

An Algerian Musical Mosaic: an ethnographic and visual exploration of the place of gender in Algerian popular music in social media platforms, live music events, and wedding ceremonies

by

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Abstract

This thesis is interdisciplinary in nature and falls into the academic fields of popular music studies, women and gender studies, sociology, media and cultural studies. This thesis presents an in-depth ethnographic explanation of Algerian music events focusing on the degree of acceptance of women in this industry in terms of production (artists) and consumption (audience) compared to their male counterparts.

A qualitative approach has been taken, following the Chicago School ethnographic methodology of research, which allowed the construction of a sample of over 200 research participants. Algeria was the main location of this study, where I could attend different live music events and wedding ceremonies in addition to the accessing the online space (social media platforms). Different data were collected using a range of qualitative research methods, namely observation, ethnographic interviews, qualitative surveys, visuals, audio-visual documents, online ethnography, and chaperone ethnography (one of the contributions of the current study in the field of ethnography). During this research, contact was established with participants including managers, businessmen, DJs and young audiences.

This Ph.D. is a study on gender relations in the musical industry in contemporary Algeria. It also looks at the patriarchal and conservative stereotypes that Algerian young adults construct about mainly female Rai artists because of the control of internal (familial) and external (social) influences. As a contribution, this study uncovers gender inequality in the industry arising from the misuse and misinterpretation of spiritual beliefs to construct realities. The findings have revealed that some social media platforms are accessed as a form of escapism to enjoy certain types of music away from social restrictions. Additionally, the findings showed that in terms of gender, location plays a key role in music consumption in Algeria. On the one hand, in public spaces, gender consumption is male-dominated, while at wedding ceremonies women become more active than men and the party is mainly dominated by women. This Ph.D. suggests that contemporary Algerian music production and consumption contain contradictions. As shown through the data, research subjects had pleasure and enjoyment but also felt degrees of denial under conservative social and cultural traditions.

Dedications

I dedicate this work to all those who love me and believe in me.

In memory of my grandfathers...

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Introduction

This Ph.D. is a qualitative study on popular music within Algeria. It is an interdisciplinary thesis influenced by sociology, media and cultural studies, ethnography, and popular music studies. This introduction will set out the historical context of Algeria, its music, and the context of the study, then it will introduce the research method used and finally it will detail the structure of the thesis.

1. Historical context

Algeria has long been home to diverse cultures which were the result of numerous invasions over the country starting with the Romans and ending with the French in the mid-nineteenth century (Morgan 2004). With each invasion came new languages, cultural beliefs and practices including different musical genres (Croisy 2008). Raï music, for instance, has been influenced by the European presence (French, Spanish, etc.) in the Algerian West and has shifted from a Bedouin genre to a modern one. This genre, in particular, has long been controversial in the Algerian territory because of its rebellion against the conservative culture. Nonetheless, it has always been well-received by most Algerians despite their contradictory explicit rejection of it. Raï's critical situation in Algeria has always attracted my attention and what pushed me most to conduct this work was the controversial claims that I kept hearing about this genre in recent years, focusing on the negative representation of female Raï singers. My curiosity reached its height when I noticed the influence which a group of Franco-Algerian singers (based in France) had on young Algerian adults, knowing that they project a similar image to the one for which female Raï singers were rejected by nearly the whole of Algerian society. Therefore, the aim of the thesis is to explore the Algerian 'musical mosaic'¹ from a feminist perspective, focusing on two categories: Raï music and Franco-Algerian music, which are the two leading music genres consumed by the majority of Algerian young adults. The work tries to identify and understand the gender inequality in the Algerian sector in terms of production and consumption through a social constructivist lens as a theoretical framework.

1.1. Context of Rai music

The focus on Rai music in Algeria is due to its contested nature between ordinary people, religion and state authorities, and this Ph.D. explores the understanding and love of Rai music among different groups of young people. Abba (2014) suggests that the status of Rai has always been challenging in Algeria since it has long resisted governmental censorship. Starting from the mid-1980s, and following a relentless struggle to secure a position in Algerian culture and society, but Rai has now officially been recognised and considered by the state as one of the fundamental elements of Algerian heritage, and a musical genre which is protected by UNESCO, as declared by my gatekeeper, Mr Bellout, in his interview with me. At the same time, Rai is facing criticism and marginalisation from the Algerian population based on what I observed on different social platforms and public gatherings (at universities, in campuses, in restaurants). Therefore, using both online documents and fieldwork data collected from observation, qualitative surveys and interviews, I critically address the negative and positive reception of both female Rai singers and Franco-Algerian musical artists. During 2019, as part of the online ethnography, I observed interviews of French Freestyle (a category of rap) performers on YouTube. This music genre is characterised by its spontaneity and improvisation. What makes it unique is its extemporisation at the moment of the performance (it has not been prepared before). As its name indicates, Freestyle is free from structure, and all that performers have is a beat for which they improvise a text (generally written in advance) at a live performance. This music genre is being disseminated among the Algerian young adults thanks to freestyle hits made by some male Franco-Algerian singers based in France (whether originally born in or moved to France) as will be illustrated in the data chapters.

A key influence in this ethnographic study has been the data collected both off and online. For example, the comments written by Algerian audiences on their social platforms asserted that female singers were not welcomed in the Rai music industry. Surprisingly, the difference between their reception and that of their male counterparts became more obvious when I observed the comments made on posts about Franco-Algerian male singers. The latter received a positive reaction from the audience in spite of the performances and song lyrics being shared with the female singers. The unequal acceptance of female artists motivated the research to undertake a feminist approach. From initial fieldwork it was found that some Algerian research participants had started to replace Rai songs in their wedding ceremonies with songs by these Franco-Algerian singers. Additionally, as will be discussed in chapter five, in some regions of

Algeria such the Kabylia, Raï is mostly absent and rejected at wedding parties as it is considered as being an ‘ill-reputed’ genre.

As part of the ethnographic fieldwork, when I returned to Algeria in 2018, I noticed a change in the musical preferences of Algerian youth. From the fieldwork, I observed that a new wave of songs by young male Algerian singers living in France was found to be on the top of the musical playlists for the majority of young adults. These songs were listened to in the presence of the entire family despite their tackling of subjects which are considered as taboo in Algerian society. Moreover, the lyrics, used to address topics like love and sex, were in many instances ‘bold’, yet families not only listened to these songs, but also attended concerts of these singers.

This contradiction generated issues concerning gender inequality which led the study to explore the reason for the female artists’ marginalisation in comparison to their male counterparts. Understanding this gender differentiation is important because of the increased acceptance of Raï at an international level and as part of Algerian identity while at the same time Raï faces rejection at different levels within the country (Schade-Poulsen 1999).

2. Methodology

To conduct my research, I adopted the ethnographic approach of the Chicago School as a main methodology. In order to generate reliable data, I used multiple research tools: participant and non-participant observation, interviews (semi-structured and conversational), open-ended qualitative surveys, visuals, and textual documents. The ethnography was unusual in the sense that part of the methodology involved the collaboration and participation of my wider family. There were three main locations to collect data which led to the development of core chapters of analysis which I refer to as an Algerian musical mosaic.

1. Online space (social media platforms)
2. Concerts/Live music events
3. Wedding ceremonies.

In addition to observing and collecting data from these sites, I conducted interviews with people in the industry and with Algerian young adults (the audience), and distributed open-ended qualitative surveys. I interviewed young adults aged between 19 and 35 from both categories. I also distributed approximately 130 surveys for students at the University of Mouloud Mammeri

in Tizi-Ouzou, Algeria. The data collection also included visuals such as photography and popular music videos captured by me or downloaded from Instagram or YouTube. Concerning textual documents, I analysed song lyrics of the major singers as an illustration of concepts which were discussed by these singers in their songs. As far as data analysis was concerned, I followed the grounded theory inductive process developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), by starting from the data generation, coding and categorisation, interpreting them under a social constructivist paradigm, and, finally, generating a new method of research coined ‘Chaperone ethnography’.

2.1. Biographical method

Reflecting on this as a woman brought up in conservative Algerian society, I am fully aware of the sensitivity of cultural and social issues and what it takes (and equally engenders) to be ‘bold’ and ‘daring’. People are selective about the topics they tackle with others generally; a woman’s choice of debate topics, for instance, is quite limited, and is determined according to the people who will take part in the discussion, especially her father or brother(s). Similarly, engaging in a sexual relationship before marriage, which in Western societies is accepted and tolerated, is seen as disgraceful in Algeria. Families prohibit their daughters (as is the case for me) from being involved with men other than their husbands, conforming to the conservative nature of Algerian society on the one hand, and religious laws on the other. Moreover, we, as women, must be selective in terms of the songs we listen in the public sphere to avoid undesirable content being addressed. But at the same time through the fieldwork at both live music events and wedding ceremonies, I have observed young adults where women challenge the apparent restrictions of conservative clothing and singing songs with so called ‘inappropriate’ lyrics. It is in this light that my research employed a feminist approach to investigate the status of females, singers and consumers, within contemporary Algeria and assessed the boundaries of their ‘oppression’ and /or ‘acceptance’ in society. All tools were joined together under an ‘ethnographic mosaic’ (Blackman 2010) to be able to answer the research questions covered in chapter two.

3. The Structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of five main chapters in addition to an introduction and a conclusion. The first chapter, Review of the literature, introduces the main concepts involved in the thesis.

First, I focus on the field of popular music studies as it is the main field this Ph.D. falls into. I describe the evolution of popular music as a field of study, its origins, the different publications in relation to this field, and the production and consumption of music as a phenomenon influencing the circulation of the product in the music industry. I discuss also the different popular music ethnographic works that have been conducted before at international and national (Algerian) levels and add the contribution of the current work. I move on to assess the gender distribution in the popular music industry. Second, I introduce the most influential musical genres in Algeria as another part of its musical mosaic, focusing more on Raï music being the most investigated musical genre throughout my research. Finally, I give an anthropological lens on the different feminist activities in Algeria in four main eras: colonial, postcolonial, Black Decade and modern times as a background to the female resistance to the Algerian social, cultural, political and ‘religious’ foundations, which are also challenged by Algerian artists.

The second chapter, Research Methods and Methodology, explores the research methods and the methodology that I adopted for this study. First, I present the different research tools that I used to collect my data and provide a brief literature for the main tools (interviews, observation, visuals and online ethnography) along with a personal account of how I used each tool in the fieldwork, including details about my position and emotions in the settings. Second, I introduce my research questions. Third, I explain the procedures of both data collection and data analysis. In the case of data collection, I provide detailed accounts about where, when and how the data were collected including details about my access to the different settings thanks to the help of a gatekeeper and previous acquaintances. Integral to the thesis, I describe the translation of the data that were obtained in different languages. In the case of data analysis, I introduce the grounded theory which I adopted in interpreting the data which I collected. This leads me next to introduce the method of research, chaperone ethnography, which my supervisor and I managed to develop as part of my data collection journey. The last part of the chapter is related to the literature of the theoretical framework of the research consisting of Max Weber’s *Verstehen* including my research positionality, the paradigm of the study, social constructivism, and the methodological approach which is the ethnographic approach of the Chicago School.

The third chapter of this thesis, *Between the Gender Lines: an online ethnography on the Algerian female Raï singers and male Franco-Algerian singers*, is the first data chapter. I identify three main data chapters focusing on the special aspects of music production and consumption in contemporary Algeria. In this chapter, I deal with the performance of both

female Raï singers and the Franco-Algerian male singers on social platforms namely Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram. In studying the artists' performance, I focus on three aspects: style and dress, performance (different avenues), and material. I deal first with the female Raï singers by devoting a whole section for each aspect mentioned above as I did I for Franco-Algerian male singers. The observation of each aspect revealed interesting findings in relation to gender performance in Algeria at the level of music production and consumption. This observation, which included the activity of Algerian audiences (namely young adults) on these singers' social platforms, showed a fascinating 'gender trouble' (Butler 2006) and inequality from both the singers and the audiences' sides. I look at how the female singers have challenged the Algerian conservative norms and their attempt to purify their image and career from any religious or cultural accusations. Relying on the data throughout the chapter, I identify the 'denied truth' of the success of these female Raï singers in Algeria through the implicit support of the Algerian audience, who most explicitly expressed their hatred of these artists.

The fourth chapter, 'MA-GNI-FICENT': An ethnography of a live music event in Tizirt, Algeria, is devoted to the ethnographic description of the main live events that I attended as part of my fieldwork: L'Algerino's live event at Belles Nuits de Tizirt¹. In this chapter, I provide a 'thick description' (Geertz 1973) of the location where the festival took place supported by a few pictures that I took myself, and others that I took from the festival's Facebook account/page. I also had the opportunity to attend the press conference of the festival and I provide a full transcription of the conference press discussion (all the questions and all their responses) which I assess at the end of this section of this chapter. In this chapter, as well, I give an ethnographic narration of the event of L'Algerino (before, during and after) where I mention the location (the updates), food and drinks served and sold, the audience (including their style and dress) and music. I categorise music of that night into three performances of different performers of whom L'Algerino was the last. From the data I gathered that night, L'Algerino's event was more than just a musical performance. It was an opportunity for celebrating both the singer's and the audience's ethnic belonging and the glorification of the Algerian protest, Hirak, through music. I analyse two major influential songs: La Liberté and Algérie Mi Amor.

The fifth chapter, Wedding Ceremonies in Kabylia and the context of performance and music through ethnography, is concerned with music production and consumption at Kabyle wedding ceremonies. I first give an anthropological background to Algerian weddings and the gender distribution on such occasions in Kabyle region particularly. Second, I present the

different musical performances that can take place in a Kabyle wedding. Third, I highlight the difference between urban and rural weddings as two different settings for data collection in terms of the sequence of events. Just as in chapter four, in this chapter also I provide an ethnographic narrative of one of the rural wedding ceremonies that I attended back in my hometown. I start the description with an incident that marked me and made me reflect on the gender-power distribution in the Kabyle family and the Algerian one in general. Then I describe the location of the event, its food, guests (style and dress) and music. As far as music is concerned, I describe the music mixture that was played by the DJ that night and the dominant music genres at that party and in most Kabyle wedding parties in general. On this occasion, I discuss the situation of Raï music in Kabyle weddings (and regions) relying on both the research participants' and a DJ's points of view (from both the qualitative surveys and interviews) and the literature in this respect.

In the final chapter, Conclusion, I discuss the findings arising from the critical analysis and discussion of the generated data. The conclusion discusses three main findings. First is the influence of location in the power shift between the two genders in terms of music production and consumption. Second, the data show that patriarchy and conservatism, which are mainly religiously based thoughts, serve as external factors that, in most cases, have influenced the way singers are perceived in Algeria leading often oppressed young adults (audiences) to resort to online platforms as a refuge. This leads to the last finding of this research where the study revealed that contemporary Algerian audiences relied on selected criteria in choosing to 'like' or 'hate' an Algerian singer leading on some occasions to their living in a paradox. Additionally, in this chapter, I refer to some of the limitations that I have faced when carrying out this study, and, based on this experience, I make some recommendations for future studies in the field under better conditions. I end this chapter and the study as whole by sharing my personal experience and impression of doing a Ph.D. that will hopefully motivate other students to achieve higher degrees in their studies.

Chapter One: Review of the Literature

Introduction

This chapter discusses the main theoretical approaches and concepts related to the Ph.D. on the Algerian popular musical mosaic. It covers three main sections. First, the chapter focuses on the main discipline into which this study falls, popular music studies, and presents an overview of its evolution, the different works in this field, its corporate structure and gender relations in this sector. Second, I will look at popular music in the Algerian context and introduce the four most influential musical genres in Algeria that form its musical mosaic. In particular, I will focus on Raï music, it being the main case study of this Ph.D. I will deal with the origins of Raï, the challenges it faced, and its success at the international level. The final section of the chapter will take a feminist approach to cover the activity of Algerian women during four major eras of the Algerian history: the colonial era, postcolonial era, the Black Decade and the present time.

