18] Most of the participants stated that doing domestic work is natural path for women or it is was naturally their job to do it.

hated how Algerian society thinks of women just as maids born for the purpose of taking care of men in their family. She reported that she felt obliged when she does most of the house chores alongside her mother, while her twin brother never did any chores unless it was household repairs. She stated that she has to do the whole house work since it is demanded of her as an adult Algerian woman to assume her gendered position in the family as the carer for all of their needs. Light expressed her disappointment that when Algerian society and culture believe that a woman's place is in the kitchen no matter what her background or financial situation is, it becomes an enforced idea that women must do all of the domestic work around the house. Few of the participants shared a similar opinion. They had an understanding of how domestic work is gendered in Algeria. They questioned the unequal domestic work division between men and women and why it is considered a given fact that doing house chores comes naturally to Algerian women. This narrative indicates that not all young Algerian women's thoughts about domestic work align with the patriarchal gendered ideology of the Algerian society. Doing gender and performing domestic work is not natural to women. Most of these young women believed that they should conform to their gendered roles as carers. Therefore, the factors of the unequal division of domestic work and its persistence in the Algerian family context can be explored through understanding that domestic work is gendered. In order to explore why young Algerian women are influenced by such patriarchal gendered roles and ideas, I explore these women's experiences with doing domestic work.

4.2.2. Everyday Routines

In order to understand how domestic work becomes gendered, I explore young Algerian women's actual experiences of doing household work. All of the young women I interviewed shared similar day-to-day experiences and practices concerning doing house chores. All of my participants are university students. Out the 32 young Algerian women I interviewed, 12 lived in their family home, where they commuted on a daily basis to their respective universities and 20 lived in their university accommodations. Many of the participants agreed that there is a specific schedule and tasks they have to complete every day for the purpose of achieving a tidy and clean home. Pearl, as a university student who resides at her family home during her studies, explained that she has to start her day very early in the morning in order to do house chores. She claimed that she wakes up around 5 a.m. and starts her day by cleaning the kitchen, the living room, dusting the furniture, mopping the floor, and preparing breakfast for her family. Only then can she proceed to getting ready and heading up to university to

study. Pearl stated that she has been doing this routine every weekday ever since she started going to university. She has to resume doing house chores once she finishes her homework and goes back home. She goes back home around 5 p.m. and she immediately starts cleaning the house after having a short afternoon coffee break[19]. She starts by cooking dinner, washing dishes, doing laundry, cleaning the rooms, and mopping the whole house floor. Her household chores schedule ends around 9 p.m. after having dinner and leaving the kitchen spotless. As the only daughter among three siblings, she found herself shouldering the responsibilities of household work. She stated that her mother is getting older and can no longer manage to withstand the burden and fatigue resulting from doing chores. She expressed her tiredness and frustration over the hectic schedule she had to follow because it was expected from as a woman in her family. She professed that it is expected of her to do so because her family assumes it is her job as a woman, even if she studies or works.

The pursuit of education for Algerian women often coexists with the persistent expectation to fulfil traditional domestic responsibilities. As a result, female students frequently find themselves juggling their studies with household chores, leaving them with less time to focus on their academic pursuit. This starkly contrasts with Algerian male students, who typically do not face the same expectations and, consequently, have more time to dedicate for their studies. Even if Algerian women make strides in their educational and professional lives, they continue to be held for their domestic roles. Regardless of their career achievements or the financial independence they gain, the deeply ingrained notion that housework is inherently a woman's job persists, leaving Algerian women in constant struggle to balance their ambitions with social expectations.

The experiences shared by participants like Pearl underscore the persistent tensions between the pursuit of higher education and the expectation surrounding women's domestic responsibilities. The demanding schedule of household chores often leaves young women with limited time and energy to focus on their academic pursuits as opposed to male students. This highlights the complexities faced by Algerian women as they navigate societal expectations and the desire for personal growth. Despite the challenges posed by domestic roles on educational pursuits, some young women find relief in sharing household labour with siblings or other female members as exemplified by the following participant.

[19] It is traditionally common to have coffee or tea break around 4-5 p.m. in the Algerian culture.

Likewise, Generosity revealed her everyday domestic work schedule as a student residing in her family home and has two sisters. Generosity explained that she starts her day at 6 am in the morning three days a week, where she starts her day with doing house chores before going to the university. She confessed that having two sisters helps her with easing the burden of house chores as they rotate between them domestic work. She admitted that doing house chores is difficult on her during her studying days, but with rotating the household work with her sisters, it feels easier as she gets more time to sleep and get ready to university slowly. Still, she expressed her frustration about having to do house chores so early in the morning and right away after finishing her studies. She disclosed that she felt like she was just like a maid, and she spent all of her time doing housework. She even expressed her envy towards female students who live in the university accommodation. She believes that she would be able to avoid doing domestic work if she no longer lives there during the week. She admitted that there were times where she regretted choosing to stay at home instead of the university accommodation in her first year in university. She realised later on that she could not move out because her schedule around studies and house work suited her family needs. She was not allowed under the pretext that it was her job as a woman to help in doing domestic work.

On the other hand, Prayer, 19 years old and living at the Adrar University accommodation, expressed her joy that she manages to avoid doing house chores into her family home during weekdays. She proudly attested that she was lucky that she moved in the university accommodation because she lived far from the university campus and she has three sisters who can divide the domestic work around the house between them. She could afford the opportunity to live outside the home during the weekdays. She explained that she wakes up around 7:30 a.m. during weekdays where she does not have to do any house chores. This gives her the opportunity to get ready for university with ease, and she does not feel tired or sleep deprived. She confessed that this helps her to focus more on her studies. She only takes turns cleaning the small shared bedroom with her roommate every day.

> *"Living here in the student accommodation is the best thing I have ever done in my life, I wake up late than if I would have lived at home, I love the fact that I don't have to do any house chores. I would hate it to have to hassle in the morning just to clean everything and getting ready to university, it would be very stressful. This is a lifetime chance where I can avoid house chores and I think this is*

the best decision I have ever did even though I feel sorry for my sisters for taking my part in doing house chores and I can imagine how tiresome and stressful it is for them. Living in the accommodation is great because I don't clean dirty dishes because I eat at the canteen every day. The food is not great and the taste is passable but I am willing to overlook it at the expense of not doing house chores in the weekday. I just take turn with my roommate over mopping the room floor every day in the evening. It works fine for both of us".

Many of my interviewees who reside in the university accommodation expressed their contentment, just like Prayer, of avoiding doing house chores at home and even at the university accommodation. Some of these students admitted that the food was at the accommodation canteen[20] but they overlooked it if it meant they would take a break from cooking and washing the dishes. All of the university accommodation residing students shared a similar opinion about living at home. They agreed that they would be obliged to wake up early every morning to do housework because their families believe that studying is an excuse for them to ditch their responsibilities of doing domestic work since it is their job as women. This shared narrative between many of my participants shows how domestic work is gendered and classed through the portrayal of unequal housework division.

Nevertheless, all of these young Algerian women shared a common domestic work schedule during the weekends and the holidays. Both of the students living at home and those residing at the university accommodations had to perform domestic work at their homes on the weekends. Female students living in the university accommodation were mostly obliged to return home on the weekends. They are obliged to assume back their responsibilities of doing household chores. Many of the interviewees admitted that they spend their weekends cleaning the house thoroughly. Smile who resides at Algiers University accommodation, detailed her experience of domestic work during the weekends.

"I have to go back home every weekend, I love seeing my family but I do not love the part of doing house work. I

[20] The Algerian universities accommodations provide lunch and dinner for the residing students at the canteens free of charge. University accommodations' regulation does not allow students to cook in their rooms because they are small and unequipped.

have to clean the house completely with my mother and sister. I start by preparing breakfast for my family and clean the kitchen, and I clean the living room and the bedrooms. I wipe the furniture and I mop the whole house then I cook lunch before 9 a.m. in the afternoon, I do the laundry and iron and fold the clothes, I clean the backyard and sweep or mop the rooftop[21], I usually bake sweets in the weekends whereas my sister and mother bake in the weekdays. Later on, I proceed to make dinner and clean the kitchen, hallway and the living room again after dinner. I find it very tiresome and frustrating to do all of this in the weekend".

In similar fashion, students like Silver, who lives in her family home, detailed her weekends and holidays experiences with domestic work, where she stated that she would spend more than 10 hours on average in doing household chores daily. Silver stated:

"The weekends for me are super busy; I hardly find any time to rest, I spend my precious weekends on doing house chores because I was taught to do more on the weekends as a compensation for the lost time during the week even when I actually do house chores then. I wake up early and clean and cook until late night. I would be lucky if I get resting time especially on Friday when relatives and friends like to visit us, I am constantly working on weekends and holidays. The quantity of house chores I do is like any other Algerian woman does but still it is too much, at least it is for my family's sake and I like having a clean an tidy home".

Both of the quotes are typical of most of these young Algerian women's experiences. Most of these women experience busy domestic work schedules in their daily lives. These narratives detail the load of the unequal domestic division they go through. Even though the load of the

[21] Algerian houses rooftops differ from the western style of architecture, they are like large terraces mainly used for hanging laundry, special events, storing things, gardening and even raising chicken. They require to be cleaned regularly.

domestic work differs between university accommodations and family home residing female students during the weekdays, however, it is very similar once they are home. These women draw gratification and importance by serving their family and doing domestic work purposefully. However, the load and burden of domestic work prove to be too hard, according to their statements. Exploring young Algerian women's everyday experiences around domestic work can be part of investigating what influences these women into doing house work and the unequal gendered division of domestic work.

4.3. Mother's Influence

It is important to discuss how domestic work becomes gendered by exploring what influences young Algerian women into doing domestic work and its unequal division. All of my participants revealed that they grew up in homes where unequal division of domestic labour was a major factor in producing gender roles while witnessing their mothers and sisters perform all of the domestic work. Such observation shaped young Algerian women's gendered perspectives, where they would imitate their mothers and female family figures into assuming the same gender roles and doing domestic work. Night disclosed that seeing her mother performing according to the social gender roles through doing domestic work led her to copy her mother's behaviour and assimilate into the same gendered identity. She stated:

> *"I always grew up watching my mother and my older sister doing house work. My mom was always doing household chores, it was a lot and she did it continuously. I started doing the same as her since I was young because I learned and believed that is what a woman should do. It's not because I love to do domestic work but it is because what my mother and my sister did so I should do it too. My mother has always been there for the needs of my family especially my father and brothers and my sister did the same so it only makes sense that I follow their footsteps".*

Since all my participants reported that they grew up watching only their mothers and other female family relatives doing house work, it becomes evident why young Algerian women

assume the same gendered roles and believe that it is a woman's natural job to do domestic work. Domestic work in the Algerian family context becomes gendered because it is only performed by Algerian women. Some of my participants even witnessed two or more women generations in their families doing house work. Moon, whose late grandmother used to live with them since she was born, stated that she used to watch her mother and grandmother do all the domestic chores around the house. She remembered how her grandmother used to cook delicious meals while her mother took the responsibility of cleaning the house. She expressed that watching the women in her family be the sole in charge of doing chores motivated her to become one too. Comparably, Princess, whose parents lived with her great grandmother, grandparents, and two uncles in a large house when she was young, recalled how she used to watch four generations of women in her family do domestic work:

> *"Until I became 13 years old, my family and I used to live with my grandparents, my late great grandma and my married uncles in a large house. I grew up watching my mother, grandmother, my uncles' wives; my young cousin and even my great grandma who was in her nineties do house work. Now that I remember it I am surprised, my grandma and my grandma used to cook sometimes traditional food which was so delicious it inspired me to learn from them and I sat next to them while they were cooking and kneading bread just so that they could see my enthusiasm and spill their recipes and secrets and started cooking like them"*

All of my interviewees narratives that detail how more than two generations of women participate in doing house work indicate how domestic work is highly gendered. It is expected of Algerian women to perform their respective gender roles by doing domestic work. Age was not of relevance in doing house work as shown in the quote where four generations of women had to shoulder the mission of domestic work. Doing domestic work becomes gendered because it is assumed to be a woman's job regardless of their age. Most of my participants asserted that they emulated the everyday behaviours and practices of their mothers because they believe their mothers were great women, housewives, and role models. This included learning domestic work skills at a young age and taking over all household work on behalf of

their mothers when they grew up. Tenderness, Happy, and Gift acknowledged their mothers as their role models and their main influencers in starting to learn about domestic work.

> *"My mom is the best person I know! She is such a good woman and housewife, she always too care of us and she was the reason why I was motivated in learning how to clean and cook "(Tenderness).*

> *"Growing up, I saw my mother always put the most delicious and eye pleasing food on our table, she knows how to cook and no other member of our family could be compared to her she is my role model that's why I stuck by her side most of the time when cooked so I could learn" (Happy).*

> *"My mother is my role model, she is a wonderful housewife and great teacher when it comes to teaching me how to do domestic work "(Gift).*

These quotes are parallel with many participants' views. Considering the mother as a role model when it comes to doing house chores and performing expected gender roles influenced young Algerian women into following the same path. This explains how the unequal division of domestic work still persists in the Algerian family and culture. Algerian mothers start teaching their daughters to do domestic work at a very young age starting from as young as 5 years old. Angel clarified how she learnt her house chores skills from her mother:

> *"My earliest memory of learning doing house chores is when my mother showed me how to wipe the dust off furniture and I was so excited to finally take part in a house chore after I was keep a watch over my mother and my older sister. I remember how my mom started teaching me and asking for my help around the house, she began by showing me how to set the table for dinner and wipe it off, then how to wash dirty dishes, how to fold blankets and clothes, and we would also learn to bake cake together, it*

was fun honestly and with time chores skills became more advanced and challenging"

Algerian women are not naturally knowledgeable of how to do house chores or are skilled at it by nature. All of the interviewed Algerian women attested that they learnt doing domestic work from their mothers. Their experiences of how they were introduced into the world of domestic were very similar to Angel's. Algerian mothers teach their daughters skills of doing domestic work, preparing them to conform to the Algerian patriarchal gendered roles. The maternal influence on all of my participants' experiences of acquiring domestic work expertise was very apparent. Most of these young Algeria women shared similar responses with Memory and Rose:

"My mom loves baking and because of her I love it too, we always had fun when we baked together, she motivated me to learn everything from her". (Memory)

"My mother has always influenced me to do better at house work and aim for excellence; she used to tell me that she also did not know how to do some chores like kneading bread but now she is the best at it" (Rose)

Doing house chores is not a natural for Algerian women, or any woman, most of the interviewees agreed that it took their mothers years of refining their domestic work skills to attain their current level of expertise. Doing domestic work appears to women as a natural skill because it is a gendered and everyday task that is characterised by it repetition. When a chore is done hundreds of times, women would appear to be 'natural 'at it. Nevertheless, Algerian mothers also learned doing house work from their own mothers and improved being at it through their repetitive experiences. Diamond explained:

"At some point in my mother's life, even though I can't imagine it' she was a child like I was too. She must have learned doing house chores from her mother too like I did from her. When I was younger I though my mom just was born with such skills unlike me but she clarified to me she was also taught this and repetition makes perfect. These skills are like our heirloom, it gets honed through each

generation and get passed on from one to one and I will definitely do the same for my daughters in the future"

Algerian mothers transmit their gendered domestic work skills and gender roles conformity to their daughters. Intergenerational transmission of gendered beliefs associated with doing gender and doing domestic work is evident in the narratives of young Algerian women. Farre and Vella (2013) argue that mothers strongly influence their daughters' own gendered identity and attitudes when transferring to them their own gender role attitudes. Intergenerational transmission of gender attitudes and gender socialisation of unequal division of domestic work responsibilities is a powerful mechanism in the hands of Algerian women in transferring the Algerian family and society patriarchal codes and preferences. Daughters receive direct information about their mothers' attitudes and opinions, and they witness the specific unequal division of household labour (Cordero-Coma, Esping-Anderson 2018). McDowell and Pringle (1992) argue that women are men in the family and are assigned to different roles associated with different divisions of house labour loads. Cordero-Coma and Esping- Anderson (2018) argue that unequal division of domestic labour in the parental home will shape the daughters' behaviours and attitudes around gendered domestic work. They also argue that a gendered parental distribution of household chores may explain the unequal distribution of unpaid work among adult couples and future children despite women's greater employment and educational attainment. Donovan (2000) argues that gendered roles inequality, and women's secondary status are not mere individuals' bad intentions; they are created through and espoused by a system of patriarchy. In this sense, Algerian mothers and female family relatives work as agents and secondary perpetrators of patriarchy in the Algerian family and society.

Some of the young Algerian participants drew upon implicitly and explicitly that Algerian mothers and female family relatives act as perpetrators of patriarchy and "injustice against women". Hope pointed out how the women in her family, especially her mother, take part in continuing the patriarchal attitudes taught indirectly.

"There were occasions where I thought that my mother's teachings about domestic work were too unfair. Why was I , as a daughter, obliged to learn to do house work when I was just 8 years old. I feel like the women in my family are

contributing to the problem of masculine society[22]. My mother told me that it is my job to do all of the domestic work because I will have to assume its responsibility once I get married but what about men? Why is it my duty to do that? I felt like she was confirming that I am inferior to men, to my brothers and at some point I believe it because I can't escape those gender roles the society sets and enforced for me and my mother had a hand in teaching them to me"

Whereas, Wisdom shared a similar experience with how she felt as a maid for her older brother because of her mother:

"My brother got divorced two years ago and since he owns his own house in the same city we live in I was obliged by my mother to go to his house every single day after my finishing with university, even though I did not want to because it is too troublesome, my mother did not take my opinion into consideration and I was forced to clean his house, do his laundry and cook dinner for him for more than 8 months, it was so exhausting and I still had to do some house chores when I got back home. This ended when my mother decided to marry him again and the worst part is that my brother or mother never thanked once for my efforts, they took it for granted that it was my job to serve my brother as his personal maid"

Both quotes hold similarities to a few other interviewees' accounts. I argue that Algerian mothers and female relatives act as agents and perpetrators of patriarchy in Algeria by teaching and transferring their gendered values and domestic work skills. O'Connor and Drury (1999) emphasised that women contribute to their own submission. Lerner (1986) argues that women reproduce the structures of patriarchy while internalising values of inferiority to men. Ashebir (2007) argues that women participate in their own

[22] In Algeria and the Arab world, patriarchy is known as in the term: masculine society or paternal society. The equivalent term of patriarchy in Arabic is a transliteration: Batrakiya . This term is not widely known or used.

subordination by transferring patriarchal values that define them as an inferior group from generations to generations. Algerian women participate in their own subordination to Algerian men by transferring values of gender inequality through domestic work. I argue that Algerian women act as agents of patriarchy in Algeria through the gender socialisation, parentification, and intergenerational transmission of gendered domestic work because of their impression management of their homes, lives, values, and identity.

4.4. Power and Symbolic Violence

Doing domestic work in Algerian culture is influenced by power dynamics in the family context. In Algeria, it is deduced through my research findings that Algerian women are reduced to second-class citizens. Almost all of my young Algerian participants argued that patriarchal values and norms in Algeria allocate women to the kitchen as their suitable place. These Algerian women argued that Algerian men believe that they are superior to women. Hence, they should be confined and limited to the kitchen space. I deduce from my research data that doing domestic work in Algeria is based on the patriarchal hierarchy. Patriarchy defines the hierarchy between men and women while establishing men's superiority and their domination over women (Eisentein, 1984).

Patriarchy, in Algeria, determines that men are superior to women while viewing that women are second class citizens and doing domestic work is menial, doing house chores is delegated to women. Patriarchy associates gendered roles to Algerian men and women according to their hierarchal status. Algerian men have greater access to the public sphere without doing domestic work except for house repairs, which is mostly delegated to professionals, while Algerian women become limited to the private sphere of the home and the kitchen. Young Algerian women such as Flower complained that she has to do unpaid house work because it is believed in the Algerian culture that it is a menial and low status work and it is unbefitting men to that according to their status. Flower's views about feeling like "degree less than men" point out how she came to believe that women are truly second-class human beings compared to men. She adds that is why she feels that women are meant to do domestic work because it is more befitting of them as a "low status work".

Research findings point out that some micro-level theories can explain Algerian patriarchal division of domestic work between men and women. The first micro-level theory is time availability, where Braun et al (2008) talks about how it is considered 'fair' for men who spend more time in paid work to spend less time on domestic work. Braun (2008) argues that men opt out of doing house work since they spend a fair share of their time doing paid work in the labour market. Several participants argued that men in their families do more or most of the paid labour while they are studying or their mothers are staying house wives. Therefore, they argue that it is assumed of them to do the house work since they have more 'free time' as opposed to working men. While some other participants explained that their fathers justified women's shouldering all the responsibility of house work because they are not working at all or not working enough time as men. Rose stated:

> *"My father once told me that I was not contributing to the family with paid work then I should do my share of domestic work, he explained that his did his share of allocated time on his job and if I in return did not contribute to the family, he told he since I'm free I should do house work" Rose.*

Several interviewees hinted that they experienced the same situation with their family relatives. Additionally, according to the findings, some Algerian women also believed in this 'equation'. Moon stated that her mother used to tell her that she is doing nothing and she has too much time on her hands; therefore, she should do any form of housework. Moon argued that her mother believed that they have time availability since they do not have a paid job, unlike the father. Even though Moon is a full time student and spends most of her time studying, she is not exempted from doing house work by her mother, who does not see it equivalent to doing a paid job. In fact, most of the participants referred to how their studying is considered classed as not equal to entering the labour market. Thus, time availability becomes one of the reasons behind the unequal unpaid domestic work division.

Another factor that influences the unequal house work division between men and women, according to research findings, is economic dependency. All of the young Algerian women I interviewed for this research were full time students. Hence, they are economically dependent on their parents, especially their fathers. This financial dependency hinders young Algerian women leveraged in bargaining the division of unpaid domestic work. Their fathers and male

relatives who provide and financially support them determine the division of domestic work at home. Participants such as Dream explained: "I *am currently a student, and I fully rely on my father's financial support, and whatever he judges to be done I would do it because of this economic dependency".*

Lennon and Rosenfield (1994) argue that women lack of power in families leading them to accept unequal division of house work. Baxter and Western (1998) explain that women lack of resources and power within the family, which leaves them with few alternatives to existing arrangements: traditional gender role ideology, which encourages women to accept unequal workloads in the home, and finally the fact that women spend fewer hours in paid work than men, contributing to see that housework is women's primary responsibility. However, time availability and resources dependency theories do not apply for working Algerian women. As they spend equal time as men in the labour market and are financially independent, Algerian women still shoulder all of the domestic work responsibility. Unlike what Baxter and Western (1998) argued that working women obtain power to influence the division of domestic labour and its allocation within households, I argue that Algerian women's paid work, economic resources, and in this situation also access to education do not give them bargaining power over the division of house work. As I illustrated in the literature review that women are forced to compensate for the time they spent outside the house in doing house chores even when that 'lost time' is spent on work or studies. I find that the increase in young Algerian women's education or income later on during their work life does not decrease the amount of house chores because of patriarchal gendered roles.

Patriarchal traditional gender roles influence women to assume the burden of all of the domestic work while hindering them from transitioning towards change and equality despite education and paid employment. Arber and Ginn (1995) argue that gendered roles and norms maintain the division of house labour despite women's increasing levels of education, employment, and salaries. Patriarchal gendered roles disadvantage women and may lead to an increase in the amount of time and effort spent on domestic work through assigning the second class status. Makama (2013) argues that gender roles create hierarchy and binary categories of masculinity and femininity where the latter is deemed inferior.

However, patriarchal gender roles do not empower only men on women; it also empowers older women on younger women for domination and exploitation. In general, older women dominate younger women, mothers in law dominate daughters in law, elder brothers wives dominate younger brothers wives and so on . This age stratification among women allies older

women with patriarchal interests since they share the same domination and exploitations of younger women, and in return, younger women endure this because they know that they will obtain the same power as they get older to exercise on the younger women. Hierarchal women's on women dominance and exploitation in terms of the inequity of doing domestic chores in Algerian context may be shaped by symbolic violence.

Bjorkert (2016) states that the social dynamics of everyday practices are often governed and shaped in many ways by gendered inequalities and micro contexts of power, which enable various forms of normative violence to continue with impunity. I argue that symbolic violence is an important concept that would help to understand the acceptance of young Algerian women of the unequal division of house work. Smart and Smart (1978) argue that this violence is not tangible by necessity but it is the internalisation through continual socialisation of the possibility of violence. Pierre Bourdieu explains that symbolic violence aims to maintain social hierarchies and inequalities through symbolic domination rather than a physical one. Connolly and Healy (2004) argue this symbolic dominance leads to the internalisation of subordination and inequalities values. I argue through my research finding that young Algerian women accept and do unfair loads of unpaid domestic work because of symbolic violence.

It is crucial to incorporate the interconnected forms of violence identified by Clisby & Holdworth (2014). Structural violence refers to the systematic ways in which social structures harm or disadvantage individuals. In the context of Algerian domestic labour, structural violence is evident in the entrenched social norms and institutional practices that perpetuate gender inequality. Farmer (2004) articulates that structural violence is deeply embedded in social institutions and cultural norms, often resulting in limited opportunities and resources for women. The Algerian context, where patriarchal values are deeply rooted, exemplifies this through the lack of institutional support for gender equality and the reinforcement of traditional gender roles.

Visceral violence, meanwhile, concerns the physical and emotional impacts of this oppressive structure. The toll of continuous domestic labour, often performed without recognition or support, has significant implications for the mental and physical well-being of young Algerian women. Clisby & Holdsworth (2014) emphasize that the form of violence can manifest in stress, anxiety and other health issues, exacerbated by the internalised acceptance of subjugation and exploitation. By incorporating these aspects of violence into my research, it becomes evident that the acceptance of unequal domestic labour among young Algerian women is not only a result of symbolic violence but is also perpetuated through structural and visceral forms of violence.

Clisby & Holdsworth (2014) work on the triad of violence; symbolic, structural, and visceral provides a comprehensive framework to further understand these processes. Symbolic violence operates through cultural and social norms that naturalise gender inequality. Structral violence refers to the systematic ways in which social structures harm or disadvantage individuals. Visceral violence encompasses the physical and emotional harm that reinforces gendered power dynamics. By incorporating this triadic framework, it becomes evident that the acceptance of unequal domestic labour among Algerian women is not only a result of symbolic violence but is also perpetuated through structural and visceral forms of violence. Clisb & Holdsworth's work (2014) aligns with this research's findings about the forms of violence that the young Algerian women face in their everyday lives and enhances our understanding of the multifaceted nature of gendered violence.

Integrating these dimensions, my research findings draw on Bordieu's concept of symbolic violence to explain how language and social norms contribute to the internalisation of gender norms. As Bhambra and Shiliam (2009) suggest, language play a critical role in naturalising gender inequalities, framing them as inherent and unquestionable. In my study, the use of terms Sajia and Jayha by Algerian women serves as a mechanism of symbolic violence, reinforcing the acceptance of unequal unpaid labour distribution. This linguistic domination, as Bjorkert (2016) argues, not only manipulates and controls young Algerian women but also silences their resistance by embedding patriarchal values into everyday discourse.

I argue that Algerian men dominate Algerian women and in same fashion older women use symbolic violence on young Algerian women to dominate and exploit them. Older Algerian women enforce patriarchal gendered values of doing domestic work. This adds to my argument that Algerian women and mothers act as agents of sustaining patriarchy on behalf of

men. This symbolic violence includes silencing young Algerian women and denying them their agency in resisting the unjust load of house chores. Bhambra and Shiliam (2009) argue that silencing women dialogues about change by constructing the inequalities as natural products, stopping them from questioning the validity of these domination inequalities and internalising them as everyday life processes.

My research finding yielded that language is an important part of symbolic violence where Algerian women use terms like Sajia and Jayha in order to manipulate, dominate, and exploit young Algerian women into accepting the unjust load of house work. Bjorkert (2016) describes language as a form of dominance that can constitute violence and be co- constituted by it. Bjorkert (2016) also argues that language includes, excludes, and it frames discourses through which social reality is constructed and consequently has implications for power. Language becomes a gate for internalizing fear and domestic violence. Therefore, symbolic domination and violence in the Algerian context engrave unjust division of unpaid housework and patriarchal gendered roles.

4.5. Symbolic Interactionism and Impression Management

Algerian women derive value from showcasing a tidy and clean home and excellent household skills to the outsiders. Algerian women aim to construct the perfect image of the perfect women and housewives. Having a clean home shows the abilities of the woman as a good woman. The notion of " what would people/others say about me/us?" is evident in the narratives of many of the young Algerian interviewees. Young Algerian women expressed their mothers 'concern about other people's opinions of their domestic skills and the cleanliness of their homes. Algerian mothers derive honour from cleanliness, skills, and teaching their daughters "proper" house chores skills. I argue that many of women derive value and gratification from doing domestic work even though they disapprove of the nature of domestic work. Algerian women take pleasure with their clean and organised homes. On the other hand, they are constantly worried about other people's opinion of their efforts. Skeggs (1997) argues that domesticity is closely tied to respectability, and the home is one key area where respectability is displayed for the outside world to judge. Having a dirty home means the woman failed at domesticity. I argue that one's home is one' representation of self and life, therefore assuming gendered domestic work gives Algerian women power to control

other people's impression and attain respectability. To this end, I argue that the main driving force behind patriarchy in Algeria and Algerian women acting as agents of patriarchy is the need to construct a good impression of self and home to others.

Drawing from Dermott and Seymour's exploration of 'family display' (2011) and Walsh, McNamee, and Seymour's critique on the topic (2020), delving into feminist sociological frameworks within my research on Algerian women's engagement with domestic labour and societal expectations adds depth to the analysis. Building on this, while discussing Algerian women's engagement with domestic labour and the construction of the idealised domestic sphere, it becomes evident that their actions are not solely driven by personal fulfilment but also by the societal pressures and expectations imposed upon them. The emphasis on maintaining a clean and organised home as a means of garnering respectability and validation aligns with Skeggs'(1997) assertion that domesticity is intricately linked to notions of respectability. This aligns with the concept of 'family display', where families actively perform and perform and present their domestic lives to signify their identity and values (Dermott and Seymour, 2011). The act of displaying family through domestic tasks is not just about maintaining cleanliness but also about projecting a socially acceptable image, which is critical in patriarchal contexts like Algeria.

Moreover, the narrative of Algerian women deriving both value and anxiety from their domestic roles resonates with the broader discourse on the gendered nature of household labour. By emphasizing the importance of presenting oneself and one's home in favourable light, Algerian women navigate patriarchal structures not only as subjects but also as agents, seeking to assert control over societal perceptions and attain a sense of respectability.

This research findings align with Dermott and Seymour (2011) and Walsh et al (2020) framework of family display. The emphasis on family display and the presentation of a particular image within the Algerian community resonates with their exploration of how families project themselves to the outside world. Algerian women's meticulous engagement in domestic labour can be viewed as a form display aimed at upholding societal norms and expectations. Moreover, their consideration of family's influence on image management is reflected in the context of Algerian society, where patriarchal structures heavily influence family dynamics. Algerian women's roles as primary caregivers and homemakers contribute to the construction of a specific family image that aligns with traditional gender roles. Overall, the alignment between the research on Algerian women's experiences with

patriarchy and Dermott & Seymour (2011) and Walsh et al (2020) framework underscores the universal relevance of family dynamics and societal expectations in shaping individuals' behaviours and identities within different cultural contexts. In alignment of family display, Algerian women's engagement in domestic labour is not only a means of self-representation but also subjected to extensive scrutiny and surveillance by various members of their social network, as discussed in the participants'' experiences pressure due to multi monitoring.