1.1. Popular Music Studies: an overview

As a first concept in this review of the literature, I will broadly discuss the evolution of the field of popular music studies as an academic field in addition to the production and the consumption of music per se. This is followed by a literature review of previous ethnographic works in this field and the contribution of the current study to the popular music studies. I will end this section by discussing the debate about gender relations in the music industry as a key concept that is directly related to this Ph.D.

Popular Music Studies (PMS) is a relatively new and emergent sub-disciplinary within media, cultural studies, sociology and communication. Popular music (PM) per se first immersed at the beginning of the twentieth century and started growing through 'revolutionary media' namely sound recording and broadcasting. Popular Music Studies emerged as a field which soon gained popularity between students who chose it as a module or as a whole course (Bennett, Shank and Toynbee 2006: 1). The subject of Popular Music Studies was adopted in different disciplines such as anthropology, ethnomusicology, sociology and media and cultural studies (ibid.) focusing on the different musical genres that fall into the category of popular music namely: 'pop, rock, punk, dance, and hip-hop' (Draganova 2015: 17).

What helped PMS's progress as a field, as well, was the establishment of different academic journals throughout Europe and the rest of the world starting from the 1970s including the British journal *Popular Music* (1981), and the *American Journal of Popular Music Studies* (1988) as well as a range of introductory books and readers, including the following texts: *Studying Popular Music* (Middleton 1990), *Popular Music Studies* (Hesmondhalgh and Negus 2002), *Popular Music Culture: the key concepts* (Shuker 2011), *The SAGE Handbook of Popular Music* (Bennett and Waksman 2015), *On Record: rock, pop and the written word* (Frith and Goodwin 1990) and *The Popular Music Studies Reader* (Bennett, Shank and Toynebee 2006). In addition to this International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM) was established after the international conference on popular music in June 1981, under the supervision of Philip Tagg and Gerard Kempers that joined together important figures in the field namely Richard Middleton, David Horn, Charles Hamm, Paul Oliver and Simon Frith (Tagg 2001). According to Tagg (1985) all these scholars joined this association as they had similar issues in their work and wished to resolve them individually and collectively. The association's major issue was to discuss the educational and financial exclusion of popular music from public realms compared to its classical counterpart (ibid.). IASPM, also, aimed to serve as an international and interprofessional association to promote the seriousness of popular music which, resulted in thousands of members from different parts of the world who contributed to challenge 'the aesthetic and intellectual monopoly of the Western European bourgeois art music canon' (Tagg 2001:5).

Cloonan (2005) raised the issue of initially doubting how music could be suitable for the academic research. In fact, first studies had focused on the songs' linguistic aspect before Simon Frith came up with an advanced and a deeper vision of analysis where he shifted the focus to music's commercial and social aspects. Frith has devoted his works to *Popular Music* (mainly Rock) production and consumption, also targeted youth culture and their use of music as a means of fighting against social and political oppression. As he puts it 'Popular music is a social event its cultural (and commercial) purpose is to put together by the popular music industry to divide its audience in terms of an opposition to construct a sense of 'us' (and 'them') (Frith 1988: 156).

In terms of origins, according to Adorno (1941), popular music came as a reaction to classical music, which Middleton (1990: 4) refers to as 'art' music, with distinctive characteristics making popular music into an independent genre of music. Adorno is often perceived as taking a negative position against popular music (Frith 1978). For Adorno,

classical music requires concentration and must be listened to as a whole whereas popular music has standardisation as an essential ingredient. The familiarity of the structure in the different sections of the song that are interchangeable making, stereotypically, this genre ‘superficial’, low in status and stigmatised just as described by a woman for Bayton (1988: 241) ‘[popular music is] creating a poster than an oil painting’ (referring to its simplicity and superficiality). Tagg (2001:11) reflects on Adorno’s underestimation of popular music that he considers to be a matter of the ‘body’ at the time classical music is a matter of the ‘mind’ and aesthetically preferable. Tagg (2001: 13) for his part, responds to Adorno in terms of the audience’s preference by saying that in ‘the popular music camp, however, the tables are turned: corporeal is seen as cool and the mind as uncool; new is cooler than old, beat and rhythm cooler than harmonic progressions or thematic narrative, etc., etc.’. Also, Middleton (1990) believes that not all ‘art’ music is ‘complex’ and ‘difficult’ and all popular music is ‘simple’ and ‘facile’ as, in effect, we can find classical pieces with simple qualities and pop songs with complex composition. Additionally, Bennett, Shank and Toynbee (2006) believe that classical music has become popular as it is commercialised (sold in markets) and is introduced to popular contexts such as film and advertisement industries. In this context Frith (1996: 143) makes the proposition that such ‘normalised’ assertions of pop as being ‘fun’ and classical as being ‘serious’ and respectable are just ‘a matter of cultural, not musical politics’.

This stereotypical image of popular music tends to be shared with popular music genres in different parts of the world. In Algeria, for instance, Raï, as the popular music genre, has long been contrasted to the Andalus music which is the ‘elite’ music of the Algerian musical heritage (more details are provided in the section on the Algerian musical mosaic). Though such heavy critics, popular music genres mainly serve people with shared interests to socialise and found new relationships (Bennett 2001). Generally, the content of popular music is a context-based one dealing with some ‘ideological positions and cultural values’ (Atton 2014: 417), that is, political resistance (oppression) and culture critique (gender hierarchies, sexism and patriarchy), all giving the opportunity for its consumers ‘to understand their world better and, more importantly, to try to change it’ (Cloonan 2005: 90) or as referred to earlier by Frith to construct a sense of ‘us’. For example, both rap and hip-hop are musical genres that are attributed to African Americans in the USA who created them to express their marginalisation, grievances and their desire for change (Hernandez and Garofalo 2004; Lipsitz 1994). These two musical genres have been since adopted particularly by immigrant communities in the diaspora to claim mainly the same needs such as North and Central African immigrants in the banlieues

of Marseilles, France (Mitchell 2004). Hence, popular music cannot be called 'simple' or 'superficial', focusing only on its composition at the time: 'deep' meanings are transmitted which commonly give voices to an oppressed audience and serve as a means to call for action and change (Whiteley, Bennett and Hawkins 2004) and become a hope for its listeners (Dillane et al. 2018).

In this respect, Sarah Cohen (1991:224) claims that popular music is a combination of creativity and commerce; (1) creative because it addresses social oppressions and at the same time, (2) commercial because popular music is a form of entertainment. In contrast, Adorno (1941: 310) considers this popularity as a degenerative force whereby people do not think, instead, they enjoy 'distractive' music that makes them escape from their fears and anxieties as 'People want to have fun'. Even at the emotional level, popular music, Adorno continues, misleads its audience by developing 'imaginative' feelings and false emotions. What he means is in fact the emotions developed while listening to a song (sadness, cheerfulness, etc.) are fake and vanish at the instant when the song is over because such emotions are 'already fashioned to fit the needs of emotional listening'.

Instead, Frith (1996: 267) believes that artists 'articulat[e] the immediate needs and experiences of a group or cult or community' via the help of composing lyrics which are inspired from daily life language used by the audience (Negus and Astor 2015). Thus, from a semiotic point of view, 'music is ... the real expression for real emotion' (Monelle 1992: 203) and the feelings developed by the audience, in this case, are 'real'. Youth, in particular, is considered as a market in which consumption is made differently (Frith 1993), thus, each way of consumption has to be taken into consideration while producing music. In this respect, DeNora (2006:145) considers popular music as a device that elaborates 'self-identity – for identity's identification', that is, music helps its listeners to remember who they were at a given period of time and takes them back to phases of their lives spent with their beloved ones (father, partner, husband etc.). These, in effect, are real memories and music helps refreshing the exact and original emotions and feelings felt when events first happened and when listening to a song about the same context whether days, months or years later. Nonetheless, in many cases, song writers tend to be playful with the lyrics and purposefully make them ambiguous to convey different meanings, and target more than one audience consequently. This positively affects the process of the production and consumption of the product (i.e., the circulation of the product in the market).

Adorno (1941: 310) considers consumption as going together with music production as people opt for what they want to hear in their consumption as they consider popular music as 'a holiday'. In other words, Riesman (1950) considers the audience as the leader of the product's composition and composers per se. Hence, companies have to take into consideration what the audience wants to hear in terms of sound and content. Rap music, as discussed earlier, has mainly a content that voices oppressed immigrants in the diaspora. Negus (1996: 13) considers such 'activist' artists as a 'creative minority' who call for a change in the society, community, nation or the entire world. In other cases, music helps people create a space where they can exercise their identity and be who they are (e.g., Queer community) (Bennett and Taylor 2012).

Music consumption formats have developed through time to include 'cassettes, radio, TV, video, most of the music in films, factories, offices, cars, cities and homes, most of the music used for dancing, relaxation, recreation, revolution, consolation and inspiration, most of the music heard through loudspeakers or headphones' (Tagg 1985). This encompasses not only means and media, but also performance including 'recording played at home; radio broadcast of recordings; radio broadcast of specially recorded session; music video; live concerts; live concert recording; live concert broadcast; club record-play by DJs as part of a long mix' (Toynbee 2006: 75). Much as this development seems to be satisfying, Frith (2006) questions it, for him, music has become excessively industrialised in the sense that the more it is being professionalised the less pure and authentic it gets (it becomes more artificial and measurable with records). In this context, Frith refers to the advanced technological material that is found in studios which producers, whom Frith refers to as 'cheaters', use to cover up vocal or technical limitations such as autotune which was repeatedly found in my data as one of the reasons Algerian young adults did not appreciate and so listen to Raï nowadays (see chapter three) as, according to them, the music from studios had become a body with no soul (it had lost its authenticity).

1.1.1. Popular music ethnographies

In this section, I shall explore the emergence of popular music ethnographies (PME). Initially, I shall be looking at the emergence of popular music ethnographies at the international level then I shall move on to PME in Algeria ending with the contribution of this Ph.D. to the field of ethnography and popular music studies in general.

It is worth noting that the process of collecting songs in the field started initially with ethnomusicology records by Malinowski (1922) when he moved to the Trobriand islanders for his fieldwork. Another key development of PME was the collection of folk songs from 1918 onwards. However, whole ethnographic studies on the field of music were done a few years afterwards when Ruth Finnegan (1989), for instance, conducted an ethnographic study about the local music-making in the English town Milton Keynes. In her work, Ruth challenged other researchers who studied only famous figures (singers and musicians) and claimed that even local unrecognised musicians were worth being studied, hence, she gave herself the mission to discover those ‘hidden musicians’ in her study. The work of Sarah Cohen (1991) considered bands in Liverpool and discussed the contribution of this musical genre on their (bands’) lifestyle and highlighted their success/failure in commercialising their music-making. Bayton (1988) studied women musicians focusing on their insecurity and hesitation at taking part in the domain of electronic music i.e. doubting their abilities to use electronic instruments to produce music as it is usually a ‘men’s world’. More recently, Cécile Navarro (2018) conducted an ethnographic research in Senegal where she attended festivals as a perfect spot where gender politics were tackled as a response to the local exclusion of female artists from the domain of rap music.

At the Algerian level, there are a few major studies that I wanted to highlight for their in-depth description of the Raï song in Algerian society. Marie Virolle’s study (1995) which discussed several aspects of this genre that survived throughout a century of history and its success at crossing borders to reach the international market as well as its destabilisation of the Algerian social structure. In her study, Virolle has particularly focused on the contribution of one of the female pioneers of the Raï song ‘Cheikha Rimmiti’ who broke some taboos that restrain the expression of young people struggling to survive in a ‘conservative’ environment. Hadj Miliani is an Algerian author who has devoted a great number of his works to the Raï song and its contribution to shaping Algerian society. In fact, in one of his collaborations with Daoudi (Daoudi and Miliani 1996), they have studied the Raï song as a socio-musical movement in Algerian society from three main angles: the historical evolution of the genre in the west of the country since early twentieth century, the situation of a female singer’s discourse and the cultural mutation of the audience after independence. Mark Schade-Poulsen’s (1999) ethnography in which he used Raï music as a lens to make sense of male Algerian society, and covered a view of the significance to an ordinary Algerian man of Raï music in difference locations (in cabarets, at weddings, in the street, etc.), and how this music influenced his moral

codes and power relation(s). Additionally, Stephen Wilford has dedicated a number of his works to Algerian music, focusing more on its diasporic aspect of consumption, as he did in his doctoral thesis (Wilford 2016) where he studied the contribution of Algerian music as a medium in the construction of the 'London Algerianness' identity by the Algerian diaspora in London.

This interdisciplinary research joins together cultural and gender studies under the umbrella of popular music through the adoption of an ethnographic approach as its main method of research. Therefore, this study, for its part, aims at giving a more recent overview of the Algerian musical mosaic by focusing particularly on gender inequality in the musical industry in Algeria in terms of production and reception. To put into evidence this gender inequality, a comparative description was made between female Raï artists and their male Franco-Algerian counterparts including the Algerian young audiences' perceptions of these categories of singers. This study highlights a denied truth about the unadmitted consideration given to female Raï singers, not only at the theoretical level, but also by exploring the innovative method of research coined 'chaperone ethnography' which was adopted as an alternative way of conducting my ethnography due to a set of conservative challenges that I faced as a female lone researcher (more details are in the chapter on methods of research and methodology).

1.1.2. Gender distribution in popular music: femininity and masculinity

From the 1980s the field of popular music has considered the issues of gender and sexuality as part of gender relations in popular music industry (Frith and McRobbie 1978; Whiteley 2013; Citron 1993). It is worth noting that female artists experience an unequal distribution of labour in the entertainment industry (Navarro 2018). Women are given less opportunities by their male counterparts as they are believed to be less talented (ibid.) or because they would withdraw their professional commitments for marriage and motherhood (Whiteley 2000; Golley 2019). There are a set of 'stereotypical images of femininity' that are imposed on young females and women which they have to follow to prevent serious gender behaviour disturbance. In other words, there are sets of gender norms (behaviour, emotions, etc.) that need to be acquired to keep the common-sense of the social order (Hudson 1984). Hence, in the entertainment industry, women are increasingly sexualised (Glantz 2013) and are passively and subjectively sold by putting emphasis on their bodies (Katis 2014) and giving comments on their appearance (Berkers and Schaap 2015) as will be seen in chapter three. Whitley (2005) considers age as the marker of gender differences where females are socially

(rather than biologically) assumed to be young females that will become women (more limited) at the time their male counter parts develop and keep the same character from their boyhood, as Cohen (1991: 202), highlights women

are more restricted than men physically and socially by institutions which channel them into marriage and impose upon them moral codes and sexual taboos. Women on Merseyside therefore had different leisure opportunities from those of men and more domestic commitments, and often lacked the access, encouragement, and freedom to indulge in a world of music-making.

The music-making is found to be a men's world where female musicians are either completely excluded or kept for minimal contributions (Bennett 2001). Frith and McRobbie (1978: 377) give the example of the musical band ABBA who, according to them, provide an explicit example for the sexualised division of performance in the music industry where the men took charge of music making (instruments, lyrics and arrangement) while the women had their voices and bodies as their main instruments. Female musicians are discouraged from taking charge of technical tasks as opposed to their male counterparts who are the leaders in that area (Cohen 1991). Consequently, female musicians doubt their capacities and deny their ability in using 'technical' instruments in composing rock music for example (Bayton 1988), which emphasises, the point that 'women musicians continue to be thought of ... first as women and only secondarily as musicians' (Kearney 1997: 211). Bayton (2006) attributes the absence of female musicians in the musical industry to two main reasons: lack of financial and mental support. Young females do not have a source of income while studying at school and cannot afford buying instruments, thus, they are not able to develop their skills as musicians. Additionally, both parents and partners (or husbands) dissuade women from starting a career as musicians because, for parents, music-making is a masculine profession and detracts from women's femininity. For partners/husbands (musicians in most cases), Bayton (2006) provides four main reasons leading them to discourage their female partners from participating in bands or becoming musicians: (1) insecurity, (2) sexist underestimation, (3) ego (arrogance) and (4) jealousy (to be exposed to other men). A small number of female musicians such as Yoko Ono and Courtney Love have been subject to misogyny labelling them as hateful figures discouraging women's participation in the music industry (Mayhew 2001; Scott 2018).