Algerian women's domestic work and efforts are constantly under surveillance and scrutiny. They are scrutinised by all other women, whether it is their mothers, grandmothers, sisters, mother in laws, sister in laws, cousins, neighbours, and friends as well. Faith talks about the pressure her mother and Algerian women face because of the endless monitoring from other female family relatives:

> *"I ve always heard my mum rhetorically say" what would others say about you and me if they saw the house untidy?! She always urged me to clean and tidy around the house and improve my skills in order to avoid criticism from other women. I have seen my mother on several occasions pressured to go the extra mile when doing house chores and I would follow along just to not give other family relatives the chance to gossip about us".*

Female family relatives prove to be the main party behind the constant scrutiny Algerian mothers and women face when it comes to doing domestic work. The constant scrutiny and the necessity to display family respectability are consistent with the frameworks of family display as discussed by Walsh et al (2020), who highlight how family display are deeply embedded in social norms and expectations, often perpetuating patriarchal traditional gender roles and power dynamics. Similarly to Faith's quote, many participants agreed that their mothers face the harshest judgements from their own families. Their grandmothers still serve as supervisors even when the mothers are old enough to manage all responsibilities, including household chores. They admitted that their paternal grandmothers and aunts, their mothers' in laws, most of the time are the harshest critics as they redeem most of the efforts unworthy of their expectations. Many of the participants fessed up that the in-laws always try to find the smallest faults or problems with how the house is cleaned or with the daughters' skills and ways of teaching. In addition, friends and neighbours are no exception here. Queen claimed

that their neighbours always kept an eye on their home cleanliness situation. Any fault found would be gossiped about with other women for a long time and would be used as material for embarrassing the mothers and daughters. These types of relationships exhibit signs and behaviours of toxicity.

This dynamic not only perpetuates patriarchal norms but also hampers solidarity among women. The persistent criticism and gossip create an environment in which women feel compelled to compete with another rather than supporting and uplifting each other. In this context, the relationships between Algerian women can become toxic, preventing them from joining forces to challenge the very patriarchal structures that pit them against each other. The lack of solidarity resulting from these toxic relationships further exacerbates gender inequalities and undermines women's efforts to navigate the challenges posed by traditional gender roles.

It is crucial to acknowledge the complex dynamics that shape women's relationships within Algerian society. While there are instances of solidarity and support among family members, particularly within the mother-daughter relationship and during significant events like weddings and funerals, the pervasiveness of patriarchy can often hinder genuine solidarity. Internalised patriarchy not only impacts how women perceive themselves but also influence their relationships with one another. Rich (1976) argues: "Patriarchy has created these divisions between women forcing them into roles and behaviours that set them against each other" (p.275). In the context of domestic work, women may engage in competition and criticism, rather than fostering an environment of mutual support. This dynamic extends beyond household chores to encompass adherence to patriarchal codes of femininity and the policing of women's hospitality and behaviour to maintain the façade of a "good and dexterous woman".

However, it is important to note that Algerian women are not a monolithic group; their experiences, attitudes and relationships with one another can vary significantly. Factors such as educational background and urban or rural context can influence the dynamics of female relationships and the potential for solidarity. The influence of internalised patriarchy cannot be overlooked when examining solidarity concept among Algerian women particularly in the familial context. These toxic relationships and lack of solidarity among Algerian women can also manifest within the family unit, as evidenced by the experiences shared by my participants in this research. Their accounts of sibling rivalry and family conflicts further

illustrate the detrimental consequences of the constant scrutiny and judgement women face in the Algerian context.

Several participants disclosed that they had or still are displaying toxic behaviour with their siblings or family relatives because of the constant scrutiny. Dream and Moon expressed that they were at some point in a rivalry with their sisters and cousins:

> *"I try to cook better and newer recipes at home in order to impress my mother, my sister does that too and when she does, I try to criticise her saying it's too salty or too sweet in order to make her look bad in front of our mother or embarrass her, she does that too to me all the time, but whenever I am at my aunt s house, I always look for places that have not been cleaned properly or any rubbish lying in the floor no matter how small even if it a small paper , I try to mock my cousin's abilities of cleaning because she does the same to me and even when it comes to food I do that too, there was even once my cousin was making a cake trying to impress our family , I added two spoons of salt in mix when she looked away, she was so embarrassed."(*Dream)

Whereas Moon said:

> *"Once , I saw my cousin put bleach in the washing machine while I was doing the laundry, I realised she wanted me to scolded by mother, luckily the clothes were not ruined, I returned the favour once I visited her home and ruined her laundry with bleach too, an eye for an eye"*

Relationships between women can be powerful assets in women's personal lives or powerful sources of betrayal and pain (Brock, 2008). Sabotaging behaviour between women has reasons and implications. Success in doing domestic work and receiving recognition from the mother and other family relative is the main trigger for sabotage in both narratives, among others. The lack of visibility and appreciation led these young Algerian women to take extreme measures and have toxic relationships with their relatives. All of these Algerian

women employ two terms in order to categorise and label women according to their house tidiness and domestic work competency.

All of the Algerian women's efforts can be categorised and labelled with two Algerian patriarchal terms. The first one is Sajiya, I argue that it does not have an exact synonym in English language. It can be described as in being a good woman, good housewife material, active, competent, dutiful, filial, and well raised. A term used to praise women who manage to give a good and correct impression of their houses, cleanliness and skilfulness. Contrarily, Jayha is a term given to women who are labelled as lazy, coward, terrible person, unskilful, incapable, terrible wife and mother material. The pejorative term is usually given to women whose houses are to be found dirty by other women. The term is meant to disgrace the Algerian women because as it was mentioned earlier domesticity is tied with respectability. If a woman's house is dirty then she is believed to not deserve respect from other women. Night argues that both of the terms are patriarchal:

> *"The problem with naming a woman Sajiya or Jayha is in categorising them in to mode of subordination. These terms categorizes women according to their usefulness in doing domestic work. If she is good then she is Sajiya , she would derive respect from a single word while if she does not live up to the Algerian standards of gendered domestic competency then she is labelled as Jayha thus shaming her and neglecting all of her continuous efforts to produce a good image about herself in the Algerian society."*

Both of these terms serve as manipulative tools for enforcing and sustaining patriarchy in the Algerian gendered culture. These terms urge and provoke Algerian women into shouldering the domestic work duty and seeking to perfect their construct of a good impression to others. Algerian women overlook the problematic use of both terms and abide by this categorisation and even use it in their everyday life lexicon. Algerian women and mothers employ these terms when they teach their daughters doing domestic work. Honesty disclosed that her experiences of hearing such terms while learning to do house chores:

> *"Being called Sajiya or Jayha has influenced my household skills immensely. I was first introduced to Sajiiya as a term for praising upon doing good in my first*

steps of doing house work when I was 6 or 7 years old. To be honest, it felt pretty good to be praised and strived more to do much better every day. However, as time passed the praises decreased and was replaced by Jayha, a word that made me feel shameful and sinful for not living up to my mother's expectations when I decided to lazy up around the house instead of performing house chores. With time, I no longer hear Sajiya from my mother's mouth and I was provoked to spend continuous efforts in learning and doing domestic work in order to please my mother and avoid being Jayha again."

This narrative is very similar in many participants' accounts where they were provoked by their mother's and other female relatives use of such terms into spending more efforts into learning and doing gendered chores. Their mothers acted as agents of patriarchy when they taught the daughter the gendered domestic work while wielding the patriarchal force of such terms and accepting of degrading their daughters into two categories according to their usefulness or not. Algerian women are participating in the subordination of their own daughters like their mothers did to them. Consequently, Algerian mothers and women become active perpetrators of patriarchy's vicious cycle. On the other hand, men also employ such terms to criticise women.

Unsurprisingly, men of the family, mainly the fathers and husbands, are also in implicit and explicit surveillance of their daughters' and wives' efforts in doing domestic work. They use Jayha towards their female kin for the same purpose of degrading women into usefulness classification. However, they rarely use Sajiya as praise as Algerian men do not consider doing domestic work as a skilled and noteworthy work. Many of my participants reported that their mothers were always criticised by their fathers[23]. Lovely confessed that her father always criticises her mother calling her Jayha even though she regards her mother as an excellent housewife. Lovely mentioned that her father never praised her or her mother whenever they did something good," he likes to "hunt" faults and issues in our household practices and never misses the opportunity to criticize even though his responsibilities revolve only around his paid job and occasional house repairs". Lovely, like many other young

[23] Fathers of participants

women, found herself pressured and overwhelmed because she had spent more efforts doing domestic work.

All of the young Algerian interviewed women expressed how they felt to take on the duty of sheltering their mothers from the outside criticism (family and outsiders; men and women). Their only option to do so was to conform to the Algerian patriarchal and gendered values and attitudes laid by the Algerian family, culture and enforced by their mothers. Many of the participants stated that they felt they were in a daily and repetitious battle alongside their mothers against the world. They felt the need to protect their mothers by conforming to the patriarchal institution through accepting and learning to do domestic work. Rose compared this to a war:

> *"If I act up and refuse doing house chores, my mother would be criticised so much. She would be criticised by my father, her mother and her in laws especially my aunt who obviously does not like my mother. I know that my mother is obliged to teach me doing house work skills but I know she is doing this to protect me too in order not to be criticised in the future by my family or my future in laws. It's my mom and I against the world"*

Algerian mothers and daughters become agents of patriarchy as a shield from societal criticism. Most of the young Algerian participants agreed that conforming to the gendered domestic work beliefs validates their mother's pursuit towards attaining good impression of their home and skills. Many of these young women confessed that they followed their mother's steps in wanting to achieve the best impression. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, doing domestic work is a performance of gender in the interactional level. Young Algerian women perform unequal division of gendered labour in relation with the interaction with other individuals for their efforts to have a purpose and to be evaluated and recognised. Young Algerian women's pursuit towards impression management is tied with recognition from other individuals, such as family members or friends visiting home. Impression management becomes a means of perpetuating patriarchy through internalising the women's roles in doing housework and competing against each other striving to perform gender and replicating gender inequality.

4.6. Conclusion

I attempt in this chapter to discuss the unpaid domestic work aspect of young Algerian women's everyday lives through doing gender at the interactional level. I discuss how gender can be created and shaped in the context of the Algerian home through unpaid domestic work. This chapter explores how young Algerian women experience gendered domestic work. I explore different narratives of young Algerian students living at their family home compared with those who live at the university accommodation. I argue that the Algerian patriarchy is produced and sustained through the impression management of Algerian women in relation to doing gendered unpaid domestic work. Algerian women do all of the domestic work. Doing gender in the Algerian context is produced through the repetitive every day chores. The main reason behind this gendered division in the Algerian mothers' intergenerational transmission of domestic work skills and gender roles, values, and beliefs. I discuss that young Algerian women acquire value and prestige from doing house work by managing the impression of having a clean home and showcasing "good woman" skills in order to obtain respectability. The originality of this research lies in attempting to show that Algerian mothers are motivated by impression management of their homes and skills, leading them to become agents and perpetuators of patriarchy through intergenerational transmission of gendered, unequal division of domestic work and ideologies.

5. Honour Chapter

5.1. Introduction

Patriarchy enforces honour culture and values on Algerian women, denying them their sexuality freedom and leading them to internalise these values. Young Algerian women value their honour, chastity, and their family honour. Honour is an indispensable theme emerging from the data that explains young Algerian women experiences with patriarchy in their everyday lives in Algeria. Honour emerged as a central theme for all participants. All of my participants referred to honour as "Aard" or "Sharaf" while they referred shame as "Aib". The concept of honour in relation to the female body in the Arab world has been studied in depth. However, research exploring how women protect their bodies to ensure they remain pure and avoid soiling their families' honour is scarce. A woman's honour in Algeria in particular is closely related linked to her premarital status as a virgin and their performance of honour before and after marriage. An incident that jeopardizes the girl's virginity is deemed her fault. Women who fail to uphold this social expectation encounter severe backlash from society. Consequently, that expectation imposes on them regulations in order to avoid the repercussions that come with losing virginity and family's honour.

5.2. Honour Culture

Most of the participants like Honesty attribute huge value to honour, as Algerian society instructs. Most of the participants drew value from owning honour and keeping it while they discussed its importance. All of my research participants talked about the importance of their honour as well as their families, participants like honesty said: "*honour is a huge thing for me as an Algerian I would be nothing without my honour, honour in our society is everything, and I would not be able to live if I lose it.*" Honesty spoke firmly about how she values her honour she insisted that it was more precious than her life, she argued that her value comes from the value of honour and by protecting it she is proving her value to her family and in Algerian society and maintaining her value .

The majority of participants agreed that the Algerian culture and society value honour above almost everything. They argue that Algerian culture sets value for individuals depending upon their honour maintenance. Diamond explained that in Algerian culture and society, if you

follow the rules and tradition of protecting your honour and your family's honour, then you are precious and valued. She said:

> *"In my family, they always treated me like an endearing person who knows how to protect the family s honour because of the way I have been conducting myself in a suitable manner".*

Diamond argues that she drives value from maintaining her honour according to the Algerian society and culture rules. She expressed that she sees huge value in honour and believes in its importance for her and her family as good Algerian women.

All of the participants shared a similar understanding of honour that is linked with respect, splendour (Al Izz) and prestige. Several participants claimed that honour surpasses owning respect. Rose stated:" *honour is above a good reputation or respect that you get from other people, it is more than, I can't explain it fully but it is definitely more than just respect*". Honour is used in the Arab and Algerian society as a criterion to establish societal rules for families and individuals' behaviour and interactions. Moon talked about the scope of honour in the Algerian culture and life. She stated: *"Honour is huge, it is bigger than me or any other person in our society, it is crucial in our lives, it creates our daily lives, it shapes our manners of conduct; and it sets the rules and boundaries between each one of us".* Moon believed that honour is immense and cannot be contained within a simple understanding.

All participants indicated that honour is associated with reputation and status. The male and family reputation was considered of greater significance compared to the reputation and status of female family members. Any damage sustained to men and their family honour was described to result in shame, dishonour, and a tarnished reputation. All of the participants explained that it is women's duty and burden to be the holders of family honour. The masculine honour of the Algerian man is directly correlated with the chastity of his female relatives. El Saadawi criticises this notion that women are the carriers and guardians of men's honour. Algerian men attribute their honour and reputation to their female relatives' undefiled hymen. Participants such as Dream argued that it is understandable why the Algerian culture, family and men attribute such honour based on virginity of women. She claimed that the hymen is biologically designed to show proof that a woman is chaste. However, several other participants, such as Hope complained how she felt as a woman the burden of carrying her family honour. She expressed her frustration in Arab and Algerian men and culture placing

their honour and value solely on women's virginity. Hope argued: "if men and this society are so preoccupied with honour and virginity, then why should we as women carry it? If they want it they should carry its burden". Other participants shared similar views; Princess questioned that if men love honour so much and find great value to it then why is it placed on women. Such views aligned with Al Saadawi' idea of men wanting honour without shouldering the responsibility, as have several participants argued, Algerian men want honour when they spend no effort in earning it or maintaining it, if it is guarded, then the honour is the men's but if it is not, then the shame and consequences belong to the women.

All of the participants talked about honour in a physical and tangible sense. They argued that honour is visible and subjected to praise and criticism depending on the socially constructed understandings of what it is deemed acceptable and non-acceptable behaviour and interactions. The individual's and family's honour and shame are associated with one's image and how it is presented in Algerian society. All of the participants talked about the expectations and pressures placed upon individuals and their families to present and control a prestigious unstained image of honour. Pearl stated: "*Algerian families aspire to look honourable and well respected, they want to showcase the perfect image of the perfect honourable family and their honourable, respectful and chaste family members mainly women".*

The Algerian family and individuals' reputation and honour are associated with and presented to the public sphere. Silver affirmed that honour is tied to the public and individuals should not behave in any way disgracing their family honour publically. She stated that as women they must follow the codes of honour, which state how they should behave outside, dress up, and conduct themselves. Silver stated that even the way of speaking and voice pitch is linked to showing the good image of the honourable self and family. The Algerian individuals and families are constantly preoccupied with the notion of what others would think of them. Winner claimed that most Algerian families are obsessed with other people's opinions and fear the criticism and judgement of society. They are too focused and oriented toward correcting and controlling the public views of them rather than their own family members' wellbeing. These views have been nurtured within young Algerian women since their childhood.

Most of the participants explained that the Arab and Algerian understanding of honour and virginity were rooted within them since childhood. They were taught by their mothers and

female family key figures on the value of honour and how to maintain virginity. Safeguarding virginity until marriage is the way to honour themselves and their family reputations. Several participants, such as Smile and Gift stated that they were influenced heavily by their family relatives including parents, grandparents and aunts. They stated that this was like training for them from their childhood to know and value one's and family honour. Prayer argued that understandings of honour and virginity are deeply embedded in her family life and the Algerian culture. She alleged that honour becomes a mandatory condition of life. While, Honesty claimed that owning honour is equal to one's worthiness. Ste stated: "*a woman in Algeria is nothing without her honour, she is treated less than a human being, and she loses her worthiness and is stomped upon by everyone. Everyone despises, insults and degrades her, our society tells us that a woman without of honour is not a woman, she is lesser than a dog, a dog is treated better than her".* Algerian culture and society deem "dishonourable" women as no longer women worthy of good treatment and should be scorned for life.

The Algerian culture and society put the emphasis of honour on women's premarital virginity. All of the participants identified that honour is mostly about protecting premarital virginity. Eid (2007) informs that the value placed on female premarital virginity is regarded as the most important aspect of the Arab honour culture. From a western context, Wilson, Smith and Menn (2013) argue that there is no exact biological definition of virginity. However, in the Arab and Algerian context, honour is determined by owning virginity. The Arab as well as the Algerian culture socially construct that virginity is established through keeping and maintaining female pre-marital virginity. Memory argued that her honour as well as her family's rests on her virginity and chastity maintenance. She affirmed that honour for her family stands on her keeping that virginity until marriage. Memory argued that losing virginity is the utmost dishonour. Memory said: "*My honour is my virginity; my family and I will be dishonoured if I lose it for any reason before getting married".*

Other participants conveyed specifically that their virginity led in them keeping their hymen intact. Pearl stated that virginity in the Algerian culture is in the presence of the undamaged hymen. Pearl said: "*There is nothing to prove my virginity except for me having my hymen safe and undamaged, and also that I bleed on my wedding night ".* Safeguarding the hymen and bleeding on the wedding night is the main credential the Algerian society sets to supervise and value individuals and families honour. Several participants drew attention to the idea that their whole honour is fixed on keeping the hymen membrane undamaged and the obligation to bleed when married. They recognised that their family honour relies on a "fragile" membrane.

Most of the participants agreed that their virginity is their unbroken hymen. Beauty explained that virginity in Algerian society is emphasised by the "undefiled" hymen. She explains that virginity is solely focused on keeping the hymen safe and not about a woman's first sexual experience. Beauty as well as several other participants confirmed that virginity lies within the hymen, unlike western views of women's virginity of first sexual experience. Most of the participants argued that virginity is tangible and physical. They argue that it can be viewed and examined to be proved, as opposed to western concepts where it is more of a sexual experience. Beauty said:" *in our society, your hymen is your virginity and you lose it when you have sex for the first time, we get examined to prove our honour, the hymen must be intact, it is not like in western movies where you are considered a virgin because you never had a sex, women there can lose their hymen but still be considered virgins , for us as Algerian and Arabs , if you lose your virginity then you lost it, you don't necessarily need sex for that, sex is just a means to lose the hymen and then your honour is lost".* The Algerian society materialises virginity as the hymen, and losing it signifies dishonour and shame. Young Algerian women become restricted in their everyday lives in pursuit to "save the hymen".

Young Algerian women face continuous pressure to keep their virginity intact. However, maintaining "unbroken" hymen is not limited to having sexual intercourse. Algerian families believe that a hymen is fragile and could be broken through other reasons but sex. Light 18 clarified that since the hymen is thin and fragile, there are some actions that could lead to the loss of it easily excluding immediate sex. She stated:

> *"a woman's hymen is thin and easily to be torn, our society and families do not allow us do aggressive physical sports such as riding horses or bicycles, and even our mothers do not allow us to use tampons as they break hymen very easily as I ve heard, Algerian women believe that tampons break the hymen that is why we use only sanitary pads".*

Many of the participants confirmed that they are pressured to avoid any actions that could lead to the loss of the hymen. These actions include avoiding inserting fingers or any foreign objects that could tear the hymen. Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2005) argued that Arab and Muslim people believe that fingers or other objects can never be inserted into the vagina for a

fear of injuring the hymen. Even though the hymen can support small insertions, some young Algerian women claimed that the hymen is completely closed and does not allow any insertions unless when breaking it. The misinformation and lack of awareness among young Algerian women and the Algerian society stem from lack of sexual knowledge and education. Young Algerian women are not even allowed to examine themselves down their genitalia while they were growing up. Silver confessed that she was instructed by her mother to never touch herself down there unless it was for cleaning purposes. Silver said: "*my mom told me when I was young that I should not examine myself down there unless I'm cleaning myself, I did not know what I looked like there until I was 15, and I was scared to do anything wrong to it".* In fact, most of the participants declared that they were ordered by their mothers or other female family relatives to never explore their genitalia as it was considered shameful. This shamefulness and shyness from sex were always associated to Islam teachings taught to young Algerian women from childhood.

5.3. Islamic Doctrine or Social Construct

The majority of my participants viewed honour as an inseparable part of Islam's conviction teachings. Participants such as Queen and Moon argued that Islam dictates that women should maintain their honour and virginity. They argued that Islam insists upon family and women's honour and plays a huge value in it. Moon said: "*As a Muslim, I have to keep my honour and virginity intact Islam instructs me to maintain it until I get married, I should not have premarital sex and I should be chaste"*. Many participants shared similar views on how Islam dictates for women to keep their chastity before marriage. They argued that maintaining honour is the most valued practice a Muslim can perform after worshipping God.

Other participants, such as Flower, argued that Islam instructs Muslims to maintain their chastity, but not as much as what is talked about and ruled in Algerian society. She argues that Algerians as well as Arabs have been focussing on honour heavily and hyperbole its value in the Algerian culture. However, she still believed that it is an Islamic doctrine teaching and saw huge importance in owning and maintaining it. Similarly, other participants argued that Islam orders women to maintain their chastity; however, it does not dictate that virginity is the symbol of honour nor does it state that Muslim families and individuals should emphasise of honour. Tenderness argued that Islam focusses on ethics instead on honour. She argued that Islam banned Muslims to talk about peoples' honour and defame it. She added that Islam does not mention that Muslim women should be virgins, but they should avoid and abstain from

premarital sex. In fact, Islam does not set virginity as a rule for honour nor does it emphasise its value. Virginity has become a social construct, and honour maintenance through hymen protection has become a tradition and a culture.

Most of the participants indicated that Islam bans premarital sex upon men and women equally. However, they expressed that the chastity rule applies only to women in the Arab and Algerian culture. Algerian women fulfil gender based honour rules and obligations because they are constrained by the hymen. Men are not expected to be chaste nor can they be questioned or examined for that. Angel expressed her disappointment that the biological constitution of women allowed the society to abuse and exploit the hymen as an indicator for virginity, chastity and honour. On the other hand, men are socially accepted and sometimes even praised among each other for dating and having sex. Princess argued that even though Islam bans premarital sex but in Algerian society, men are free to do whatever they want. She argued that they are never punished or ostracised by the Algerian society because they do not have a hymen to be "defile" or can be impregnated. Princess argued:

> *" Men in our culture are free to do whatever they want because they don't have a hymen, they can't get pregnant too, no one will punish them, no one will not even know unless they confess themselves or someone else sees them, there are even some men who have sex with gay men, not because they are gay but because they can't find women to have sex with or they want to try it at least once".*

Most of the participants brought out the difference in the standards and rules women have to follow compared to men. Night claimed that this difference is hypocritical. She argued:

> *" I find all of this hypocrisy, the Algerian society dictates that women should remain pure and chaste and punish us if we don't follow the rules yet they give all the freedom to men and never punish them even when it is publicly known that they have sex out of the wedlock, they say that Islam bans premarital sex but they mandate this rule only on women and yet they say they are good Muslim men, they are hypocrites"*

Participants who shared similar opinion argue that the Algerian society as an Arab and Muslim dominated culture employs Islam as a pretext to control and subordinate women under patriarchy. Algerian honour culture bans women from perusing any form of sexual experience. This includes dating, love, romance, masturbation and talking about sex or wanting to get married. Honesty explained that love in Arab and Algerian society is synonymous with sex. She said:

> *"in our culture you can't love or date because they see it as a gate to fornication, they mistake love for sex, they say to make love meaning sex, they don't even recognise halal dating where a couple can date with marriage in prospective".*

While Queen 20 argued that Algerian women are not allowed to explore themselves sexually. She explained that it is considered dishonour if a young, unmarried woman is discovered having sexual thoughts or talking about it. She stated:

> *" A woman can't do anything, we are expected to be like a log without sexual feelings or needs even though we are growing up, we are not even allowed to talk about sex with our mothers , we are never taught about it because it's Aib/ shameful , and we cant even say that we want to get married because it would mean instead that we want to have sex not marriage and raise a family and a home, men can say it and it's completely ok but we can't"*

Most of the participants expressed similar views, like Queen. They expressed their frustration as they are restricted by their family and culture within the bubble of being a chaste woman. The honour culture bans women from any interaction or behaviour that associate with sex while providing no sex education. It is common tradition that women cannot pursue men for marriage. They are instructed to wait for their fated partner. They are supposed to stay at home while never dating or going through relationships and yet are expected to get married once a good suitor comes to the family home with his family asking for her hand in marriage. Young Algerian women are not allowed to date, but later on, as they get older, they get criticised by their own family for not finding a husband getting married. Rose criticised this contradicting idealised honour standards put on Algerian women, she stated:

> *"This culture and people are full of contradictions, they don't allow us women to date or to love and they want us to stay at home waiting for prince charming to marry us, how would he marry me if he can't see me or date me! ".*

While Happy complained how the Algerian society loves to restrict women then blame them, she argued:" I am not allowed to date or get into a relationship but each year as I get older I am criticised of why no one comes to propose for my hand! How is that my fault! I tried my best to follow the rules and now I am criticised almost every day, my sister has it worse she is 4 years older than me reaching almost her thirties and people including some of my family relatives already insult her calling her 'Bayra'/spinster, my parents and family were very strict about keeping our honour but at the same time they want us to find good husbands like it's a miracle". Some participants even reported that they were many cases where people start gossiping about older unmarried women's honour. Brave stated:

> *"if a girl reaches the age 30 in our society, she is Bayra, and people here are so nosy, they start spreading gossips about that girl, they would say that she has a problem that is why she is not getting married; they will most likely lie saying she is not virgin or she had been dating around causing harm to her reputation and her family's honour".*

The Algerian honour culture is very contradictory in many instances such as this. This is very common within the Algerian culture as it implies young Algerian women to accept and follow the honour code but at the same time seek marriage while disallowing dating and sex education.

Sexual education and knowledge are non-existent for young Algerian women. All participants agreed that they never received sex education from key figures in their family. Dream argued that teaching young girls and women about sex is considered a shameful act. Barlas (2002, p. 152) argues that the shamefulness and shyness away from talking about sex in a given Algerian setting stems from a socially constructed religion instead of Islam. She argues that mothers and other female relatives almost never talk about such a topic because they believe they do not need it. Dream said: *"if you don't have sex and you can't have it then why you should be taught about it? Teaching young girls sex is like opening the gate of their curiosity towards banned area, they will just want to explore it".* She reasoned the lack of sex

knowledge and education with its constraint. With that in mind, other participants claimed that it was shameful and embarrassing to talk about sex with their mother because young Algerian women grow up being "conditioned" that sex is a shameful act in order to preserve the family's honour. Princess pointed out that when daughters ask their mothers about sex, they mostly will be told off, and they can wait until they get married and their husbands teach them what must be done. She reflected upon her sister's marriage as she stated:

> *"I only learned about sex when I turned 18 years old and that is because my sister got married and told me herself, both of us were told to just wait for the wedding night when we get married and our future husbands will show us the 'way' to do it, we were told that our duty is just to preserve our purity".*

Similarly, several participants confessed that they would never have learnt about sex basic knowledge if it was not for their sisters or close friends. Several participants contested that their mothers were never taught by their own mothers in the same manner, and they waited until marriage; hence, they felt to do the same for their daughters. The mandated gender rules revolving around honour, virginity and sexuality are inherited from one generation to another in Algerian society. There is an intergenerational transmission of honour value among Algerian generations. Learning basic sex knowledge and dating was and still is frowned upon from previous generations. Memory stated*:" My mother and my aunts were not taught about sex but were instructed and trained to maintain their virginity and honour until their marriages and this is transmitted today to me, my sisters, and my cousins".* Some participants, like Moon and Immortality expressed their concerns about how they will play the same part as their mothers in this same cycle of intergenerational transmission of this honour culture. While other participants, such as Lovely do not see a way out of keeping honour, however, she confirmed that she aims to have profound discussions with her future daughters about honour, sex, and virginity, unlike her own experience. Contrarily, participants like Ruby argued that they would keep most of the Algerian gendered rules in order to protect their family honour as well as their future daughters'. These tactics will be explored in the following section.

5.4. Controlling Honour

There are several approaches that patriarchy and Algerian men take to assure the maintenance of the chastity and honour performance of their female kin and preserve their family honour. These are:

5.4.1. Modest Fashion and Hijab

Wearing a hijab in Algerian society has become one of the main means to protect one's honour and virtue. Hijab and modesty wear has become a symbol of chastity and purity. Some of the participants discussed the Islamic concept of modesty regarding clothing and body. They talked about how Islam ordained women to cover up their bodies as a means to protect themselves from the eyes of men "lusting after their bodies". Diamond expressed that Islam put equality between women through the code of modesty outwears. Diamond explained that Islam ordered all Muslim women to cover up in order to make them equal, the bandits in Ancient Arabia would not be able to recognise who is noble and who is not and stop women being subjected to men's violence and harm depending on their clothes modesty. Several participants confirmed that they knew of this story as the origin of hijab and modest clothing Islamic requirements. However, some of the participants questioned these requirements, as only Muslim women are expected to cover up, unlike men. Kindness argued:

> *" I m a Muslim and I wear a hijab but if I dwell on the idea of hijab, I cover up while my brothers don't and I always see some women wearing Jelbab[24] while men wearing whatever they like and they even expose their naked top bodies at the beach and in summer, there is a problem of equality here where men are free and women have to maintain their virginity through covering up their bodies"*

Whether it is religion or culture, there is a huge emphasis on women's modesty compared to men's. All of the participants asserted that female modesty was connected to being covered up and most likely wearing a veil. Women's modest clothes meant that they should not reveal the shape of the body or expose parts of it. Women's modest fashion signified honour and respectability. Lovely argued that men do not need to cover up because their bodies are

[24] Jelbab is modest Islamic clothing for a woman which is similar to Burqa without covering up the face.

generally not sexualised, unlike women. She talked about how the culture and religion force women to cover up, unlike men, because of their bodies, which contribute to sexualisation and objectification of women's bodies. She stated:

> *" If religion and culture moved pass having to cover up a woman's body, we might have moved on passed the idea of a woman carries honour nor it should be sexualized as much as it is happening today in the Arab and Algerian society".*

While wearing hijab and covering up the woman's body refers to the application of the Islamic teachings, most of the participants argued that it has changed its purpose and understanding for some Algerian individuals, where now it is more about maintaining the image of a good, modest, and covered up Muslim woman. Several participants argued that modest fashion became an extension of the pure and chaste image of the honour. Honesty argued that most of the Algerian women wear hijab and modest fashion because they are obliged by the culture to give off a respectful and honourable image of themselves and their families. Silver argued that Algerian society and culture employ Islamic teaching of modesty for covering up women for socially constructed purposes of honour. Silver stated:" *it's not about religion for many Algerians, it's for honour, if you are a Hijabi then you gain honour but if you don't then not so much"*. Some of the participants affirmed that their families never forced them to wear a hijab without convictions. They argued that their parents give the freedom of choice in their veiling or not. However, most of these participants confirmed that they were obliged to wear modest clothing. Prayer stated: *"my parents never obliged to wear a scarf but that doesn't mean I was free to wear tank tops and miniskirts; I am still required to dress up modestly covering most of my body"*. Modest fashion became a requirement for protecting chastity and honour in the hope that it would throw off men's sexual advances and harassment.

Consequently, several participants argued that modest fashion leads to less male gazing at their bodies. They saw that modest fashion including wearing hijab deviates men's advances at them. Forgiveness stated: *"I started wearing Jelbab about six months ago and I noticed that most of men no longer sexually harass me or approach me".* However, some other participants argued that modest fashion does not prevent men sexual harassment because our society grew into viewing modest fashion as normal fashion. To participants such as Gift,

hijab became just a piece of fabric as all clothes. She argues that it has somewhat lost its meaning in the everyday life because it became a repetitive practice and added that most people do not think about its function or value in the daily life unless that idea is challenged and they think seriously about it.

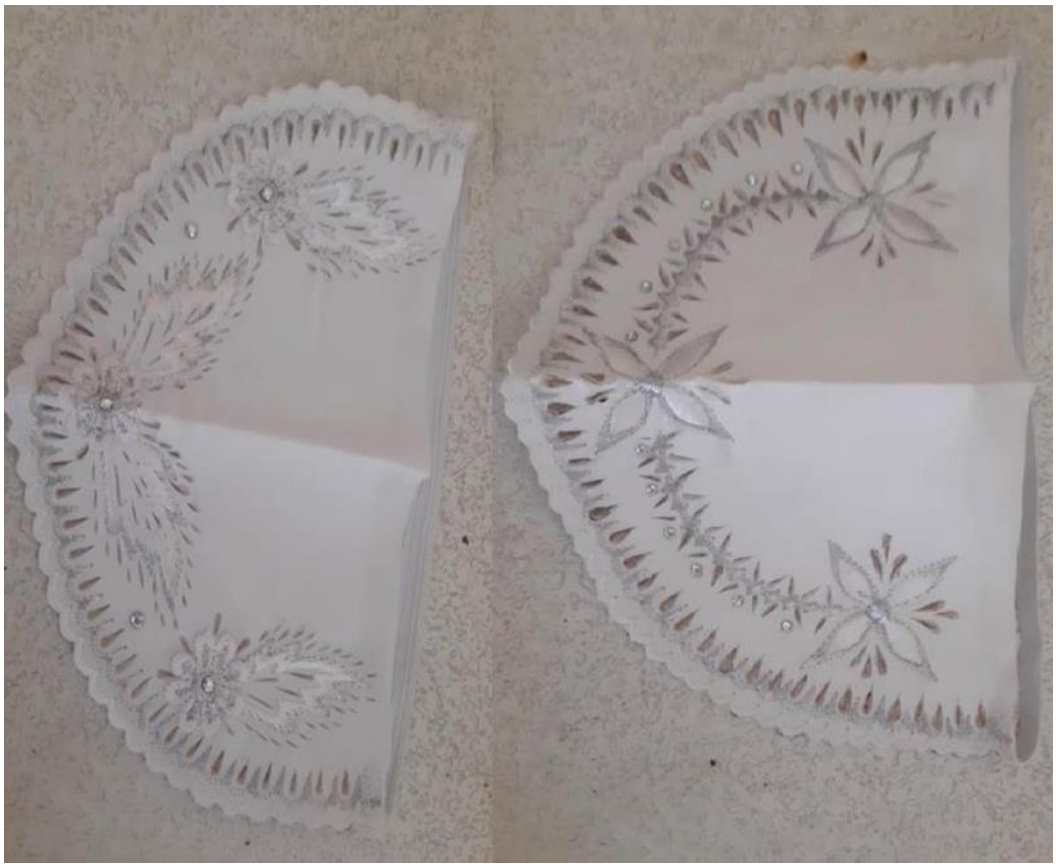
Most of the participants confirmed that if a girl or a woman is sexually assaulted or raped, the first thing the public would ask about if she was wearing modest clothes and hijab. There have been many crimes over the past five years where young Algerian women were raped and murdered, but instead of blaming the murderer and asking for justice to take its course, they heavily criticise the victim if she was not veiled. Smile expressed her frustration when the Algerian public kept criticising and insulting several late victims of rape. Instead of showing sympathy to the dead, they were openly insulting them on social media saying they deserved it because she did not cover herself up and protected her family's honour. However, modest fashion and hijab proved to be just an excuse, as Winner argued. She argued that the Algerian public have similar reaction when a hijabi lawyer was murdered in her car in a car burglary attempt. Winner explained that when the public could not find a mistake with the late victim clothes, they kept gossiping about her honour, stating that she flirted with the murderers. Modest fashion becomes just a weapon in the hands of the Algerian individuals against women constraining their freedom and using it to justify any harm they may receive.

Modest fashion in Algerian society and culture is not limited to hijab. The Algerian honour culture employs specific traditional outwear that is used to this day by married women. Tenderness explains that covering up the body goes beyond religion. Therefore, there are other outfits such as Jelaba , Ajjar and hayak that serve as modest clothes. Angel argued that Jelaba is a traditional outwears cloth that substitutes Islamic dresses such as Jelbab. She argues that both of them serve the same purpose as they are meant to cover up the woman's body. Hayak and Ajjar are growing out of style, Hayak is rarely worn these days unless it is for a wedding and Ajjar is still used in smaller cities. Night reflected on the purpose of Ajjar as it is meant to hide married women's beauty from other men, only the married woman's husband or her family could see her face according to past honour traditions. Night said:

> *" Once there was a newly married man who wed a beautiful woman but his neighbour kept gazing and eyeing the new bride every time she went outside with her husband, out of jealousy and seeking to protect his*

> *honour, the man ordered a seamstress to sew a white fabric as a face cover for his wife, when asked of the reason he replied : Ala jar/ Ajjar (translated: because of the neighbour) and from then it became a fashion trend that serves to protect honour while covering up women's beauty".*

Night argues that modest fashion in Algeria transcends religion and it mainly focuses and serves in protecting male and family honour.



Ajar, two models of embroidered white fabric that covers the face below the eyes. These were made by my late mother for personal use.

Figure 1: Hayak (in the present)[25] Figure 2: Hayak (In the past)[26]

5.4.2. Restricted Mobility

The Algerian society and family restrict young Algerian women's mobility in an attempt to control honour. Young Algerian women have to follow set rules about going out the house. They are very controlled by their parents and older siblings. The Algerian society views women who go outside a lot the house for other purposes than studying or working as a dishonourable act. Most Algerian people think that a woman's place is her home, as Beauty argued. Algerian women are constrained to the private sphere of the home, and limiting their access to the public sphere. Kindness argued that Algerian men and families believe that women are subject of sexual harassment in the public sphere; hence, they limit their mobility under the reason of protecting their honour.

Honour is hard to supervise and protect in the public world, as Queen argued. She explained that Algerian men had to control their female relatives' movements and know where they were going beforehand. Queen explained that once an honour is lost, then there is repairing it or gaining it back. She said: *"One cannot repair broken glass"*. That is why it is mostly likely that men restrict women from going out through coercion. Prayer revealed that her father and older brother most of the time do not give her permission to go outside unless it is for university. She revealed that she cannot go shopping unless she is accompanied by them or her mother. She expressed that she was not allowed to be accompanied by her best friend until they knew for a quite some time and learnt about her family and recognised that she met their standards of being a 'good girl'. While other students like Angel whose mobility was controlled by a younger sibling. Angel stated that she does not have an older brother, and her father passed away several years ago. Therefore, her younger brother by three years assumed the responsibility and duty of limiting her movements even though he is younger than her. This shows that Algerian women are controlled by men all of their lives and age does not matter in this. Forgiveness drew attention to when Algerian women are young; they are

[25] Figure 1: This image showcases a modern day Algerian woman wearing a contemporary version of the traditional Hayak. While the basic design of the garment has remained relatively unchanged, the Hayak continues to hold cultural significance and is often worn during special events or in rural areas. https://www.wattpad.com/931517214-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D8%A7%D9%8A%D9%83

[26] Figure2: This image depicts an Algerian woman wearing a traditional Hayak in Algeria during the 20th century. The Hayak is a rectangular white garment that has been an essential part of Algerian's attire for centuries. The Hayk remains an iconic symbol of Algerian cultural heritage and identity. N. Allal (2018). https://www.echoroukonline.com/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D8%A7%D9%8A%D9%83-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%B1%D9%8A-%D9%8A%D8%B9%D9%88%D8%AF-%D8%A8%D9%82%D9%88%D8%A9

controlled and supervised by their fathers. As they get older this 'duty' is delegated to the older brother and, in other cases, to the younger one. Later on, as they get married, their husbands assume that power, and as they have children, the sons control their lives once they grow up. Young Algerian women are almost stripped of their own free will in their mobility.

Similarly, young Algerian women are restricted of opportunities and careers because of 'men protection'. Several participants asserted that they experienced hardships in going to the university because of their brothers. Light argued that her brother claimed that only 'whores' and 'loose girls' go to university. He wanted to stop her from pursuing higher education because she would be out of his sight most of the week and he cannot supervise her. She argued that she had to challenge this notion in front of her parents. She stated that he created this whole scenario that those girls, who go to university date boys, enter sexual relationships, get pregnant and ruin their families' honour. Some of the participants agreed that this mind set is on the rise in the past years in the Algerian society as younger men keep viewing female university students as loose girls because they are unsupervised. Light argued that her father was almost convinced about this idea. She stated that her brother threw a fit when their father allowed her to go to university. However, she revealed that her brother has banned her from having male friends and owns her university schedule and restricted her to not be late or she will face criticism. She even revealed that he goes to the university from time to time searching for her undercover so he can supervise her about what she is doing and if she is secretly dating. In fact, several participants revealed that their brothers have done the same at least once. All is done in order to keep the virginity and honour intact.

5.4.3. Supervised Virginity

Virginity is described as a vivid performance in young Algerian women's everyday life practices. Abu-Odeh (2010, p.919) argues that there are two modes of virginity, as performance: performing biological virginity, which is embodied in a hymen, and performing social virginity where women perform her chastity to the onlooker. He argues that performing biological virginity ends the day of marriage where women experience sex on the wedding night and the hymen gets broken. However, whether she is a girl or a woman, single or married, she is required to perform social and bodily virginity. Young Algerian women must keep a pure and chaste social image and interaction in public. They have to perform chastity

and virtue through their bodies in order to present the perfect image of their honour. Failure to embody the socially expected virginity performance brings dishonour and shame to themselves and their families.

Young Algerian women's self-conduct in public reflects upon their family honour. Public discourse and codes of honour and shame are defined by men as the rulers of public spaces. When young Algerian women defy Algerian honour codes and culture, it results in virginity performance failure. Algerian men and families resort to performing virginity tests on young Algerian women to get conclusive evidence whether the honour remains or is lost. Most of the participants confirmed that they will get their virginity examined at least once in their lives. Women who refuse to adhere to the roles and places assigned to them are deemed dishonoured and would bring shame to their families. Some of the participants argued that such women are prone to getting their virginity examined several times. They argued that it is about how women carry themselves outside in the public is what defines the treatment they receive from their families. Some participants, like Generosity argued that Algerian families supervise their female relatives and determine if they follow the strict honour rules. Upon discovering their daughters breaking the rules such as dating, they will go through a vaginal and anal virginity examination. Happy argued that virginity tests are double edged swords. They are conducted against women but also for women.

All of the participants confirmed that they plan to do an official virginity test once their weddings are near. Ruby asserted that performing virginity tests are beneficial to women, and it is the only valid proof for their chastity before and after marriage. The Algerian law obliges both men and women to go through medical tests, including sexually transmitted disease tests. This is a condition for marriage in order to avoid arising issues later on after marriage. Hope argued that as men's virginity cannot be determined unlike women through the hymen, men are only asked to perform STD tests as it is implied socially that men will have premarital sex. On the other hand, the Algerian law does not oblige women by necessity to do the virginity test. However, women do it mostly voluntarily because it proves their continuous efforts in maintaining their chastity. Most of the participants provided several stories and incidents relating to virginity tests.

As the traditional Algerian wedding ceremonies are changing, Algerian women are now more than ever protecting themselves against their husbands and society with virginity tests. Weddings in Algeria used to be held in the family's home. The pinnacle of the wedding night

on Thursdays was when the mother of the bride displayed and showed the female guests a white piece of fabric stained with blood that resulted from her daughters' hymen breaking on their first wedding night. It was the ultimate sign that her daughter maintained her virginity and her family honour and she performed her virginity duty on her wedding night. Moon expressed her disgust with this tradition as she felt it was embarrassing for other women to see that blood, but she attested that it was how it was done back then. Silver argues that marriage in Islam requires advertising to the public, but advertising hymen blood is a social construct and even unlawful in Islam. Within the last years, weddings are celebrated in gender separated wedding halls because it is trendy and more efficient than homes. Prayer stated that the tradition of showing the fabric is long gone and is deemed embarrassing. However, since married couples nowadays have their wedding nights in hotels or honeymoons, there would be no one to witness and confirm women's chastity. Algerian women are still vulnerable to their husbands' schemes.

Many participants reported that virginity tests are the most crucial step for women's honour. Memory disclosed that her cousin was 'halal'[27] dating her boyfriend for five years until he officially asked for her hand in marriage. During the wedding preparation, Memory's cousin asked her boyfriend if he requires a virginity certificate since most Algerian men do before marriage and replied that he doesn't need it because he knows character and is certain she would not have done anything that tarnished her honour. Memory said:

> *"the wedding went great and they left to their honeymoon only for my cousin to be divorced after a month! He brought her back to her parents' home and made a huge scandal claiming that she was not a virgin and he felt cheated, he falsely accused her and exposed her to the public, my cousin had a mental breakdown as she could not handle the shock, she protected her virginity for years and because she did not protect herself with a virginity test, the public believed her ex-husband instead".*

Many Algerian women face similar traumatic experiences. Another incident relating to virginity was reported, which is common in Algerian society. Princess reported the case of her sister, who was married for four years and had a child with her husband. Princess stated:

[27] It is basically dating with the intention of marriage and without having any sexual rapports.

" My sister's husband divorced her and in order to take their child custody and not pay child alimony, he falsely accused her that she was not a virgin on their wedding night and he kept silent in order to protect her for the public gossips. Luckily, my sister always kept her virginity test and was able to prove him wrong and take the custody of her child and file a defamation lawsuit".

These reported incidents show the necessity of a virginity test for women but also show how men resort to attacking women on their chastity because they know the consequence of such accusations. Another method of controlling young Algerian women's virginity and maintaining the family's honour is Tasfeeh.

5.4.4. Tasfeeh in Algeria

The use of black magic Tasfeeh was a prevalent means to guarantee control over young girls and women's virginity and sexuality. Several of my participants revealed that they had personally or their relatives been affected by this magical practice. Tasfeeh is a magical rite practiced by older women on younger girls in order to lock their hymens and virginity from being breached during premarital sexual experiences. Although not as prevalent as it used to be, the use of Tasfeeh on young Algerian women, against their will, presents another dimension for the control the society and patriarchy put on their sexuality and virginity. It is used to protect young unmarried women's virginity and "purity" from unwanted advances or consented premarital sexual experiences. The phenomenon of Tasfeeh requires a closer look due to lack of research and its close tie with the concept of female virginity.

Tasfeeh is defined as a magical practice that uses the realm of Jinn/Demons on younger women in order to make their hymen unbreakable. It is mostly practiced on younger girls before and when they reach puberty with the purpose of preserving their chastity until their marriage. BenDridi (2004) explains that the term Tasfeeh literally means "closing" and that it designates by analogy a way of protecting the virginity of young girls. She explains that her interlocutors referred to it as a shoe protecting oneself from injury. This protection placed on little girls affects both the female and male during the sexual relationship. It renders the

hymen unbreakable, and the approaching men would lose their sexual potency. Whether the premarital sexual act is voluntary or forced, it becomes impossible to complete it.

The ritual of Tasfeeh is practiced in two phases. The first phase is the "closing rite" where it is practiced on young girls and the second one is the "opening or loosening rite" where the magic is undone when they get married. Their virginity is saved and preserved for their husbands on their first nights and the Tasfeeh magic would have served its purpose in protecting and is no longer useful or needed. Hence, the same person who cast the spell will undo it and release the "closed" girl from the shackles of this magic.

Tasfeeh magic practice is performed by older women, mostly grandmothers and mothers, through several different methods within the Algerian culture. The analysis of the data yielded a description of three methods in practicing Tasfeeh magic. The most common method uses a handloom or a large piece of wood. The elder woman asks the little girl to walk through the handloom in circles seven times after it is being set. Rose, who was "locked" with Tasfeeh recounted her experience of this practice. Rose stated:

> *"I was 8 years old and I remember this bit vaguely but I was asked to stand on between two pieces of wood; I didn't know what they were at that time until I saw threads and I knew it was for making fabric, my grandmother asked me to walk around it seven times while saying "I am a wall and people's son is a thread". I remember now that I thought it was so stupid to say and I didn't know what was actually happening or was done to me".*

It is important to keep the materials used in setting the handloom during this practice safely until the girl's wedding in order to reverse the spell, and it should be done by the same women who cast it in the first place.

The second method involved bathing the girl on a large piece of wood. As the handloom became scarcer of use with the industrialisation of Algeria, elder women resorted to wood pieces and bathing or splashing the girl above it with spell water seven times while she repeated the same phrase. Honesty stated that her older sister was locked by her grandmother and aunt by splashing her with water while standing on a long, large piece of wood in the middle of the kitchen. She stated that her sister told her mother that several boys in school

were flirting with her and out of fear; their mother sought the help of her mother in order to lock her, and preserve her virginity and the family's honour. Honesty explained that the magic was reversed a week before her sister's marriage.

For the third and least uncommon method, women used a small piece of glass to cut seven tiny slashes above the girl's knee or right thigh. They would wipe the dripping blood with a date and feed it to the girl seven times. The girl is asked to repeat the same phrase "I am a wall and people's son is a thread". Silver recounted her younger aunt's experience with Tasfeeh as she received the seven slashes on her knee and the elder woman who practiced it was a neighbour. This later asked for the cuts to remain visible even after they healed; hence, it was covered with coffee powder and saved the used glass piece and fabric that wiped her blood after in order to be used in the opening Tasfeeh before wedding night. However, this method is practiced the least because it leaves scars on women's bodies and it would be considered a flaw socially. Dream explained that the slashes on the little girl's knee may scar no matter how small they are which would be considered a flaw on her body when she is at a marriageable age. The idea of a small scar that flaws the woman's body is linked to how the Algerian patriarchal society views women as an "object" that needs to maintain its purity and perfectness for the husband. On the other hand, mothers avoid this method because it is hurtful to little girls and it is a scarier process which may lead them to stop the whole rite and ask questions.

While Tasfeeh methods vary, the spell phrase and the result is the same. The process is filled with symbolism where the girl is described as sturdy and unbreakable, like a wall against other men who lose their sexual virility in the act like a weak thread. Laouar (2020,p. 57) explains that girls assume the strength of a wall and men put on thread fragility while in the reversing spell process she gives back the sturdiness to the man and takes back the fragility to seal the deal.

During the closing process, a Jinn is summoned to reside on the little girl's uterus and hymen, protecting it against any man who approaches her. Silver stated that she asked her mother how Tasfeeh would miraculously make the hymen unbreakable and her mother explained that the Jinn puts a seal on the hymen making the opening magically disappear when any man approaches the girl sexually and the Jinn also renders the men temporarily impotent. Silver stated that the Jinn does not differentiate if the sexual relationship is forced or consensual and if it marital or not. The result is the same , hence these "locked" girls need to have an opening

rite in order for them to have a successful first wedding night or else it would hinder the sexual act and become a tragedy or a scandal. Rose affirmed that Tasfeeh does not discriminate based on the type of sexual act when she disclosed how her aunt was locked without her knowledge when she was young and the caster, her mother, passed away without informing her or undoing the magic. She stated that her aunt suffered a scandal on her wedding night as her husband could not consummate their marriage and he blamed her for this. Later on, he divorced her and turned her into a scapegoat to preserve his masculinity image within society.

To understand the use of Tasfeeh on young Algerian women, it is vital to analyse the concept of the emergence of such practice in Algerian society. The participants who talked about Tasfeeh mentioned that this rite gained popularity during French colonialism from 1830 to 1962. Rape became a weapon used by French soldiers to weaken Algerian male fighters, knowing the value of honour for them. When Algerian men gathered and fled to the mountains to form resistance groups, the coloniser seized that opportunity by breaking through their houses and raping their women. Laouar (2020, p. 58) explains that the French colonisers used to rape Algerian women in order to shame Algerian men and weaken their moral. She points the French invasion caused the big emergence of Tasfeeh among Algerian women.

Similarly, Tasfeeh practice saw a re-emergence during the Black Decade (1991-2002) in the Algerian civil war between the government and the Islamic groups, as explained in the introduction chapter. Algerian families and society struck by such tragedy limited the movement of women and their access to the public sphere in fear of them becoming victims of rape and tarnishing their families' honour. Algerian women sought Tasfeeh once again in order to protect their young daughters from falling victims to rape and dishonour.

Algerian women were confined to their homes. It became common to drop girls out of school because they were one of the main locations targeted by the terrorists. Algerian families stopped their daughters from accessing public spaces and working. Patriarchy re-emerged strongly with the fear of losing honour and rape in Algerian society and caged women in the realm of their houses waiting for their marriages. Many of my participants recounted stories they have heard from their mothers and grandmothers about this era. Happiness revealed that her aunt was killed in a bombed school while a neighbour's daughter was raped and murdered

by the terrorists in 1993. She stated that all of her aunts were stopped from studying or working and stopped from going out and went through Tasfeeh until they got married.

Many young Algerian women were locked during the Black Decade period, fearing rape and shame. Several of my participants explained that they were young enough when the black decade surged and they were locked by their mothers. Ruby was locked by her mother and grandmother when she was six years old. Although she explained she does not remember the rite fully, she remembers being put to stand on a wooden log and asked to turn circles around herself. Ruby stated that she did not understand the meaning of such a forgotten event in her life until she turned 17 years old and heard her cousin talk about it. Ruby expressed sadness and disappointment for being locked without her consent by her mother, yet she came to the defence of her mother. She states:

> *"It was a different time than now and I'm sure my mom very scared my life would be ruined and my family would lose their honour this was the only solution then even though it is haram it couldn't be helped"*

Using Tasfeeh practice is illegal in Islamic doctrine because Islam bans the use of magic. Tasfeeh emerged to preserve female chastity because it is a socially constructed that maintaining chastity is an Islamic commandment. However, the use of Tasfeeh is contradictory to the doctrine of Islam, even if it is practiced with good intentions of protecting little girls. Magic practices in Arab culture differ in purposes as they are solely used for causing harm to others; hence, Islam forbids it. Laouar (2020, p35) reported that with the lack of education and knowledge during the French colonisation, Algerian women did not know that Tasfeeh was a rite of magic. There were no moral consequences or religious limitations that could stop them from practicing it on younger girls. However, after the independence and the rise to women's access to free education and awareness, they realised that it was forbidden and stopped doing it.

Algerian mothers still experienced the dilemma of locking their daughters for protection against rape or premarital sexual experiences. Laouar (2020) explains that Algerian women started using Tasfeeh again while fully knowing it is forbidden because of the surge of honour killings as a punishment for girls who lose their virginity before marriage. Whereas this practice witnessed an influx of use during the Blake Decade because Algerian mothers deemed the risk of rape and shame far greater than the religious punishment of practicing

magic. Laouar (2020) who interviewed elder Algerian women, who had previous experiences in locking their daughters' virginity, explained that these women viewed this practice as a sacrifice they were willing to accept if it meant their daughters were safe and their virginity was still intact. While some of my participants condemned mothers who resorted to such forbidden practice and that they are disbelieving God, other participants like Rose came to their defence saying that maintaining virginity and family's honour is a huge burden not only for young Algerian girls but also their mothers. Laouar (2020, p.36) pointed out that Algerian mothers are also under great social pressures for guarding the chastity of their daughters, which lead to lock them at a young age.

Algerian mothers become participants in upholding the patriarchal system that controls their bodies and sexuality when they practice Tasfeeh. These same women who internalised the prohibition of embracing sexuality and safeguarding virginity for their husbands enforce the same ideals onto their daughters through magic. They would remove their daughters' free will in exploring their sexuality. Not only they socialised their daughters about the value of the hymen and honour but they also confirmed that their daughters would not voluntarily lose their virginity if they chose to. Whether the intention is protecting their daughters against rape or dishonour, Tasfeeh shows how women can be agents of patriarchy when it is practiced by, for and against women. Ruby argued that Algerian mothers are helping Algerian men to continue the tradition of preserving the virginity of younger girls for their future husbands. She argued that the good intentions are present, but they cannot deny that the mothers denied their daughters the free will to embrace their sexuality, whereas men have it.

5.5. Conclusion

In a nutshell, patriarchal norms in Algeria have a huge impact on young Algerian women' lives, shaping their experiences with sexuality and family. Honour is a central concept in patriarchy that governs Algerian women's lives. This chapter investigated and elaborated on their experiences of maintaining virginity and performing virtue in private and public spheres. This chapter delved into how patriarchy functions through the enforcement of the importance of virginity and its influence in changing young Algerian women's perspectives and daily social interaction. It also explored how Algerian men claim dominance over Algerian

women’s bodies through their constant supervision and imposing modest fashion, limiting their mobility, banning premarital sex, and Tasfeeh.

6. Negotiating With Patriarchy Chapter

6.1. Introduction

Negotiating with patriarchy changes among young Algerian women, where some resisted patriarchy, some bargained with it, some criticised it and others used silence as a method of resistance. This section focusses on how agency plays out and is used by different young Algerian women. It shows how Algerian women exercise their agency through resisting and bargaining with patriarchy. Feminist literature highlights that women are not the passive receptors or just victims of patriarchal structures but they actively reshape them through their actions (Hooks, 1984; Kandiyoti, 1988; Tag-El-Din, 2009; Garcia, 2021). Women's agency in their interactions with patriarchal systems is multifaceted, as they navigate and challenge societal norms through resilience and ingenuity. Women's strategies in negotiating with patriarchy can vary from implicit actions to explicit defiance and resistance. Algerian women navigate patriarchal system employing various strategies that challenge societal norms and negotiate their positions. My research participants explained that their strategies in negotiation patriarchy consisted of resistance, silence, or bargaining. The ensuing analysis will explore the multifaceted ways in which Algerian women assert their agency and navigate patriarchy in their everyday lives.

6.2. Speaking Out

Resisting patriarchy through talking and voicing the struggles of women with the hardships and subordination they face is an effective and enduring approach. Women's voices were always suppressed in order to guarantee the perpetuation of patriarchal structures. Women have always resorted to speaking out about the problematic patriarchal domination of men and the enforced discrimination against women. Young Algerian women also chose speaking out as their direct resistance towards patriarchy and gender inequality they experience in their everyday lives. They spoke against discriminatory patriarchal values and the teaching of unequal, unpaid domestic work and honour culture.

6.2.1. Domesticity

Some of my participants explained that they chose resisting patriarchy through speaking out and voicing out their disapproval of patriarchal tactics. Speaking out or refusing to comply is used as a common tool of resistance to patriarchy in the Algerian household. These young

Algerian women explained that it was easier to voice out their rejection of patriarchal value than any other form of resistance. Some of my participants argued that talking about their experiences with patriarchy came out naturally in related conversations as opposed to taking initiative action against the "unjust" patriarchal structure. However, it proved to be easier to speak out about the unfair load of doing unpaid domestic work projected on Algerian women than speaking out about honour, virginity and shame both in the private and the public. Diamond clarified that there is a difference between resisting doing housework and "the Algerian culture of honour". While it is easier for these young Algerian women to convey their disapproval and dissatisfaction about housework to their mothers and family members, it is completely different matter when it comes to talking about honour and virginity.

Diamond said:

> *" It's not easy at all when it comes to talking about virginity and sexuality, I would need serious thinking about the consequences of my words, I can make a stand and denounce house chore expectations but not honour ones"* .

In fact, all participants who attempted to resist patriarchy admitted that they found difficulty in resisting patriarchy through honour scope rather than domesticity one. Prayer argued that speaking out about inequality in house labour division and honour as a resistance changes the perspectives of patriarchy agents. She explained that while voicing out resistance about house chores, which can be seen are complaining or "pursuing conflict" within the household, talking about honour insinuates dishonour, disrespect and rudeness. This suggests that the Algerian society and family views outspoken women are dishonourable when talking about patriarchal honour and make it more difficult to denounce the problems with it.

Several participants criticised their mothers for teaching them to do household work at a young age. Immortality stated that she chose to speak out about how her mother subjugated her to learning housechores skills from a young age because of the Algerian patriarchal values of a being a good woman. She confronted her mother about how she forced her to clean while her brothers were free to play. She admitted that this resulted in a few arguments with her mother, but they were brushed off as complaints and rudeness without proper discussion. Likewise, Kindness stated that she confronted her mother how she forced her to learn house chores at the age of 6 years old; however, her mother denied it and accused her of creating

unwanted arguments. Kindness stated "*my mother always tries to gaslight me whenever I confront her about teaching me house work, she always denies it or criticise me "while* Brave stated that her mother justified that this how and when mothers usually teach their daughters to house work. Consequently, Brave attempted to explain her perspective to her mother, explaining how she just accepted patriarchal values of gender roles and that "commonality does not mean righteousness". Nevertheless, she still experienced a similar response as the other participants from her mother. Substantially, participants spoke about how patriarchy ingrains unequal division of house chores for Algerian girls at a young age and criticised how Algerian women choose to introduce their daughters to doing chores when their sons enjoy a "playful" childhood.

Happiness protested to her mother once during a big cleaning fest before the holy month of Ramadan. She spoke about how doing unpaid house chores is inequality divided within the household. She protested to her mother how she and her sister had to do all of the chores while her brother did not. She argued that she spent most of her life doing domestic chores and that she wasted her time on continuous and unfinished chores. Happiness explained that she and her sister attempted to show and highlight the injustice in the house chores division several times to their mother and father; however, they were stopped from speaking, and they were criticised and labelled as disrespectful Jayha.

Similarly, Gift stated that she confronted her mother on several occasions about the inequality in housechores division she always experiences. She argued with her mother about how she was forced to get up every morning earlier on while her brothers were sleeping. She had to give up her sleep even when she was tired sick or lethargic. She confronted her mother about how she and her sister were always forced to clean and cook them perform their best all the time. She stated that she could no longer be okay or comply with burdensome house chores. As a consequence of such confrontations, Gift stated that her mother was constant in her response where she demean her and implied that all women do the same load of chores, so why does she get to complain or be different.

Additionally, several participants had similar experiences, like Dream, when speaking about the patriarchal division of house labour with female family relatives. She spoke about this matter with her sister and aunt. She stated that she complained about the heavy load of the daily house chores and the burdensome expectations of being a good woman. She stated that she sought understanding and solace from her sister as they continued to experience the same

ordeal of every day house chores. However, Dream explained that she received harsh criticism from her sister and aunt. She stated:

> *"My sister said aren't you embarrassed of yourself this is your role as a woman what value do you have if you do not do house chores and stay at home doing nothing and my aunt agreed that a woman's value is in her performance of SAJYA, then she told me to zip it up and talk about far more important matters next time".*

Dream explained that she felt frustrated as she thought Sharing the burden of doing house chores with get her more understanding and sympathy than her mother's reaction; she stated that she felt defeated as she couldn't draw support from even her sister.

Consonantly, during a family celebration, and upon seeing the amount of hard work the women in her family had put into the event while men were celebrating and being served, Diamond stated that she attempted to speak about the unequal burden of house chores Algerian women face on a regular basis whereas men enjoy their freedom. She described doing house chores as serving a life sentence of prison hard work where women do not get paid or get credit. Several participants referred to doing house chores in the Algerian household as a "jail sentence" when speaking about patriarchy. Flower voiced her disapproval about women forcibly cooking and cleaning for men when they do not reciprocate or appreciate the efforts. She argued that men always rely on the free house labour of their mothers, sisters, wives, daughters and daughters in law. Nevertheless, she informed that she got into an argument with her aunts because they insulted her instead of showing understanding or support. She expressed her frustration over her aunts and cousins' reactions, she stated that they called her ill-mannered and Jayha.

Prayer, who lives in a large family with her grandparents, uncles and aunts in the same house, confronted her grandmother about how she set huge housework burdens upon her and her mother. She argued how her mother takes the whole house chores responsibility of her children, the grandparents, and the unmarried uncles. She argued how it was unfair for them to do everything and felt like "slaves" rather than being family. In fact, several participants used the term "slaves" explicitly when describing how they felt about doing unequal loads of house chores. Immortality explained seeing her mother suffer on a daily basis pushed her to

start doing house chores at a young age in order to help her out. However, the grandmother didn't back down from insulting both the mother and daughter. She stated:

> *" My grandmother argued that was the purpose of marrying my mother into her family so she could serve them , what worth is there aside from this?! She insulted my mother and I for not being properly raised and called us Khdimat/maids ".*

Prayer expressed her frustration at how her grandmother confirmed that they are only considered as maids instead of being family or showing consideration of being fellow women. This shows how women influence and maintain patriarchy within the household. Women are treated as maids because of patriarchal unequal division of unpaid household chores.