I mentioned earlier that popular music is a matter of commercialization. In this respect, women's bodies are used as a key selling attraction as they combine pleasure, which the

consumer is usually looking for in the product, with desire and the fantasy of the sexual availability of these attractive female bodies (McRobbie 1984). Cohen (1997: 17) describes women in such roles as being decorative with a very passive involvement which constitutes sometimes marketing them as ‘merchandise’ (music/songs in this context). In her ethnographic work in Liverpool, Cohen (1991) found reasons for the alienation of female presence in music-making (especially rock): commitment and sexual threat. The former consists of women’s priorities as it is believed that women put their family first before their career: female artists are more likely to abandon (or not join) a band after having a child for instance. The latter is believed by male artists belonging to bands who think that women are one of the major reasons for bands breaking up i.e. a woman either causes tension between the members of a band because she is too attractive as a member (each one wants her for himself) or becomes possessive as a girlfriend/wife and limits her musician boyfriend’s (or husband’s) presence in the band. For these reasons female partners of the musicians are discouraged during rehearsals, and in cases where they accompany their partners, these women wait outside the studio until the band finishes rehearsing.

Looking at the results of my data, many female Raï singers have adopted a ‘masculine’ character in their appearances and performances. To gain space in the industry, femininity in some cases is put aside when female artists try to assert their position. In effect, whenever the word masculinity is referred to, it is directly linked to being a man. There is no doubt that the concept of masculinity is gendered and is attributed to only one sex despite the degrees of difference in describing masculinities. According to Hurst, Fitz Gibbon and Nurse (2020), there is a clear difference between the two words ‘sex’ and ‘gender’. The first is biological (natural) while the second is cultural (conventional); as well as the notions of ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ (Butler 1990; Cohen 1997; Warren and Hackney 2000). Arthur (2006: 106) similarly claims

...in a public setting, young males feel that they have to perform their masculinity, and act as a male is expected to, and subsequently they will not only consume masculine products, whereas in a private setting they are more likely to consume products inline [sic.] with their actual self-concept.

Masculinities are, thus, bound to socio-cultural contexts and connected to other variables of power namely sexuality and class (Whitehead 2002; Nixon 2013) in order to achieve patriarchal ideologies (Citron 1993; Brittan 2001) consisting mainly of highlighting the different individual agency in favour of men while women are seen as ‘incomplete or inferior examples of the same

character' (Connell 2001a: 31). Men's and women's nonverbal 'gender display' (generally in media) including 'touch, facial expressions, eye contact, gestures and postures' (Wallis 2011: 162) are usually influenced by such social stereotypes. This is found in different spaces such as at home, which according to Morgan (2001) has a feminine connotation, where the ideal family relationship is founded on women members as the caretakers (children, housekeeping, etc.) and men as the breadwinners (financial support, protection, etc.). Harrison (2008: 34) argues that media play a key role in constructing a part of a man's masculinity as their (media) representations 'play a role in reinforcing ideas about what it means to be a real man in our society'. Connell (1995) argues that we commonly hear about 'real' and 'natural' men as being this 'hegemonic' masculine body which, according to him, is just a fictional metaphor based on historical structures, that is, society has made its own reality.

In effect, music is one of those media which contributes to the construction of an unequal gender image in favour of men (Bretthauer, Zimmerman and Banning 2006). In almost every video-clip or lyrics, singers try to project sexist labels (dominance, empowerment, injustice, etc.), yet the ideological focus differs from one music genre to another. R&B songs, for example, are mainly based on describing romantic relationships while rap songs focus more on showing men's hyper-masculinity (Avery et al. 2016). Most music videos, in this respect, expose voyeuristic gender stereotypes where men receive the dominant roles while women take the passive ones (Carswell 2014; Glantz 2013). The rap music genre originated in the South Bronx area of New York City starting in the 1970s (Arthur 2006: 105), and it is associated with black American culture, being used to voice the black population's experience, oppression (Avery et al. 2016) and social injustice including the lack of economic and academic opportunities, also the degradation 'in most social structural systems and public institutions...' (Payne 2006: 290). This kind of music is associated as well with street life, which, hence, influences rappers to adopt the male street character where they show a high level of masculinity to the extent of adopting the character of a gangster for instance. In fact, Avery et al. (2016) claim that gender representation in black youth consists of two dimensions aggressive masculinity including emotional restraints, taking risks, dominance, non-relational attitudes toward sexuality, independence, and self-reliance, sexual objectification of women; and sexualized femininity including caretaking, seeking romantic relationships, emotionality, being appearance focused, loyalty, and purity. There are many characteristics that are associated with masculinity that Murray (2007: 18 cited in Chaney and Gyimah 2013: 3) defines as 'the ideals or expectations associated with being male (i.e., the belief that men be expected to "hold

dominant roles in society's basic institutions – e.g., the family, the economy, politics, religion, and education”). Harrison (2008) suggests that a man is said to be masculine when he tends to be dominant, rich, adopting an aggressive behaviour, and DeBruine et al. (2010) describe this as typically showing less emotions, being dishonest, being involved in short-term relationships (opting for divorce), or keeping facial hair. Unlike males, females' femininity is directly related to their bodies as they are always treated as sexual objects (Lewis 1987). Hence, in video-clips for instance, female actors (in most cases) adopt a sexual character to attract men (Vincent 2017). This is made through different techniques such as play with their 'hair, delicate self-touch, smiling, averting one's eyes, and a childish finger to/in the mouth... sexual self-touch, suggestive dancing, a sultry look, and wearing slightly provocative or [completely] provocative cloths' (Wallis 2011: 166). In fact, Bretthauer, Zimmerman and Banning (2006: 45) summarise this when they say

[Artists] are supportive of a belief that men have power over women, can objectify them, and may commit violence against them. Through popular music, men communicate how powerful they are, their focus on sex, and that it is appealing to be a perpetrator. Women are told they have no power, are objects, are valued for sex, and to be victims of sexual violence.

All these criteria fall into the hip-hop genre, in particular, where male rappers perform (1) a materialized life (influenced by the Pimp Fantasy) depicting the life of 'a man with a harem of women, lots of money, and big cars... [and] sexual prowess...' (Arthur 2006: 113), (2) or a thug life (influenced by the Gangsta Fantasy) where 'gangster rap treats crime as a mode of survival and as a form of rebellion, it idealizes violence and criminal activity and hence the villain becomes a very appealing character' (Kelley 1996 cited in Arthur 2006: 113). With this Gangsta Fantasy, singers, mainly rappers, not only from America but all over the world (as will be seen with the Franco-Algerian male singers in chapter three) break all the laws with their hyper-masculinity showing no fear to perform sexual aggression, drug and alcohol consumption, gun possession and violence exposition. This is clearly explained by Moody-Ramirez and Scott (2015: 58) when they say

...rap lyrics often celebrate themes of violence, misogyny and materialism... male characters [in the video-clips] are significantly more likely to be associated with a variety of themes, female characters are more likely to be placed in positions of sexual exploitation and moral degradation... Lyrics refer to women as "bitches" and "whores" and boast about male dominance in relationships and sexual prowess.

In a gender analysis they made for the top 100 hit songs from 1999 until 2003 in Music Television (MTV), Bretthauer, Zimmerman and Banning (2006) succeeded in drawing six main themes dealt in the songs under that study which I have transformed into a diagram as follows

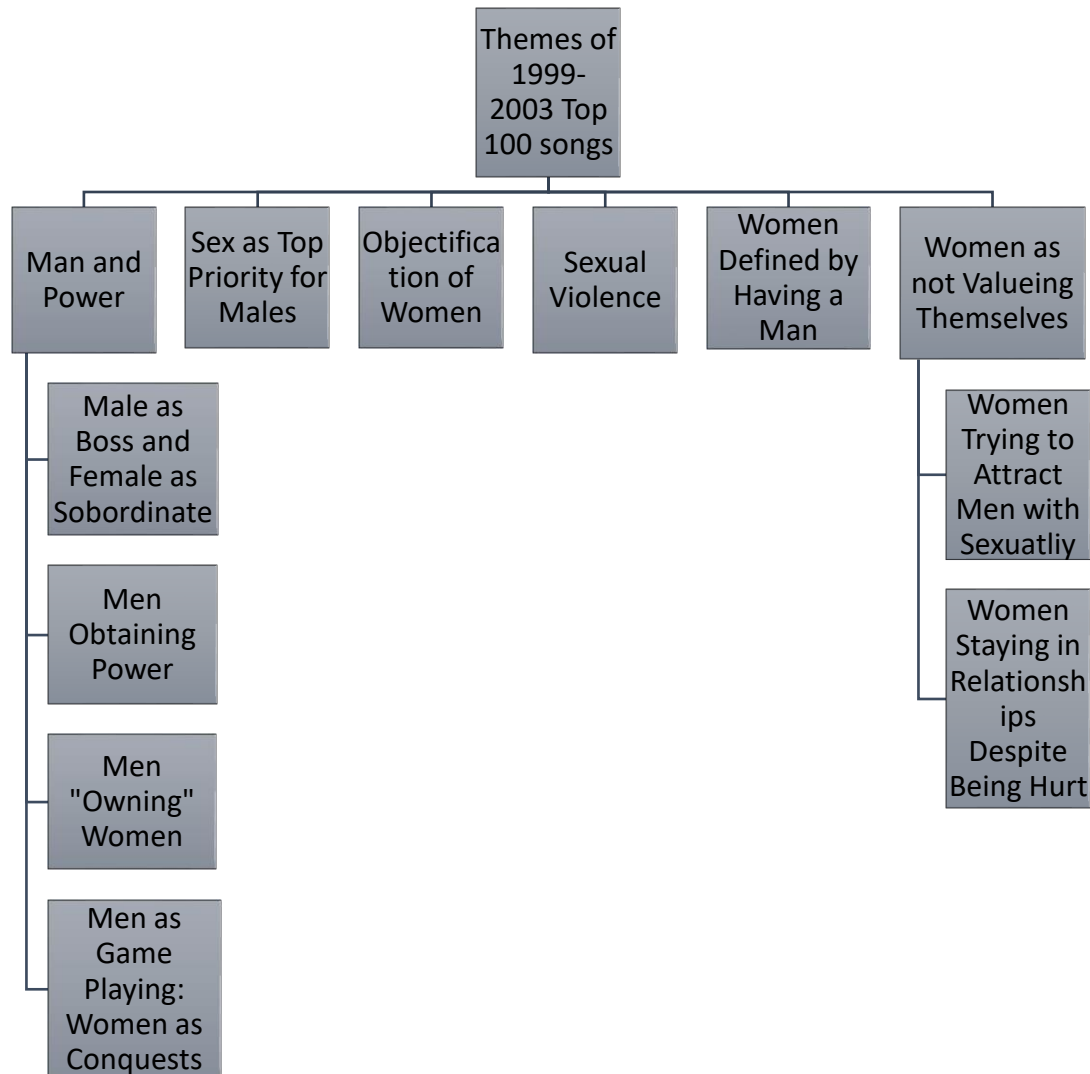


Diagram 1.1. Most Frequent Topics in MTV’s Top 100 Hits 1999-2003 (designed by RK)

In the diagram, the four first themes have been sung by male singers and the two last ones by female singers. According to this study, on the one hand, males defined themselves as being dominant and having power where they can order, own, and play with females. Additionally, sex plays a significant role in the males’ songs where they freely express their sexual needs and experiences and find them focusing on the body of a woman and its shapes, even experiencing aggressive sexual violence on it. On the other hand, female singers give a negative impression of themselves where they express their dependence on men and the necessity to have a man in their lives to complete them. Moreover, they use the sexual side of their bodies to attract men,

and accept staying in a relationship despite being hurt, used, unappreciated and ignored. Nonetheless, Sheila Whiteley (2000) provides a different feminist point of view in the way female singers use their bodies. Female artists such as Lennox and Madonna have both used their sexuality in their video-clips not as a way to confirm their submission but as a way to assert the masculine side of their body especially through the adoption of the male suit as a style of dress (ibid.) and what was commonly called ‘male adolescent’ behaviour such as street dance, drawing graffiti, initiation of flirting with men in the streets, etc. (Lewis 1987: 75). Sexuality in this case is a sign of rebellion (in this context see also Rosenberg and Garofalo (1998) study on Riot Grrrl movement).

In other contexts, many women started to adopt masculine attributions be it through having jobs or espousing a character associated with man (Arthur 2006). They broke their silence and shouted their independence. According to Moody-Ramirez and Scott (2015), being independent, for a woman, is being financially and sexually stable, being in control of her body and sexuality and being able to condemn the disrespectful treatment and address the societal issues she endures. If we take the case of Algerian women, more specifically female Rai singers, around forty to fifty years ago, they used to keep their names anonymous, not only their names but also their pictures did not appear on the covers of their cassettes (except for Cheikha Rimitti). During live shows, they used to suddenly appear on stage with their faces covered with a muslin so that nobody could recognise them (Virolle 1998). Until the early 1970s, female singers were banned in cabaret as a matter of honour, but things soon changed when Cheba Fadela bravely broke the norm and performed in a cabaret in 1974 (Virolle-Souibes 1989; Mehdid 2006). Virolle (1998; Virolle-Souibes 1993) adds that most of them joined the milieu³ (cabarets and brothels) due to the hardship of their circumstances as illiterate, poor, single mothers, having prostitute mothers, being divorced, and needing to earn money for their children, etc. By hiding (or abandoning) their family names, these females freed themselves from the responsibility of taking care of their families’ honour and allowed themselves to adopt masculine attitudes (Al-Taee 2003). This included going to and performing in cabarets, nightlife, consuming alcohol, and many other behaviours that were typically ‘masculine’ in nature (DeAngelis 2003). Now, in the milieu, these female singers liberate their bodies, sing about love, desire for men, sexuality, and adultery (all taboos), in all, they managed to invent a new self, between pain and pleasure (ibid.). In effect, ‘the freedom to appear in public without a headscarf, wearing pants, or without a male relative signifies an important change in gender relations’ (Gurses 2018: 71) especially in a conservative society like the Algerian one. A

woman, for a male singer (and a male for a female singer), is seen as a conditional love and transgression. She is subject to misery, danger and trouble because of the freedom she has granted herself to love and desire (Virolle 1993).

1.2. An anthropological lens of the Algerian musical mosaic

Music in Algeria has witnessed a growth and a variation in styles due to the different invasions the territory has experienced. Contemporary Algeria is home for a great number of musical genres reflecting different cultures from ‘Islamic Spain, the Ottoman Empire, the eastern Arab countries (the Mashriq), Saharan and West Africa, Berbers, Bedouin and Europe...’ (Reynolds 1995). In this section, I will only explore the four most influential musical genres of the Algerian repertoire (Andalus, Amazigh⁴ music, Chaabi, and Raï music), and, later, discuss in detail the genre on which this Ph.D. has focused: Raï music.