Young Algerian women are in a patriarchal power struggle where it is linked directly to their social position within the family. Several participants argued that they were challenged with their positions in the family when they voiced their opinions about patriarchy and unequal house labour. Dream stated that whenever she tried to argue how house chores were burdensome and criticised her mother for teaching her at a young age, her mother would always state that she can impose her opinions when she gets married and have children on her own. She stated that her mother stopped her from projecting her ideas or complaining until she changed her position within the family. Several participants like Night understand that they hold almost no power within their family and they can acquire it when they form their own families. Honesty shared a similar experience where she attempted to speak out to her grandmother about her struggles with the overbearing family expectations of being a good woman and how men benefit constantly from women's free labour. She stated that her grandmother demeaned her and argued that only when she grows up to be in her position can she "dictate" my opinion on others. This shows that Algerian women know the power dynamics within the patriarchal household and affirm that they can hold power over younger women using their social status; hence, they act as patriarchal agents to gain control over other women.

These experiences show that Algerian women understand the dynamics within the household and how their social and marital status, influenced by class and education, plays critical roles in these power struggles. Women with higher social status, class and better education might have more resources and support to challenge these norms, while those from lower

socioeconomic backgrounds often face greater barrier. This context highlights how social class and educational class are crucial in shaping the resistance strategies of young Algerian women against patriarchal control, with those having fewer resources often resorting to more subtle forms of resistance to navigate their constrained environments.

Building on this understanding, it is important to consider how, in the context of Algeria, access to education is indeed universal and free, yet the influence of patriarchal attitudes stems from patriarchal, religious and conservative ideologies rather than strict delineations of social or financial class. In Algerian society, familial and social expectations often shape individuals' adherence to patriarchal norms, irrespective of their economic status. It is noteworthy that access to more opportunities such as extracurricular education, recreational activities, and resources for Algerian female students, is not solely determined by financial means. Instead it hinges on familial attitudes and cultural traditions. For instance, a family's adherence to conservative patriarchal values may ban or limit their children's, specifically daughters', engagement in recreational activities and pursuits, regardless of their financial capacity. This is indicated in Honesty's narrative where despite her family's relative affluence, she could not pursue cycling and swimming as hobbies whereas her brother could. This disparity underscores how familial attitudes of patriarchal norms can shape hinder opportunities for women. Conversely, a more liberal minded family, regardless of their financial capacity, may prioritise providing for their daughters with opportunities for personal and educational growth. Therefore, while social class may directly impact one's ability to challenge patriarchal norms through access to resources and opportunities beyond education and work, it is not the sole primary determinant of patriarchal attitudes in Algerian society. Rather, the interplay of religious, cultural, and familial factors appears to exert a more significant influence on individuals' negotiations with patriarchy in their everyday lives.

Young Algerian women are subjected to unfair house chores division under the pretext of filial duty. Most of my participants agreed that they would do unpaid domestic labour because they have to be good and filial daughters. Diamond confronted her mother about why she was forced to do house chores under the argument of being a good daughter. She argued that women can be good daughters without having to experience doing all the hard house chores. Whereas her mother argued that a woman can only be filial through serving her parents and family and doing the house chores. Similarly, Memory argued that her mother talks about filial duty whenever she tries to speak out about an unfair load of house chores. Several participants admitted that their mothers tried to shut down any attempts at voicing out their

issues with domestic chores by correlating to filial piety. In fact, Algerian women are encouraged to do all of the household chores and achieve being the concept of "sajya/ good woman" under the assumption that it would lead to filial piety.

Algerian patriarchal structure employs Islamic religion to enforce filial piety on young Algerian women into doing domestic housework. Most of my participants affirmed that religion obviously uses alarms to force them to do house chores. As Islam puts a great emphasis on filial piety and condemns disobedience of parents, Algerian society and families employ this doctrine to oblige their daughters into doing house chores. Most of the participants argued that their parents include doing House chores as parental orders and they cannot disobey because of religion. However, many participants such as Moon and Queen realise that doing house chores is not correlated with obeying one's parents. Moon acknowledged that Islam does not state doing house chores as part of filial piety while Queen asserted that Islam states doing house chores is not women's job. Some participants, like Night confronted their mothers demanding text proof from the Quran that sanctions domestic work as a woman's job, but their mothers denied such confrontations and argued that filial piety is women's care and obedience towards their families. When these participants argued with their mother about their use of Islam' doctrine of parents' obedience to establish unequal housework loads, they were shamed for "trying to mislead them about religion". This indicates how the Algerian patriarchal society and families have socially interpreted and reconstructed Islamic doctrine around indenturing women into doing unpaid house labour to benefit men under the guise of filial duty.

The use of Islamic domestic filial piety is only enforced on women, whereas men are exempt from domestic obligations. Several participants questioned their mothers why filial piety is only enforced on young Algerian women while men are free from doing any house chores. Pearl confronted her mother and aunt about how only daughters are forced to do housework because of parental obedience whereas sons are relieved of filial piety expectations of housework. She stated:

> *"My mom only uses parental obedience out of patriarchal interest into influencing patriarchal values on me under the idea that I should be obedient to prove my religiosity while the same concept doesn't apply to my brothers".*

Additionally, Lovely argued to her mother that if Islam endocrine filial piety as doing housework, then under what reasoning are sons spared from such testament. Besides, Kindness argued to her parents that as Islam is described as a "fair and just religion " , then why are men exempt from doing domestic work and called out their beliefs about implying that religion demanding women to do unpaid house labour as "hypocritical patriarchal product". Regardless, the counterargument of patriarchal gender roles was mainly the reply in each confrontation with these participants. Kindness stated:

> *" My mother always argued back women and men have different social roles, men are different from women and each have their gender roles, hence Islam asks women to do house chores while men provide ".*

Kindness acknowledged that her mother's argument was incorrect and baseless in Islam. This above narrative highlights how patriarchy uses Islam to enforce false patriarchal narratives of gender roles.

Young Algerian women who dare to challenge the patriarchal interpretations of Islam are stigmatized as defiant and labeled as enemies of religion by those who reinforce patriarchal social constructs. Lovely received a backlash from her parents and was called insubordinate when she confronted them about the credibility of the "religious filial piety" of the housework division. She stated that they kept arguing with her about her purpose in defaming religion and accused of wanting to leave it. In fact, most of the participants who attempted to argue the use of religion in laying house chores responsibilities solely on women were accused of leaving religion or becoming atheists in order to guilt them into stopping to speak about the abuse of religion for patriarchal purposes. This shows that patriarchy promotes ignorance around real understanding of Islam doctrines and reprimands whoever attempts to challenge it.

Several participants admitted that they would only confront their mothers and other female relatives within the family about doing house chores. Doing house chores is considered a woman's job in the Algerian patriarchal society, while men view it beneath them to do it or get involved in it. Hence, Algerian men do not accept women's confrontations about unequal house labour division. It is rendered difficult to speak to Algerian men about the injustice of patriarchal domestic work expectations laid upon women. Algerian patriarchs within the family enable the mother and older women to control and educate younger women about housework responsibilities. Therefore, any confrontations or arguments concerning this matter

can only be directed towards mothers. Flower affirmed that she always found difficulty talking about housework to her father. She argued that she could never voice her troubles with domestic work, nor she could show her frustration to her father while doing it because it would reflect badly on her mother. Likewise, Prayer emphasised that she finds courage in confronting her mother about house labour but never towards her father. She acknowledged that her father, as the patriarch of their family acts as an agent of patriarchy, however, confronting him would aggravate the situation rather than seeking solutions or solidarity.

On the other hand, several participants admitted that they were able to confront their brothers about house chores inequality. Night claimed that it is easier to confront her brother when he attempts to act like a patriarch and tries to assert his dominance over her as a male. She stated:

> *"My brother tried several times to demean me when he sees me resting or doing nothing, I always fight back when he tries to gain control over me and calls me lazy whenever he sees me resting even though I would have just finished cleaning when he literally does nothing helpful around the house and keeps playing with his friends because he is a man ".*

Similarly, Gift stated that she confronted her younger brother whenever he tried to shame her for cooking skills. She confronted him for wanting to shame her on her skills in order to demean her and assert his superiority as a man, whereas he cannot even cook an egg. This narrative is quite common with my participants where their brothers aimed to establish their power over them and assert the patriarchal gender roles through demeaning their efforts and skills.

Additionally, several participants admitted that their brothers explicitly insulted them and called them names in order to establish patriarchal control over them. Dream stated that her older brother kept calling her "maid" for more than 4 months. She stated:" *My older brother started calling me a maid because I wouldn't once reheat his food, I had a quarrel with him and he argued that I was a maid to serve him and that's my only value, I confronted him over and over about how demeaning it is until he stopped calling me that".* Likewise, Diamond's younger brother started calling her Garsouna (a pejorative noun for a waitress) after she stated serving him coffee in bed. She stated that she only brought him coffee at her mother's will and she felt she couldn't refuse her mother's order out of filial piety. However, her

brother called her a Garsouna several times after this incident, implying that she is less than him and she must serve him as a man of the house. Diamond stated that she argued with him and yelled at him for insulting her when he did him a favour. These narratives highlight how brothers become agents of patriarchy through demeaning their sisters in order to sustain patriarchal relationships and power structures within the household.

Algerian mothers enable their sons to take on roles of patriarchy by empowering them to control their sisters. Several participants agreed that their mothers and other female relatives empower their sons to establish their positions in their families as future patriarchs and women as "maids". Diamond explained that she complained to her mother about the Garsouna incident but unfortunately she brushed this insult as a joke and claimed that it was her job as an older sister to serve her brother. She voiced out her frustration to her mother why she was enabling the younger brother to insult her and treat her like a maid, she explained to her that she felt like a slave for doing all of the burdensome house chores but her mother's and brother's behaviour proved her right. Likewise, Brave confronted her mother about when she allowed her brothers to call her a maid. Whenever her brothers demand she cooks and she refuses, a conflict arises and they call her a maid. Yet their mother always takes the sons' side and justifies their behaviour. Brave admitted to her mother that she felt like a second degree human being in such incidents, and her mother is enabling them to become patriarchs and sustaining women's subjugation to patriarchal injustice.

On the other hand, when Diamond and Brave's mothers would not reprimand their brothers for the rude behaviour, both of them explained that they started calling their Garsouna (servants) too as a retaliation measure. However, unlike the nonchalant reaction of their mothers in the first incidents, their mothers backlashed at them for their brothers' sake. Diamond recognised that her mother knows the motives and toll of her brother's insult and chose to defend him, contrary to defending her in the first incident. She confronted her mother on how she allowed her brother to belittle her and proclaim his patriarchal authority over her in the long run. Equivalently, Brave confronted her mother about how she excused her brother's behaviour as a joke and how she lashed out when the opposite occurred. She called out her mother on such injustice. Howbeit, her mother claimed that it is insulting to render a man as a maid because doing housework is beneath them. Her mother argued that it is degrading towards him and risks his identity as men among his family and other men for not being able to control his sister. Brave expressed her frustration on how her mother admitted it is a woman's job to do housework and her place is in the kitchen while it is beneath men and

it was justified for her that she gets classified as a "lowly maid". Algerian men who are thought to be emasculated were at risk of being abused by other men and looked down on by women. Algerian mothers would enable their sons to dominate their sisters in order not to be preyed upon as vulnerable and masculinity lacking male.

Young Algerian women experience an arduous load of unpaid domestic work because it is perceived as derogatory and beneath men. When several participants spoke about how they were forced to clean their houses and cook while their male relatives were not, they were berated by their mothers on how house cleaning is a woman's job and unfitting for a man's stature. Pearl said that her mother shamed her for questioning the inequality in treatment by insulting and intimidating her and stated that he is better than her because he is a man. Whereas Immortality confessed that her mother called her Jayha and "Mosh matrabya/ ill-raised" and insisted that men are destined for great achievements while women are destined to stay in the kitchen serving them. This highlights how language is used to subjugate young Algerian women to their family patriarchs but also to ingrain the patriarchal superiority within young Algerian men by enabling them to control their sisters.

Nevertheless, language is weaponised to subject young Algerian women to patriarchal inequity. Most of the participants agreed that using insults like Jayha, ill- raised and disrespectful made them realise or think about their patriarchal experiences. Memory said:

> *" I don't think much of patriarchal injustice in my everyday life even though it happens quite often but when I hear most of the days my mom criticises me and treats me differently from my brother because he is a man, I become aware of it".*

Additionally, Night explained that she does not think of hogra/injustice daily until she gets insulted by her mother for not doing house chores properly while her brother enjoys zero house work load. Several participants admitted that they no longer felt value in doing housework because of the negative criticism, as they were no longer unaware of the discrimination and the lack of support and positive home environment.

Several participants realised that they were more willing to speak about unfair patriarchal housework division because of the use of demeaning criticism. Hence, they chose to "fight language with language" as Happiness argued. As these participants became aware of

patriarchy because of verbal "abuse", they confronted their mothers about how their use of language is serving patriarchal values and injustice at the expense of their daughters' welfare and choices. Happiness stated:

> *"I faced my mother how calling me Jayha over housework or having quarrels with my brothers meant that she wants me to be subjected to unfair patriarchal values and she does not support me as a mother or a woman because she is establishing and continuing patriarchal injustice in my life and our family".*

Likewise, Pearl and Lovely addressed the problem of their mothers insulting them whenever they were arguing with their brothers, whereas the latter were never criticised for their mistakes or laziness. They took initiative to shed light on such incidents whenever this happened and criticised their mothers openly. Even though they were obliged to speak politely and never use insults, it did not stop them from counter weaponising language for their struggle with patriarchal discrimination.

The lack of support and solidarity between Algerian women and mainly in mother-daughter relationships motivated young Algerian women into speaking about their experiences with patriarchy in their everyday lives. Most of the participants confessed that they found lacking solidarity and understanding with other Algerian women. "A woman's worst enemy is another woman" is a phrase stated by several participants where they confirmed that they were brought up to believe this and forsake women's solidarity. These participants admitted that the Algerian patriarchal culture thrives on the "divide to conquer "policy where it instigates a lack of unity between women and weakens their comradeship where they act as the agents of patriarchy and be its victims. Brave insisted that Algerian patriarchal values provoke toxic relationships between women where mothers support sons over daughters; sisters compete against each other and fault finding female relatives who gossip and shame each other.

Several participants admitted they fault the lack of solidarity between women as a tool and a product of patriarchy. These young Algerian women spoke about the scarcity of support between female relatives. Diamond affirmed to her mother that she does not find solidarity in her mother as another woman. She stated that she loved her mother, but with the enforcement of house chores, constant criticism, and different treatment towards her brother, she believed that there is no support system for her at home. Similarly, Immortality argued to her mother

on few occasions that *"she felt more of an enemy than a mother bound together in the struggle against male dominance".* She professed to her mother that taking sides wrongfully with her brothers encouraged a lack of understanding and solidarity with her as a fellow woman. Additionally, some participants, like Immortality confronted their mothers about how accepting and imposing an unfair load of house chores is a *"daily demonstration of no solidarity ".*

Young Algerian women expressed their similar concerns to their mothers over instigating toxic relationships between daughters. Raising daughters to compete with each other through the use of praise, criticism, and comparisons undermines the solidarity sisters should form from their childhood. Dream talked to her mother about how her approach to teaching and assigning housework to both her and her sister by provoking a competition between them by criticising and comparing them to each other led them to argue quite often with each other. Comparably, Happiness argued to her mother*:" I have always had a love and hate relationship with my sister, I love her but we have always been jealous of each other when getting praised by our mother as Sajya because whenever she complemented one of us, she would to compare between us and criticised the other, she made us turn on each other indirectly. When I blamed my mom about this but instead of validating my feelings and seeking to consolidate my sister's and I solidarity, she pretended it never happened and she accused me of hating on my sister and being jealous of he"*. These narratives highlight how young Algerian women understood their mother's approach to establishing patriarchal values of doing housework weakened the sisterly bond.

Initially, there appears to be unawareness among young Algerian women, primarily sisters, about the effects of patriarchal values on their solidarity. However, as participants engaged more deeply with the topic in the interviews, they revealed a nuanced awareness of these effects. This deep reflection shows that, while they may not immediately recognise the reach of the patriarchy's influence, their situated knowledges, shaped by their specific contexts and experiences, enable them to understand and articulates these dynamics when prompted. Donna Haraway's concept of situated knowledge emphasizes that knowledge is always partial and situated, reflecting the specific social and cultural contexts in which it is produced (Haraway, 1988). The women in this research, through their lived experiences and interactions, embody what Haraway (1988) refers to as "situated knowers". They possess a unique, contextual understanding of how patriarchal structures impact their relationships and daily lives.

Several participants, through conversations and reflections, recognised the impact of patriarchy on their relationships. For instance, Lovely stated that she talked to her sister about the problem of patriarchy and how it affects their relationship with each other. Her sister ended up acknowledging the "deteriorating relationship " because of how they were taught to blame and criticise each other because of the burdens of doing house chores instead of confiding and supporting each other. They realised the societal norms which encouraged them to blame and criticise each other for house chores rather than support one another were rooted in patriarchal structures. In similar fashion, five participants found courage to speak against patriarchal influence that problematizes sisterly bonds. Rose argued with her sister during a quarrel over housework about how they became malignant towards each other, where they end up fighting over housework and demean each other whenever their mother criticised them. Rose's sister acknowledged the issue that rendered their relationship weak over time as Rose explained how their male dominance uses Algerian women to enforce house labour burden on younger women and taunt them into believing other women are their enemies. She explained to her that patriarchy serves only men and the norms of doing all of the unpaid house labour while using criticism ruin women's chances of solidarity and fighting against male dominance.

In these discussions, the participants demonstrated their situated knowledge, as they critically engaged with their experiences and recognised their broader patriarchal context influencing their relationships. This reflects Haraway's (1988) idea that knowledge is produced through the interaction of individuals within their specific social and cultural contexts. Haraway (1988) emphasizes that recognising the situated knowledge allows for more nuanced and accurate understanding of social phenomena. In this case, young Algerian women's reflections and discussions about their experiences with patriarchy highlight their situated knowledge. They move from a state of unawareness to a more profound awareness, demonstrating how their personal and collective insights are shaped by their specific social and cultural contexts.

On the other hand, few other participants spoke against how patriarchy causes toxic relationships between other Algerian women, like female relatives, through gendered discrimination of domestic labour. These participants agreed that patriarchal values planted toxicity in their relationships with their distant female relatives and friends. Kindness argued to her female cousins that patriarchy asserts that women are other women's enemies when she confronted them for gossiping about other female relatives and participating in the patriarchal

culture of shaming other women for their housework skills and efforts. She confronted both her mother and grandmother for gossiping and shaming their new sister/daughter in law about her cooking skills. She insisted that they were supporting men over themselves as women when they were sabotaging their new relationship by criticising her skills both openly and privately, which would ruin any future chances for solidarity between them as fellow women against the troubles of male domination.

Patriarchy‘s schemes of sabotaging and toxifying Algerian women’s relationships and solidarity extend beyond unpaid domestic labour to issues of honour and sexuality. It is essential to foreground the situated knowledges of these women throughout the thesis. Their awareness and critical engagement with patriarchal values demonstrate their active role as situated knowers, shaping and reshaping their understanding of their social world. Situated knowledge also involves recognising the partiality and limited perspective inherent in all knowledge claims, as opposed to seeking a detached and objective standpoint. This perspective challenges the traditional hierarchies of knowledge production, validating the lived experiences and insights of marginalised groups. These participants’ journey from initial unawareness to deeper understanding illustrates how their embeddedness in specific social contexts provides them critical insights that might be overlooked by other external observers. The following section tackles how young Algerian women resist patriarchy by speaking against patriarchal oppression of women’s sexuality, idealising honour and virginity, and shaming women and their families for losing it. Through these acts of resistance, they further illustrate their situated knowledges, recognising and combating the oppressive structures in their everyday lives.

6.2.2. Honour Culture

Lack of solidarity between Algerian women manifests the most in the patriarchal culture of honour and shame. Young Algerian women find themselves under scrutiny of both men and women in the pursuit of achieving patriarchal values of honour and chastity. As these women understand that patriarchy establishes them as the carriers of their families’ honour in their bodies, they realise that they are subjected to shame and dishonour by both men and women alike. Most of the participants agreed that Algerian women partake in shaming other women for their ‘dishonour’ just as men if not more. Memory claimed that women sometimes criticise other women when they do “a dishonourable act” more than men because they belong to the same gender and other women would reflect badly on them even if they are

strangers. She justified this as Algerian male dominance tends to generalise negative incidents upon all women and group them into one cluster of "*dishonourable women/whore*". Hence, other Algerian women shame and avoid supporting each other in order to avoid being grouped with them. This narrative shows how young Algerian women view and experience the Algerian patriarchal values of honour, where shaming is encouraged and sisterhood is rendered almost non-existent.

Several participants chose to mostly speak against women who shame other women because it is easier to talk about women than men. They explained that while talking to other women about incidents revolving around honour and virginity can be seen as discussions or arguing, talking with men can be viewed as disrespect of honour values, and women may risk losing their honour performance and image. Flower explained that Algerian men categorise women who lose their honour with other women who defend them. She claimed that speaking about honour with women may lead to better results than men's backlash, even though these women are part of the persistently problematic culture of honour and shaming. Flower asserted that she always could about honour and virginity to her mother and sister, whereas she cannot with her father and brothers. She said*" I can't even say the word virginity in front of my father because it is taboo so I can't speak about it unless I want to risk being called disrespectful and dishonourable ".* Algerian patriarchy renders speaking about honour and virginity a sensitive topic and a taboo, while it despises women who defend and support other 'disgraceful and scandalous women'. This highlights how young Algerian women are discouraged from speaking about patriarchal culture of honour and shaming in fear of consequences while they can redirect their resistance towards other women for supporting patriarchal values.

Several young Algerian women affirmed that they voiced their disapproval to their mothers for how they support a male opinionated culture that bans women from exploring their sexuality and shames them doing it. Pearl confronted her mother about how she accepts patriarchal values of virginity and enforces it on her daughters because of the intergenerational transmission of patriarchal values and fear from the patriarch of their families. They confronted them on how this pattern empowers male dominance and sustains the oppression of women and lack of solidarity between them. These participants argued to their mothers about teaching patriarchy's values of honour to their young daughters to safeguard their virginity and chastity. This shows how young Algerian women are resisting

patriarchy by speaking of their mothers' roles in continuing to uphold women as the carriers of their families' honour.

Similarly, they confronted their mothers for submitting to patriarchy's approach of divide and conquer between women, where they are taught to shame each other whenever they try to deviate from patriarchal values of honour. Night confronted her mother on several occasions when she attempted to privately shame other women for their actions. She argued that she was empowering men over women when she shamed them for the way they conducted themselves publicly or how they dressed. She stated that since everything Algerian women do publicly is a subject for criticism according to patriarchy' values, women choose to partake in the public patriarchal scrutiny and shaming of other women. Night admitted that she used to shame other women for their manner of conduct outside because of her upbringing values and confronted her mother for "planting such sexist values" in her childhood. Other participants confessed that they shamed other women in the past about their honour, and they could only understand the problem with it after others spoke against it, which led them to resist patriarchal honour through speaking about it with their mothers, sisters, and other female relatives.

Some participants criticised their sisters and female relatives for shaming other women that encourages patriarchal shaming culture to sustain dissonance between fellow women. As patriarchy creates toxic relationships between women even within families, female relatives tend to scrutinise against each other also when it comes to honour and patriarchal morality. Brave stated that no Algerian woman escapes the scrutiny of honour culture. Hence, even female family members may shame each other privately and publicly for 'inappropriate misconduct'. She confronted her sister for attempting to shame their cousin, where she explained to her that she is perpetuating toxic male dominance onto her cousin and herself by 'slut-shaming' other women. She also explained that shaming female relatives and friends may ruin the sisters' chances of freedom and power because they will suffer collateral consequences as the shamed women are their relatives or friends. Brave described this as 'guilt by association', which is fundamental in the patriarchal culture of honour for the purpose of dividing women's solidarity and turning them against each other. This narrative shows how Algerian women may sabotage each other's reputation by gossiping and shaming, but it affects them in return as patriarchy instigates toxic relationships between women and maintains male dominance over them.

Some young Algerian participants spoke against how patriarchy brands the immediate and distant female relatives as dishonourable once a woman "brings shame to its family". Since women are the carriers of honour of their families according to patriarchy, the whole family including women suffer the "wrath of society" where the female relatives become sinful and unscrupulous while men are deemed emasculated and weak. Dream spoke against how patriarchy lumps and characterises all of the relatives in a bubble of shame because of a woman's actions, which are rendered immoral by the same patriarchal system. Additionally, Prayer also spoke against how the distant relatives disassociate and distance themselves from that family while partaking in the act of shaming and insulting her as a measure to prove that they did not breach patriarchal honour morality, save their reputation, and possibly their daughters' future.

In fact, these young women spoke against how patriarchy ruins Algerian women's potential opportunities of studies, careers, and marriage once they are deemed dishonourable. Algerian patriarchy views "dishonourable women " as worthless immorality spreading being that would bring more shame and gossiping to the family if she still goes outside. Hence, her father and brother will most likely force her to drop out of school, or the school will expel her out of concerns of spreading immorality among other students and will lose her chance to get a career as Diamond and Night argued. Some participants, like Queen, voiced their protestations against how patriarchy punishes and banishes dishonourable women from society where they are either "trapped inside their homes forcefully " or the family moves away to a different city to get a new start. This shows how patriarchy considers the loss of honour as a dead end for women and their families.

Dishonourable Algerian women are considered worthless, unmarriageable "products "of society. Some young Algerian women argued that the Algerian patriarchal culture of honour views women as "marriage commodities" since they are carriers of their families honour. Both Queen and Moon claimed that they have heard or been called before by men as Selaa/commodity and spoke against this patriarchal assertion that devalues women to the intactness of their hymen and their performance of honour in the public sphere. Moon stated:

> *"I heard several times people, mostly men, shame women who lost their virginity and insult them as Makhrouga/ Broken , I argued once with my brother and cousin when they shamed a girl we know who lost her virginity and*

> *they called her worthless Makhrouga and they stated that no one will marry a faulty product unless they're an emasculated idiot".*

This demonstrates how patriarchy views a woman's worth only in her virginity and how she is deemed a "product "for her future husband. As a result, it destroys all chances for these women to get married after losing their honour.

In fact, while most of these participants spoke against patriarchal ideals of honour to other women because of potential male discrimination and retaliation, some other participants found courage to speak of this problematic culture to men as the main agents of Algerian patriarchy. These young Algerian women admitted that speaking about patriarchal injustice should be directed towards men instead of blaming women for their participation in this system. Lovely argued that fearing the retaliation and anger of men does not mean Algerian women should blame each other for engaging in the notions of shaming. She spoke about how men should take accountability for their creation and sustaining of patriarchal values, she stated:

> *"Men established this injustice and demeaning male oriented values and instructed women to act as their agents, resisting to patriarchy must hold men first accountable for their actions instead of focusing only on the role of women in this".*

These participants asserted that while women may influence the shaming process, it is Algerian men who initiate it, maximise the injustice and oppression towards women.

These young Algerian women spoke against Algerian men's carrying out shaming and stigmatising women who do or almost commit what patriarchy considers dishonourable acts. They denounced men who forced women to submit to the patriarchal culture of shame by insulting and framing them as "whores/prostitutes". Knowing that women would fear being labelled as such, Algerian men took advantage to scrutinise women's public demeanour and actions to subject them to following the common ideals of honour and morality, as Happiness argued. In similar manner, Gift rebuked Algerian men for having the liberty to insult women both privately and publicly and for the society to render such actions normalised where these men do not get retribution for infringing and defaming other women's reputation. Algerian

patriarchal culture of honour and morality empowers men to enforce discriminatory values, monitor women's public behaviour, and entitles them to verbally and physically punish them. Contrastingly, these young Algerian women realise and rebuke how patriarchal values of honour are enforced only on women. They condemn how this structure favours men and alleviates them for maintaining honour duties as it paints women as the sole carriers of their families' honour because of the virginity and hymen beliefs.

Some of these participants confronted the men in their families about how they demean and shame women for their 'unreasonable moral values ', while they do not even abide by them or hold themselves accountable to the same system they created. Happiness confronted father and brother about how women are obliged to stay chaste and perform purity in front of their family and society whereas they are free from society's honour ideals. Similarly, Pearl criticised her brother on how he subjected women to honour values that he did not agree to follow as a man. She stated that her brother argued that he is exempt for these values because of his gender as a man and his masculinity. Pearl argued that Algerian patriarchy encases this understanding as an aspect of masculinity where their honour is tied to their female relatives but not their own bodies as the honour is for men and shame is for women. This shows how Algerian women realise and understand how patriarchy employs double standards of honour on women as opposed to men, where the values are enforced only on women while men enjoy sexuality freedom and power over women's bodies, denying theirs.

Speaking against framing honour and morality in women's bodies and virginity was one aspect of resistance against patriarchy. Some participants had arguments with their brothers, cousins, and friends condemning patriarchy and men's schemes of wanting honour but imposing it on their female relatives' bodies. Diamond argued to her brother on the purpose of commanding women to safeguard their virginities and perform honour ideals in private and public spheres and labelling virginity as the proof of purity. She argued that while men want and seek honour, they are not willing to uphold it themselves; knowing society does not supervise or shame them for not acting honourably as women are supposed to. These participants realised the paradox in upholding women to a set of values that men were not upholding is just patriarchal desire to control women, their bodies, sexuality and establish power over them.

These participants demanded men uphold the values of patriarchal honour and morality themselves instead of imposing them on women. They argued to their male relatives and

friends that if men want honour and they derive societal value and reputation, then they should enforce it on themselves instead. Queen asserted that honour became a 'currency for toxic masculinity 'where men aim to achieve it in order to elevate their social status among other men. Thus, she challenged her brother that if he covets honour as a man; he should impose patriarchal morals on himself instead of compelling women and controlling their bodies. Additionally, Rose questioned her male friend why it is a woman's duty to protect her family's honour through maintaining her virginity, whereas men are the ones profiting from the gained honour. She argued that since men create the circumstances of needing to gain honour because of toxic masculinity where they attempt to emasculate each other then they should take the responsibility for achieving honour instead of enforcing the subordination of women through the control of bodies and sexuality.

Algerian men reason upholding women to protect their families' honour because of the hymen and virginity existence, whereas men are liberated from such liability based on physical constitution. Virginity has been the reasoning to why men controlled women's bodies as the Algerian patriarchy dictates the presence of an intact hymen as a proof for not having pre-marital sexual relationships while it determines that since men do not have hymens then nothing can prove them committing sexual acts unless they admit it or are caught in it directly as Rose's friend argued back. Whereas, Gift's brother clashed back arguing it was his ''privilege as a man'' to control his female relatives bodies because God gave them a hymen that proves having premarital sexual intercourse, whereas he did not give to men. Hence, her brother believed that men are superior while women are physically obliged to perform honour and men can dominate their bodies and sexuality.

Consequently, four out of the participants argued that the hymen is not a proof of virginity. They argued that the Algerian patriarchal society adamantly believes in the '' myth of hymen'' as Brave and Pearl called it, whereas they asserted that it ignores or does not know the real purpose of the hymen. Brave insisted that its presence is to protect female infants from faecal matter entering their uterus and risking health problems. Pearl stressed that the virginity concept is an outdated and wrong idea where it focusses on the hymen instead of *''the western concept of first sexual experience''*. She argued that women still have other forms of sex without breaking the hymen. If men are following the rigid patriarchal values of honour, then virginity should include all forms of sexual acts, but only vaginal intercourse can be proven to have happened. Therefore, patriarchal values of honour would implement men's first experience of sexuality as losing their virginity and hence losing their honour.

Over and above that, several participants spoke against the use of Islam as the creed of establishing virginity as a symbol of honour and the presence of hymen as manifestation of chastity. The participants argued that patriarchy ‘’falsely institutionalised ‘’ that Islam asks Muslims to proclaim hymens as a sign of virginity, maintain honour and the chastity of their female relatives. Lovely rebuked the patriarchal association of virginity and honour with the Islam religion. She added that patriarchy's ideals around honour and virginity are a social construct rather than religious dogma. Happiness explained that Islam endocrines both men and women to not have pre-marital intercourse while it never mentions the concept of honour in the Quran texts nor the hymen as a proof of virginity. Contrarily, Algerian patriarchy's social construct of religion paints honour through maintaining virginity and chastity and the existence of the hymen as God's will for women to be the carriers of that honour. Moreover, Queen and Prayer declared that since Islam only bans premarital sex and does not institute virginity as honour, therefore if they want to take their own virginity with their own hands, they are not liable to become ‘’ sinners’’ according to Islamic creed and should not be shamed nor punished for it. They argued that since the act of deflowering would be self-induced and pre-marital intercourse does not happen in such example, then patriarchs do not have the right to shame women in such an incident. However, they asserted that such hypothesis has been talked about before and there was a backlash from men emphasising on patriarchal Quran interpretations of virginity which led these two participants to insist that the problem is not about woman's virginity but more of a man's right to control women's bodies and own the right to take their virginities in marriage.

In addition, these participants argued that the relation between Islam banning premarital sex and patriarchy' honour is the interpretation of patriarchal religious male scholars, beyond the scope of what has already been established as Halal or Haram. They argued that Islamic interpretations have always been dominated by male scholars whereas women are mostly banned from forming their own interpretations. Queen argued that male scholars tenaciously banned women elaborating Quran texts under the patriarchal guise of “‘women lack brain’’. She also argued:

> *‘’ These scholars discredited any attempt by women to rectify these interpretations of the Quran because of their sexist belief that women are weak due to their emotions and they cannot give fair judgement in order to maintain the power over using Islam for their benefit ’’.*

These narratives indicate how young Algerian women understand the difference between the dogma of Islam and the patriarchal construct of honour and virginity, where they spoke against how patriarchy rejected women's intake of religious texts in order to legitimise the correlation between Islam, honour and virginity, creating patriarchy's culture of honour values and monopolising its power.

Several young Algerian women rebuked Algerian men's use of shaming and slandering women under the guise of straying from the patriarchal Islamised honour creed, which bans the act of shaming and defaming other people's reputation. They pointed out the contradiction and inconsistency with how Algerian men employ Islam as supporting power for their patriarchal morality claims, but they continue to infringe real Islamic rules that prohibit shaming, slandering, and gossiping about others' character. Diamond contested Algerian men's duplicity in enforcing patriarchal beliefs of honour under the guise of applying Islam doctrine, whereas they excused themselves when insulting and slandering them. She added:

> *'' They insult us whores and prostitutes if we make mistakes because they think Islam orders us to maintain their honour but they don't admit that insulting is haram and slandering other women's honour is a sin and they justify themselves that it's their right to punish us so we would not make mistakes''.*

In fact, several participants disputed Algerian men's patriarchal entitlement to shame women and self-exempting of Islam's rules when they complained and quarrelled on multiple incidents where they were or other women, including families and friends, were insulted. Flower called these men ''hypocrites and self-righteous on everyone else except themselves'' who claim to be entitled by God and religion to punish women and are not judged for slandering because they are fulfilling their roles as patriarchs. These accounts demonstrate how patriarchy entitles Algerian men to shame women using religion while also sanctioning them from the Islamic anti-defamation creed, and these young Algerian women understand and resist this patriarchal paradox.

In addition, several young Algerian women spoke against Algerian men's use of Algerian women's social status in shaming and defamation of their reputation. They demurred how Algerian men sought to shame and defame women by their civil status even when they were not committing '' offences'' on patriarchal values of honour and chastity. Indeed, these

participants admitted that they experienced, in several incidents, men shaming and gossiping about women's honour if they are Bayra/ spinsters, divorced, or widowed.

Participants like Immortality and Memory complained that Algerian men shame women who are marrying late or never, where they gossip and insist that it is because they lost their virginity or are prostituting themselves. Immortality argued that society already degrades Algerian women who are past the age of 30 and did not get married by calling them Bayrat/ Stale like they are stale products past their expiration date. She argued that men make it worse by making assumptions about their chastity and honour because they dictate that all Algerian women's highest achievement and dream is to get married and if men do not seek their hand in marriage, it indicates that there is a problem with their virginity and reputation and permit themselves to start the detrimental defamation.

On the other hand, divorced and widowed Algerian women experience worse insults under the pretence that they may have sexual relationships outside of marriage without being able to prove their honour because they are no longer virgins. Similarly, Gift and Dream stated that society denigrates divorced women by calling them Hajjala/ thrown out and defamed, insinuating that they are unwanted and undesired women who should be shameful because of separating from their husbands and yet Algerian men continue to harass and shame these women. Dream called out Algerian men for insulting divorced women both privately and publicly as prostitutes, and she also refuted how they falsely accuse women for cheating which led them to be thrown out by their husbands, and blamed them for not preventing their marriages' dissolution without considering all the factors that led to it. Gift spoke against how patriarchy and Algerian men shame divorced women while also defaming widowed women of prostitution while also calling them Hajjala which shows how they group them under the same defamatory accusations with divorced women. These accounts demonstrate Algerian women's experiences and refusal of how patriarchy and Algerian men attack Algerian women's character according to their civil status, where they consider their social status as problematic, blaming them for it and accusing them of prostitution.

Furthermore, several of the participants criticised how patriarchy enables Algerian men to shame, humiliate, and shun Algerian female victims of rape and sexual assault. These young Algerian women challenged Algerian men's convictions of blaming victims of rape and sexual assault, whereas they socially acquitted and even some defended the rapists and assaulters. Out of these participants, Kindness and Queen expressed their frustration and

anger towards the blame poured on rape victims by Algerian men, where they insult and shame them for '' causing themselves to be raped''. They spoke against how the male dominated Algerian society excused rapists for their crimes under the excuse of being '' provoked'' by women. Kindness argued:

> *"Algerian men always question and blame assaulted and raped women for how they provoked men to rape them! Instead of punishing and shaming these rapists , they accuse the victims of doing something immoral that caused the rape upon them and they argue that they deserved it''.*

Similarly, Queen argued over the irony of how Algerian women are blamed for doing normal mundane activities since Algerian society and men fault victims for their rape, insisting that they have caused it either through their demeanour in public spheres, their clothing choices, dating, or going out of their homes.

Several participants recounted their and other women's past incidents concerning sexual assault and rape, where they were accused of not covering up, acting indecently, having pre-marital relationships, and going out when they liked. Coincidentally, Moon recounted Shayma's[28] story where this latter was accused of all them, and she criticised how a lot of the Algerian men publicly shamed her for being raped and killed. She was accused of not wearing a hijab, allegedly dating her rapist, acting provocatively, and going out late in the evening, which led her into ''tempting '' her rapist. Moon criticised how Algerian men jumped to the defence of her rapist when she sued him and how they blamed her when he raped her for the second time, killed her, and burned her corpse to dispose of the evidence. She expressed her anger against patriarchy that allows men to sexually assault and rape and then get socially exonerated while they shamed Shayma and gloated in her death, insisting that she deserved it instead of sympathising with her. These narratives demonstrate that Algerian women realise

[28] In 2016, a 14 years old girl named Shayma was raped, and unlike most cases, she spoke up and obtained justice against her rapist, who was sentenced to prison. However, upon his release, he kidnapped, beat, raped, slaughtered and burned her body with gasoline. The victim's remains were found at a remote fuel station in Thenia, Boumerdes, about 50 kilometres east of the capital Algiers. The public prosecutor's representative in Boumerdes revealed the details of the crimes in a press conference that the perpetuator lured the victim and committed his crime. A local court in Boumerdes charged the perpetrator with rape, premeditated murder involving torture, and acts of barbarism. This case ignited the hashtag "#justiceforSayma" on social media platforms, where thousands of users shared pictures of the culprit and demanded the harshest punishment, while some blamed the victim Shayma for being lured and her own rape and murder, thus trying to absolve the perpetrator of his atrocious actions.

how patriarchal Algerian society and men will always blame women for losing their virginity and their families honour while they acquit rapists from their sexual crimes' accountability through honour constraints imposed by patriarchy, which are discussed in the following section.

Several participants defied how Algerian men blame the victims for not wearing Hijab when they were raped, faulting them for '' exposing their hair and beauty''. Prayer argued that covering up or wearing modest clothes, including hijab and Jelbab have never stopped rapists and assaulters from taking their advances on women. In fact several of the participants argued against wearing hijab or modest wear because patriarchy demands women to cover up their bodies and beauty in order to not tempt men. These participants stressed that they grew up being told a woman's body is Awra/ shameful and it needs to be covered up under the patriarchal idea that ''Sotra milha/ covering up is good''. They opposed patriarchy's notion of covering up their bodies for patriarchal reasons of honour instead of religion while challenging the idea that '' men are predators and can't help themselves''. They argued that hijab became more of a patriarchal construct that serves to control women's bodies instead of an Islamic one while patriarchy exonerate men from their sexual crimes, social shaming, and punishments. Several participants stated they were sexually harassed and assaulted even though they wear hijab and modest clothes, while a few of them also wore Jelbab which covers everything except for their eyes. As hijab and modest wear did not serve their purpose in protecting women's against sexual harassment, assault, and rape while it served as a criteria for patriarchy to accuse and blame Algerian women for men's crimes , these participants spoke against patriarchy's motives of ordering women to cover up and blame them for sexual crimes done to them. These narratives show that young Algerian women reflect on patriarchy's double standards of obliging women to cover up in order to maintain their honour but also weaponised it to blame them for tempting men and shame them when they are the victims of rape and sexual assault while it acquitted men from their crimes.

Similarly, these participants argued against patriarchy and Algerian men's directed blame towards sexually harassed, assaulted, and raped Algerian women because of their access to the public sphere. They challenged patriarchy's assumption that Algerian women's only placement is in the kitchen, while their freedom of movement outside their homes at their convenience will result in losing their families' honour. Flower and Pearl argued that Algerian patriarchal law restricts Algerian women's movement in order to physically control their bodies and freedom under the guise of protecting women from men's advances against them

and their honour. They spoke against limiting the mobility of women and constraining with time curfews because patriarchy deems public spaces dangerous at night for them. However, limiting mobility or time curfews did not stop Algerian men from sexually harassing, assaulting, or raping women, and patriarchy did not hold men accountable for their misdeeds yet it blamed women instead as Diamond argued. She confronted how patriarchal culture of honour asks for more constraints on Algerian women to access public spaces and blame them when they are assaulted instead of holding men accountable for their actions and crimes.

Several participants criticised how Algerian men fault women for the sexual crimes imposed on them due to their movement outside and accusing them of prostitution in several incidents, whereas they gender the public sphere as their domain and allow themselves the freedom to access any place at any time. Brave argued why patriarchy allows men to claim public spaces as men's and why they are not constrained by time or rules. She stated:

> *'' It's unfair how society lets my brothers come home late at night at 2-4 a.m. they're allowed to go wherever and whenever and no one blames them when I can't even leave home I don't have a valid reason and even then 7 p.m. is my limit''.*

These accounts highlight that young Algerian women understand and speak against how patriarchy uses mobility constraints on women to control their bodies under the pretext of preserving honour, yet it is not willing to punish male sex offenders for their crimes and directs the shaming towards women instead to employ it as a tactic of further male domination and discrimination against Algerian women.

Consequently, Algerian patriarchal values of honour and male discrimination against female victims of rape and sexual assault hinder and shame Algerian women from reporting the sexual crimes done to them. Several participants admitted that they found it extremely difficult to talk or report about sexual assaults they experienced because of the patriarchal discrimination. Pearl argued how she was forced by her family from a young age not to confront or speak about sexual harassment she experienced while growing up because it would attract attention to and society would blame and shame her for it. Similarly, Kindness and Night admitted that they were threatened with insults and violence by their male relatives for speaking against sexual assault and their offenders because their families' reputations would be tainted once it was reported. Several young Algerian women declared that they felt

intimidated to report or speak against it publicly when they saw how the victims are shunned and blamed by men.

Contrarily, it is very common for Algerian people to defend male sex offenders during incidents and after they get jailed. Several participants criticised how Algerian society and men defend sex criminals when they are accused and punished by the law when they shun the victims. These participants talked against the fraudulence of the patriarchal system where the roles of the offender and the victims are reversed and how Algerian men intimidate the victims to retreat their reports. Gift confronted her male cousins when they kept defending their sex offender friend, she stated:*'' I could not keep silent when I heard them praying Allah for his soon release and that the law practitioners would realise that they imprisoned an innocent man, I criticised them to their faces and shamed them for defending a criminal, they should be ashamed''*. In addition, Lovely denounced how Algerian men shamed women for reporting their offenders and jailing them while they kept praying they would be released, insinuating they were innocent and falsely accused. Moon stated: '' *I always heard people praying to God that those sex criminals get released from prison because the victims were considered lying and committing perjury against them, I condemn those who defend them''*. Even when the sex crimes are proven and the law punishes the offenders, Algerian men supported and defended them at the expense of the victims. This shows how patriarchy always supports male domination and discrimination and how young Algerian women resist it through confronting it and telling their experiences.

Moreover, Algerian patriarchy and men blamed sexual crimes victims of indecency and immoral behaviour, causing them to lose their families' honour. Young Algerian women confronted how Algerian society and men accuse women of immoral demeanour in public spaces whenever they experience sexual harassment. Prayer expressed her frustration with how she was accused of crudity and indecent behaviour when she tried to recount her story to her family relatives about being sexually harassed by men. While Happiness stated:

> *'' I was accused of being lewd and provocative by my cousins when they knew I was sexually harassed, they claimed I must have given him provocative looks and insinuated I was interested in him, I couldn't believe what I heard, I'm so angry at how this injustice is allowed against women, they accused me instead of blaming him''.*

In fact, several participants agreed that they were never asked about their side of the story of their sexual harassment incidents, they were immediately accused of provoking it under the pretence that men do not sexually harass unless they are tempted. This narrative is common among Algerian women where they are blamed for Algerian men's sexual harassment and assault through provocation, which highlights the struggle young Algerian women face because of the Algerian patriarchal culture of honour and the length it goes to blame women for the crimes of men while these latter are acquitted and defended for.

Lastly, young Algerian women confronted how men shame and blame female victims of sexual assault and rape while accusing them of dating and having premarital relationships. Several participants refuted how the patriarchal culture of honour prohibits women from dating while employing Islamic doctrine of banning premarital intercourse, yet they exonerate Algerian men when they accuse victims of dating and having sexual relationships. Even though Islam never banned dating, Algerian men insinuate that dating equals having sexual relationships and allow themselves the freedom to call women publicly and privately who date as prostitutes. Therefore, it is socially unacceptable for women to date in order to maintain their chastity and family's honour, as they have to perform virginity and honour alongside physically maintaining it. Pearl challenged the patriarchal notion of forbidding women's dating while it is socially accepted for Algerian men to date and speak about it publicly. She stated:'' *I was told men can date because they're simple men and they can't lose their honour like women can''.*

Pearl argued that women have to date in secrecy in fear of being exposed and shamed in society, and yet even when they do not date, they are still accused and shamed for being sexually harassed. Immortality argued against how Algerian men rush to defame victims of sexual assault of having pre-marital sexual relationships either in dating or prostitution without proof and exult in their misfortune. She rejected how patriarchy allows Algerian men to insult and defame victims of sexual harassment and rape. She recalled her own experience where they spread gossip about her that she dated several men, she was called a Kahba/ whore and accused of prostitution because she chose to speak against the culprit. These accounts demonstrate how Algerian men will attack female victims character and accuse them of having illicit premarital relationships and prostitution, blaming them for their victimhood while they once again socially acquit the sex offenders of their crimes, and Algerian women realise and challenge this patriarchal culture and Algerian men's

discrimination and fraudulence in imposing the values of honour only on women in order to control and maintain power over them.

Similarly, several young Algerian women resisted how some men defame female university students and accuse them of having premarital relationships and prostitution. They argued that these Algerian men accused all female university students but mostly targeted the ones who reside in their universities' accommodations. These participants spoke against Algerian men's patriarchal reasoning, where they accuse female students of dishonour under the pretext that they have mobility freedom and lack parental surveillance, allowing them to act indecently, wear what they like, and date. Queen argued:

> *'' I heard men accuse university students, including me, of having sexual relationships and prostitution just because we reside in the accommodation during weekdays''.*

While Rose argued that even though university accommodation placements are given only to students who live far from the university and have difficulty with transportation, Algerian men keep defaming and insulting female students for dishonouring their families because they are not surveyed by their families on their performance of honour. Algerian patriarchy and men seeking to limit young women's access to public space when studying at university threaten Algerian men's grasp over women's bodies in terms of mobility.

Some participants admitted that they experienced incidents where their brothers would go to their university campus investigating their movements and whereabouts. They confronted them on how male domination and discrimination against them as women extended from the private sphere of their homes to the public sphere of their universities. Rose expressed her frustration when she recounted an incident where her older brother insulted her when he found her befriending male friends on university campus. She argued how her brother and family, like any most Algerian families, believe that there could be no friendship between men and women and how her actions are interpreted as deviating from the values of honour and not performing her honour. Hence, most young women tend to avoid talking to or befriending other peer men. Additionally, some participants refuted how their male relatives, mainly their brothers, would threaten them in stopping them from pursuing their higher education under the excuse of betraying their families' trust in maintaining honour, thus broadening their command over them in public spaces.

Several of these young Algerian students criticised and challenged the patriarchal use of language in establishing male domination and discrimination over Algerian women while it does not employ it on Algerian men. They argued the use of language serves to empower men over women and define these latter's position and roles in Algerian society. They added that language benefits patriarchy in gendering honour and virtue while demonstrating to women the consequences of rejecting honour's ideals and upholding them to their roles as the carriers of honour and chastity of their male relatives and families. Happiness spoke against the use of slurs , like Kahba/whore and rkhissa/ valueless and derogatory terms like Bayra/ stale and Hajjala/ thrown out, that devalue women's existence to a second degree human being unworthy of society's acknowledgement and respect, while there are no terms for men who partake themselves in sexual relationships and ignore honour values. Derogatory remarks are imposed only on women as a means to control their bodies and freedom according to patriarchal values, whereas Algerian men can only be insulted Dayouth/ emasculated (cuckold) because they could not dominate their female relatives or punish them when dishonour happens. This shows how language is gendered for the service of patriarchy, where it devalues women and obliges them to submit to male dominance while aligning men to follow patriarchal beliefs of honour, leading to toxic masculinity.

On the other hand, most participants resisted patriarchal honour ideals where only men claim honour when women have to carry it and protect it. They argued against male dominance that serves it by claiming that men are superior; hence, they reap the reward of honour while women are subordinates, and therefore, they are tasked with maintaining chastity and honour. Diamond also added:

> *'' Even when women bring honour to their families or achieve something brave, she is called (les hommes/ manhood) as if only men can accomplish great feats and they will claim women's as theirs''.*

Algerian men employ language to claim and appropriate women's achievements as theirs in order to devalue women and hinder their chances for recognition. They describe '' honourable and brave ''women as les hommes/ manly or Argaz/ brave like a man under the assumption that women can only be respected when they attain the degree of men's patriarchal concept of bravery and honour. Some participants spoke against the use of the word Les hommes as it aims to devalue women's character while it allows men to appropriate their earned honour

and they argued against how patriarchy does not allow the word "Les femmes/womanhood" for women to claim power in society. These narratives show how Algerian women resist the power imbalance caused by patriarchy, where men are superior, and the use of language to maintain this power difference.

At the same time, these participants denounced how patriarchy and Algerian men classify women into the dichotomy of Madonna or whore. They spoke against how patriarchy assumes that Algerian women can only be labelled in these two categories and how language is used to serve this purpose by classifying them either as Sharifa/chaste or Ahira/dishonourable. Some participants, like Rose, expressed that they are more an idea of honour that can be classified in one of two categories. Additionally, Lovely spoke against patriarchy by tabooing the lexicon of sexuality in order to stop women from discussing and questioning patriarchal values of honour. She argued:

> *'' We grew up being taught that talking about virginity and sexuality is a huge no-no, it's taboo to say the word sex, virginity, sexual desire or anything that could hint to sexuality''.*

Similar participants affirmed that patriarchy does not even allow them to talk about sexuality making it difficult for them to argue against the injustice women endure with patriarchy's classification of women's character. They claimed that they felt alienated in their bodies and to their sexuality as it was a line they could not cross without repercussions of patriarchy's wrath.

Young Algerian women chose to speak about the injustice they experienced and suffered because of patriarchy's ideals of honour and male dominance. Several students refuted how patriarchal oppression stopped Algerian women from speaking against men shaming female victims of rape and sexual assault. Immortality denounced how men of her family forced her to stop criticising men's rulings and their behaviour towards women. These participants also argued against how male oppression shuts them down whenever they are defamed and insulted for being university students and perpetuated as dishonourable women for living in their universities' accommodation. In similar fashion, they also criticised how they were insulted whenever they attempted to break the taboo of speaking about sexuality. Moreover, they spoke against older Algerian women's participation in shutting down younger women's attempts to denounce patriarchy's injustice in shaming women. Immortality argued:

"whenever I wanted to mention the injustice we suffer from men and their ideals of virtue, I was told to shut up and yelled at, my father and brothers shouted at me to keep silent and even my mother yelled at me for defending some I know who got raped''. Young Algerian women reported that they felt intimidated for being forced to ignore their struggles with patriarchy. However, they chose to confront it and speak against the discrimination and the attempts of suppressing their voices.

Lastly, most of the participants spoke against domestic violence in the enforcement of patriarchal values of honour. Some of the participants recounted their experiences with physical violence by their families, mainly fathers and brothers, because of their patriarchal ideals of honour. They argued against the use of violence to intimidate and punish women from defying their virtue values. Diamond experienced domestic violence twice due to men' slandering her character because she resides in university accommodation. She argued that her brother did not show hesitation in believing the rumours and slanders, instead of questioning her to find out the truth, he hit her and accused her of sullying their family's name while he requested his father to forcefully drop her out of university. Diamond cried as she narrated her story but also expressed her anger for her brother to physically abuse her and attempt to prove his masculinity and dominance by showing the rest of the family that he can punish his sister for an alleged failure at protecting his family's honour. In similar cases as these, my participants found themselves fending for their honour, confronting their brothers and fathers for other men's attempts at defaming them because of their pursuit of higher education at the university level.

On the other hand, other participants expressed their hate and anger towards male oppression in shutting down their attempts to report sexual harassment and assault by the use of violence. Flower faults how patriarchy acquits sex offenders for their crimes through fear of scandals and dishonouring family's name. She described both her and her cousin's experience with sexual assault when three men tried to force themselves upon the both of them after refusing to comply with their flirting. Flower stated that she managed to take a video showing their face and proving their crime after her cousin was slapped by one of them; however, when they wanted to report them to the police, their family hit them and threatened them with more violence if they did go to the police. She stated that her cousin suffered more from her father, whereas her (Flower) brother hit her on the arm while threatening her. She refuted how patriarchy focuses on honour instead of justice and welfare of Algerian women when she explained that rather than their safety and well-being, their family was more concerned about

neighbours and

friends knowing of this incident and sullying the family's honour as this would ruin their chances of good marriage prospects.

6.3. Silence as Resistance

Silence, traditionally seen as a sign of powerlessness, has been reinterpreted by some feminists as a form of strength and resistance (Jack, 1999; Cruz, 2015; Gibbons, 1999). Silence resistance is a strategic form of defiance against patriarchy. This perspective aligns with the research of Jack (1999) and Cruz (2015) who view silence as a vital strategy against power and patriarchy while highlighting how women use silence not as a sign of submission but as a deliberate and powerful tool to challenge and undermine oppressive structures. Ferguson (2003) points out the nuanced tension in feminist theory between revealing the power structures that silence women and appreciating how women navigate within their limited spaces. This perspective questions the idea that silence is simply a sign of absence or agreement with oppression. Critics argue that silence marginalizes women, depriving them of their voices, and women should speak from their marginal positions to counter patriarchal oppression. However, Algerian women use silence as a powerful tool of resistance. Unlike avoidance, their silence is not about evading confrontation but rather a strategic, silent revolt from within their domestic confines. By remaining silent in the domestic sphere, they subtly defy the patriarchal norms expected within their homes. This silent resistance against patriarchy demonstrates that women can challenge patriarchal norms from the very space intended to constrain them. Young Algerian women, through strategic use of silence, are actively in a subtle resistance that challenges and disrupt the patriarchal order. This silence is not passive; rather, it is a deliberate form of revolt Gal (1991) supports this by asserting that silence, like any linguistic form, varies in meaning and impact depending on the context and is not inherently a sign of powerlessness.

The interpretation of silence as a rhetorical strategy varies across cultures and contexts. The cultural reception of silence varies as Jawaroski (1993) points out. Jaworski (1993) argues that in Anglo-American culture, verbal skills are highly valued, leading to potential cross cultural misunderstandings regarding the use of silence. This perspective aligns with Tannen's (1985)'s observations in western societies that perceive silence differently than in other non-western societies and cultural backgrounds. Saville-Trooike (1985) emphasizes the

importance of considering cultural nuances when interpreting the use of silence as a communicative tool. Gibbons (1999) in her exploration of feminist perspectives on language, emphasizes that resistance can take many forms including silence, which should not be easily dismissed. In similar manner, Cameron (1992) highlights that language itself does not guarantee communication, suggesting that silence can sometimes convey more than words in the context of feminist resistance.

The resistance against patriarchy through silence by Algerian women challenges patriarchal Islamic interpretations that associate female silence with passive acceptance. These traditional interpretations emphasize modesty and discretion for women, sometimes framing their voices as 'awra' (shameful or private), thus encouraging women to remain silent and shy away from public discourse. Enforcing such label aims to diminish women's agency, influence and restrict them in both private and public spheres. By redefining silence, these women reject the patriarchal and religious narratives that equate it with weakness. This silent resistance warns against religious agendas that use silence to signify women's inferiority. Using silence to reject participation in systems that oppress them can invalidate these patriarchal practices and changes common understandings and perspectives about silence. These women's silent resistance challenges patriarchal norms by demonstrating that both speaking and silence can unsettle these oppressive structures.

Silence, therefore, redefines the concept of resistance. It shows that the absence of women's voice can signify presence rather than a void. Silent resistance and avoidance while often confused, differ fundamentally. While discussion might blur the lines between silence and avoidance, it is crucial to highlight the distinction. Silence, in this context, represents a complex negotiation with patriarch, where outward silence masks internal resistance. Silent resistance involves a strategic and deliberate choice to defy patriarchal norms without direct confrontation. The decision to remain silent can stem from a strategic assessment of risks and consequences, serving as a means of self-preservation and tactical engagement within patriarchal frameworks. Narratives from Algerian women illustrate that silence is a tool for reclaiming agency. Despite being silenced from childhood, these women use silence to subvert patriarchal control and reclaim power. This dual resistance manifest as silence in private spheres and vocal opposition in public or virtual spaces, allowing them to challenge norms while minimising potential backlash.

On the other hand, Hollander and Einwohner (2004) argue that women employ avoidance as a means of resisting patriarchy noting:" avoidance can be a strategy of resistance. It is a way to resist without directly confronting the oppressor, thus minimising the risk of retaliation" (Hollander & Einwohner,p.551). Avoidance involves steering clear of direct confrontation or engagement with oppressive systems or individuals, often appearing as compliance or submission on the surface. It is essential to highlight that avoidance does not mean avoiding discourse. Avoidance can also happen by changing topics and steering the discussion in different directions as well as pretending that the oppression was never brought up. Avoidance can include behaviours like complying with patriarchal demands to avoid conflict while internally rejecting or planning ways to subvert those demands. Avoidance can be seen as a long term survival strategy with the patriarchal structures rather than resistance as it employ surface compliance with patriarchal norms.

When young Algerian women choose silence in the face of patriarchal oppression, they are actively refusing to engage in the denigration of other women based on societal expectations of domesticity, honour and virginity. Silence serves as a means of terminating patriarchal conversations rather perpetuating them. By choosing not to participate or defend, these women disrupt the cycle of oppression without escalating the situation. Any form of resistance, even if subtle, contributes to challenging patriarchal structures.. The dual nature of this resistance must be emphasized. While silence may prevail in private spheres dominated by familial expectations, it coexists with vocal resistance in public and virtual spaces. This strategic manoeuvring allows them to challenge patriarchal norms while mitigating potential repercussions.

Silence is often accompanied by non-verbal cues that signify resistance rather than agreement or avoidance. Silent resistance is more about non-verbal cues and the power of withholding voice; it is a deliberate, often symbolic act of defiance which can be immediately interpreted as defiance by those aware of its intent. These non-verbal cues, such as body language, facial expressions and eye contact, serve as a symbolic language through which women communicate their dissent. For instance, a woman might maintain a firm posture or use facial expressions that convey disapproval or defiance. These subtle yet powerful signals indicate that her silence is not a sign of passive acceptance but a deliberate ad strategic act of resistance. By using symbolic language, women can assert their autonomy and challenge patriarchal norms without verbal confrontation, making their resistance both nuanced and effective.

Five young Algerian women out of the participants confirmed that they use silence as resistance to patriarchy. They argued that they use silence as a resistance method to patriarchy forcibly and willingly. For these young women, silence as a resistance to patriarchy is an outcome of parental education, conformity, patriarchal consequences, and a choice for pacifying patriarchy. These participants stressed that although silence does not challenge on patriarchy and Algerian men's oppression on a frontal scale as speaking out, it can be an effective and a safe method of resistance as long as they do not partake in aggravating the struggle against patriarchy through shaming and devaluing other oppressed women. Winner argued:

> *'' With all of the injustice I suffered because of men's discrimination, I choose silence because of it is the best and safest option in my situation but still I wouldn't call it resistance if I take men's side and subject other women through shaming and gossiping like men, if I'm trying to avoid it I wouldn't cause it for others, that's how I can participate in the fight''.*

Similarly, Silver and Princess stressed that Algerian women who participate in gossiping and shaming other women even privately, either because they believe in it or to please and convince other patriarchs of their acceptance of patriarchal values, should not be considered resistance. They stressed that even when they are forced to conform to patriarchy's rules of taking unfair loads of domestic labour or protecting their virginity and families' honour, they must not help continuing the chain of these ideals on other women through resistance. These narratives show that young Algerian women understand that resistance to patriarchy can be performed through silence under the condition of abandoning patriarchal acts such as shaming and asserting patriarchal malignancy on women. These young Algerian women recognize that actively challenging patriarchal norms, even in subtle ways, is crucial for dismantling the systems that perpetuate inequality. By refraining from engaging in gossiping and shaming, they subtly disrupt the cycle of patriarchal oppression, demonstrating that resistance can manifest in the conscious decision to remain silent while simultaneously refusing to participate in harmful practices.

These participants opted for silence as a form of resistance, recognising that vocal opposition might result in significant consequences without achieving the desired impact. They clarified

that their silence does not equate accepting or valuing patriarchal norms but rather serves as a strategic means to navigate and survive within an oppressive system. Tenderness articulated this perspective stating:

> *'' My silence is not because of ignorance, it's the opposite, I understand the problem of patriarchy and men's injustice we have to suffer through our whole lives, it is my silent protest in order to live in peace because I know the consequences are heavier, yes I am complying with the rules but I don't accept them nor value them ''.*

Similarly, Princess and Beauty argued that the consequences of speaking out against and protesting publicly against male dominance outweigh the change they would receive. They stressed that they have seen their female relatives and friends who chose to speak out experiencing harsh backlash and insults and causing them severe consequences, such as getting stopped from pursuing higher education in universities, mobility constraints, and physical abuse. Princess argued that even though she aspires for equality between women and men and balances the power dynamics between them, other women's experiences of the consequences led her to contemplate her choice of protest, leaning towards silence. Their choice of silence represents a form of strategic resistance, recognising that openly protesting could jeopardise their future opportunities and well-being. This silence also serves as a bargaining tool, allowing them to secure their chances for education and personal growth while navigating an oppressive system. These participants resist patriarchy by understanding and weighing their choices through silence and conformity. These participants demonstrate a nuanced understanding of the power dynamics because of patriarchy and their silence is not passive acceptance but rather a calculated decision to challenge the status quo while safeguarding their aspirations for more equitable future.