Andalus is a musical ‘heritage’ that goes back to the Arabo-Muslims who were forced to leave the southern territory of Spain as a result of the Christian Reconquista in mid-15th century (Reynolds 1995). Arriving as refugees in North Africa, the Arabs came and brought a diverse culture including a musical genre named Al Andalus in relation to the region of Spain in which they used to live: Andalusia (Khellal 2019). This musical genre was popular since the 11th and 12th centuries in the Arab world (Langlois 2001) before it was brought by the Great Ziriyâb, who also brought change to the musical instrument ‘Oud’ by adding a fifth string to it, to the Muslim Spain (Aous 2006) and spread throughout the Maghreb (North Africa) by late 1400s with the Arab migration (Wilford 2016). As far as Algeria is concerned, Andalus was soon structured into three different schools in different regions of the country (Reynolds 1995): Tarab Al-gharnati which is the oldest school in Tlemcen and believed to be the closest to the medieval Andalus, Ma’luf taught in the school of Constantine, east Algeria, and San’a which is the most recent school of Andalus based in the capital Algiers (Langlois 2001). In terms of characteristics, Andalus is categorized in nubât⁵ that are performed with a different number of instruments (mainly oud and violin) with a percussive rhythm (Reynolds 1995: 17). It is an urban, traditional and conservative music genre that has received great appreciation and respect from the Algerian government who made from Al Andalus ‘a national cultural treasure’ after independence (Wilford 2016). Though it had a small audience in Algeria as it was more ‘elite’ compared to other genres, Andalus schools and academies received financial support from the government as they considered it as part of Algerian heritage (Langlois 2001). Andalus is highly

valued in the country and is given the same status classical music has in European countries (Wilford 2017). Amongst Andalus' most famous singers, Sultana Daoued is known under her stage name 'Rainette l'Oranaise' (Suzanne 2009).

Chaabi music is one of the popular music genres that saw the light in early 1920s in Algiers' working-class cafes and the neighbourhood such as the Casbah (Wilford 2018). It was a conservative genre (Wilford 2016) performed in spaces which were not open for women (Wilford 2018). This genre of music is not to be confused with the other Arabic folkloric genres (Moroccan and Egyptian) having the same name (Langlois 2001). Algerian Chaabi music is characterised by its slow rhythm, the use of vernacular language (as opposed to Andalus), and the lengthy size of its narrative which initially dealt with social criticism (Wilford 2017). Though attributed to the capital of Algiers, Chaabi started to gain popularity throughout the whole country and abroad in the diaspora (Wildford 2016). 'The blues of the Casbah' reached its peak popularity in the 1950s and 1960s during the war independence and after the independence as the musical genre with songs about exile, betrayal and love which were popular with poor people (as its name indicates) as a response to elite music, Andalus and Tarab (Egyptian music), aimed at rich families (Kenyon 2008). Chaabi's popularity lasted until the 1970s (Morgan 2004) when the modern Rai took the lead. Among the major figures of Chaabi music were its founding father Elhadj Mohammed El-Anka, El-Hadj Hachemi Guerrouabi (Kenyon 2008), and Dahmane El Harrachi (Suzanne 2009) as its older figures and Kamel Messaoudi as a more contemporary musician of the genre (Langlois 2001).

Amazigh music is a music genre developed by an ethnic community named 'Imazighen' who are believed to be the first inhabitants of Algeria and North Africa in general. Therefore, Amazigh music is one of the oldest 'oral' musical genres in Algeria, which were not recorded until the late 19th century thanks to A. Hanoteau's musical ethnography on Kabyle music (Mahfoufi 2010). According to Langlois (2001) there is a great diversity in Amazigh music due to the diversity of the subethnic groups of this community in which I can identify at least nine different languages. By the year of 2008, there were approximately 6.5 million Imazighen living in Algeria (around 20% of the population) of which we identify four main subgroups living in the different parts of the country: Kabyle (making up around a third of the Amazigh population) in the mountainous (Atlas) area east of the capital Algiers, Chaoui in the Aures Mountains, Mزاب in the centre of Algeria and Touareg nomads in the South of the country (Forstag 2008). The Kabyle community has the most impact on national culture including its music (Langlois 2001). In effect, Kabyle music is a traditional 'rural' music which went through changes due to

contact with other musics but has succeeded in gaining its place in the Maghreb over time (Khellal 2019). In contrast to other musical genres, Kabyle music can be categorised into two types: village music and professional music. Village music is amateur and is performed by groups in two ways antiphonic (half of the group repeats what is sung by the first half) or responsorial (a sort of musical gaming where an individual or a choral provokes another choral by a strophe to which the latter has to respond with another strophe) (Mahfoufi 2010). According to Mahfoufi (2010: 4-5), the songs performed by villagers belong mainly to the old Kabyle repertoire and are sung on various occasions such as the birth of a child, circumcision, war, musical meetings, wedding, religious ceremonies etc. What is important to know about this village music is that it has become dominated by female performers (see Urar Lxalat in chapter five). Kabyle professional music can be classified into three categories depending on specific chronological phases of their development. The first category goes back to the early 1930s and 1940s, a phase which marked by the immigration of the first old professional Kabyle singers to France, namely Said Ou Mohand, Yamina and Houria and many others (Mahfoufi 1994). The second category that Mahfoufi (1994: 35) identifies is that of singers who were successful in the period from 1947 to 1973 which was characterised by the discovery by the public of these singers in the diaspora who were believed to be the real artists of Kabyle song and received recognition, namely Cheikh El-Hasnaoui, Arab Bouyezgarene, Slimane Azem, Nouara, Hanifa and many others. The final category is characterised by its complete split from the old musical tradition through the adoption of new instruments and modernising the Kabyle genre starting from early 1970s on. The music produced by these young artists including Idir, Ait Menguellat, and more recently Maatoub Lounes took a political orientation in their texts especially since that period coincided with the attempts to eradicate the Amazigh identity in Algeria after the War of Independence (1954-1962) (see Morgan 2004; Croisy 2008; Forstag 2008; Sutton 2021). In fact, Kabyle music succeeded in achieving international fame thanks to its development in the diaspora where Slimane Azem, for instance, received the disque d'or for his songs in 1970; Idir's songs were broadcast in the international musical category instead of the exotic Arabic music on French radio stations (Mahfoufi 1994).

1.2.1 Cultural origins of Raï music

In modern times, Raï music is one of the most influential folk music genres in Algeria that has shaped the Algerian population in general and young adults in particular. Daoudi and Miliiani (1996) and Mehdid (2006) suggest that the origin of this genre goes back to the early

twentieth century as a means of protest and resilience against the French coloniser in the west of Algeria, more specifically Oran. Noor Al-Deen (2005) claims that during French control, Oran was the melting pot for different peoples (Muslims, Jews, Christians, etc.) and cultures over the world including France, Spain, Italy and USA. From this, it gained the nickname of 'little Paris', and the co-existence of many types of music led to the modernisation of Raï (an Arabic music with a western flavour).

It is asserted that the roots of Raï go back to the 1920s, a period which saw the dominance of two main music genres in Algeria: Andalus and Melhun. I have previously introduced Andalus music, Melhun, for its part, is considered to be a 'Bedouin poetry' played by Cheikhs (holy men) and takes a considerable period of time to be mastered (Noor Al-Deen 2005: 598). It is, in fact, a set of poems known as 'qasidas' about 'historical events, satire, religion, heroism, and love' (Schade-Poulsen, 1999: 15). Such music is played in ceremonies like weddings, even in cafes, aiming to teach youngsters about their 'values, courage, traditions, culture, and even politics' (Noor Al-Deen 2005: 599).

During the 1920s, Algeria was under the control of the French imperial powers leading the population in general and women in particular to face hardships in their daily life. This pushed women (mainly poor and unempowered) to perform (dancing or singing) in public places such as taverns, brothels and cabarets (Cremades, Lorenzo and Turcu 2015). Thus, a new music genre was born in Algeria termed 'Raï'. Unlike Malhun which aimed to teach moralities, Raï came as a means to voice social issues such as colonisation, marginalized people in society, migration, drinking alcohol, also, as a medium to call for liberalism through addressing subjects that have long been censored such as modernisation (Al-Tae 2003; Virolle-Souibes 1989). It is worth mentioning that with this music's emergence, a new wave of female singers arrived, known as Cheikhat who aimed to critique colonial issues such as jail, poverty and harassment (Gross, McMurray and Swedenburg 1994). Women used to perform in front of men in cafes, bars, etc. together with a few musicians who were male, also another man who generally accompanied them to gather money from the spectators and shout dedications in turn (Daoudi and Miliani 1996). Such performances in Algeria were considered a taboo and in a conservative society contravened the dominant patriarchal code that a female has to protect her honour and that of her family as well (Virolle 1998).

Not only in its social term, but religious men also during that period of time (like Imams and political Islamists) criticised Raï music as they considered it as a danger to Algerian social

beliefs and values of that period (Virolle 1995). After Algerian independence in 1962, Raï was given a new flavour and became an ‘electronic raï [which] adopted and recorded wahrani songs and gave new texts to wahrani tunes’ (Schade-Poulsen 1999: 17). It is worth mentioning that during the 1970s, Tarab (the leading music all over the Middle-East and North Africa during that period), patriotic and classical Andalus were the only music genres that were broadcast in radio and TV stations. Raï, for its part, was criticised because of its apparent ill-reputed Cheikhat (DeAngelis 2003). However, this never prevented Raï singers and musicians from developing the genre through adding new instruments and mixing it with foreign genres (Wilford 2017; Cremades, Lorenzo and Turcu 2015). During the same period (1970s), the title of ‘chieck’ was replaced by ‘cheb’ (young man) to refer to male Raï singers, and ‘cheikha’ was replaced by ‘cheba’ (young woman) to refer to female Raï singers not only to denote a new category of singers but also to separate their music from that of earlier generations as described by Al-Tae (2003)

Lyrics were modified from the proper qasida (classical Arabic poetry) to incorporate topics and dialects taken from everyday life... songs became shorter and less complex. The tempo was radically accelerated through the use of Western rhythms drawn from disco and reggae. Raï artists also modified the traditional ensemble by introducing instruments associated with Western pop, such as guitars, keyboards, and synthesizers, and these instruments inspired a different approach to harmony.

‘Cheb’ meaning young was chosen as the stage title of the Raï singers since most of them were young when they started their singing career: Cheb Khaled was 14 when he first sang, and Cheba Fadela was 12 or 13 (Allalou and Garapon 1999: 171). Being young helped Raï singers to select topics that were integral to young adults experiencing the same issues in their lives. Indeed, young adults were attracted by these artists and the content of their songs and listened to them intently and they soon gained popularity in Algeria. This fact forced the authorities, by 1985, to acknowledge Raï and gave it its first official broadcast festival that took place in Oran (Daoudi and Miliani 1996).

Notwithstanding this, things rapidly changed during 1990s when the religious party (FIS: Front Islamique du Salut) took seats in the Algerian government. Again, Raï was banned (Gross, McMurray and Swedenburg 1994). Moreover, each person performing it received death threats or was simply killed. Two major figures of Raï were assassinated during that period: Cheb Hasni and Rachid Baba Ahmed (the composer who succeeded bringing international attention to Raï) in 1994 and 1995 successively. These forms of terrorist oppression made other

Chebs feel that their lives were in danger, therefore, and they left Algeria and settled in France (Mehdid 2006). Once they had arrived there, ‘rai has become the ambassador of the Arab culture in France’ (Marranci 2000: 147). Raï singers did not stop their career but continued singing and signed contracts with international companies starting in France and expanding to the USA including artists such as Cheb Khaled and Cheb Mami (ibid.).

1.2.1.1. The Black Decade in Algeria: between Islam and Islamism

With the arrival of the FIS and later the GIA (the Armed Islamic Group) in the government, during the 1990s, Algeria experienced a terrifying turmoil for a whole decade (Lloyd 2006). Algerian society lived through all sorts of terror and violence during the French colonisation, yet the violence reached its extreme during the Black Decade, coming not from the French but the ‘Algerian brother’ per se for a new ideology (Daoudi 2018). Both FIS and GIA aimed to replace the traditional state order with a divine one named Hikimiyaat el-Allah (God’s wisdoms) so as to legitimise their personal and political ideologies (Tibi 2002). They wanted a military radicalism and passed threats including death to anyone opposing them (Mellah 2004). They invented for themselves the tradition of ‘Muslims can learn only from Muslims. And if you take something from non-Muslims, you contaminate Islam’ (Tibi 2009: 15). Hence, by 1994, terrorist attacks of FIS groups became more violent targeting all the population except the ones they belonged to or depended on. They imposed new rules such as banning smoking, reading newspapers, teaching French, working in the State’s institutions and paying taxes (Tibi 2009: 45). Mellah (2004) adds that the population of Algeria experienced a terrible period where young men were taken to jail and tortured by those terrorists, men’s names were added to the lists of GIA forces where they were asked to join the forces, whole families were massacred, bombs were set off in public places like airports, and people left the territory and settled in other countries to save their lives. These terrorists used the name of God to justify their crimes saying that they erased those who were making Fitna (strife) in society, and what they were doing was Fatwa (applying God’s instruction).

The Black Decade had a major impact on Raï music and musical artists who were receiving threats which ‘culminated with the killings of musicians, artists and other public figures’ (Wilford 2015: 42). There was a call for an ‘Islamic state’ by FIS and GIA groups, calling themselves liberal and real Muslims (Fundamentalists) while their actions had nothing

to do with liberal Islam. 'Islam is not a political system' (Tibi 2009: 11). According to Tibi (2002) there is a large difference between Islam and what came recently to be known as 'Islamism'. He has drawn a set of differences between the two where he claims that Islam is a faith, a cultural system, and is democratic while Islamism is political, non-democratic and one of religious fundamentalism's varieties. Or as Kramer (2003: 71) describes it is 'a modern ideology' which soon incorporated extremism. According to Hedges (2016: 1) 'Islamism often denotes a political form of Islam, which sees "religious" aspects being extended into areas of statecraft, law, and the public sphere. In some respects, this misunderstands what "religion" and "Islam" are', missing the point that Islam is non-political, but that fundamentalists use it, misrepresenting the real and fundamental notions of Islamic religion. While these revolutionaries choose violence as a shortcut to achieve their goals, Shari'a⁶ bans Muslims from attacking unarmed and non-combatant people like women, children and older people be they Muslims or non-Muslims (Hedges 2016).

During the Black Decade, the fundamentalists did not apply the original instructions of Shari'a as they pretended to do, they eradicated hundreds of thousands of people, targeting mainly innocent literate figures (Al-Tae 2003). They assassinated individuals for using the French language which was for them the language of the enemy. As an instance, Tahar Djaout, an author of Algerian literature, was assassinated in 1993, for using French in his writings as a form of protest which opposed the agenda of the Islamists (ibid.). Algerian singers, mainly Raï artists, were for their part targeted by terrorists who saw Raï as vulgar and anti-Islamic and as a support for youth looking for radical Islam. Consequently, some of these artists were assassinated, and others like Cheb Khaled and Mami could not set foot in Algeria for years as they were scared of being assassinated (DeAngelis 2003). The campaign of violence led Raï artists to locate themselves in France and gain an international audience (Gross, McMurray and Swedenburg 1994). Previously in Algeria, this music genre had the objective of dealing with sociocultural issues including class conflict, economic injustices, migration, unemployment etc., yet once in France, a new objective was set by the artists consisting of making Raï the music of a voiceless, economically marginalised and sexually frustrated youth (Jankowsky 2000). Raï genre had rapidly gained popularity and the Algerian government could no longer reject or ignore it. That is why, the government used media, which had previously underestimated and misrepresented Raï music, as a means initially to gain the artists' trust and consequently to control them (DeAngelis 2003). Raï singers for their part, to decrease the clash,

started to include songs having religious topics and vocabulary so as to be appreciated and more accepted by the government and the Islamists (Gross, McMurray and Swedenburg 1994).

1.2.1.2. The Internationalisation of Rai

The diaspora made Rai music more visible and less silent as singers such as Cheb Khaled and Cheb Mami reached global success especially after producing albums with Western recording companies in the USA (Mehdid 2006; Wilford 2015). With the arrival of Rai music in France, the genre underwent degrees of change with the inclusion of the French language in its lyrics. Singers switch ‘from one tongue to another... in a single sentence, French, ... and two forms of Arabic, standard and spoken, ...jumbled together’ (Daoudi 2000: 34 cited in Noor Al-Deen 2005: 607). The main reason according to some singers was the fact that Beurs⁷ (immigrants to France) could neither speak nor understand Arabic, and they felt the need to communicate with them using a language they comprehended (Gross, McMurray and Swedenburg 1994). Also, after independence, French language was introduced in Algerian schools. Thus, all educated people were bilingual (multilingual for Imazighen). Once in France, Rai singers used this privilege to be more successful and known internationally. In fact, this is still the case until nowadays, Rai singers use French in their lyrics which is one of the main characteristics that makes it different from other music genres.

Dealing with the French context, some scholars, like Marranci (2000), make a distinction between two types of Rai: Algerian and French. According to him, French Rai is different from Algerian Rai in the sense that they developed under different social and cultural circumstances. Also, the notion of internationalisation does not apply to all types of Rai (just the one in France led by well-known singers such as Khaled, Mami, and Fodhel) while Rai in Algeria is listened to mostly by the Algerian young population. In Algeria, singers perform in closed and small places like cabarets and nightclubs (Marranci 2000). Also, even the type of relation that exists between the artists and their audience in the two settings differs. In Algeria, artists are people whom ‘somebody can talk to, their songs are derived from their audience’s world, their problems (taking into account emotional ones). The communication between the artist and their listener is more important in Algeria than the topic of the song’s text and its structure’ (Marranci 2000: 141). He adds that what matters most for a Rai singer is not the aesthetic side rather the communicative one. The Algerian Rai is meant to make people dance, yet through reducing the movements of the feet and focusing more on the waist and the hands (ibid.). This in fact will be

clearly seen in chapter three where the female Rai singers' performance will be described in detail.

1.3. Women in Algeria: towards a fourth wave feminist activism

Being a country that adopted Islam as its religion, Algerian society is conservative (Brandes 1991; Turshen 2002). Not only in Algeria but all around the MENA (Middle East North Africa) women are brought up with the principle that the honour of the family depends on its female members that is why female young adults must protect their dignity (and that of the family) through mainly keeping a distance from men (Fanon 1959; MENA development report 2004). Algerian families always worry about their daughters. Kinfolks, particularly men, always are scared that their daughters or sisters will bring shame to their name before they get married that is why, as grandmothers used to tell about their mother's generation and hers, lone females were not sent to school and were married at an early age, as young as twelve. Their parents decided on their behalf, and usually granted them to a cousin (Arezki 2004: 31 cited in Boulahia 2017: 28), as they believed that 'the earlier she gets married, the lighter the charge will be'. In this section, I will provide a historical background of the Algerian women's resistance against these social, cultural, and political restrictions during four major eras that marked Algerian history (colonial era, postcolonial era, the Black Decade, and the modern era). Additionally, this section will provide an example of another field where Algerian women have broken the silence and challenged the norm namely the field of literature as a support to the case of music that this thesis discusses.

1.3.1. Colonial era

Algerian territory has survived one of the longest colonial occupations in the world, with the French settling the country for 132 years (Leonhardt 2013). French imperialism has always had its mission civilisatrice as an excuse to invade foreign territories of which Algeria was no exception; it has been 'Otherised'. The French decided that the Algerian people needed European civilisation, especially their women whom they considered as being oppressed by 'barbaric' Islamic rules (Lutsyshyna 2006). After their settlement, the French quickly understood that the Algerian woman was the central mechanism to control the whole population, its identity and the country as a whole consequently (Fanon 1959; Bélot 2017). One of their missions was to uncover the covered i.e., to succeed in unveiling the Algerian women

as with each woman unveiled a new secret of the land was revealed as Fanon (1959: 25), who devoted part of his writings to the Algerian revolution and the problem of depersonalisation of Algerians caused by the colonial French, says

Each rejected veil reveals to the colonialists hitherto forbidden horizons, and shows them, piece by piece, the exposed Algerian flesh. ... Each new Algerian woman unveiled announces to the occupier an Algerian society with systems of defence in the process of dislocation, open and smashed. Each veil that falls, each body that frees itself from the traditional embrace of the haïk⁸, each face that offers itself to the bold and impatient look of the occupier, expresses in negative that Algeria begins to deny itself and accepts the rape of the colonizer. The Algerian society with each veil abandoned seems to agree to go to the school of the master and decide to change his habits under the direction and patronage of the occupant. (see Fanon's original extracts in French in appendix 1)

Fanon worked as a chief doctor in the psychiatric department of Blida, Algeria, during the revolution (Fanon 1964) which allowed him to witness the war there and devoted an essential part of his writings to Algeria in general and its women, considering them as 'the oppressed of the oppressed... [and that] women's behaviour is considered to be everyone's business' (Cook 1989: 2). In relation to the veil, Fanon (1959: 26) explains the importance of the Algerian woman for the French army to gain control over the whole country and its people, he says '... to unveil this woman is to highlight the beauty, to expose her secret, to break her resistance, to make her available for adventure'. According to Fanon, the strategy of the French was to bring Algerian women to their side by granting them some civil rights namely education (Francophone programmes) (MacMaster 2007) and the right to vote in 1958 (Vince 2009). In reality, Algerian women were sexually abused by the French (Daoudi 2018), also used as a means to control Algerian society, and provoke its population either through (1)manipulating these women's minds and convincing them to join the French Camp or (2)sending the French army to villages and forcing women to unveil themselves and be photographed for the aim of identification but it was considered as an insult to their privacy and honour (Lloyd 2006). The veil in their sense was a mechanism used by the French to control Algerian society, using woman as their mechanism to consolidate oppression and enact the suppression of women through the disguise of appearing to be liberal and emancipatory to women.

After more than a century of being under foreign control, Algerians decided to seek their independence and revolt against the French. The Algerian revolution lasted for seven years starting from November 1954 until July 1962 (Bouatta 1997; Turshen 2002; Cook 1989).

During the period of war, women were advised to stay at home to maintain cultural traditions and convey cultural values such as poetry and handmade artefacts (Brandes 1991). However, with the terrible mistreatment and misrepresentation they received from the coloniser, Algerian women took a position during the revolution and decided to fight alongside their male counterparts (Lazreg 1990). Other reasons pushed the Algerian women to join the combat such as the death of their husbands or another male relative in the battlefield as a way to honour their memory (Rohloff 2012). The FLN were obliged to accord a chance to these females to leave their domiciles and fight to free their country as a counterstrategy to the French.

The war heightened opportunities for women to participate actively in culture and action. This was a revolution (Fanon 1959) as this decision challenged the traditional image of the Algerian woman and threatened the hegemonic patriarchal basis of the country (Smail Salhi 2012). Not only was this a local revolution but ‘a radical change in gender relations’ where women would be with strange males, live outside the house with no clear future (Lazreg 1990: 768). Their male counterparts were aware of sexual temptation this female participation would bring to the battlefield that is why female combatant were first addressed as ‘mothers’ and ‘sisters’ as a way to limit the relationship between them (ibid.). Also, women were given ‘traditional’ tasks namely caring and nurturing making them under a ‘dual otherness... [and in] a state of double subjugation both under the coloniser and the colonized, thus giving them the status of “the colonized of the colonized”.’ (Smail Salhi 2008: 83). Fatma Mezrag, Algerian unionist (diasporic Algerian unification seeker) in France, believed that Algerian women needed more than fighting the French colonialist to liberate themselves (Sidi Moussa 2016). Though female Algerian fighters were used by both freedom fighters and colonialists for personal interests (Leonhardt 2013), and though they felt that they did not belong to either of these sides (Bélot 2017), they considered participating in the war as an opportunity for them to challenge the stereotypes that had been attributed to them (MacMaster 2007).

It is worthy to note that the situation of women started to be originally studied by Ibn Badis, the leader of the Muslims’ party Ulama⁹ and Messali Lehadj, the founder of l’Etoile Nord-Africaine¹⁰ (the North-African Star) (Lazreg 1990), who claimed the necessity for women to be educated. Also, women were given the opportunity to participate in three political parties (Algerian People’s Party, the Union of Algerian Women and the Association of Muslim Women of Algeria) between 1943 and 1947, which Smail Salhi (2010) considers as being the first step to feminist activism in Algeria. Nonetheless, it was made clear to them that their recognition in these political parties was not to pursue feminist aims, but rather to support the liberation of the

country and its people, and they only would receive rights through their participation in that operation (Bouatta 1997). Though they constituted a minority (MacMaster 2007), Algerian moudjahidates¹¹ had ‘a pivotal role in the Algerian Revolution’ (Rulon 2015: 230) and participated even in ‘deadly missions’ (Turshen 2002: 889). Nevertheless, there have been no records of females who were leaders or decision makers during the war; they were attributed subordinate roles (Smail Salhi 2008). Their role, nonetheless, became indispensable when the war moved to an urban setting mainly during the Battle of Algiers, where the war reached its height, making the female participation undeniable (Amrane-Minne 2007). FLN leaders took advantage of the education provided to some Algerian women by the French and they were chosen to carry bombs in their bags and circulate freely in front of the French army without being searched as they dressed as Westerners; these bomber females were called Fida’iyat (Vince 2009: 154). Unfortunate Fida’iyat, once captured, were severely tortured, imprisoned, heavily sentenced, and even were sentenced to death penalty (Bouatta 1997) though the latter was never applied on any woman (Vince 2009). There were women who were killed during shootouts (Turshen 2002) for example Hassiba Ben Bouali, who was ‘a [female activist] studied at university... [who] played a prominent role in debates concerning the political situation, possible activities, advocacy for the liberation movement ... [and] handling important correspondence and information to be sent to the FLN’s underground newspaper El Moudjahid’ (Amrane-Minne 2007: 347), who was shot alongside four male comrades at the Casbah (ibid.).

In addition to fighting in the battlefield, Algerian women served in different missions, and occupied different jobs such as nurses, cooks, and spies, (Sinha 2012) and help the family members of the ones who were in prison (Lazreg 1990). Urban educated women who joined the revolution went to villages where they ‘taught illiterate peasant women about their social role and explained colonialism, the revolution, and the reasons for the independence struggle’ (Turshen 2002: 891). Despite their marginalisation in society, Algerian women had an indispensable role in the liberation of their country hoping that their situation would become better after the independence (Rohloff 2012). As said by the ‘Algerian author and activist Marie-Aimée-Helie-Lucas... “independence would surely end discrimination.”’ (Leonardt 2013: 51). Despite their sensitive situation and being afraid of being accused of betraying the revolution, women have integrated in the national movement with no female emancipation motivation (ibid.). They had only one objective: the liberation of the country, as claimed by one of the survived moudjahidates (Bouatta 1997) making them the heroines of the revolution,

overturning any label about their passivity and submission to the ‘Islamic’ patriarchy (MacMaster 2007).

1.3.2. Postcolonial era

After independence, women were barely given recognition for their participation during the war (Rohloff 2012) only receiving some political and social rights granted in the constitution of 1963 (Tlemçani 2016). The right to citizenship accorded to Algerian women was considered as a reward for their participation in the liberation of the country rather than an unconditional right that must be granted from their birth (Lazreg 1990). Owning rights of education, health and proficiency, Algerian women were far from being real citizens in their country, despite the fact they helped to liberate the country, as said one moudjahida to Turshen (2002: 893) ‘... we were all equal in the war – it was afterward that our citizenship was taken away from us’. Only 11,000 (3%) of the whole group of fighters were women, a statistic given by the Ministry of Algeria to the Veteran Affairs which was considered as being an underestimation to the role of females in the war especially as there were other women who participated in the mountains without being registered (the female fighters were called ‘helpers’ or ‘nurturers’) (Leonhardt 213: 49). The lack of documentation about these females’ roles has been one of the reasons that made their contribution inaccessible, invisible and by that silenced (Bélot 2017). The right to ‘education, an empowerment in the equality of life, throwing off tutelage’ were among the different changes that the survived moudjahidates hoped to receive in 1962, yet they ended up disillusioned and betrayed and declared that the ‘new Algeria’ was not the one they fought for (Sadiqi 2008). Soon after independence, patriarchy regained its power, and women were sent back to their private domiciles (Smail Salhi 2012) to readopt their ‘traditional roles of wife and mothers’ (Tlemçani 2016: 237).

The constitution clearly forbade any discrimination between sexes as declared in article 39 saying ‘any discrimination based on sex, race, or occupation is forbidden’ and according to women some additional rights as article 42 declares ‘all political, economic, social and cultural rights of Algerian women are guaranteed by the constitution’ (Sinha 2012: 148). In effect, during President Boumedienne’s government, the state sought to improve the question of Algerian women by engaging them in the educative system so as to construct and integrate them in the world of employment (Bennoune 1995). However, these social rights were not welcomed by all Algerian families, and many of them did not allow their daughters to receive education after finishing the primary school level. At the age of 12 or 14 girls were kept at home and were prepared for marriage (MacMaster 2007: 112). Additionally, this rise of a wave of educated

women was seen by men as a threat to their control (Rohloff 2012) and to social organisation in Algeria and the countries of the Maghreb in general, as claimed by Fatima Sadiqi (2008: 449),

... based on patrilineal family and gender hierarchy... the father is the absolute head of the family whose authority over his wife(ves) and children is culturally sanctioned. As a result, a gender hierarchy whereby males have authority over females is established at the onset of the basic cell of society: the family.

As a clear instance for Sadiqi's claim is the permission accorded to men to vote in favour of their wives, or the occupation of political posts less accessible for women as most of them were illiterate (Sinha 2012). Obviously, the post-colonial female, though decolonised from the French, remained subservient to local male authoritarianism (Rulon 2015).

1.3.2.1. The Family Code

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, women's recognition started gradually vanishing at the State level, as the government passed a Family Code which limited the women's rights and shifted all the dominance within the family in favour of men (Lloyd 2006). This Code has long been the most disturbing question of women in Algeria and it is believed to be the reason for the birth of Algerian feminist awareness (Smail Salhi 2010). Controversial to the constitution (Lazreg 1990), this code 'institutionalized gender inequality and reduced women to the status of minors for life...' (Vince 2009: 153). Salhi describes the Code in an interview with Abou Rached (Abou Rached and Smail-Salhi 2016: 85) as 'a set of personal status laws based on Shari'a (Islamic Law) or an interpretation of Shari'a, which sets out women's rights to inheritance, marriage, child custody, anything that is related to the family... effectively makes women second class citizens.', hence, we may conclude that Algerian women were the direct target in enacting this Code.

Since the announcement by the FLN of the drafting of a Family Code in 1979, hundreds of educated women along with a number of Moudjahidates survivors marched in the early 1980s against that draft legislation as they were dissatisfied with its content (Bennoune 1995; Bouatta 1997; Lazreg 1990). Moreover, on 21 January 1982, the moudjahidates continued their protests, and asked for a conference to call upon the President of the Republic (Chadeli Bendjedid at that time) to reclaim liberal rights such as monogamy and equal conditions of divorce for men and women (Turshen 2002: 894). Despite their attempts, the Family Code was passed by the state

in June 1984 institutionalising discrimination against women (Daoudi 2016). Smail Salhi (2003) has mentioned some of the amendments of this code (the list is provided in appendix 2). The family code projected a ‘clear division between the sexes’ (Brandes 1991: 42) and gave total power to men to control both their wives’ and families’ lives. Lloyd (2006: 454) claims that ‘[v]iolence implies other concepts particularly power, domination and discipline’; violence is not necessarily using force; it can be exercised in different ways such as mistreatment, rights violation, marginalisation etc. all affecting the psychology of the human being. The Family Code was applied for 19 years carrying serious consequences on women and children (Sinha 2012) as happened to thousands of mothers who wandered the streets with their children (Smail Salhi 2003).