These young Algerian women confronted how patriarchy forced them to be silenced since their childhood. They argue that Algerian parental education and approach to raising them aimed at silencing daughters and banned them from expressing their opinions and feelings. Beauty admitted that she was always shut down by her parents for trying to give her opinion and threatened with physical violence if she tried to talk when the adults were speaking. In fact, this is very common for young Algerian daughters, where they were shunned from expressing themselves and voicing their opinions while boys were encouraged to articulate

their ideas and argue for themselves, as several participants confirmed it. Winner spoke against patriarchy's use of silencing for young girls and how it influences parental education in inflicting patriarchal subjugation on them and establishing their powerlessness at young age. She stated:

> *'' We grew up being told it's shameful to talk back to our parents or express our opinions, whenever adults are speaking, they young ones should shut up , if I didn't I would be reprimanded by my mother and father for being disrespectful and even hit , while boys spoke freely, we were taught to keep our voices to ourselves''.*

This is related to the power dynamics in Algerian family, where young girls possess almost zero power in their family and are taught to be subservient and silent. While these participants understand that silencing can be a patriarchal tool, they chose silence as a resistance approach in order to claim its power back from patriarchy. In reclaiming the very tool that patriarchy has used to oppress them, they challenge the notion that silence equates to powerlessness and instead use it as a means to process their agency and aspirations.

When it came to doing all of the domestic chores, these participants chose performing them in silence. They argued that they understand the load of the housework is unfair and biased towards their brothers as future patriarchs of their families and disapprove of patriarchal discrimination of enforcing house labour only on women, yet they chose to conform to their parents' values. Tenderness argued that appeasing her parents is not a sign of acceptance or submission to their values, but rather a strategic means to navigate the oppressive dynamics within her family. She argued:

> *'' I know the end of protesting against the loads of domestic work with my mother, she will only criticise and insult me as Jayha and other names, she will threaten me too with physical abuse, my father will chime in and insult me too for being lazy and disrespectful, so I choose peace and avoid this unnecessary conflict and consequences''.*

Tenderness's choice to silently perform domestic chores demonstrates a calculated decision to preserve her well-being while subtly challenging patriarchal dynamics and expectations.

Similarly, Silver and Winner attested that they chose silence because they faced their parents' anger when they attempted to speak against the gendered patriarchal injustice of doing domestic labour in front of their extended relatives. As they experienced a barrage of negative criticism and embarrassment from their relatives for speaking out, they faced harsh reprimand and physical abuse from their parents under the guise of embarrassing and criticising their parents' educational efforts. Silver and Winner explained that they chose to stop complaining and do housework silently after these incidents when they found that their actions did not provide change but only punishment and lack of support. This indicates how Algerian parents manage their patriarchal impressions in society through verbal and physical abuse, leading their daughters to choose silence in order to pacify the conflict and avoid consequences.

Similarly, these participants choose silence as a tool of protest against the Algerian patriarchal culture of honour and men's oppression. They argued that silence is an effective approach to dealing with oppression of Algerian men when it concerns honour and virtue. Silver argued that Algerian men tend to become very defensive when their honour is brought up; hence, they are mostly verbally and physically abusive in order to enforce their morality on their female relatives. Therefore, these participants choose silence as they conform to patriarchy's value in avoidance of consequences. They argued choosing peace over conflict is safer for them because they experienced or witnessed the '' wrath of Algerian men'' when their honour values were imperilled by women's resistance. Beauty stated that she experienced harsh insults and physical violence when her brother discovered that she was talking to her boyfriend over the phone. She explained that her father hit her while her mother and brother insulted her in that incident and continued the criticism for days after. She insisted that silence was her only option to survive the ordeal, stating:

> *'' What was I supposed to do but keep silent, I know they're wrong for inflicting the abuse on me but if I spoke against it I would be hit even more, silence is better to avoid their anger and oppression, in order to calm things down and prevent more violence''.*

In these situations, silence emerges as a powerful form of resistance against patriarchal oppression and a tool for self-preservation. By choosing to remain silent, these women are not merely avoiding conflict but are actively navigating an oppressive system that threatens their

well-being. Their silence serves as a means to challenge and survive the hostile reactions of Algerian men while protecting themselves from further harm.

Whereas, Tenderness argued that silence became her tool of resisting patriarchy after witnessing the physical abuse her two older cousins suffered by their brothers after they were discovered dating in university. They were shunned by their whole family for trying to defend themselves, forced to drop out and locked inside their homes. She stated that she does not want to experience similar consequences in protesting against patriarchal values through dating and speaking out and stressed that silence is a better approach for dealing with and protesting against patriarchy and male dominance.

While silence can be intentionally employed as a strategy to navigate challenging situations, it can also be paired with non-verbal cues to express disapproval and challenge oppressive attitudes. In another example, participant Winner demonstrates the power of combining silence with assertive body language to counter patriarchal discourse without resorting to explicit verbal communication, she states:

> *"On many instances, my brother denigrates other women and I realised he wants an audience who participate with him, if I try to defend them he won't stop. It will fuel the conversation and even escalate it so I decided to just use silence. I stopped talking and looked at him from to top to bottom while lifting my eyebrow and moved on doing my stuff, it shut him up and he may have been offended and realised I was not compliant with him. I think he understood that he was spouting disgusting nonsense that I don't approve and I'm not entertaining his opinions"*

Integration of non-verbal cues with silence emerges as a powerful form of resistance among participants. As exemplified by Winner's account of silent resistance, the strategic combination of silence with body language conveys disapproval and non-conformity while maintaining a sense of purposeful silence. These women's deliberate use of silence is not rooted in fear but rather serves as a calculated response to the situation at hand. This approach aligns with the notion of symbolic body language such as non verbal cues as discussed by scholars such as Burgoon& Bacue (2003). Their work highlights the importance of non-verbal

cues in conveying meaning and shaping interactions, further emphasizing the significance of silence as a strategic tool for resistance when paired with intentional body language.

Demonstrating the versatility of silence as resistance, Silver, Winner, and Princess affirmed that they use dual strategies in resisting patriarchy, where they use silence in the private sphere, but they claim their resistance on social media and often in public spaces away from their families and relatives. They argued that their circumstances demand using silence and conforming as resistance in the presence of their families and relatives; however, they speak against patriarchy and Algerian men's domination in social media sites and safe public sites such as universities. Princess confirmed that she created and ran two successful pages on Instagram and an account on TikTok that invites Algerian women to understand and join the fight against oppression and discriminatory patriarchal values. Similarly, Silver runs a 300,000 member group on Facebook that speaks against and fights domestic violence and gives support for battered women while allowing the space to voice their struggles and opinions. Kuo (2009) affirms that the creation and participation in online platforms, such as social media groups and pages, enable them to engage in anonymous activism and create networks of support that extend beyond their immediate surroundings. They argued that it is safer where their identity are kept anonymous and using social media has a better reach to Algerian women instead protesting alone inside the domain of the homes.

In addition, Winner expressed that she always speaks against patriarchy and voice her opinions during classes that are male dominated by teachers and students. She argued that she does not fear the consequences of speaking out in front of other men because it is safer as an establishment of education, and she chooses to ignore other people's criticism as opposed to her family. This is similar to the hidden transcript theory of Scott (1990) which implies women as subordinates conform and choose silence under the surveillance of men as they dominate in public but resist in the private sphere. However, Algerian women use silence and conformity in private space because it is dominated by men and take their resistance to safe public and virtual spaces.

Algerian women in their narratives exhibited varied responses to patriarchal oppression inherent in male dominated society, demonstrating that both vocal resistance and strategic silence can effectively challenge patriarchal norms. As suggested by Bell and Klein (1996), silence can function as a powerful communication tool that challenges power dynamics and facilitate resistance. These women courageously disrupt the prevailing discourse by embodying

two distinct forms of non- conformity and carve out spaces for their agency. Through their actions and choices, these young women critique the fundamental sources of societal power and forge new narratives that transcend the restrictive frameworks of patriarchy. By doing so, they not only question the legitimacy of patriarchal authority but also pave the way for alternative forms of female empowerment and agency in Algerian society.

6.5. Taking Action as Resistance

Some young Algerian women chose to take actions of resistance against patriarchy. Among the students who chose speaking out as resistance, seven participants chose to take the fight even further by taking initiatives against male domination and oppression. Memory argued:

> *'' The best way to resist patriarchy is through taking actions and creating change directly if we want to stop men's oppression, passivity doesn't work most of the time if we want immediate change and spread awareness about patriarchy's constant attack on women's rights and identity''.*

These participants chose several approaches in rejecting patriarchal beliefs and consolidating their endeavour alongside other Algerian women. Among these approaches are: normalising men's help in domestic chores, publicly protesting against public and domestic violence, operating and joining seminars and online workshops about women's struggle with patriarchy, and volunteering at rape and domestic violence survivors shelters and women charities.

Brave and Happiness stated that they attempted to encourage equality within their household implicitly through normalising the idea that knowing basic cooking and cleaning skills is a necessity for the future and helping out because of brotherly affection. Brave stated:

> *'' Sometimes, I ask my brother to help me out cooking or cleaning. It's not much but I'm trying to make him familiar with lending a hand doing housework by telling him he will need someday to know how to cook and clean*

by himself if he goes travelling or lives in university accommodation''.

Brave argued that normalisation of men doing housework is harder than she anticipated; she experienced unwillingness from her brother because he deemed it beneath him because of patriarchal influences, but she had to convince him multiple times that it was for his independence from others when he lives on his own. Moreover, while Kindness employed the same tactic as Brave , she also used sibling affection as her tool of resistance, where she had to pretend to be tired or sick several times to ''trick'' her brother into helping her out with cleaning the house. She stressed that even though it was emotional manipulation, she justified it that she has been going the same process her whole life because of patriarchy and deemed it acceptable for her brother to experience some of what she is going through.

Some of these participants admitted that they participated in past rallies and protests against domestic violence and patriarchal discrimination towards women. Gift, Pearl, and Generosity affirmed that they participated in several protests in their cities where they peacefully rallied against Algerian men's public discrimination against women. They confirmed that they formed sisterhood groups and joined groups on social media where they organised protests against patriarchy and discrimination. Their groups included Algerian women with different backgrounds: university students, teachers, professors, housewives, politicians, administrators, and others. They argued that all these women shared similar patriarchal experiences that led them to support each other against the malignancy of male dominance. Generosity and Gift expressed that their most significant protest was in 2018, where they marched in patriarchal constraints of mobility and gendered social roles. This was instigated by a sexist accident where a girl was beaten by a man because she went out to play sports before sunset, and when she reported it to the police, they told her: "*Why did you go outside at that time"*. This shows what women are exposed to in Algerian society where even the law force does not take their side. The participants rallied in support of their sisters in the struggle arguing *"my place is wherever I want''* as a response to Algerian men's declaration that ‘*'women's place is in the kitchen''*. These participants asserted that protesting against patriarchy publicly comes with its struggles and consequences. They faced harsh criticism from Algerian men, and their safety was threatened several times. Gift adds:

"As soon as we began to gather on the public street, men marched on us and pulled our banners that bear the

> *slogans of calling for women's liberation and equality while yelling and insulting us, and carrying out cowardly attacks against us."*

While Lovely wondered with a burning heart how men can attack women whose only concern is to defend their legitimate rights, Queen stated that these incidents proved to them the solidarity between their sisterhood, where they fought against men physically and verbally. She stated:

> *'' I'm pretty sure that those men thought few insults and hits would stop us, they think we are weak and easily intimidated and I'm glad we fought back, I feel proud whenever I remember that''.*

This confirms the existence of solidarity with the feminist sisterhood where it contradicts patriarchy that seeks to spread dissolution and toxicity between Algerian women in order to empower male domination.

Moreover, these participants admitted that they operate and join seminars and online workshops that tackle patriarchy's oppressive values and beliefs as their resistance approach by spreading awareness. As these young Algerian women are students at different universities in Algeria, they have access to attending and partaking in academic seminars about feminism, anti-patriarchy, and women studies, which allow them to understand the struggles with male oppression and the patriarchal agenda of subordinating Algerian women on a profound level. Kindness confirmed that she helped in the organisation of six conferences where most of them tackled domestic violence, its patriarchal motives, and influences on Algerian women. She affirmed that her participation in these seminars and conferences showed her that change can be made against patriarchy's abuse and discrimination when battered women chose to step in the light, tell their stories, and no longer keep the struggle hidden, allowing Algerian men to escape accountability. In addition, these participants have access to organise easily accessible online workshops about Algerian patriarchal structures where they aim to spread awareness among women and encourage their resistance while advising them on how to approach their struggles depending on their families' situations. Brave stated that while there are difficulties in finding locations and funding for physical workshops, online workshops over Zoom and Skype proved to be more effective than anticipated, where more women were encouraged to participate while taking anonymity into consideration where they are allowed to access it

using audio only. Brave argued that as long as the message against patriarchy is spreading, then change is inevitable and patriarchy will be outgrown someday, hopefully.

Lastly, young Algerian women chose volunteering at rape and domestic violence survivors' shelters and women charities as a resistance tool to patriarchy. Gift and Generosity volunteered their time and efforts for more than three years helping out at an anti-rape and domestic violence centre in their city. Generosity stated that she found out about this centre when she experienced an accident of domestic violence and discovered its existence. She affirmed that after receiving counselling and assistance from them, she decided to join their cause and volunteered her time for the sake of other battered women and as her method of protesting against patriarchy. Gift argued that the value of their volunteering and their efforts in assistance of Algerian women whom are survivors of rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence is their resistance to patriarchy and discrimination when these latter call for the shaming and blaming of the survivors instead of condemning the criminals. Gift stated that her centre assists rape and domestic violence with medical treatment, mental health counselling and legal help where they assist in reporting the crimes, provide legal assistance, and a pro bono lawyer to take their cases. She argued that all of the workers are mostly volunteers just like her because they experienced first-hand the injustice and discrimination patriarchy and Algerian men inflict on them and other women under the guise of traditions and morality. Hence, they chose to fight patriarchy first hand and seek the support and change they hoped to find when they experienced it.

6.6. Bargaining with Patriarchy as Resistance

Young Algerian women chose bargaining with patriarchy to secure their best chances for a better life away from some patriarchal constraints and discrimination. Nine of my participants confirmed through their narratives and negotiations with patriarchy in their everyday lives experiences that they use bargaining as their approach to dealing with patriarchy. These women admitted that public protests and speaking out against patriarchy is effective for creating change, however, not all Algerian women have the chance to perform their agency or can undertake the consequences and retaliation of Algerian men' oppression. Kandiyoti (1988) argues that women can either challenge the patriarchal constraints or find alternatives

in order to exercise their power. Hence, they chose bargaining as their approach in their daily struggles with patriarchy. These participants chose bargaining with patriarchy because it allows them to comply with the patriarchal values with a purpose to achieve instead of just fearing and avoiding the consequences of resistance. They argued that if bargaining could not permit them to attain their purpose, they would change their method of resistance towards something else. These participants opted for complying with the patriarchal values of domesticity and honour in order to secure their education, career opportunities, mobility freedom, and better marriage prospects.

Based on my participants' accounts, their main goal by using bargaining to patriarchy is securing their education degrees. All of the bargaining students confirmed that education is their reason for compliance with male dominance and their ticket towards a life of independence and power leverage with the private and public spaces. Faith argued that education is her only reason why she keeps accepting patriarchal discrimination from her brothers and her male relatives. She stated that she complies with the patriarchal traditions without conviction in its system because she aspires to get her doctorate degree knowing its value for giving her freedom in the future. Even though she knows that she could never be fully emancipated from the patriarchal domination of her father and brothers, she argued that she is currently bargaining for an education degree in order for it to bargain and resist patriarchy for her. Similarly, Smile called getting an education degree as her Tomboula/ winning lottery due to its value in resisting patriarchy for Algerian women. She stated*:" Only an idiot would throw their ticket"*. These narratives demonstrate how young Algerian women value their education in the prospects of resisting patriarchy in the future.

These participants argued that patriarchy aims to diminish their chances of education in order to maintain men's power and superiority over women. She argued that Algerian men reject Algerian women' higher education under the pretence of possibility of dishonour, but they want instead to limit Algerian women's chances of independence and liberation from their domination. Several participants claimed that Algerian men despise the idea of women attaining better education and social status than them as it affects their image of patriarchal masculinity, where men are meant to be superior to women in every aspect. This shows that Algerian men realise that education for women is a gateway to escaping their domination; hence, they attempt to ruin their chances by forcing them to drop out, as explained previously. Moreover, Angel and Forgiveness argued that patriarchy and Algerian men aim to keep women in ignorance, knowing that getting access to higher education means acquiring

awareness of patriarchy's tactics and motivation to resist and weaken its structure and beliefs. These participants realise the value of pursuing higher education and getting a degree in resisting patriarchy, thus they comply with patriarchal values and bargain for their education until they can afford to resist it openly.

Young Algerian women believed that their mothers were bargaining with patriarchy for their sake while acting as patriarchy's agents. In Hope's and Light's cases, their mothers pushed them towards pursuing higher education from a very young age. They argued that a lot of young Algerian women can relate to this because their mothers have experienced patriarchy's oppression and cruelty through marital physical and emotional abuse, divorce, a lack of power leverage within marriage, and opportunities for work after separation. Although, Algerian women push their daughters towards learning and performing their patriarchal gendered roles of domestication and honour, yet they direct their daughters to get a degree that can secure their future beyond their male relatives' patriarchal grasp.

This indicates that some Algerian mothers are also bargaining with patriarchy for their daughters' future and better life chances that they did not have. Light stated:

> *'' My mother always told me to study so I would be able to divorce my husband if I wanted to instead of him divorcing me, I knew that my mother was in a toxic marriage , being constantly hit, insulted and always threatened with divorce. She couldn't just leave because she was forced to drop out of primary school and didn't get a degree to help her after divorce and her family definitely refused to accept her back or help her out, so that's why she supported my education''.*

While Algerian mothers may be blamed for the maintaining and support of patriarchal values mostly in the private sphere, their lack of access to education and awareness may have influenced their acceptance and conformity to these values. However, as there is a lack of research on Algerian mothers' perspectives and experiences with patriarchy, it can only be deemed from my participants' accounts that their mothers also chose bargaining as their approach to resisting and surviving patriarchy under the scrutiny and surveillance of Algerian men.

Based on my participants' narratives, they bargained with patriarchy in attainment of having a career and becoming financially independent from their male relatives. They emphasised that the biggest hindrance to Algerian women's emancipation from male domination is the financial dependency on their fathers for survival. Smile argued that most Algerian women are financially dependent on their male relatives all of their lives, they start with their father, brothers, then their husbands and sons as they get older. She insisted that securing a job and a salary is the best method of resistance any Algerian woman can do, knowing that Algerian men manipulate women at their will because they control the finances of their household and know that women will submit to their dominance for survival. Smile and Angel confessed that they were threatened to be cut off financially by their fathers on several occasions if they attempted to voice out their opinions about their fathers' rule. At the same time, Angel argued that Algerian women cannot employ education and degrees as leverage without using them to secure a paying job, which grants them fiscal power that allows them to reclaim their power from their male relatives. Otherwise, the bargaining failed its purpose, as Angel argued. Algerian women bargain patriarchy because they understand the importance of achieving a career and becoming financially independent from men's control and oppression.

In a patriarchal society such as the Algerian one, where girls are raised to be mothers and wives, it is difficult for young women to give up and assume other roles. Patriarchy forces Algerian women to seek out marriage and motherhood as their ultimate purpose as women. However, young Algerian women bargain with patriarchy in order to delay and secure better marriage opportunities. These participants admitted that while marriage can be a new beginning in their lives, they bargain male dominance in order to have the freedom to choose their husbands, postponing it until they finished their education or obtained a paying job. Smile believes she has more freedom in choosing her husbands in the future without being forced or coerced by her family into accepting whomever they deem as a potential husband. She declared that she would be able to voice her opinion and force her parents into approving her boyfriend as her husband. On the other hand, Forgiveness insisted that her attaining a degree and a job through bargaining with patriarchy will expand her access to new horizons and people where she would have the chance to carefully select her potential husband as opposed to accepting whomever her father likes and accepts because they have similar patriarchal views and values. She stated that she does not want to repeat the same patriarchal cycle many Algerian women are trapped in, including her mother and aunts.

Moreover, Angel and Hope bargained with patriarchy in order to postpone their weddings until they receive their degrees for it to serve as a resistance card against their future husbands' domination and discrimination. Hope, who was engaged to her boyfriend during the interviews, argued that she adjourned her wedding ceremony until she graduated from university. She said: *"I've witnessed my older sister being tricked by her husband; he promised her that she can finish her university degree after marriage but as soon as she got married, he manipulated her into staying at home because she has no use for a degree once married and she should take care of her husband instead. At first she could complain and argue with him but once she got pregnant, he forced her to drop out because she would be responsible for raising their children and wouldn't have the time''*. Hope stated that she had to bargain with her parents and fiancé in order to delay the ceremony, agreeing to stay at her newlywed home until she finds a suitable job. In a similar manner, Angel bargained with her family on postponing officialising her engagement and wedding until she finishes her studies. On the other hand, Happy said that she bargained with parents over postponing marriage proposals.

She stated that she used her compliance with their patriarchal values as an argument to prove that she has always been a "good and honourable daughter"; therefore, they should refuse on her behalf any marriage proposals until she obtains her degree and finds a good job. This coincides with Barber and Axinn's (1998) argument that getting education and career can influence women's opinions and opportunities of marriage. Algerian women who finish their degrees and acquire careers proved to be able to defend themselves in front of patriarchy's discriminatory traditions of marriage.

In addition, young Algerian women use bargaining with patriarchy in order to guarantee their work and careers in their future marriages. Angel attested that she bargained her way through patriarchy with her parents by using her compliance and obedience towards her family's patriarchal values of domesticity and morality. She convinced her parents and family to persuade her future husband into adding her work to their marriage contract. Angel added: "*After seeing two of my cousins and even my sister in law being forced to stop working and stay at home before and after having children, I understood that all of my hard work at studying will be for naught after marriage, I would lose my independence that I may get from work and having a salary and start depending on my husband one again after being dependent my whole life on my father''*. Participants like Smile understood that careers and financial independence that could allow them resistance against patriarchy's oppression are

not guaranteed after marriage and having children, as Algerian men constrain women's freedom to the private sphere under the guise of raising and educating their children. Likewise, Faith attested that she will enforce her work as a condition in her future marriage contract. She stated that as Islam allows marriage contracts to be conditioned as whatever the couples like, she will be using this as her bargaining tool against patriarchy in her marriage. She testified that there is no guarantee that her marriage and husband will not repeat the same cycle of patriarchy she experienced her whole life and is currently witnessing through the accounts of her married friends. She argued that bargaining for her work and career will expand her agency in her married life. These narratives demonstrate how Algerian women are actively resisting patriarchy through bargaining with it in order to procure themselves better opportunities in life and defending their rights against patriarchal male oppression.

Comparably, these Algerian women are bargaining with patriarchy for their freedom of mobility and broadening their access to public spaces. Four students admitted that they bargained their parents' patriarchal values in order to live in their university accommodation where they would enjoy more freedom of mobility as opposed to living in their homes. Smile argued:

> *'' As you know we can never move out of our family houses unlike the westerners who move out at 18 or live on their own in university, our only hope of temporary freedom is living in the university accommodation, I convinced my parents to let me live there because I showed them how obedient and good I am as their daughter and that I would never dishonour them ''.*

She confirmed that she enjoys experiencing freedom for the first time in her life where she does not have to clean for others during the weekdays. Similarly, Faith and Hope who used their conformity to her father's rule and dominance managed to convince their parents, letting them reside in the university female accommodation. Faith stated:

> *'' For years before university, I knew I wanted to experience freedom from house chores, constant surveillance, and lack of going out, to public places like shopping and eating out and I knew my parents would not allow me if I showed them my disapproval of their values*

and refused or complained about housework, I play it nicely and complied to their orders in order for me to live five years of freedom outside of our house''.

Additionally, these participants admitted that while they were bargaining with patriarchy in order to get break free from men's oppression for themselves, they were also doing it for their future daughters, as may have their mothers done for them. Forgiveness stated:

'' I am bargaining right now for a better life opportunities for myself but also I'm thinking of my daughter if I ever have one, I don't want her to face the same struggles as I did, I never want to see my daughter go through physical and verbal abuse. I will bargain for the both of us as I'm my mother did for me''.

While knowing that patriarchy is a continuing struggle for all women, Forgiveness argued that she wants at least to give her daughter the chance to openly voice her opinions and resistance towards patriarchy instead of calculating the risks and consequences and choosing otherwise. In a similar manner, Angel argued that she continues to bargain with patriarchy in order to diminish patriarchy's influence on her children, where she would teach them equality in doing housework and taking accountability for their mistakes, as opposed to how patriarchy acquits men while shames women.

Correspondingly, Light used bargaining with patriarchy in order to convince her parents to let her study at the capital far away from her family, where she can see them every two or three months. She chose to study at the national institute for higher education in Algiers because of its credibility in producing higher education teachers and the advantage of fast employment the graduates benefit from; hence, she would guarantee her degree and work when she finishes. More importantly, she attested that she gets freedom from her family's patriarchal surveillance and housework during the whole week, unlike female students who reside in university accommodations where they have to compensate for their freedom by doing house chores during the whole weekend with no time to rest. Similarly, Smile confirmed that she was in the process of getting a scholarship to study in Jordan for a master's degree to join her sister there, where they would experience further freedom from the patriarchal constraints of mobility. She confessed that she and her sister bargained with patriarchy by conforming to their parents' orders and displaying their performances of being Sajya and respectful women

to them. She added that their bargaining performance does not mean that they are not "good women" but rather needed to be executed in plain sight in front of their parents to take account of it. These narratives indicate that Algerian women employ bargaining with patriarchy for their benefit in order to break the constraints of mobility enforced on them, even if temporarily.

All of the above accounts showed that these participants were thinking of their future beyond patriarchy when they bargained their way through their families' patriarchal values and oppression. While bargaining with patriarchy may present fewer potential changes as opposed to speaking out or taking actions against patriarchy publicly and privately, it focuses on securing Algerian better opportunities safe from consequences and men's retaliation as opposed to direct resistance. While each approach to resistance has pros and cons, however, the focus should be directed towards Algerian women's initiatives and willingness to fight against patriarchy and defend their rights for equality and safety.

6.7. Conclusion

This chapter highlights how Algerian women negotiate, resist, and bargain with patriarchy in their everyday lives. It demonstrates the different complexities of young Algerian women's interactions and negotiation with the Algerian patriarchal structures while exposing the power dynamics of the Algerian patriarchal relationships and households. These participants in this research divulged their hidden stories about negotiating the oppression and abuse of patriarchy in their private and public spaces. Young Algerian women chose to direct their patriarchal resistance towards their mother and other female relatives when it came to supporting patriarchal discriminatory divisions of house chores, while they directed their resistance against patriarchy's culture of honour and virginity towards their fathers, brothers, and other male relatives. These young Algerian women differed in their negotiating, where most of them chose speaking out against patriarchy, while few others chose silence and conformity. Moreover, some participants chose taking actions and resisting patriarchy in the front line, publicly protesting for equality and ending discrimination against Algerian women; some others chose to bargain with patriarchy instead by displaying their performance of domesticity and honour to their families in order to get power leverage and use it to attain their goals of getting a degree, having a career, and being financially independent of their

male relatives in order to secure better opportunities of freedom, and in marriage, attempting to break the patriarchal patterns from their husbands and for their future daughters. While these findings showed that Algerian women are inclined to conform to the existing patriarchal system and assigned gendered roles, it unveiled Algerian women's instances of negotiations and resistance challenging traditional norms and striving for empowerment within their socio-cultural contexts.

Their accounts of resisting patriarchy unveiled more than descriptions of their everyday lives struggles with male domination and patriarchal structures. They illustrated their relentless resistance strategies and interpretations against patriarchy while framing how Algerian men continuously seek to accuse and assassinate their resistance. It showed how Algerian society and men reject women' attempts to resist discrimination and create change in the dominant patriarchal culture. From deeming unpaid domestic labour beneath them and assigning unfair division of housework on women to designating them as the carriers of their families' honour while denying them their sexuality and alienating them in their own bodies, Algerian men established their domination and power over women while adopting these patriarchal ideals and structures. This chapter revealed how Algerian men employ patriarchal tactics to subdue women to their will such as domestic violence, shaming, blaming, constraining their mobility freedom, threatening them with physical abuse, and ruining their studies. This chapter unmasked the reality of Algerian women' endeavours in negotiating and resisting oppressive patriarchal structures thoroughly documenting their resilience, determination and ongoing struggles for autonomy and better life beyond the scope of patriarchy.

7. Conclusion Chapter

7.1. Introduction

Young Algerian women's narratives of their experiences and negotiations with patriarchy in their everyday lives exposed the continuous gendered discrimination and hardship that patriarchy in Algerian family, society, and culture entailed. Their accounts disclosed how patriarchy establishes and reproduces its roots in their daily lives. It revealed that patriarchy functions through the permeation of domesticity and honour practices while employing men and women as its agents. This hierarchal phenomenon empowers Algerian men and establishes their superiority over Algerian women on the macro and micro level. As opposed to the existing feminist literature that discusses the major topics about Algerian women in relation to politics and history (Lazreg, 1994; Salhi, 2003, Khalil, 2014), there is a literature gap in researching Algerian women's narratives of patriarchy in their everyday lives. My research investigates young Algerian women's comprehension of patriarchy and their approaches to dealing with it.

7.2. Findings and Discussion

My research investigated how young Algerian women experience and negotiate patriarchy in their everyday lives. I emphasised giving these women a voice in this research to explain their narratives and struggles while analysing the factors that perpetuated patriarchy and their choices of negotiation in front of gender injustices and patriarchal practices. I sought 32 young Algerian women in the higher education sector as participants during my data gathering journey. Through face-to-face in depth interviews, I documented every participant's accounts of everyday life's engagement with patriarchy and their experiences. My research data resulted in three major themes that intertwine with patriarchy, which are: domesticity, honour and resistance. Patriarchy manifested in unequal division of house work that is taught through gender socialisation and parentification, while honour was regulated through the maintenance of virginity and performance of virtue by enforcing modest fashion and

restricting mobility. On the other hand, my participants navigation through patriarchal experiences resulted in resistance, silence, and bargaining.

Patriarchy in Algeria manifests as a complex system deeply embedded in societal structures, influencing the lives of women in multifaceted ways. It operates through norms and practices that define and restrict gender roles, often relegating women to subordinate positions within familial private and public spheres. This patriarchal framework not only perpetuates inequalities but also shapes women's experiences of agency and autonomy. Despite legal reforms aimed at promoting gender equality, traditional norms rooted in patriarchy continue to exert significant influence, impacting women's access to education, employment opportunities, and decision making processes. Addressing these entrenched patterns requires not only legal and policy reforms but also shifts in societal attitudes and perceptions towards gender roles and responsibilities.

Akgul's (2017) theory of compound patriarchy provides a critical theoretical framework for understanding the layered manifestations of patriarchy in the Algerian society. By emphasizing the intersectionality of gendered oppression and the complexities of familial and societal structures, Akgul's (2017) insights illuminate how Algerian women negotiate their roles within these entrenched systems. In this study, Akgul's (2017) framework informs the analysis of how Algerian women in Algeria navigate domestic responsibilities, uphold honour values, and resist patriarchal norms. By acknowledging the multi-dimensional nature of patriarchy as theorised by Akgul (2017), this research deepens our understanding of the challenges Algerian women face and underscores the importance of addressing these issues through comprehensive legal reforms and shifts in societal attitudes towards gender equality.