1.3.3. Women and Islam: the Black Decade

Though little attention was given to them, women were a specific target of different Islamist terrorism events in the 1990s (Bouatta 1997; Igoudjil 2014; Daoudi 2018). The FIS (Islamic Front of Salvation) won the first round of the elections in December 1990; scared of them winning in the second round, the army cancelled the elections in 1992 (Vince 2009) which led to a bloody war characterized by ‘a gendered violence against women’ (MacMaster 2007: 114). The Algerian population in general and women in particular have struggled to survive the 1990s violence (Bennoune 1995). Being an Islamic country, the governmental laws were inspired from the Shari’a (so was the Family Code of 1984) (Lazreg 1990). This uncovered the fact that there have been discrete negotiations between political and religious leaders about women’s destiny in Algeria (Rohloff 2012). Islamist rulers of the FIS justified the implication of Islamist ethics in the state’s rules as the ultimate solution to liberate the country from a ‘Western’ lifestyle (ibid.) under the slogan of ‘we in the Arabo-Islamic world are different from you in the west’ (Turshen 2002: 907). Mernissi (1991: ix cited in Smail Salhi 2003: 31) claims that ‘if women’s rights are a problem for some modern Muslim men, it is neither because of the Koran [sic.] nor the prophet, nor the Islamic tradition, but simply because those rights conflict with the interests of a male elite’. Similarly, Weintraub (2008: 381) asserts ‘[i]t’s because of wrong-headed politics and the mis-use of religion that women have been blamed for society’s problems’. This is related to the distinction that DeAngelis (2003) made between Islam and Political Islam (that of Integrist/ fundamentalists) where some politicians use Islam to achieve personal aims. Women’s protest was viewed as opposing religion which is described by Integrist as a form of ‘westernization’ or a colonial vehicle (Bouatta 1997).

FIS had the belief that a woman is born to be a housewife, and taking care of her family, husband and ‘producing good Muslim’ (Smail Salhi 2010: 113) is her main mission to accomplish. A woman, in Islam, is believed to be a man’s ward who has to show a complete obedience to her husband (Tlemçani 2016: 239). In cases of disobedience many religious sacred texts (see verse 4:34 in appendix 12) were used as an excuse to practise domestic or even public violence against women as a way to get them to change their behaviour (ibid.). FIS members were against mixing both genders in public places as they considered women as being seductive which would lead to family disputes for married men (Brandes 1991). Changes were introduced in public spaces where men were separated from women (in workplace, schools, etc.), and the Hidjab was imposed on, some of whom were excluded from some professions such as teaching as they poisoned pupils’ minds (Bennoune 1995). Any act opposing the Shari’a, going out at night, widows living alone, unveiled and /or working women, etc. was not accepted by the FIS, and any working or divorced woman living alone was targeted by the terrorists (Smail Salhi 2003). Furthermore, propaganda of the FIS tried to convince young men that their problem of unemployment was due to women, supposed to be housewives, who occupied the posts men should occupy. Imams used to put lists of names of women considered sinful in the front doors of mosques or simply announce them during their speech asking those attending to kill them (Sinha 2012). In addition to the obligation of a more conservative clothing style and being banned from work, women were harassed, killed, kidnapped, or raped (Mellah 2004). Other women were killed just because they were the wives of men that represented a threat to fundamentalists such as journalists, feminists, artists, etc. (Lloyd 2006). In case of a rape, some Algerian families did not welcome their innocent daughters home after being rescued as it was a shame to have a raped female (Smail Salhi 2003). Being a single woman who is no longer virgin brings dishonour to an Algerian family. In such cases, they send their daughter to cousins living in other villages or towns far from them, or, in the worst cases, these victims could find themselves in the street, left with no support (Bouatta 1997).

Raped by the terrorist, rejected by their families, these females were doubly traumatised as they were considered as having transgressed the taboo of sexual relations outside marriage ‘even when the ... girl is a victim of rape’ (Bouatta 1997: 21). Many Algerians went out and protested against this regime as it did not represent real Islamic laws but those of Jahiliya (pre-Islam), taking as an instance the Islamic marriage, which is made by the presence of two males: the husband and the bride’s Wali (male parent) who will represent her (her father, brother, uncle or the judge if all the relatives were absent) (Bennoune 1995). There are five conditions in Islam

for a marriage to be valid (1)the presence of both the husband and wife, (2)the agreement of both the parties without any enforcement on them, (3)the presence of the wife's parent, (4)the Muhr (dowry), and (5)witnesses. The first and second conditions in an Islamic marriage, in fact, necessitate the presence of the bride who has to utter her approval for the marriage herself under no pressure.

Even after the end of the Black Decade, women were still receiving those 'religious' harassments as happened when a male group raped some girls in South Algeria, Hassi Messaoud (Lloyd 2006). This was a turning point in the history of women in Algeria when the affair was reported to the court and some of the victims of this cruel act could speak both for themselves and behalf of those who could not be present as they did not have the courage to speak. The situation of the Algerian woman was internationally studied (by the UN, EU and international human rights organisation), exerting pressure on the Algerian government who ended by the acknowledgement of 'the problem and recognised a role for specific legislation to protect women from violence' (Lloyd 2006: 460).

1.3.4. The Novelists' wave

As previously mentioned, though Algerians freed themselves from the colonialists, women did not reach the extent of recognition they wanted since they were still disempowered and oppressed not by the French but by the 'Algerian brother' (Daoudi 2018:51). Dispersed and silenced, 'female Algerian writers took the mission of giving voice to their fellow Algerian women who could not write themselves.' (Daoudi 2016: 45). Not only female writers (such as Djamila Débeche, Marguerite Taos Amrouche, Assia Djébar, etc.), says Cook (1989), but also male Algerian writers (such as Kateb Yacine, Mohamed Dib, Malek Haddad, etc.) gave since the war of independence a considerable space in their writings for the Algerian woman. Both female and male writers dealt with the question of women in their novels, yet each had a particular vision. The male writers, on the one hand, glorified women's participation in the war while female writers, on the other hand, expressed their disillusionment about the oppression faced by females during and after the war (ibid.). Though it was risky, female writers, such as Assia Djébar, did not abandon their mission of voicing gender violence, and women's rights of access to public space that Islamic conservatives had excluded them from (Igoudjil 2014). Tahar Djaout, who was assassinated in 1993, left behind him a famous citation that soon became a slogan for his followers 'silence means death; if you speak out, they kill you; if you keep silent,

they kill you; so, speak out and die.’ (Daoudi 2016: 53). Following his principle, female writers raised their pen and broke with tradition by writing about the female body (Lutsyshyna 2006). Using writing as a therapy for the victims’ trauma, female writers such as Shayma’a El-Djamal tried to help those females, who had survived to not one but two terrible wars, by making them speak and take out all the pain stored for years inside them (Daoudi 2016). Smail Salhi (2008) explains how speaking about rape and virginity is a taboo in Algeria, a point that has also been recorded by Vince (2009) when interviewing the moudjahidates survivors of the Battle of Algiers. They spoke about the different sorts of torture they have received in jail; however, they have never admitted that they were raped. Whenever they spoke about rape, they referred to other women, rather than themselves. It is not surprising because torture stories, exercised by the coloniser on the Algerian women, including rape were untold, and as Smail Salhi (2012: 56) puts it, a ‘thick veil of silence was imposed on such stories in order to protect male honour’. These female victims were discouraged from speaking about that ‘shame’ and were left living with its trauma in silence in order to preserve the honour of their family, especially the men.

1.3.4.1. Assia Djébar, the voice of the Algerian women

Starting writing during the Algerian revolution and continuing until a late stage of her life, Assia Djébar is now one of the most prominent figures of Algerian literature. Growing up as an *évoluée*¹², Assia mastered French. According to her, the chance to be educated in the French school during the war freed her from religious bounds as at the time she was meant to wear the veil she went to receive education (Smail Salhi 2012). Brought up in a family who used to transgress cultural norms (her father letting her go to school, sending letters with the name of his wife which were going to be read by the males of the village, etc.), Djébar started to write to ‘...‘translate’ stories, moments and feelings and to give voices, particularly to women who have been silenced throughout Algerian contemporary history.’ (Daoudi 2018:75). Instead of considering it as an inconvenience, Djébar used the French language as a strategy to challenge the coloniser and the ‘brother’ (Yassine 2017)

With the education that she received, she felt the responsibility on her to ‘speak the unspeakable’ about the experiences of Algerian women (Lutsyshyna 2006: 68). Like most of the Algerian writers, Djébar rejected silence and considered it as being a crime, that is why she called women to speak out and express their disillusionment (hers as well) with their

marginalisation and their subjection 'to domestic patriarchy' (Lutsyshyna 2006: 73). According to Cook (1989:16)

Women must speak, must ask if there had ever been brothers, must tell the world of their experiences of prison and torture... She [Djebar] announces categorically: "There's only one-way Arab women can unblock everything. They must talk. They must keep on talking of yesterday and today!". If they do not talk, they will get nothing... (original focus)

All her works were dedicated to Algerian women whom she invited to speak about their mehna (distress) during the war by going and visiting them in their villages, having nice and 'non-hierarchal' conversations permitting these, generally, peasant women to ask Djebar back. By receiving detailed stories from them, Djebar declared herself a feminist writer who broke the silence imposed on those females by the same men whom they had fought alongside (Smail Salhi 2008). Most of her works depict the way Algerian women were and still are living in Algerian society. For example, her short story 'Il n'y a pas d'exil' (There is no Exile), which was written in 1959 yet published in 1980 is an illustration of how Algerian families arranged marriages for their daughters without their permission (Cook 1989). In the same year (1980), Assia published a classic short story 'Les femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement' (Women of Algiers in their Apartment). This work came as a response to Eugène Delacroix's painting representing three Algerian women in a hammam (bathroom) in their house reflecting the passivity of the Algerian woman (Lutsyshyna 2006). Assia sought to correct the misrepresentation of those Algerian women in a painting that she considered as uncovering the intimacy of the Algerian body which was seen and reflected by a colonist eye (Boibessot 2001). In response to it, Assia represented that hammam where Algerian women gathered as a place which did not reflect their passivity but rather a space where they forgot about any pressure, rape, misrepresentation caused by the external world (society and/or coloniser) using the hammam's water to clean their bodies. Not only the water, but also the voices of women present there were a therapy for the inner pain of those tired bodies (ibid.).

1.3.5. The Algerian women today

It is worth mentioning that despite the fact that the 1990s marked all Algerians and women in particular, it was the era when the latter saw a positive progress. Salhi (Abou Rached and Smail-Salhi 2016), for example, mentioned a protest in which she participated in 1992 to raise awareness of women's rights against the Islamist regime, which saw male participation though

the protest was purely for feminist claims. Additionally, thanks to the percentage of educated women that was continuously rising, women's vision of their life conditions changed. Many families started rejecting the idea of early-age marriage for their daughters and concentrated on them going further in their studies and developing a professional career; an example of that was Louisa Hannoune who became the first woman in Algeria to lead a political party by 1999 (Turshen 2002) and nominated herself for presidential elections in the following years. Education not only decelerated marriages but also reduced the birth rate where women successfully managed their birth-control as they did not get married at an early age or they used contraceptive methods (Rohloff 2012).

Additionally, women formed organisations such as NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations), SOS Femmes en détresse (SOS women in distress) and RACHDA (Collective against Denigration and for the Rights of Algerian Women) (Turshen 2002) and Djazairouna (Tripp 2019) were established during the early and mid-1990s providing 'psychological, medical, and legal help to women who were raped or beaten by groups such as the FIS. [These organisations are] still in existence and continue to provide aid to women who find themselves in socially degrading conditions...' (Rohloff 2012: 33). Most movements placed emphasis on the Family Code since the year of its issue to this day as was seen in the panels raised by women during the Hirak of 2019 asking 'for equal rights between men and women'; the 'abolition of the Family Code' (originally written in French) (Lassel 2020: 45). It took decades of protests for the female activists to be recognised by the Algerian government. By 2005, the Family Code was revised (Abou Rached and Smail-Salhi 2016). The president of the republic, Abdelaziz Bouteflika at that time, gave more recognition to women including 'strengthening the position of divorced women with children, outlawing forced arranged marriages, and requiring that polygamy be consented to by the first wife' also providing a domicile by the ex-husband to his ex-wife and children (Rohloff 2012:23). In 2015, further instructions were issued in favour of women namely protecting them from violence in its different forms (Lassel 2020).

Despite these few revisions in the Algerian constitution in favour of women, feminist activists did not stop their battle and considered this recognition to be the result of their efforts over decades. Until the present day, Algerian women have not given up their fight and the latest activity was that during the national movement of the Algerian population against Bouteflika's fifth mandate for the presidential elections. Hierons (2020) asserts that Algerian women have long been the first to mobilise against any oppressive Government, and this is what they did in February 2019. This protest was an opportunity for female activists to highlight two main

claims namely the rejection of Bouteflika's participation in the elections of 2019, and the need for the abolition of the Family Code and gender inequality. They pursued these claims by shouting in the streets and holding panels denouncing patriarchy and oppression with slogans such as 'there's no democracy without sexes equality' (pictures are provided in appendix 3). Near the central university faculty of Algiers was found what these activists have called the feminist square which was the place where these groups and association met each Friday to agree on their demands namely the abolition of the Family Code (Hierons 2020) making us wonder whether this was an initiative for a fourth wave of the feminist activities' chain in Algeria.

However, not every Algerian family takes into consideration the government's instructions and in the case of a divorce, many women are still victims of their biological families, who see them as burdens on their back when they come back home after a failed marriage. These victims of conservative minds cannot even defend themselves by resorting to law as they show respect to the family members, and any straying from the family norms can lead to more serious mistreatment against them. In his chapter 'La famille Algerienne' (The Algerian Family), Fanon (1959 :86) best describes this notion of respect when dealing with the father-son relation saying 'relations [are] based on the absolute respect of the father and on the principle that the truth is the undisputed property of the ancients. Modesty, shame, fear of looking at the father, speaking aloud in his presence remain intact'. The same is applicable for the eldest son when the father is absent (Bourdieu 1958). Hence, having political and civil rights cannot sometimes be considered as a protection for an Algerian woman when the main challenge consists of her closest family members (ibid.), in the same roof, making the fight for equal rights a very long one to go through (see chapter five).

Conclusion

In this first chapter, I have dealt with the theoretical aspect of the Ph.D. where I have introduced the concepts involved within this study. I have started this chapter by giving an overview of Popular Music Studies its evolution, the industry and gender relations in the sector of music. Next, I introduced the main musical genres in Algeria consisting of Andalus, Chaabi, Amazigh music, and focused mainly on Raï music which makes up the main case study of this Ph.D. As a last concept, I have dealt with the situation of the Algerian women in four main eras: colonial, postcolonial, Black Decade and the present time including how they have been portrayed by novelists as part of the historical background of the feminist resistance in Algeria.

Chapter Two: Research Methods and Methodology

Introduction

In the second chapter, I will introduce both the research methods and the methodology that this study has adopted in order to collect qualitative data and generate tentative conclusions. First, I will present the different research tools used during this study to collect data and provide further explanation of observations, interviews and visuals. This section will be followed by the research questions that this Ph.D. sought to respond to. Additionally, I will provide an account of my data collection and data analysis processes. In the latter, I will introduce a new method of research, chaperone ethnography, that has emerged during my fieldwork due to some unexpected restrictions. In this chapter, as well, I will introduce the theoretical framework that has influenced the data analysis of this study (Max Weber's (1949) interpretive sociology) followed by my research positionality linked to the Islamic feminist movement to make sense of the data along with the context and circumstances in which they were constructed. Then, I will briefly present the research paradigm that this Ph.D. has adopted consisting of social constructivism. As a final section in this chapter, I will provide a broad scope of the methodology of this study namely the ethnographic approach of the Chicago School.

2.1. Research methods

Ethnography uses many tools to gather data. For Blackman (2010: 201), the Chicago School researchers joined 'pure participant observation' with other techniques, using a combination of different tools to collect a range of data through the adoption of an ethnographic mosaic approach which 'fits with the notion of contemporary ethnography, as a 'hybrid reality' where multiple truths are socially constructed by participants'. Hence, in my study, I have used different data collection techniques. Each tool, as listed below, has been used to obtain diverse data to offer a holistic picture of the musical mosaic to gather a 'thick description' as introduced by Clifford Geertz (1973). The methods of research used in this Ph.D. are:

Interviews;
Observations;
Participant Observation;
Qualitative surveys;
Visuals;
Audio-visual and textual documents;
And Online ethnography: social media platforms.

Location: music live events and wedding ceremonies in Tizi-Ouzou, Algeria
Sample: over 200 people.

2.1.1. Interviews

Interviewing is a primary resource data collection tool where information is directly obtained from the participants who have been given the opportunity to express their thoughts independently. In other words, interviewing allows the researcher to have ‘direct access to experiences’ (Silverman 2017: 283). For Bryman (2016), qualitative interviews are considered to be the major and most appropriate method for collecting data as they usually take the shape of a conversation and give more freedom for the informants to express their opinion in an in-depth way, making the interview a lengthy event in some cases. The qualitative interview, in this respect, is also characterised by the flexibility of the questions that the research has prepared in a form of an ‘interview guide’ (O’Reilly 2005) where these questions may follow another order rather than that in the guide.

There are different types of interviews. Brewer (2000) established four main types of interviews: structured interview, highly structured interview, semi-structured interview and unstructured interview. The two first types are mostly adopted in quantitative research as these interviews contain a fixed number and order of questions, and the kind of data obtained from them are mainly numerical. The two last types are mostly used in qualitative research as the guide is flexible where the interviewer can ask new questions that have not been previously prepared to obtain ‘a deeper understanding of the scope of the study’ from the participants’ perspective (Barthet and Dixon 2011: 354). In this qualitative study, I will focus only on the last two types: namely semi-structured interviews and conversational interviews.

Bryman (2016:468) differentiates between conversational and semi-structured interviews. In the former, the researcher has only an ‘aide-mémoire’ in their head about a certain topic(s) or a single question to ask and leaves the informants’ responses to lead the rest of the ‘conversation’. In the latter, the researcher prepares some questions or themes to discuss on flexible basis (Merriam and Tisdell 2016: 125). Throughout this fieldwork, in effect, I employed semi-structured and conversational interviews.

The interview conducted in ethnographic research is generally characterised as being informal and conversational (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Naidoo 2012) since, as previously mentioned, ethnography is based on intimate and personal interaction between the ethnographer and their participants (Cohen 1993). It is worth mentioning that interviews are

generally an extension of observation (Draper 2015) where the researcher's aim is to attain a clear image or a detailed explanation of some behaviours, attitudes or emotions that have been noticed while naturally observing a setting (Brewer 2000; Roberts 2009). For this reason, ethnographic interviews can contain questions about 'experiences, opinions, feelings, knowledge, sensory, or demographic data' (Merriam and Tisdell 2016: 136). Nonetheless, the ethnographer has to keep in mind that getting access to converse with these people can be challenging (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007), therefore, they have to develop techniques and become 'creative' interviewers, as Brewer (2000) suggests, and give opportunities to the participants to speak in a way that suits them. Doing so, the researcher will be able to make their informants feel comfortable so to discuss and ask further questions in relation to some issues and unusual events needing more explanation (Reeves, Kuper and Hodges 2008).

2.1.2. Observation

Observation is a key tool in ethnography (Brewer 2000; O'Reilly 2005). It provides direct evidence of the presence of the researcher in the field (Sandiford 2015). Observation is the qualitative method that differentiates ethnography from other approaches (Gobo 2011). There are even attempts of referring to the ethnographic research as 'observation' due to the great dependence of the ethnographic method on observing all that could contribute to meeting the objective of the study, even the smallest details which in most cases shift the direction of the study (Bryman 2012). During fieldwork, observations brought me into multiple different locations and settings, and at times required little or no participation by myself.

With this method of research, the researcher is the main tool and the first means of data collection (Punch 2012; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007), who uses their sense to understand and reflect on people's behaviour and perspective unsuccessfully attained via interviews or any other tool (Barthet and Dixon 2011; Maxwell 2013). Observation consists of moving to the setting, understanding its culture, interacting daily with its people, observing the behaviours and activities there, and gathering 'rich points' (Agar 2004: 21) then translating what has been seen and said into fieldnotes as the first records of the research (Harman and Harklau 2013). The translation must be 'factual' and natural reflecting exactly the real context (Genzuk 2003) through the use of '...video records, photographs, maps, observational checklists.' (Krüger 2008: 58). It is believed that observation first saw light in the early twentieth century with the works of both Bronislaw Malinowski in the Trobriand Islands and Robert Park formalised it in

Chicago in the same year, 1915 in the research methods programme developed at the Chicago School (Blackman 2016).

There are two types of observation: participant observation and non-participant observation (Roberts 2009). In the case of participant observation, the ethnographer is overt, and tries to take part in the studied environment and do the same activities as the informants (Sharp, Dittrich and De Souza 2016) to provide their research with descriptions and interpretations of the events (Draper 2015). After moving into the setting under study, which can take a considerable period of time, the ethnographer enters into conversations and asks questions related to their research (Holliday 2016). The objective is to become closer to the participants and try to find for themselves a place/ a role in that society to ‘feel’ (Genzuk 2003) their culture, to ‘understand how people make worlds, places, and meanings, and how the minutiae [sic.] of buildings, animals, trees, people, movements, sounds, smells, tastes and lights constitute the lived experiences of these environments.’ (Watson and Till 2010: 126). Nonetheless, the ethnographer has to find a balance between being an insider and an outsider so as to stay objective and critical to what they are observing (Brewer 2000). In the case of non-participant observation, the ethnographer is most of the time covert and has no direct contact with the participants except through observing (Gobo 2011). The main aim is to note down everything that serves the research’s aim (Watson and Till 2010).

During my presence in the field, I was accompanied all the time with my field diary in which I was writing small notes about important behaviours, discussions, spaces etc. that grabbed my attention during the observation. As just mentioned, I either wrote small sentences or in other cases I wrote just key words allowing me to rebuild a whole process of the event while writing it up. I made sure to write the date as the first note for each observation I made, and the exact hour when I wrote my notes as this helped me to keep the same chronological order of the actions as they occurred during the events (see appendix 7). It is worth knowing that in both cases, be it short or long notes, the ethnographer needs take notes of all that is relevant to their research in a field diary. Nonetheless, there is a need to be cautious while taking notes as it may cause disaffection and ‘anxiety’ in the observed people. Again, the researcher needs to be flexible and reflective in their note-taking process. For this reason, Bryman (2016: 443-4) has distinguished four types of field notes depending on the extent to which the observer is inside the culture being studied:

- Mental notes which are notes that the observer has to memorise in their head as it is not appropriate to write them down in the immediate moment.
- Lotted notes which are short notes written in a field diary about important elements and concepts that have been observed or heard which have to be developed later in detail.
- Full field notes which are generally written after the end of the observation containing some initial interpretation of what has been seen.
- Methodological notes which have to do with the methodology.

As far as my observation is concerned, I have opted for lotted notes. As I explained above, I took mainly key notes, while in the field, which I have later on developed into descriptive texts with the help of some visual data (more details in the section of visuals). It is worth noting that my method of taking notes differed depending on each context and setting. In the live events, for instance, I found it more comfortable to take out my field diary and start writing in front of the participants as it was something that could be done by other professionals namely journalists at such events. However, during wedding ceremonies, it would have been unusual for the guests to see me taking out a notebook and writing, in an environment that did not reflect professional intentions at any point. For this reason, at wedding ceremonies, notes were taken via the use of my mobile phone to collect data.

2.1.2.1. Positionality in context

During the data collection I was both a participating observer and a non-participating observer (Bryman, 2016). Since the beginning of my contact with one of my gatekeepers Hakim, he was aware of the topic of my research and the aim of my presence in his events, to observe, take notes, pictures and film videos during the shows. At these events where thousands of participants (audience) were attending it was impossible to tell every person that I was observing them and the event as a whole. However, I was each time wearing my student card in a badge holder on which it was written ‘Researcher’ (a picture of it is provided in appendix 4). During fieldworks, I was taking notes explicitly whenever I saw something relevant to my research. When I walked between people, I was usually asked the same question “are you a journalist?” as they saw me holding a Canon camera, and I always answered them honestly by saying that I was not a journalist but rather a Ph.D. student.

At the events, I had both short and longer conversations and interactions with members of the audience and staffs. These ‘soft conversations’ were based on the idea that these meetings

were transitory and not long lasting. However, my observation (consisting of observing of the audience's reaction to musical performances) facilitated the study as I could see people reacting naturally without being bothered by my presence there and some did not even notice my presence.

2.1.2.2. Emotions within the field

To conduct an effective ethnography, the researcher needs to move within the community under study which usually lasts for months or, in some other cases, for years. In effect, living with a people for a considerable period of time, learning about their culture, behaviour, activities and language vernacular (s) can assist with positive and negative emotional development with research relations and communications (Warren and Hackney 2000; Aluwihare-Samaranayake 2012). At the centre of emotions are also relationships, opinions and experiences that will become later memories (Commane 2016). Feelings or emotions while conducting a research vary from positive to difficult, depending on the context of the study and its challenges (Punch 2012). Ethnographers can be faced with unexpected experiences leading them to endure 'unwelcomed' sensations such as confusion and hatred (Blackman 2007), disempowerment and disconnection from the field (Commane 2016), humour that can be transformed into anger (Sandiford 2015), risk and unsafety but also solidarity (Blackman and Commane 2012), physical/psychological pain (Rager 2005), or in some other cases the feeling of power over participants (Schurr 2012), to be given the impression of becoming a protector over them (Glover and Liebling 2017) and many other feelings that are mainly caused by an action that has been noticed or lived while being in the field or even imagined. These sets of emotional experiences within fieldworks, as argued by Blackman and Commane (2012), have existed since Malinowski's ethnographic journeys.

In such cases, it is the responsibility of the ethnographer to keep things under control through developing their sense of criticality and reflexivity (Commane 2016). Reflexivity consisting of the awareness of the researcher of their focus and types of relationships they need to develop in the field. It helps and prepares the ethnographer to take decisions about the type of contact that occurs between two sides (the researcher and the researched) as was the case of Blackman (2016) when he was asked by his participants to write them a letter as they saw him as being more academic than themselves. Nonetheless, he felt that the kind of relationship he wanted to establish with his participants was not the same as theirs. He decided that the relation

between them should not go beyond a ‘temporary friendship’; to implicitly conserve the observer/participant relation, he refused to write the letter. In fact, Blackman and Commane (2012: 241) claim that the researcher experiences the notion of reflexivity twice in research: first in the field and then when they come to interpret or write up their study called ‘double reflexivity’. In my case, I found it really challenging to write up what came out from the qualitative open-ended surveys and the interviews. I felt really confused and sometimes lost as there were huge contradictions in people’s opinions (the same participant was self-contradictory on many occasions in the same interview/ survey). I felt myself unable to ultimately define what was the real orientation of some of my participants as they gave ambiguous or diplomatic responses due to the sensitivity of the question put to them. I felt, during the data collection, that I could not, on some occasions, ask them to be more specific and precise as I would have looked authoritative, but I was aware that sometimes they did not express their real feelings or voice and offered a diplomatic response. This was revealed to me later during other informal conversations where they expressed that their comments might be judged as inappropriate. Thus, for me, it was during the process of reflexivity when writing the study that it became possible to empathise and understand the research participants’ conversations and seek to put these voices forward through the analysis.

2.1.3. Visuals: a semiotic interpretation

Through the study of the Algerian musical artists’ videos and pictures (and music in this respect), it was useful to explore semiotics as a method to interpret their representations. Dealing with images (and music) is part of the world of signs known as semiotics where many semioticians try to give images a sense. According to Bryman (2016: 565)

Semiotics is invariably referred to as the ‘science of signs’. It is an approach to the analysis of symbols in everyday life and as such can be employed in relation not only to documentary sources but also to all kinds of other data because of its commitment to treating phenomena as texts... Semiotics is concerned to uncover the hidden meanings that reside in texts as broadly defined.

Roland Barthes (1977), a French theorist, is a major figure in the field of Semiotics who has dealt with images and music as being signs because they project meaning. He refers to an image as an ‘imitative art’, as for him a picture is not carrying a reality but a copy of it, in other words, it does not provide evidence of the ‘here-now’ rather the ‘there-then’; it transmits a message of

‘this is how it was’, hence, providing a new reality consisting of ‘having been there’ instead of ‘being there’. Barthes (1977) argues that pictures are imitative arts that convey two messages. The denoted message, the analogon, is immediate, fixed and has a ‘universal symbolic order’ (Barthes 1977: 18). The connoted message is the flexible meaning given to this picture depending on the culture where it has been produced and received. He claims that this connotation can be a stereotype (that becomes a Myth) about that imitative art, and that it is

...neither 'natural' nor 'artificial' but historical, or, if it be preferred, 'cultural'. Its signs are gestures, attitudes, expressions, colours or effects, endowed with certain meanings by virtue of the practice of a certain society: the link between signifier and signified remains if not unmotivated, at least entirely historical. (Barthes 1977:27)

Semiotics is the study and the interpretation of signs (Pashaki, Shahri and Sddighi 2016) of which visuals and music are part. Barthes also considered music, for its part, as projecting meanings through its sound and text. Being a Ph.D. that investigates attitudes of both the singers and the listeners, I focus on the different semiotic meanings that images as well as songs project and how this influences the consumers. In appendix 17, I have provided a table of the songs referred to in this Ph.D, and in appendix 13 I have inserted a range of pictures that were collected from the artists’ different social media platforms as part of the data.

From a methodological perspective, visuals are qualitative tools that have been introduced to the field of sociology (Harper 1988) since the mid-19th century mainly in ‘social and cultural anthropology, ethnology and folklore studies’ (Schnettler and Raab 2009: 265) such as the work of ‘Franz Boas ... in Kwakiutl Indians of the Northwest Coast in 1894... [and] the work of Alfred Haddon and his Cambridge team setting off for the Torres Straits in 1898’ (Murdock and Pink 2005: 150). Also, we see Malinowski used photography in his fieldwork with the Trobriand Islanders starting from 1915 and at the same time American sociologists at the Chicago School under Park and Burgess included visuals in their works in the early 20th century including Johnson’s *The Negro in Chicago* (1922), work on race and Thrasher’s study (1927) on *The Gang*. From the 1940s to the 1970s the use of visual declined in Sociology under the dominance of the structural functionalism, which was directed by Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton, as it was thought that images were too subjective and lacked legitimacy, and as a consequence had less value during that period. It was not until the emergence of Cultural Studies in the 1960s in particular and then Media Studies in the 1980s that visuals began to reappear within sociology (Murdock and Pink 2005). Visual ethnography became more

interdisciplinary by 2000s collaborating with many other disciplines including ‘... health studies, sports studies, ethnology, tourism studies, organisation studies, and art therapy’ (Pink 2013: 15).

Visuals are differently interpreted by their viewers (Barthes 1977) and also serve as conservator of previous events (Hackett et al. 2015). Additionally, visuals have some criteria that cannot be found in other methods such as naturally preserving events and processes as they occurred in the real context and controlling them through techniques as ‘[s]low motion... freezing of images, accelerated or decelerated reproduction speed, splitting audio from video, etc.’ (Schnettler and Raab 2009: 279) giving the ethnographer the opportunity to examine and re-examine the events, catching details that they could have missed during the collection of the data (Schurr 2012) and ‘...capturing emotional expression, facial and body language, and spatial relations...’ (Murdock and Pink 2005: 153).