This research underscores that patriarchy is not monolithic or singular entity but a complex and contextually nuanced system. Patriarchy, as Butler (1990) critiques, cannot be universally defined due to its failure to account for the diverse cultural contexts in which gender oppression operates. My examination reveals that the mechanisms and degrees of patriarchal oppression differ significantly across various societies. For instance, scholars like Joseph (1996), Al-Ghanim (2012), Weiner (2016) and (Masoud (2016) highlight how kinship, tribal and family dynamics form the core of Arab patriarchy, somewhat distinct from Western conceptualisations. This indicates that patriarchal structures are deeply intertwined with cultural, social, and temporal contexts, necessitating a more nuanced and flexible theoretical framework, such as Akgul's (2016), which addresses the multifaceted and multidimensional nature of gender inequality and

oppression. The critique of patriarchy's universalism and the advocacy for concepts like patriarchal power and compound patriarchy, as proposed by theorists like Pierik (2022) and Akgul (2017) illustrate the need to explore more frameworks within patriarchy to comprehend gender oppression in different cultural settings. By researching young Algerian women's experiences, my research aligns with the perspective that patriarchy is not monolithic concept and experience and is subject to change, adaptation and reconceptualization depending on the socio-cultural and temporal factors.

In examining the experiences of young Algerian women and their negotiations with patriarchy, it is essential to revisit the theory of symbolic interactionism, which underscores the significance of social interactions and the construction of self through societal perceptions. This theoretical framework provides a lens to understand how patriarchy is not merely a top-down imposition but is perpetuated through everyday interactions and the internalisation of societal norms. In Algeria, patriarchal values are deeply embedded in social structures and are continuously reinforced through the concept of impression management, where individuals and families are highly conscious of how they are perceived by others.

Symbolic interactionism suggests that social reality in constructed through language, symbols, and interactions. In the Algerian context, this means that gender roles and expectations are communicated and reinforced through everyday interactions within families and communities. One prominent example of this is the emphasis on domesticity and household management, where women are judged based on their ability to maintain a clean and orderly home. The notion of "what will people say" is a powerful for men to enforce patriarchal authority and values and for women to conform to societal expectations in order to gain respect and avoid criticism. This is particularly evident in the narratives of young Algerian women who describe the pressure they face from their mothers and other female relatives to excel in domestic tasks.

The perception of patriarchy in Algeria is intricately linked to the concept of honour, which is closely tied to the domestic sphere. Men and women alike are concerned with maintaining their family's honour, which is often judged based on the behaviour and abilities of female members. Men, in their roles as the heads of households, enforce these norms by supervising and controlling the actions of their female relatives. This control is not only about maintaining male dominance but also about ensuring that their family's reputation remains intact in the

eyes of the community. Women, on the other hand, internalise these expectations and actively participate in the enforcement of these norms, often scrutinising and judging each other's efforts in household management.

The narratives of the young women interviewed reveal how deeply ingrained these expectations are and how they shape their everyday lives. For instance, many participants spoke about the constant surveillance they face from other women, including mothers, sisters, grandmothers and even neighbours. This surveillance creates a competitive environment where the women feel the need to outdo each other in their domestic responsibilities. Instances of sabotage among siblings and cousins highlight the toxic nature of these interactions, where the drive to gain approval and avoid criticism can lead to rivalry and even deceit.

The use of terms such as "Sajia" and "Jayha" further illustrates how language and labels play a role in enforcing and sustaining patriarchal values. These terms categorise women based on their domestic competency, serving as tools for praise or shame. Women who excel in in domestic work are praised and respected, while those who fall short are shamed and degraded. This categorisation not only reinforces the importance of domesticity but also perpetuates the cycle of patriarchal control, as women strive to avoid negative labels and seek positive reinforcement. Language is gendered in the Arab world encompassing patriarchal derogatory terms that play a role in upholding and reinforcing patriarchal ideologies on women (Aboulhassan & Brumley, 2022).

Symbolic interactionism also provides a useful lens to understand how patriarchal norms are internalised and perpetuated, particularly through the concept of honour. In the context of Algerian society, honour which is a deeply rooted cultural construct imposes stringent expectations on young Algerian women to perform and maintain their family's reputation. This performance of honour involves strict adherence to chastity, where a young woman's virginity is considered a symbol of her family's honour. The constant pressure to maintain a façade of purity and virtue influences their social interactions, as they are continually aware of the potential for social scrutiny and judgement. The fear of dishonouring their families forces young Algerian women to engage in impression management, meticulously curating their behaviours in both private and public spaces to adjust to societal expectations. This involves not only abstaining from premarital sex but also embodying modesty in dress and conduct, thereby reinforcing their perceived honourable status.

The performance of honour extends beyond sexual chastity, encompassing broader social expectations. Young Algerian women must navigate social interactions with a heightened awareness of their public image, as their actions are seen as a direct reflection of their families' moral standing. This means adhering to conservative dress codes, such as wearing modest clothing and hijab, and adhering to curfews that restrict their mobility and access to public spaces. These cultural norms are not merely about individual behaviour but are intertwined with the community's perception of honour. The symbolic interactionist perspective highlights how these norms are perpetuated through everyday interactions, where young Algerian women learn to embody the ideals of honour and modesty. In addition, Algerian men play a pivotal role in enforcing honour codes, closely supervising their female kin to ensure maintaining family reputation and punishing them for any deviation. From a symbolic interactionist perspective, this supervision and potential punishment reflect the constant negotiation of social symbols and meanings, reinforcing patriarchal norms through daily interactions and the threat of social sanctions. Thus, the concept of honour in Algerian culture exemplifies how social interactions and symbolic meanings shape and sustain gendered power dynamics.

In conclusion, the theory of symbolic interactionism provides a valuable framework for understanding how patriarchy is perpetuated in the Algerian society. Through everyday life interactions and the internalisation of societal norms, both men and women play active roles in maintaining and reinforcing patriarchal values. For young Algerian women, the pressure to conform to expectations of domesticity and honour is a constant presence, shaping their behaviours and interactions. By examining these dynamics, we gain a deeper understanding of the complexities patriarchy and the ways in which it is sustained through social interactions and impression management.

7.2.1. Domesticity

My research data showed that domesticity and unequal division of unpaid household chores are a cornerstone for young Algerian women's experiences in relation to patriarchy, subordination, and gender injustice. My participants reported their daily routines of doing taxing housework. The data showed that they are most likely to spend their whole day burdened by house chores where they are obliged to cook all the meals and fully clean their homes twice a day while taking care of their parents, brothers, younger siblings, and other family members. Participants in my research acknowledged the burden of the housework load

enforced on them. However, while all the participants performed these chores, some of them accepted them and aimed to show their craftsmanship and efforts to their families in order to be recognised as good women, whereas other participants expressed their displeasure and frustration towards the inevitable inequality of it.

It becomes evident that the gendered division of household labour among young Algerian women both supports and expands upon existing research while addressing notable gaps in the literature. The literature highlights the entrenched nature of domesticity and unpaid housework as a "contested terrain" marked by significant gender disparities (Bianchi et al., 2000; UN, 2021). This is reflected in the lived experiences of the young Algerian women interviewed, who consistently report heavy domestic responsibilities regardless of their academic commitments. Pearl's account of starting her day at 5 a.m. to complete household chores before attending university exemplifies how deeply ingrained these expectations are, illustrating the ongoing relevance of Nordenmark's (2000) findings on the persistence of gendered labour divisions despite societal shifts toward gender equality.

Moreover, the analysis reveals the nuanced was in which these young women negotiate their roles within the household, shedding light on the complex interplay of time availability, financial resources, and gender ideology as discussed by Gager (1988) and Sanchez & Kane (1994). For instance, Generosity's experience of sharing household tasks with her sisters demonstrates a coping mechanism within the constraints of traditional gender roles, while still feeling burdened and constrained by these expectations. The contrast between students living at home and those in university accommodations, such as Prayer's relief at avoiding household chores during weekdays, underscores how access to different living arrangements can temporarily mitigate but not entirely erase the gendered expectations placed on these women.

Furthermore, the analysis provides empirical support for Schwartz's (1998) and Hertz's (1986) arguments that traditional gender roles persist even when women contribute financially to their households. The narratives of these young women reflect a clear division of labour that is heavily unfavourable towards women, reinforcing the notion that household chores are deemed inherently feminine tasks. This is particularly evident in the shared experiences of weekend domestic routines, where students like Smile and Silver report spending extensive hours on housework, driven by deeply rooted familial and societal expectations. These findings not only corroborate existing research on the invisible labour and supervisory roles

women assume (Berheide, 1984; Devault, 1997) but also highlight the specific cultural context of Algerian society, where young women's educational pursuits do not exempt them from domestic responsibilities. In doing so, this study fills a critical gap in the literature by providing a contextualised understanding of how young Algerian women navigate and resist patriarchal norms in their everyday lives.

This research also highlights the often overlooked role of children, particularly daughters, in performing household chores. From an early age, these girls are introduced to domestic tasks such as dusting, mopping, and washing dishes, learning these skills under the guidance of their mothers. As they grow older, their responsibilities increase, reflecting a gradual yet significant immersion into the household duties. Despite the critical role they play in maintaining the household; their contributions are frequently rendered invisible and unaccounted for, often being subsumed under the mother's efforts. This nuanced understanding underscores the intricate process of gendered socialisation, where domestic skills are passed down and internalised as part of familial and cultural expectations.

By focusing on the experiences of young Algerian women, this study addresses a notable gap in the existing literature on domestic labour. Previous research predominantly centred the division of unpaid housework between heterosexual couples, neglecting the crucial contributions of children. This research expands the findings of studies like those of Corsaro (1997) and Tang (2010) by providing insights into girls' roles and responsibilities in domestic tasks. This research not only sheds light on the significant yet undervalued role of children in household maintenance but also calls for a broader and more inclusive examination of unpaid domestic work that encompasses all family members particularly daughters. It underscores the importance of recognising and vilifying children's domestic work, which has far reaching implications for understanding gender roles and socialisation within the family structure. In doing so, this research contributes to a more comprehensive and equitable understanding of household dynamics and gendered labour.

This study highlighted the role of mothers in teaching these young women the skills and routines of household chores. It is evident how Algerian mothers are the primary source of reproducing patriarchal standards of unpaid, unequal house labour. My participants recognised their mothers' roles in the process of inter-generational transmission of patriarchal beliefs and practices. I argue that Algerian mothers are key agents in reproducing unequal house chores division where they perpetuate the normalisation of women's roles as caregivers

while men are the providers. Mothers are one of the main agents of gendered socialisation of patriarchal practices (Lumen, 2020). My research shows that traditional patriarchal norms let the husband/father delegate the wife/mother the responsibility of introducing and teaching domestic work to the daughter while overseeing and criticising the process when needed. Hence, Algerian mothers act as agents of patriarchy towards their daughters in fear of criticism from their husbands and in laws while the daughters will mostly replicate their mothers' experiences after marriage.

Meanwhile, Algerian parents and specifically mothers internalise the narratives of how women are inferior biologically inferior to men onto young daughters from a young age and how men outweigh women in value. Whereas, it is the fabrication of what defines masculinity and femininity codes attributed to the patriarchal beliefs instead of biological characterisations of men and women (Lorber, 2000). My research shows that Algerian mothers become patriarchal and gendered socialisation agents when they enforce young daughters' engagement in domestic work when they spare the sons from doing any chores as it is deemed beneath them. Sociocultural norms and gendered socialisation have attributed femininity with care, where men are excused from domestic work and enjoy women's free labour (Hanlon, 2012). Hence, young women internalise patriarchal gendered inferiority and that men are superior, outweighing them in privileges and opportunities (Coltrane, 2005).

Young Algerian women are introduced to doing housework through gender socialisation and intergenerational transmission of patriarchal practices. Gendered socialisation induces young girls into learning and doing housework (Platt & Polavieja, 2016). My research indicated that Algerian daughters start learning the ropes of housework from a young age by being taught to assume their sociocultural gendered roles as carers of their families. The Algerian patriarchal cultural values dictate that women belong in the kitchen and the private spaces of their homes as caregivers and nurturers for their current and future families. My participants assumed all housework chores including cleaning, cooking and caring for their young siblings. This process started gradually when they were younger until they fully took over their mothers' responsibilities as the caregivers of their families. Patriarchal sociocultural beliefs enforce young Algerian women to be carers and do all housework with the intention of reproducing this system once they get married and bear children. My participants acknowledged that they were taught to do housework because they are being prepared to be good wives and mothers to serve their husbands, the in-laws, and their children. This highlights how gendered

socialisation process of enforcing gender roles onto young girls leads to and guarantees the reproduction of patriarchy, women's subordination, and unequal division of house labour.

The analysis of young Algerian women's experiences, as reflected in their narratives, align with and expands upon existing literature on gender socialisation and the perpetuation of patriarchal norms through maternal influence. The literature review underscores how gender socialisation, as articulated by Martin et al. (2002) and Bandura (1969), involves the transmission of gender values and expectation from parents to children, reinforcing traditional gender roles through family dynamics. Mesman and Groeneveld (2018) highlight that patriarchal gender socialisation leads to unequal division of housework disadvantaging young girls and perpetuating the oppressive patriarchal structures. The interviewees' accounts in the analysis chapter vividly illustrate this theoretical framework, showing that Algerian women are socialised from young age into internalising and replicating their mothers' domestic roles, thereby sustaining gender inequalities. This alignment of empirical findings with theoretical perspectives supports the argument that maternal influence is pivotal in perpetuating gendered domestic roles, emphasizing the need to address this cycle to achieve gender equality.

Moreover, the analysis fills a crucial gap in the literature review by highlighting the nuanced role of mothers as agents of patriarchy within the Algerian context. While existing research, as noted by Mark et al. (2009) and Chodorow (1974), acknowledges the significant influence of mothers on their daughters' gender socialisation, the detailed narratives of Algerian women provide a richer, context specific understanding of how these dynamics operate in practice. The concept of parentification, discussed by Minuchin et al (1967) and elaborated by Chase (1999) is evident in the participants' experiences, where daughters are tasked with adult responsibilities from a young age. This not only reinforces traditional gender roles but also places an undue burden on young girls, as seen in the narratives of Hope and Wisdom. These findings underscore the critical need for further research into the gendered aspects of parentification and the intergenerational transmission of patriarchal values. By documenting these lived experiences, this study contributes valuable insights to the discourse on gender socialisation, highlighting the roles of maternal influence in perpetuating gender inequalities and offering a foundation for future interventions aimed at breaking this cycle.

My research highlighted the significance of parentification young Algerian women experience in their daily lives from a young age while learning and doing domestic work. Parentification involves gender normative chores (Harrison &Albanese, 2012). Young Algerian women are

parentified by their mothers when they overtake gendered tasks of cleaning, cooking and helping raise their younger siblings leading to role reversals. My participants recounted their experiences when they assume their mothers' roles as caregivers for their families as well as their mothers. Some of these participants have to clean, cook, and look after their younger siblings because of their working mothers. This agrees with gender socialisation that leads to role reversal of the mother daughter relationship in Parentification studies (McMahon &Luthar, 2007). As indicated by the results of this research, Algerian mothers parentified their daughters gradually where they delegate smaller chores to their daughters to do on a daily basis and relinquish the most or full responsibility on them once they are old enough. My participants started assuming their mothers' roles and providing emotional and physical support because either their mothers are older and cannot handle the tiresome chores when they are sick or are working.

Parentification of young Algerian girls is a gendered phenomenon influenced by the patriarchal sociocultural assumptions of gender roles. Algerian mothers parentify their daughters due to the normalised codes of Algerian gendered parenting. The research data reported that all participants believed in the normalcy of parentification in parenting techniques. Additionally, even though the research data showed a lack of fathers' role in parentifying young Algerian girls. Nevertheless, fathers still had a role in this parentification due to the rigid patriarchal expectations enforced on the mothers and daughters. Mothers parentified their daughters to enlist their help and fill their absences, while the daughters assumed their parentified roles in order to support their mothers and families emotionally and physically.

My research supports feminist literature that identifies parentification and gender socialisation as problematic influences on young women (Mayseless & Henderson,2004; Leaper & Friedman, 2007; Thomas, 2017). My participants acknowledged that they felt a sense of value from assuming their gendered roles as their families' caregivers. When women acquire a sense of worthiness from doing gendered responsibilities, this internalises and perpetuates the patriarchal subordination for them (KwanLafond et al: 2011). Some of my participants admitted that this value was enlisted in them when they were taught how to perform domestic work. They found worthiness when they helped their busy mothers and gained a sense of achievement when they cared for their families. This conviction was motivated by their mothers' use of praises such as Sajya/ good woman when they performed well in their chores.

This led them to be more filial and obliging when providing care for their mothers and families.

Similarly, another problematic influence of gendered parentification in this research is the competition and troublesome relationships arising of young Algerian women with female relatives and other women. Participants admitted that their relationships with their sisters, cousins, and friends have soured over the constant, invisible competition of proving their worthiness through exhibiting their superior skills and efforts in doing domestic work. This resulted in women on women hate and toxic relationships where gossiping, shaming, and even sabotage each other's efforts became the normal attitude. I argue that one of the means by which patriarchy reproduces in Algerian society is the premise of women on women's hate and toxic femininity, where Algerian women shame and compete against other women for a sense of worthiness in doing domestic work that ultimately reproduces their own subordination.

In examining the toxic dynamics fostered by patriarchy among Algerian women, it becomes evident how these relationships often turn competitive and detrimental. These toxic dynamics is driven by Algerian men, particularly fathers and husbands, who scrutinise and criticise women's domestic work reinforcing the anxiety and pressure to meet impossible standards. The constant scrutiny and surveillance of women's efforts, as described by Faith and other participants, highlight how familial and social pressures contribute to a lack of solidarity. Algerian women, from mothers to grandmothers and even friends and neighbours, engage in relentless monitoring and judgement, leading to behaviours like gossip, shame, and sabotage. Faith's account of her mother's obsession with maintaining a tidy house to avoid criticism from other women illustrates the pervasive anxiety induced by these expectations. Moreover, the rivalry between sisters and cousins, as narrated by Dream and Moon, reveals the extent to which women will go to undermine each other in a bid for validation and recognition. This lack of unity which is driven by patriarchal norms perpetuates a cycle of toxic relationships, undermining the potential for collective empowerment and support among women. Ultimately, these patterns reflect the patriarchal strategy of dividing women, ensuring that their energies are consumed by internal conflicts rather than united resistance against the patriarchal structures that oppress them.

In reflecting on the analysis of situated knowledge among young Algerian women, it is evident that their understanding of patriarchal dynamics is deeply rooted in their specific

patriarchal social and cultural contexts. Initially unaware of the pervasive impact of patriarchal values of their relationships, particularly among sisters, these women, through the interviews and discussions began to articulate a nuanced awareness of these effects. Their reflections exemplify Donna Haraway's (1988) concept of situated knowledge, where knowledge is partial and context dependent shaped by their lived experiences. As situated knowers, these women critically recognised the broader patriarchal structures influencing their daily lives and relationships. This shift from unawareness to profound awareness underscores the importance of acknowledging the partial and situated nature of knowledge, validating the lived experiences and insights of marginalised groups in understanding social phenomena.

The participants' narratives illustrate how their embeddedness in specific social contexts provides critical insights into the patriarchal scheme that toxifies relationships between women. By recognising and confronting the societal norms that foster toxic dynamics, they challenge the traditional hierarchies of knowledge production. Their situated knowledge not only highlights their active role in understanding and resisting patriarchal oppression but also showcases their capacity to reshape their social world. This reflection emphasizes the need to foreground the situated knowledges of these women throughout the thesis, as it offers a more nuanced and accurate understanding or their experiences and resistance against patriarchy.

Consequently, this also extends to the honour culture how patriarchy in young Algerian women experiences has manifested into.

7.2.2. Honour

Young Algerian women's experiences with patriarchy revolved around honour and codes of virtue in their everyday lives. My research revealed that honour is a gendered patriarchal sociocultural phenomenon created by and for men that enforces women to preserve and maintain at their lives' expense. Their narratives described the importance of honour and the performance of virtue to their families and in society. Preserving one's virginity before marriage was not the only criteria for young Algerian women in order to safeguard their honour; they are obliged to perform chastity and modesty in public and private places. Maintaining virginity and avoiding premarital sexual relationships is not enough to maintain the honour of men and family; participants have to act modestly and avoid all suspicious

activities in public spaces that hint at honour loss, such as dating, flirting, or talking to non-family members without a valid reason, such as studying or working. On the other hand, Algerian men are exempted from such regulations where they are privileged and free in pursuing romantic and sexual relationships without any social reprimand. Honour is a venerated discriminatory gendered phenomenon where women, as the carriers of men's honour, are restricted, supervised, and punished in order to uphold it.

Gendered honour exhibited in young Algerian women's everyday lives and all dimensions relating their attitudes, lifestyle, and opportunities of education, work, relationships, and hobbies, freedom of mobility, sexuality, and romantic relationships.

The intersection of mobility and honour underscores the significant influence of patriarchal expectations on women's autonomy. It becomes evident that the societal and familial restrictions on young Algerian mobility, framed as measures to protect honour, align closely with the patriarchal structures described in the literature review.

Patriarchal practices of preserving honour secluded Algerian women to the private realm of their homes, where they are restricted from leaving without a valid reason or without accompanying relatives and friends. Participants reported that they cannot go shopping or travel without at least one relative or a 'virtuous' female friend.

The testimonies of participants like Queen and Prayer illustrate the practical implications of the honour discourse, where women's movements are tightly controlled by male relatives to prevent potential dishonour. The research findings highlight the continuity of control over women's lives from childhood through adulthood. This patriarchal supervision through restriction of mobility reveals a cyclical pattern, as it transitions from fathers to brothers, and eventually to husbands and sons, thus perpetuating a continuous chain of control over women rooted in traditional family structures. This also extends Benmara's (2010) arguments about masculinity and the societal pressure on men to protect family honour, often leading to overcompensation through strict control and even violence.

The impact of these honour driven restrictions is also evident in the educational and career opportunities available to young women. The analysis reveals that male relatives often impede women's pursuit to higher education, as seen in the experiences shared by Light. This aligns with Guessous' (1997) discussion on the symbolic importance of virginity and the length to which families go to ensure its preservation. By limiting educational opportunities, certain

Algerian men aim to minimise the perceived risks to honour associated with unsupervised mobility and interactions with the opposite sex. The testimonies of participants also illustrate extreme measures taken by male relatives to monitor and control women's behaviour such as undercover supervisions at universities. These actions reflect the societal paranoia around female sexuality and honour echoing on Ahmed's (1989) and Beebeejaun's (2017) arguments about the patriarchal control over women's bodies, mobility and autonomy.

In addition, modest fashion and hijab emerge as further instruments for reinforcing patriarchal gender norms and preserving honour. Algerian women are forced to display modesty through their clothes where they have to cover their hair by hijab and wear modest and loose fashion such as to Burqa, Jalbab, Jalaba, traditional hayak, and even Ajar after marriage. Even when young women were not forced to veil up, they still had to wear non revealing modest clothes. This enforced modesty is vividly reflected in the participants' experiences, where modest fashion and hijab are not merely religious symbols but are utilised to project an image of purity and respectability. Participants' testimonies highlight the cultural compulsion for women to cover up, emphasizing how these practices are less about religious conviction and more about enforcement and conforming to societal expectations to uphold family honour.

Furthermore, participants' accounts of the public's reaction to sexual assault victims underscore the perpetuation of victim blaming and the use of modest fashion as a tool to justify violence against women. These findings reflect the existing literature of researchers such as Ringrose & Mendes (2019) and Khan (2018) where they explore the exploitation of modest fashion and hijab to rationalise violence against women. It becomes clear that while modest fashion was intended to protect women from a patriarchal perspective, it actually reinforces their subordination and is weaponised to justify sexual violence against them for not adhering to modesty codes. In doing so, these attitudes perpetuate a cycle of violence and the systematic oppression of women in the Algerian society.

This patriarchal code of modesty extends from the public realm to the private one where young Algerian women had to dress up modestly in front of their fathers, brothers and male relatives. While they do not need to cover their hair in front of male relatives but they are obliged to wear modest house wear. Algerian women are also discouraged from looking out of windows and balconies without and even while covering up. Similarly, when a non-relative man comes inside the house, Algerian women have to either hide inside a room or cover up modestly. This reveals the blurred lines between the private and public spheres, as patriarchal

norms and expectations persist even in the seemingly private sanctuary of the home. The patriarchal control of Algerian women's bodies through modest dress code and the manipulation of the private and public spaces are interconnected strategies employed to reinforce gender norms and maintain power over women's sexuality and autonomy.

Moreover, my research reported how some Algerian women experienced spiritual rituals of Tasfeeh that ensured the intactness of their hymen and virginity. By 'locking' the hymens of young girls, older women, often mothers and grandmothers, become agents of this oppressive system, ensuring the preservation of family honour at the expense of the girl's autonomy. Tasfeeh ritual is unholy and sinful in Islam, which negates the purpose of justifying honour practices and shows the lengths Algerians are willing to go to guarantee their families' honour. This ritual causes various health, psychological, and emotional problems for young women in their daily lives. As Laouar (2020) points out, Algerian mothers and grandmothers who perform Tasfeeh do so under immense social pressure to protect their daughters and their family's honour. The analysis shows that these women might act out of a perceived necessity bargaining "religious sin" for their daughters' protection as well as their own as mothers and their families' honour. However, they inadvertently reinforce the very structures that oppress them, creating a cyclical pattern of control and submission. Young Algerian women's everyday lives experiences with patriarchy are shaped by their assimilation to the imposed gendered honour practices and performance.

The findings about Tasfeeh practices further exemplifies the entrenched patriarchal norms, showing that even in the face of potential sexual violence, the primary concern remains the preservation of women's virginity. The resurgence of Tasfeeh during periods of French colonialism and the Black Decade demonstrates how women's bodies become battlegrounds for honour. This practice reveals the extreme measures taken by patriarchal society to control women's sexuality, driven by fear of dishonour rather than the well-being of the women themselves.

The findings about Tasfeeh also corroborate the literature review which addresses the commodification of virginity within the institution of marriage. Tasfeeh ensures this commodification, protecting the hymen for the husband's benefit on the wedding night. The research findings highlight how the practice of Tasfeeh intensifies the patriarchal control over women's bodies and autonomy which resonates with perspectives of Mernissi's (1987) and Obermeyer's (2002) about the commodification of virginity and the societal double standards

that allow men more sexual freedom. This reinforces the notion that women's value in Algerian society is largely determined by their sexual purity, further constraining their agency and freedom. In this way, my research contributes to the broader understanding of how patriarchal systems sustain themselves through both overt control and internalised norms, filling a gap in the literature by documenting the little-known practice of Tasfeeh and its implications for women's agency in Algeria.

Patriarchal honour culture in Algerian society employs Islamic religion to justify the discrimination and restrictions that befall Algerian women. Patriarchy and Algerian men impose and defend their virtue codes using misinterpreted Islamic religious texts. They rationalise women's seclusion inside the house and restriction of mobility freedom to the obligatory presence of Mahram/male family relative when women leave their homes. I argue that Islam does not demand honour from Muslims, yet Algerian men use selective quotes of religious texts that serve a patriarchal agenda and sanctify their need to shield their honour through the preservation of virginity and chastity. My research revealed the problematic influence of using Islamic teaching in a patriarchal and gendered scheme of suppressing women's freedom of sexuality and movement through the veneration of honour. My participants acknowledged the possibility of falsified and misinterpreted religious texts that forces them to personify honour in their daily lives. Meanwhile, men are excused when they breach the same Islamic teaching they used to justify the patriarchal beliefs of honour.

In the Algerian society, the intertwining of patriarchy with familial and kinship structures forms a foundational axis of gender relations. As highlighted by Joseph (1996) and Masoud (2016), patriarchy in the Arab contexts centres on the primacy of male elders within the family unit, where their authority is legitimised through kinship values often reinforced by religious interpretations. This hierarchal structure, characterised by patrilocal residence and extended family arrangements, consolidates male dominance by positioning the patriarch as the central figure in decision-making processes affecting women's lives. Despite women's active roles in familial labour and economic activities, crucial decisions pertaining to their education, mobility, appearance, and marriage are predominantly controlled by male relatives, perpetuating a cycle of subordination and dependency.

The patriarchal framework not only governs familial dynamics but also extends its influence into broader societal norms and expectations, thereby shaping women's experiences within Algerian communities. As Kandiyoti (1988) underscores, the patrilocal extended family

serves as a cornerstone of traditional patriarchy, facilitating the intergenerational transmission of patriarchal norms and practices. This structural arrangement not only preserves but also reinforces gender inequalities, limiting women's agency and perpetuating their marginalisation within both domestic and public spheres. Hamdi (2001) articulates that the family unit is a reflection of broader social expectations, where sons are groomed to assume patriarchal roles and daughters are conditioned to uphold submissive and domestic roles. In essence, the patriarchal system, rooted deeply in familial and kinship ties, underpins the socio-cultural framework through which women's lives are negotiated and constrained, thereby warranting critical examination and transformative intervention to address pervasive gender disparities in the Algerian society.

Men are also controlled by the same patriarchal sociocultural beliefs of honour that they established and imposed on women. While they are exonerated from the rigid restrictions of chastity and femininity, they are emasculated and disrespected among other male peers when they do not submit to hegemonic masculinity practices. These latter manifest in controlling their female kin towards preserving their virginity, punishing them when the honour is at risk or lost and protecting them from other males' sexual aggressions. My research revealed that honour's loss is permanent for women where they cannot regain it once again through their performance. Whereas, it can be temporary for men when they punish or kill their 'dishonourable' female relative. Their honour expends shifts and centres around new female kin once they get married and have daughters. My research uncovered that Algerian women are at the subject of expendability and sacrifice for men to regain the respect of other men when honour is lost.

Young Algerian women suffer from toxic masculinity and femininity in their experiences of patriarchy. Nonconforming women to patriarchal honour codes risk ostracism, restrictions and abuse for disrupting family stability (Haj-Yahia, 2000). Conforming to hegemonic masculinity imposes discriminatory practices on women where their wounded femininity shifts towards a toxic one. Conforming to femininity and masculinity regulations becomes a necessity, and the performance is rendered toxic because of patriarchy. Men oblige women to preserve honour and other men to oppress their female relatives while women reproduce patriarchal beliefs, teach their female kin the gendered socialisation of honour and shame other women for deviating and not conforming to the gendered norms. My research indicated

that toxic masculinity and femininity also emerge as victims blaming sexually assaulted and raped women while excusing men for their crimes. Women imitate men's oppression and shaming of other women in order to gain favourability and validation, where they spread gossip and slut- shame them for losing their honour leading to the recreation of women's subordination and confinement within the patriarchy's structures.

7.2.3. Resistance

This research's findings robustly echo the literature review's argument that women are not passive victims but active agents who negotiate and resist patriarchal norms in their daily lives. The review highlights McNay's (2000)assertion that women's agency transcends individual choices to embody freedom and power against restrictive social structures, a theme that is vividly illustrated in the analysis of young Algerian women's experiences. Similarly, the analysis draws on Weitz (2001) and Scott (1985) to demonstrate how resistance can be both overt and covert, emphasizing the significance of everyday acts of defiance that challenge and subvert gendered norms. By exploring the diverse and often imperceptible ways in which Algerian women express their autonomy and resist subordination, the analysis reinforces the literature review's contention that agency and resistance are multifaceted and deeply embedded in everyday practices. This alignment underscores the complexity and resilience of women's strategies to navigate and contest patriarchal oppression, providing a nuanced understanding that transcends simplistic victimhood narratives.

Some of the participants openly criticised and resisted patriarchy as they identified it as the main struggle for themselves and Algerian women in the Algerian family and society. These participants opted for speaking out about the inequalities they faced in the patriarchal context. They admitted to voice their oppositions to the current unjust patriarchal practices that favour men and push hardships towards women and their opportunities in their daily lives. They criticised the unequal unpaid house work enforced on them while condemning how this system alleviates men from any chore burden. It is evident from the findings that speaking out are a powerful form of resistance against patriarchy employed by young Algerian women. They have chosen to voice their disapproval of patriarchal structures and the subordination they face, particularly within the domestic sphere. These women have expressed their struggles with the unequal distribution of unpaid housework and the cultural expectation tied

to honour and virginity. Their stories and statements highlight the complexities of resisting entrenched patriarchal values and the varying degrees of success and difficulty they encounter.

These women found the courage to speak out and criticise their families and mothers for enforcing them to do all the house chores from a very young age. They recognised the problem of burdening younger women with unpaid gendered house labour when their brothers were not. They chose speaking out as resistance to patriarchy to vocalise their hardships in the patriarchal society and the constant gendered role expectations. They criticised how Algerian women are taught and forced to aspire to be 'good women' as well as how the same expectations do not fall on men. In addition, they criticised how Algerian men profit from women's unpaid free house labour their whole lives from their mothers, sisters, wives, daughters, daughters in law, and later granddaughters. They disapproved of how Algerian men justify their oppression because they are the financial providers, but even when women contributed equally to the household income, they were still forced and expected to do all of the house chores. Additionally, they criticised the Algerian mothers' roles in reproducing patriarchy and acting as agents for the gendered injustices. Some of these participants criticised how their mothers enabled their brothers to assume their patriarchal roles and empower them over their female kin by allowing them to intimidate and even use violence. My participants have directed their criticism of patriarchy as resistance towards their mothers and female relatives as much as their fathers, brothers, and male relatives due to their significant invisible and visible role in perpetuating patriarchy through unequal house work division and gender socialisation.

Similarly, my participants showed their agency and spoke against patriarchy's religionised honour and virginity. They criticised the falsification of Islamic texts and teachings that vitalised honour and demanded the preservation of virginity and virtue. These participants recognised how patriarchal agendas implemented honour in order to control women's bodies, sexual and reproductive rights. They criticised how Algerian men shamed and insulted women who lost their virginity before marriage or did not comply with the patriarchal standards of performing virtue and honour both in the private and public domains. They criticised how men required honour for their ego and masculinity, whereas women had to carry the burden and preserve it at life expense. My participants criticised how Algerian men resorted to abuse intimidation when their honour was at risk and out of fear of emasculation

among other men, as well as using violence and even killing their female relatives when their honour was lost.

These participants also criticised how Algerian women are victim blamed for their sexual assault and rape instead of punishing the assailants. They condemned Algerian men who shamed women and twisted the narratives of their sexual assault by faulting them for not covering up enough or seducing other men. Moreover, they recognised and criticised women's role in shaming other women for their sexual assault instead of showing compassion due to their shared experiences with patriarchy. They spoke against Algerian women's roles in reproducing patriarchy and gendered honour practices and performance in gossiping about and shaming other women for not conforming to the codes of modesty and preservation of honour such as wearing modest clothes or hijab.

In my discussions with these participants, it was clear that speaking out about the burdens of unpaid domestic labour was a common and somewhat more accessible form of resistance compared to challenging the cultural norms surrounding honour and virginity. For many, it was easier to voice discontent about house chores to family members than to confront deeply ingrained beliefs about honour. Several participants noted the significant difference in ease between rejecting housework and questioning the Algerian honour codes. The narratives reveal that while criticising the unfair division of housework could lead to arguments and be dismissed as mere complaints, challenging honour related expectations and rules often invited severe backlash, abuse and accusations of disrespect or shame.

Secondly, some of my participants resisted patriarchy through silence. They employed silence as an outcome of parental education, past patriarchal experiences, and conformity in order to avoid future conflicts with patriarchal oppressors. However, surprisingly, silence does not mean acceptance for these women of patriarchal beliefs for these young women. Their circumstances and experiences with patriarchal injustice led them to distinguish the faults of this phenomenon and how active adoption and participation of these ideals have detrimental consequences for themselves and other women. My participants admitted to witnessing how speaking out and vocalising criticism towards men's oppression and patriarchy can lead to hardship and harmful consequences. Hence, silence was their method of resistance in their everyday lives. Whether they were forced or willing due to circumstances, they chose silence when other men and women participated in criticising and shaming women. They abstained from fuelling the debate of enforcing patriarchal practices. They stated that they avoided

discussion about other women's skills and efforts in their households and their performances as virtuous, modest women. They also admitted that silence can work by redirecting the discussions towards other topics instead of focussing on shaming and criticising women. I understand that not all women have the same agency and access to freedom of speech due to their current circumstances and past experiences with patriarchy. While some feminist researchers may advocate for active resistance against patriarchy and how keeping silence maintains women's subordination, I argue that silence as resistance is still an effective method for the oppressed Algerian women in waiting for better opportunities and rights.

The narratives of these young Algerian women highlight silence as a nuanced and multifaceted form of resistance against patriarchy. While silence does not challenge patriarchy in a confrontational manner, it allows these women to navigate oppressive structures safely and strategically. The participants emphasized that their silence is a conscious choice, influenced by the need to severe consequences such as physical abuse, social ostracism and restrictions of their freedom. This form of resistance reflects a pragmatic approach, acknowledging that overt protest may lead to more significant harm without yielding substantial change. Moreover, the participants' reflections reveal that silence is not merely a passive response but an active resistance that requires a careful balancing of power dynamics. They consciously reject participating in patriarchal practices such as shaming and gossiping about other women, recognising that the true resistance involves not perpetuating the same oppressive behaviours. These resonate with the arguments of Jack (1999), Cruz (2015) and Ferguson (2003) who view silence as a vital strategy against power and patriarchy, demonstrating how women use silence not as a sign of submission but as a deliberate, strategic and powerful tool to challenge and undermine oppressive structures. Additionally, these women resort to alternative spaces, such as social media platforms and educational settings, to voice their resistance. By leveraging these platforms, they can safely express their dissent and mobilise support without direct confrontations with family members. This dual strategy of private silence and public resistance reflects a sophisticated understanding of how to navigate and resist patriarchal constraints in everyday life.

On the other hand, some of my participants chose taking action as their resistance method against patriarchy and women's subordination. They reduced their household workload and focused on only doing the necessary daily chores, unlike other Algerian women who go above and beyond in cleaning and cooking just to earn the title of a Sajya/ good woman. They also encouraged their brothers to do housework in order to teach them the skills needed to prevent

weaponised incompetency and normalise men's roles in doing house chores instead of believing it is beneath them. These participants actively participated in feminist activities and manifestations for women's equal rights and freedom. They formed sisterhood groups and pages on social media to raise awareness of the discrimination Algerian women still face at home and in public. They organised anti misogyny protests and joined feminist groups in their universities. Additionally, my participants participated in researching feminist literature about women's struggles with patriarchy and participated in women's studies seminars and workshops. Furthermore, they volunteered in women's charities and shelters designated for sexual assault and domestic violence victims. They acknowledged that extending help for female victims of the harmful Algerian patriarchal society and culture helped them to create real change for themselves and others when experiencing patriarchy in their everyday lives.

Lastly, some of my participants chose bargaining with patriarchy as their negotiation with patriarchy in their everyday lives. These participants chose to comply with patriarchy and their father's values in order to secure their chances of attaining higher education and a degree that could provide them with employment with financial independence. They bargained unequal house chores load and restricted honour values for freedom of mobility outside their homes, getting a degree and a career. Once again, their compliance with patriarchy's system does not mean their approval and participation in shaming other women. Their experiences excluded other resistance methods from the equation for them. They exchanged their rights for equality in house work and sexuality freedom for securing education, financial freedom, the right to access public spaces, and choosing their own future spouses. These participants argued that they are performing an act for their families and patriarchs in order to attain their goals that allow them to have leverage in resisting patriarchy in their daily lives experiences. My research reaffirms kandiyoti (1988) research about bargaining with patriarchy in the patriarchal belt of North Africa. I argue that most of my participants are unconsciously bargaining with patriarchy in their everyday lives in order to maintain their chances of higher education, partial mobility freedom, and future employment opportunities.

Young Algerian women revealed that bargaining with patriarchy is a deliberate and strategic form of resistance for their future. The participants' emphasis on education as a primary goal of their bargaining efforts illustrates the transformative potential they see in higher education. Education is viewed not just as an academic achievement but as a critical tool for gaining independence and leverage in both private and public spheres. Financial independence through career attainment is another significant motivator for bargaining with patriarchy.

They recognise that financial dependency on male relatives perpetuates their subordination. By securing jobs and salaries, they aim to break free from this cycle of dependency. The final consideration is marriage and motherhood which is seen central to women's identities in patriarchal societies. Though bargaining with patriarchy, these young women can choose better spouses, delay their marriages and negotiate terms that ensure their continued education and career opportunities as well as negotiating their marriages conditions with their future husbands. The research findings resonate with existing literature on women's active approaches in negotiating with patriarchy through bargaining.

Young Algerian women believed that their mothers are bargaining with patriarch for their sake while acting as patriarchal agents. The participants' testimonies reflected that their mothers pushed them towards pursuing higher education and career from a very young age. Their mothers' bargaining is a direct consequence of their own experiences with patriarchal oppression and cruelty, including marital physical, emotional and financial abuse, divorce, lack of power leverage within marriage and limited opportunities for work after separation. While Algerian mothers may be blamed for maintaining and supporting patriarchal values mostly in private sphere, their lack of access to education and awareness may have influenced their acceptance and conformity to these values. However, as there is a lack of research on Algerian mothers' perspectives and experiences with patriarch, it can only be deemed from my participants' accounts that their mothers also chose bargaining as their approach in resisting and surviving patriarchy under the scrutiny and surveillance of Algerian men.

Reflecting on the narratives of my participants, it is evident that Algerian mothers play a pivotal role in their daughters' bargaining with patriarchy. These mothers, despite being seen as enforcers of patriarchal norms within domestic sphere, leverage their understanding of the system's constraints to subtly resist it for the benefit of their daughters. By encouraging their daughters to pursue higher education and secure financial independence, these mothers aim to provide them with opportunities they themselves were denied. The Algerian mothers' bargaining for their daughters can be seen as a more long term strategy aimed at fundamentally altering the conditions for their daughters and future generations. Algerian mothers demonstrate significant agency, working within their limitations to ensure better opportunities for their daughters.

This maternal influence is crucial, as it not only supports young women's immediate goals of education and career but also fosters a generational shift in the approach to resistance. The

narratives of Hope, Light and others highlight how their mothers' experiences with patriarchal oppression inform their strategies of compliance and resistance. By prioritising their daughters' education and independence, these mothers are subtly defying patriarchal expectations and paving the way for future resistance. This dual role of mothers, as both agents of patriarchy and facilitators of resistance, illustrates the complexity of negotiating power within a patriarchal society and emphasizes the importance of familial support in young women's efforts to carve out spaces of autonomy and empowerment.

7.3. Symbolic Interactionism and Patriarchy

This research's findings pour into the feminist literature that focusses on Arab, Muslim, Algerian women in relation to patriarchy and gender discrimination experiences and dismantling in everyday life. The dominant feminist literature in Algeria emphasises women's political rights and participation rather than understanding how Algerian women experience, perceive, and navigate patriarchy in their daily lives (Lazreg, 1988; Salhi, 2003; Marzouki, 2010; Daoudi,2016; Ghanem, 2021). Arab and Islamic feminism tend to focus on the concept itself rather than investigating the daily experiences and narratives of women. It neglects Arab and Muslim women's stories of discrimination and subordination on the micro level. My research addressed how patriarchy manifested in their daily lives experiences and routines through domesticity and honour while it revealed how their responses varied in resistance, silence and bargaining with patriarchy. Young Algerian women's understanding and negotiation of patriarchy showed the complicated internalisation and externalisation of patriarchal practices and values in their day to day lives. Neither their acceptance nor resistance of patriarchy and resistance is absolute. Young Algerian women's identity is forged through role taking gender socialisation and reformed through understanding their patriarchal experiences and their roles in both reproducing and dismantling it.

This research shows that patriarchy uses gender socialisation which manifests as a dramaturgy of symbolic interactionism. Young Algerian women are taught and encouraged to act in the theatre of private and public spaces and take on roles of gender normative codes, presenting themselves perfectly to showcase their 'good womanhood'. The research data showed that they are performers where they adapt their identities according to current patriarchal sociocultural beliefs and gender performance that showed in everyday experiences and

routines through role taking in the back and front stages of these women's acts. Young Algerian women do all of the housework because it aligns with the role of femininity as caregivers and perform honour and virtue in private and public domains. This thesis revealed that young Algerian women employ impression management in their social interactions where they can monitor how other people perceive them. Impression management is a means of perpetuation of patriarchal gendered norms in the everyday lives of Algerian women and their families. Patriarchy is theatrical in the sense of women assuming their acting gender roles and the front/back stage changes depending on the situation, from performing to their mothers, with their mothers to their fathers, with their families towards their other relatives, in laws and friends.

This research also shows that higher education for these women may not eliminate patriarchal gendered socialisation; rather, it helped transform their identities and understanding of their circumstances and struggles with patriarchy. Education and financial freedom helped young Algerian women gain a sense of liberation from the patriarchal constraints where they could modify certain gender norms, such as the amount of household chores or their movement freedom. However, the change is limited by their acceptance of patriarchal beliefs and concerns over other people's perceptions of their gender performance. This research shows that Algerian women accept the patriarchal obligations and pursue agency through opportunities of education and career.

My research indicated that marriage in the patriarchal Algerian society is inevitable. Young Algerian women are obliged to get married and lack the choice of staying celibate. As my research revealed, gender socialisation of domestic work and honour codes is practiced with marriage as a future and inevitable purpose for all young Algerian women. Hence, the role taking should continue and serve its purpose towards married life, where young Algerian women's performances of "virgin maiden" end on the wedding night, honouring their parents and families and serving their husbands and in laws through house chores and respecting them. Marriage becomes a new stage for patriarchy production. My participants acknowledged that they were assimilated and taught gender normative roles because they had to get married and recreate the patriarchal beliefs. They criticised how they lacked agency in choosing to stay single because of the resulting discrimination. My study indicated that if young Algerian women learnt doing housework became good women, and maintained their honour, then they have no reason to refuse marriage. Their refusal could signify that they are hiding their lost virginity and dishonour and they will be shamed for it or called

Bayra/spinsters by other women. Patriarchy ensures that marriage becomes inevitable through toxic femininity and gender socialisation in order to guarantee its performance recreation after marriage.

On the other hand, some young Algerian women view marriage as the solution to escape the unequal house labour division at their families' homes and achieving the goal of preserving their virginity until the wedding day. My research revealed that some young Algerian women viewed doing the tiresome domestic work as indentured slavery and called themselves on multiple occasions "Cinderella" where they are oppressed doing domestic chores and waiting for their future husbands to rescue them. Some of the participants recounted their female relatives' experiences with getting married very early and without finishing their education only to find themselves repeating the patriarchal cycle of doing unequal house chores, being criticised and shamed by their mothers in law and introducing their daughters to the discriminatory patriarchal practices. In addition, they experienced domestic violence without having the chance to resist or speak up because it is deemed unbefitting of a good woman's persona and upbringing. This showed patriarchy seizes young Algerian women's agency through early marriage and education degrees. Employing symbolic interactionism in relation to patriarchy from a feminist perspective enables us to understand women's experiences and negotiations of their subordination in everyday life, how patriarchy is perpetuated and can be dismantled.

7.4. Future Challenges and Recommendations

Patriarchy is a complicated and enduring phenomenon in Algerian society. I realise that this phenomenon thrives on the complex entanglement of Islam with the culture. During the interviews, my participants showed an interest in recognising and separating the Algerian culture values and rules from the Islamic teachings. There was an understanding that patriarchy provides a confusing merging aspect of religion and culture where the latter borrows the sanctity of the former. I recommend separating some of the Algerian cultural practices from Islamic misinterpretations. There needs to be an understanding and awareness that Islam as religion does not demand certain patriarchal cultural values such as honour and domesticity while enforcing these rules only on women and exempting men or changing some doctrine to benefit Muslim men. I realise that this can be idealistic and unachievable because

of the intertwined relationship of culture and religion in Algerian society. However, I believe the awareness can spread on the long run and it may change how Algerians view their culture.

I advocate for a change in the interpretations of the Quran and Islamic texts. There is a dire need to reconsider the old patriarchal misinterpretations of Islam's doctrine that serve only a patriarchal agenda and result in Muslim women's subordination. Religious texts' false interpretations need to be revised from a gendered perspective to provide modern trustworthy interpretations in order to dismantle patriarchal harmful practices. Baranzagi (2010:270) notes: "The *majority of these sources were abused by male interpreters, such as regarding attire and seclusion"*. Gender focused religious interpretations can change the Algerian patriarchal culture of honour and domesticity and support young Algerian women through their everyday lives and experiences with patriarchy. My participants acknowledged that patriarchal and male dominated misinterpretations and falsifying of certain religious texts rendered the Arab and Algerian culture and daily life experiences difficult and restricting for all women. I recognise that correcting the religious texts can only be done by sincere female Muslim researchers.

The lack of female academics that research and interpret Quran and Islamic texts disempowers Muslim women within patriarchal society. I affirm that there is a need for more women in Islamic academia that can discern misrepresentation of Islamic doctrine and provide gendered credibility of Islamic teachings. Patriarchy deemed women unworthy, unholy and unintelligent to interpret religion. Thus, Muslim women relied and believed on male interpretations and had fewer opportunities to create their own. Fauzi (2014, p.25) injects: "Most scholars prefer an interpretation that enjoins women to not interfere in public life. They argue that women are incapable of handling public affairs." These misrepresented male dominated interpretations curbed Muslim women's access to Islamic academia and politics[29]. Female scholars should have more access and aim to study Islam and interpret it.

I also argue that average Muslim women generally and Algerian women specifically need to relearn about their religion's teachings from the Qur'an directly to identify the distorted teachings and dismantle patriarchy on the micro level. Barazangi (2010, p.265) argues: "They do not realize that their knowledge of Islam primarily relies on many secondary conflicting sources instead of the Qur'an". My participants argued that Algerian men mostly focus on

[29] Falsified and misinterpreted religious texts of Islam deemed Muslim women unfit (emotionally and physically) for leadership positions in legal system and politics.

women related religious texts and restrictions to justify honour rites and the submissiveness of women. Barazangi (2010, p.268) indicated:" Interpreters often use only one hadith[30] in preference to others that often favour women". All of the participants stated that men use "selecting quoting"[31] when it comes to using religious teachings enforcing the misinterpretations and oppressive cultural practices towards women. My research reflected that the everyday social intercourse in the Algerian family and society is gendered an d religionized. It might prove difficult to ask Algerian men to understand young Algerian women's perspectives and experiences with patriarchy enough to change the current inequalities and biased cultural practices. Hence, it is vital for all young Algerian women to pursue credible understandings of Islam knowledge regardless their education level and shed light to the patriarchal discrimination through an insider lens.

On a positive note, most of the participants expressed the need to deconstruct the religious inequalities and patriarchy they face in their everyday lives and label them correctly. I agree with their rejection of justifying domestic violence and harm done in the name of maintaining 'sacred honour' and labelling them as crimes instead. Similarly, they acknowledged the inequalities concerning forcing Algerian women to do all of the free labour house work while disproving the religious misinterpretations that required them to. These participants realised that honour and domesticity serve only men's patriarchal agenda while they, as women, receive second class treatment their whole lives, being dependents on their male kin as patriarchs of their families, recreating and continuing patriarchy. I emphasise dismantling the patriarchy phenomenon that uses Islam to assert honour and domesticity goals and redefine the gendered Islamic beliefs in order to consolidate current and future young Algerian women positions as equals in the Algerian society.

7.5. Methodological Limitations

My research, like all other research, has its limitations. This research sheds light on young Algerian women's experiences with patriarchy in their everyday lives. However, the data should be regarded within the scope of its methodological limitations. This research sample was on the smaller side with 32 young Algerian female participants. The participants in this study were limited by age from 18 to 25 years old because they were university students. The

[30] Sayings of Prophet Mohammed peace be upon him.
[31] Baraganza 2010.

sample was limited to this age range but a further research about younger or older Algerian women would reflect the depth of patriarchy and how it influences their lives. A further study about married women and mothers or paired up mother-daughter interviews may significantly add to the knowledge reservoir about patriarchy and inequality in Algerian family and society.

Unfortunately, the sample was focused on young Algerian women in higher education because it was difficult to recruit Algerian women who had finished or dropped their studies outside the perimeter of the Algerian university, as explained in the methodology chapter. Further research about Algerian women's experiences with patriarchy beyond the scope of higher education would be significant in investigating their perspectives and how education can affect these patriarchal experiences in their everyday lives and in the long run.

This research aimed for a more diverse sample of participants of various traditional backgrounds and values through expending the recruitment process to four cities in the vast Algeria. As explained in the third chapter of methodology, the four cities chosen are: Algiers, Annaba, Oran, and Adrar which represent the four cardinal points North, East, West, and South respectively. However, the data cannot provide a generalisation for all young Algerian women's experiences with patriarchy because each region is known to differ slightly in social values and practices. A quantitative methodological research may prove more generalising in this case, and an anthropological methodology would give out a more detailed understanding and investigation of young Algerian women's experiences with patriarchy in their private realm on a daily basis.

On the other hand, the accounts given in this research data about Algerian men are solely from the perspectives and narratives of young Algerian women. While it reflects their opinions of Algerian men's oppression and patriarchal beliefs, it is still one sided narrative. This research tackled patriarchy in Algeria and highlighted Algerian women's experiences because there is a significant lack of studies and data concerning Algerian women outside the political spectrum. I argue to maintain the focus on women for the current time, but researching patriarchy from Algerian men's perspective in the future may explain their roles and aims in maintaining this phenomenon and help dismantle patriarchal beliefs and structures.

7.6. Strengths and Contribution

My research investigated young Algerian women's experiences with patriarchy and shed light on their perspectives and negotiations with it in their everyday lives. Researching Algerian women's lives is still marginalised and under-represented outside of the political and religious scope. The existing literature tends to focus on the macro level by parading Algerian women's rights in politics, religion, or their participation in the Algerian Independence War rather than investigating and analysing the micro level of Algerian women's daily lives, highlighting their struggles with patriarchy, gendered injustices and giving voice to their perspectives and resistance (Lazreg, 1988; Fanon, 2001; Marzouki, 2010; Ghanem, 2021). The research data displayed how patriarchy operates in the Algerian family and society through the processes of domesticity and honour and clarified how young Algerian women navigated through gendered inequality and patriarchal struggles on a daily basis.

Even further, this research addressed the underreported unequal unpaid domestic chores division in the Arab family context and among children rather than focussing on the heterosexual relationship. I argue that one of the strengths of this research is the focus on investigating young daughters' gendered roles in doing unpaid house labour and its significance in patriarchy's process and continuation. Furthermore, I would argue that exploring the facades of honour in the Algerian family and society context, how it maintains the patriarchal agenda, and how Algerian women interpret and negotiate with it is as strong as it is still an understudied theme. Investigating how Algerian women negotiate with patriarchy and gender inequality has been underreported and ignored on the social scale. This research has revealed how highly educated young Algerian women tackled and resisted patriarchy through various mechanics in their everyday lives. I argue that my research adds a further engagement to the non-Western and Arab feminist literature as well as related theoretical frameworks of symbolic interactionism and patriarchy. One of this research's significance lies in exploring and understanding young Algerian women's everyday struggles and their prospects in being victims, agents, or antagonists against patriarchy.

7.7. Reflexivity

As an Algerian woman who experienced patriarchy in my everyday life and navigated through gender inequality as all of my participants, I consider myself an insider and an honorary participant in this research. I share the same culture, religion, and values as my

participants, I am bound to see myself in their own experiences and understand their struggles and choices in the patriarchal context. Therefore, I analysed and presented the research data with credibility in order to give an audience for their stories. This was done without biased alterations that could change the meaning behind their experiences and serve a subjective agenda. I understand that the quantity of reflexivity in research that employs interpretation of data always comes with subjectivity. Holmes (2020). It aims to simplify the researcher's positionality that is influenced by pre-existing settings such as religion, political affiliations, gender and more within their research. Mavin and Corlett (2018: 377) note: *"Reflexivity is always a self-monitoring of and a self-responding to, our thoughts, feelings, and actions as we engage in research projects".*

Beside the lack of Algerian women related topics in the feminist literature, I was motivated by my own experiences with patriarchy in my own family and society to delve into this research. My journey with this research has been tough and insightful. Embarking on this academic journey has been a rollercoaster; I was happy, sad, motivated, depressed, free, sick and enlightened. I met new friends, including my participants, who shared similar experiences as I do, and I got to see and listen to newer perspectives and experiences of other friends from different backgrounds and cultures. I experienced freedom beyond the reaches of patriarchy as well as the seclusion, restrictions, burdens and the consequences that it enforces on Algerian women after returning home. I understood on a deeper level my participants 'experiences and narratives when it comes to the role of education in resisting patriarchy and how this phenomenon still traps women within the private realm regardless of their education level or employment leading to the unconscious reproduction of patriarchal practices.

Albeit this, thanks to my research journey, I have gained a new understanding of my own experiences with patriarchy and the courage to discern and denounce when gendered injustices happen in my daily life. My repertoire of researching patriarchy, methodology, domestic work, honour and resistance was expended. I participated in several feminist activities in order to spread awareness about gender inequality and patriarchy. I presented my research in British and Algerian conferences and co-hosted a successful workshop for Algerian women about patriarchy within households in Algiers. I hope to actively pursue more academic and feminist activities in the future and engage in similar research topics.

7.8. Recommendations for Potential Future Research

During my research, I could not help but recognise a few enquiries and research themes that are underexplored and would hold great potential in enriching the Arab/non- western/Algerian feminist literature if investigated. I want personally to delve into these topics in the future as well as encourage other academics to explore. Here are my pinpointed recommendations:

- Investigating Algerian/Arab mothers roles in patriarchy perpetuation between being agents and bargaining.

- Researching Algerian/Arab women's experiences with patriarchy after marriage.

- Exploring Algerian/Arab men' roles in continuing patriarchy.

- Researching the role of marriage in Algerian/ Arab context in perpetuating the cycle of patriarchy and gender inequality.

- Investigating the relationship between dowry and wedding expenses with domestic violence and unequal division of house chores in Algeria.

- Exploring Algerian/Arab mother-daughter relationship.

- Researching working women and mothers in patriarchal context.

7.9. Conclusion

Young Algerian women experience patriarchy in their everyday lives through domesticity, and honour codes. They were gender socialised and parentified by their parents into becoming good women and carers of their families while they were taught to preserve their honour and virtue by maintaining their virginity and performing honour in private and public spaces. Their parents and families act as agents of patriarchy and contribute to the reproduction of gendered discriminatory beliefs by teaching them gender normative practices through gender socialisation and role taking from a young age. However, as young Algerian women gained agency and understood patriarchy's tactics in their daily lives, they chose various ways of resistance as their negotiations, which culminated into; speaking out, taking action, keeping

silence and bargaining with patriarchy. Young Algerian women continue to vocalise their narratives about patriarchy and show significant understanding of their experiences where they choose to resist or survive it.

Appendix 1:

Interview Questions

Introductory questions:

What's your name and age? What do you study?

Domestic work questions:

Tell me about your ordinary day, what is your average day like/ describe to me your daily routine

Do you do the house chores? How do you feel about house chores? Does anyone help you with the house chores? Do you have siblings/sisters? Do they help you? Do your brothers help you?

At what age did you start doing house chores and how did you learn the skills to do so? Are there any tasks you particularly like or dislike and why?

Do you clean your home on a daily basis? How much time do you spend doing it? How do you feel about it? Is it difficult? Is it unfair? Is it okay? Do you get a free day of house chores?

What would happen if you refuse to clean the house or did a bad job?

How do you feel if your house is untidy, messy or dirty when guests are visiting? How would you behave and what would you do?

Honour

How are you expected to behave in your house? What are your family expectations from you? Can you describe to me your experiences? How do you feel about it?

Do you go outside? Does your family restrict your movement?

How are you expected to behave outside of your home? Do you find hardship because of these expectations? Can you describe your experiences?

What do you think about honour? What about virginity? What does your family think about honour? Could you tell me about your experiences?

Negotiations:

How do you feel about these experiences? Is it unfair? Is it okay?

What did you do in such situations? How do you deal with such experiences?

Appendix 2:

Information Sheet

My name is Amina Bouarara. I am doing face-to-face interviews with young Algerian women for my PhD research in Centre of Women's studies, University of York. Will you participate?

What is the research about?

This study will explore young Algerian women daily experiences and negotiations.

Who is carrying out the research?

Amina Bouarara, the researcher.

Who can participate?

Young Algerian women aged 18-25 years can participate in the research.

What does the study involve?

This research will use in-depth interviews. These can be conducted face-to-face. The time it will take for an interview varies, depending on how much you have to say, but most interviews are expected to last around 45 minutes. If you want to stop the interview at any time, you can do so without giving any reason at all. A face-to-face interview will take place at an agreed public place. It could be in the university campus or accommodation venues. The interview will be audio recorded by the researcher with your consent and will be transcribed later on in order to be analysed and used in the research. Everything you say will be treated in the strictest confidence and your real name and personal details will not be revealed at any point. The research will be viewed by the researcher, supervisors and examiners before being deposited in the form of a PhD thesis.

Do I have to take part?

No, you don't have to. Taking part is entirely voluntary. If you prefer not to take part you do not have to give a reason. If you change your mind about the interview, you can cancel the appointment. If you decide to not participate in the study after the interview happened, please let me know. I will not use any collected data from the interview. All audio recordings, notes and typescripts of your interview will be destroyed. You can call me, message me or email me. I have put the needed contact information at the end.

Are there risks in participation?

Given the nature of this study, there is no risk in becoming a participant in this interview. However, some questions may elicit strong emotions or recall sensitive memories. You are free to answer however you feel. If you feel uncomfortable during the interview, you can ask for a break. If you don't like the question, you ask to skip it. If you feel like ending the

interview, you can let me know. The interview location will be in the university campus or accommodation. Your identity will not be divulged to anyone else except for the researcher.

Is there a compensation for the interview?

Unfortunately I am unable to pay you for your time. The interview is voluntary and unpaid. Your participation is much appreciated.

What will happen to the data I provide?

Your information will be recorded and transcribed by the researcher. You will be given a pseudonym and the researcher will ensure you will not be identified from the information you give.

What about confidentiality?

Your identity will be only known to the researcher. Your real name will not be used and your identity will remain anonymous in all publications and presentations of the findings. Your real name will be replaced by a pseudonym to guarantee confidentiality.

If you have any further questions regarding this research, please do not hesitate to contact me:

Amina Bouarara

Centre of Women's Studies

University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD

Phone number: 0774152304

Email: ab2403@york.ac.uk

Appendix 3:

Consent Form

Research Title: Young Algerian women discuss their experiences and negotiations with patriarchy in their everyday lives.

Amina Bouarara

This form is for you to state whether or not you agree to take part in the research. Please read and answer every question. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you want more information, please ask the researcher.

Have you read and understood the information sheet about the research? Yes □ No □

Have you had an opportunity to ask questions about the study? Yes □ No □

Do you understand that the information you provide will be held in confidence by the researcher, and your name and any identifying information about you will not be mentioned in any publication? Yes □ No □

Do you understand that you can withdraw from the study at any time before the end of the data collection session without giving any reason, and that any collected data will not be used and destroyed permanently? Yes □ No □

Do you agree to take part in the study? Yes □ No □

Your name:

Date:

Signature:

If you have any further question, please contact me. Thank you for your participation.

Appendix 4: Glossary of Algerian Dialect Terms

Sajya: good woman, skilled, active, dexterous.

Jayha: bad woman, lazy, coward, unskilled.

Sharaf: honour

Sotra: covering up

Awra: private parts, nakedness

Kahba: whore

Makhrouga: deflowered, a pejorative term for women who lose their virginity in premarital sex.

Mosh matrabya: ill raised

Hajjala: divorced or widowed woman

Bayra: spinster, stale, leftover.

Dayouth: cuckold, emasculated man.

Argaz : brave

Les hommes: Algerian slang for manhood and bravery.

Jelbab : Modest Islamic female dress

Ajjar : traditional white embroidered short niqab used by Algerian married women to cover their faces.

Rkhissa : cheap, valueless

Sharifa: honourable

Al izz: prestige

Hayak: traditional women's garment in Algeria. It is a large rectangular white fabric worn by wrapping the whole bod with it.

Mahram: male relative.

Aib: shame, shameful.

Jelaba: traditional Algerian women's outdoor dress usually worn by married women.

Ahira: whore

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