In terms of research, photographs are used in two different ways (Harper 1988). The first one is using photographs as a tool for gathering data while studying a social phenomenon and the second one consists of studying the photographs that have been found within the studied community (Pink 2013). Harper (1988: 55) explains the difference between the two strategies by saying that ‘some sociologists take photographs to study the social world, whereas others analyze photographs others have taken in institutionalized occupational sittings or in their family lives’ (original focus). In the second case, further distinctions were established by some authors like Murdock and Pink (2005:157) who distinguish two sub-types consisting of found images and promoted images. The former consist of images that have already been captured by the participants while the latter are images obtained after that the researcher themselves asked their participants to capture them. O’Reilly (2005:160) has also disentangled three types of images: images as ‘writing’, ‘found’ images and creative use of images. The first type has the same role that a text has (the image projects a meaning without having the need to write something near it) or can be presented as a support to the written piece or simply present it to make an argument. The second type is the same as explained by Murdock and Pink (2005) whereas the last one consists of visual artefacts projecting the real world and serving to create some knowledge. In this context, Pink (2013) insists that the ethnographer has to be reflexive and has to know when the right time is to take pictures; either at the beginning of the research as a way to attract people and make them come by means of curiosity, or after a period of time of the research after having established a good relationship with the participants based on trust.

Within the field, I took pictures and recorded films whenever I gained consent and knew that I had to speak in detail about the targeted content of the image in the thesis (for instance filming the whole setting to be able to describe it in detail). During the first event that I attended, I had in my mind that captured pictures would be useful only to refresh my memory while writing up the ethnography, for this reason, I used only my iPad without paying attention to its quality in terms of framing and lighting. However, when I came to translate the observation into words, I noticed the necessity of inserting images as a support to the text (writing images) as the things being described were about the specific culture of Algeria, and all readers, not from the Maghreb, would have to guess what was being described. The need to insert photographs as a support to the texts and seeing the bad quality of some of the pictures I had taken made me turn, in one of the cases, to the Facebook page of the festival and retrieve some pictures (found images) projecting what I was describing in the text. After this experience, I bought a professional camera allowing me, by that, to include only pictures captured by myself in the rest of the events (including wedding ceremonies).

Sarah Pink argues that the use of pictures in ethnographic works from the 1960s until the 1980s was debatable as they were considered too subjective; it was not until the 1980s with James Clifford's intervention to argue that ethnography is not about giving a complete reality but a partial one that the use of photography gained more legitimacy to reveal the 'fiction' of the ethnography (Pink 2013). Therefore, the idea of 'the ethnographer subjectively deciding when to take a picture and for what/whom to take it, and which picture to include and which not' was abandoned, focusing more on how pictures perfectly project the real context, gaining by that more credibility starting from the 1990s (Pink 2013).

2.1.4. Online ethnography

In this Ph.D., online ethnography was a key tool of research. Considerable data were collected through observations of the Algerian female and male artists under study in different social media accounts. In my online ethnography, I was selective about which social platforms to observe according to which ones the singers were most active on. I randomly selected singers from previously defined categories (female Rai singers and Algerian male singers based in France) to observe on three main social platforms: Facebook, Instagram and YouTube. Throughout the data collection, I heavily focused on their Instagram accounts as it was the platform on which they were most visible especially with the option of 'story' in which they

uploaded different content to their fans. As far as YouTube is concerned, I subscribed to their channels and those of their recording companies and activated the 'bell button' to receive a notification whenever they uploaded new video-clips.

Within social research methodology there has been a slow growth in applying virtual research methods. Online ethnography is now recognised by other appellations such as cyber ethnography and 'nethnography' (Erikson and Salzmann-Erikson 2013: 337). Technology has greatly increased its presence in people's lives in terms of accessing local and international news; also, people tend to use the online space more than printed media for personal and professional uses (Hallett and Barber 2014). Hence, it would be very hard to conduct a study and ignore its digital aspect. Cyber ethnography's origins go back to the 1990s as the interest of people in 'cyberspace was remarkably in progress' (Hine 2008: 3). Hine (2008) claims that the first works which adopted this new methodology of research were text-based settings i.e. investigating platforms that were mainly used for communication and interaction between different people via messages. These studies aimed to figure out how interaction was attained in the virtual world. Nonetheless, it soon gained space in different interdisciplinary fields such as nursing (Erikson and Salzmann-Erikson 2013), social media studies (Postill and Pink 2012), blogs and different communicative interactions (Hallett and Barber 2014).

A key question is whether nethnography is about studying people, their cultures and activities at a distance through screens (Hine, Kendall and Boyd 2009). In effect, nowadays people are not only studied in a real life context but also in the virtual world as our societies are increasingly becoming digital (more than 1.5 billion of the world population were using Internet) (Kozinets 2010). In this context Rheingold (1993: 3) claims that

...People in virtual communities use words on screens to exchange pleasantries and argue, engage in intellectual discourse, conduct commerce, exchange knowledge, share emotional support, make plans, brainstorm, gossip, feud, fall in love, find friends and lose them, play games, flirt, create a little high art and a lot of idle talk. People in virtual communities do just about everything people do in real life, but we leave our bodies behind. You can't kiss anybody and nobody can punch you in the nose, but a lot can happen within those boundaries.

What Rheingold suggests here is that the virtual life that people have created is almost identical to the real life. The only difference between the two is physical touch i.e. in the real world we can face and touch each other while in the virtual world everything is made through distance. He gave kissing as an example to explain that in a real-world context people can kiss each other

while in cyber space this is done in many ways, for example sending the kiss sticker when it is a written message or simply writing it in words or making an air kiss when it is an audio/video message/call. Many researchers such as Wolcott (1999) have supported this mode of online research and agreed to attribute it to ethnography as long as it has to do with human beings. Thus, it is possible for a researcher to consider their online research as an ethnographic one as it has the same central criterion that the traditional ethnography has (studying humans and their surroundings for a considerable period of time).

Ethnographers aiming to conduct online research usually try to make the link between the virtual space under study and its real-world context (Postill and Pink 2012; Hine, Kendall and Boyd 2009). Nethnography has two notions – ‘community and culture’ - that are digital, yet one cannot deny the fact that the physical aspect is there as the informants have a real world (Kozinets 2010) which is virtually studied by the ‘nethnographer’.

As for data collection, the procedure is nearly the same especially concerning the researcher’s positionality. They can be either covertly or overtly participating in the virtual space, for instance, being a member in a given group in a social platform and engaging in some activities, observing, listening and asking questions about anything that is related to the research (Hine 2008). The nethnographer in this context has to live in two worlds: real and digital. They have to give considerable importance to the latter and keep themselves up to date with the different activities being made in the cyber space under study (Postill and Pink 2012). However, Hine (2008) claims that there is this notion of trust which is personal that can face the researcher as a counterpart during their data collection journey, and for this reason they need to gain the participants’ confidence. Not only the participants have to trust the researcher but also the researcher has to believe that their informants are providing them with reliable data. In other words, trust is a reciprocal activity between the researcher and the researched. Nonetheless, online ethnography serves the researcher in obtaining access to fields that are difficult to attend in offline settings especially for ethical purposes (Silverman 2017).

2.2. Research questions

1. What are the reasons behind gender inequality in the musical sector in Algeria in terms of music production and consumption?
2. Does the Algerian audience (young adults) tend to a specific category of singers? In case yes, what are the contextual factors behind that choice?

3. How far does the content of the female Raï singers and Franco-Algerian singers' music represent the Algerian context?

2.3. The Procedure of Data Collection and Data Analysis

The fact that diverse data were collected in this Ph.D. research necessitated that different tools to be used to match my ethnographic approach. Below I discuss the detailed sampling related to each method employed.

Sample

My study consisted of observing social media platforms and attending live events and wedding ceremonies as main fields for my data collection. In such settings, it is hard to give an exact statistic of the number of people present there. For example, 200 to 300 people attended wedding ceremonies and up to 10,000 people attended live events (depending on the importance of the event). Additionally, I met people in other settings where I conducted interviews and distributed qualitative surveys. During the Ph.D., I had conversations with over 200 people, including those with whom I had a chat for only a few minutes in a sort of 'opportunistic chat' (O'Reilly 2005: 113), for instance, during live events or wedding ceremonies including guests, audience members or/and managers of the events, and those with whom I discussed for a half an hour or more (mainly for interviewing).

Ethnographic Interviews: were conducted with the audience listening to the two categories of singers (Female Raï singers and Franco-Algerian male singers). They were young adults aged between 18 and 35. The reason behind this age specification is that it defined the age cohort that listens most to Raï and Freestyle music genres. So, as to gather more data, this research focused mainly on young people who were students, hence, the ethnographic interviews took place mainly in an Algerian university namely: University of Tizi-Ouzou. In addition to the audience, ethnographic interviews were conducted with the main gatekeeper of this research (a festival manager after having a long conversation via Facebook) and other people from the domain such as DJs.

Observation/Participant Observation: I observed and 'tracked' around 13 singers (but focused more on selective critical ones) on their official social media platforms such as YouTube and Instagram. Additionally, I attended around 8 events (both live events and wedding ceremonies) where I observed the singers' performance, the audience reaction, the connection between the

two (in the case of concerts), and the atmosphere in which the events were taking place (before, during and after the events). The singers live in different countries (some in France and some in Algeria), but the observation took place mainly in Algeria as the Algerian audience in Algeria was the target not the diaspora. These observations gave me the opportunity to take fieldnotes of every detail in relation to the study which I then transformed into texts.

Qualitative open-ended surveys: as a first step before conducting the interviews, I first distributed qualitative open-ended surveys (around 30 copies) to Algerian young adults starting from those who were doing their Ph.Ds. in the UK to have a ‘national’ vision as they were from different Algerian provinces. Then, I printed around 100 copies in Algeria (50 in English and 50 in French) and distributed them to students at the Mouloud Mammeri University of Tizi-Ouzou. A copy of the qualitative surveys model in both languages is provided in the appendix 5.

Visuals: I used some images and video recordings taken and filmed by myself during the events or extracted from some official social media accounts of the singers under study and the festival I attended. Both interviews and live events were recorded (only audio records for the interviews) allowing me to have a safe copy of the events and replay them for more detailed notes of things that I could not see or hear at that time. Also, the study has relied on textual data i.e. analysis of song lyrics and video-clips of these singers under study allowing me to extract information related to specific codes of the research.

Location: I have briefly referred to the location previously in the section of sampling. I was mainly in festivals and wedding ceremonies for the data collection. In the case of live events, most of the events took place in Tigzirt, a coastal town in the province of Tizi-Ouzou, Algeria which welcomes different musical events such as the festival of Belles Nuits de Tigzirt (in French meaning beautiful nights of Tigzirt) which occurs every summer in an open-air venue called Espace Louni receiving up to 6000 people or more (more details are in chapter four). In the case of weddings, I had to move to different locations depending on where the hosting people did their ceremony. On some occasions, the wedding took place at the parents’ house of either the groom or the bride depending on where my family and I were invited (more details are in chapter five). It is worthy to note that all the wedding ceremonies that I attended took place in my hometown Tizi-Ouzou, Algeria, more specifically in my village and its neighbourhood.

2.3.1. The process of the data collection

The data collection started at the beginning of my studies when I followed the female and male singers on their social media platforms (Instagram, Facebook and YouTube for those who had their own channel). One of the main objectives using these platforms was to keep myself up to date with their latest activities (parties, concerts, small events) as they were the ones to announce their coming shows either through posts or through sharing daily stories for their fans (there were no ‘explicit’ official organisers for these singers’ events except in cases where it was a festival). The other objective consisted of observing these singers’ activities on their different social platforms namely Facebook, Instagram and YouTube (with a heavy focus on Instagram as it was the platform where these singers were more active) and reflecting on how the audience reacted to them.

By early July 2019, I returned to Algeria, specifically Tizi-Ouzou, to start collecting data, I was interested in every public event where music was played as a musical mosaic. One day after my arrival (03/07/2019), there was a small celebration in a primary school by the staff to reward their hardworking pupils. The next large event which I attended was on the 23rd of August 2019 that of l’Algerino in the festival of Les Belles Nuits de Tigzirt as the last event to close the summer festival of 2019. Between these two events, I was attending different weddings in my region the summer being a period of celebrations, especially weddings. After a few months in the UK, I went back to Algeria for further data collection, this time I managed to attend two other events: one consisting of a tribute to a diva of Chaabi music and another consisting of the celebration of the Amazigh new year. However, the summer of 2020 brought the pandemic of the Corona Virus (or COVID-19) and as a result all further concerts and most wedding parties (especially those at party halls) were cancelled. I was fortunate enough to have attended events prior to the lockdown.

While back in the UK in September 2019, I started transcribing and analysing the initial data gathered during the summer. With the results from the online ethnography, I came up with the idea of distributing qualitative open-ended surveys for Algerian young adults before conducting further in-depth ethnographic interviews. As a first stage, I distributed around 30 surveys (digital and hard copies) for Algerian Ph.D. students living in the UK. I received around 23 responses. Once back in Algeria in January 2020, I printed additional 100 copies, and distributed them to Algerian young adults mainly students. To support the results that came up from these surveys, I conducted eight interviews including that with Mr Hakim Bellout who was my gatekeeper at live music events. For the interviews, I conducted them in the houses of

each participant except for Hakim where we did the interview in his car while I was attending one of the events that he had organised. Before starting the interviews, I made sure each time to ask my participants if it was possible to sign the consent form, but all preferred to give a verbal consent. It is worth noting that, in collecting data from both surveys and interviews I made sure to inform the participants that their participation would be kept anonymous, and that their words would be used only for professional matters and would be destroyed once I retrieved the information I needed.

2.3.1.1. Ethics

Conducting qualitative research involves studying and interacting with human subjects; therefore, recognising their rights and securing their protection and confidentiality are imperative (Orb, Eisenhauer and Wynaden 2001). Kang and Hwang (2021: 6) claim that ethical behaviour (informed consent, confidentiality and privacy, honesty, etc.) must be adopted and become salient when the research necessitates a face-to-face contact with participants (observations and interviews). Before moving to fieldwork, and collecting data, I applied for ethics approval from the scientific committee of the university of Canterbury Christ Church. In the application, I provided details about the context of my study, the set of methods to use for collecting data, the different places I would attend, the potential participants of the study and the time of the beginning and the ending of my data collection. I also made sure to mention that the data collection procedure would be safe and harmless for both my participants and myself as the aim from the research was professional and objective. My application was approved, and I was granted acceptance to start my data collection on the third of May 2019. Once in the field, I made sure at the beginning of each interview to present the consent form to my participants and kindly asked them whether they wanted to sign it (all of them gave me a verbal consent). I informed them that they were free to participate or not in the research and withdraw at any point they wanted, additionally highlighting the confidentiality and privacy of their identity.

2.3.1.2. Access

Karen O'Reilly (2005) says that to do an observation study a 'gatekeeper' is a key requirement because of their strong relations and position in the field. During my data collection, I did not struggle having access to the settings that I had targeted. For the live events that I attended, they all took place in one city, and were supervised mainly by my gatekeeper

Hakim with whom I had contact on regular occasions during the phase of collecting data. In terms of research positionality, I was a government-funded Algerian Ph.D. student studying in the UK. This fact facilitated things for me, as people were more interested in me and the fact that I was studying Algerian culture in Great Britain. Hakim was one of these people. He openly expressed his admiration for me and the work I was doing, which led him to provide me with any help I needed in order to make my research successful. He kept me updated with the progress of his events, invited me to a press conference, and introduced me to his colleagues explaining to them my research and asking them to provide me with help whenever it was possible. In the morning of each event, I made sure to call him before going to the field so as to confirm my access to spaces kept to their team or VIP guests. He answered each time and gave me instructions to do my observation in better situations. In the event of L'Algerino for instance, I had access to the space where audio/visual technicians were working giving me a better sight of the stage and the audience as I was in the centre of the venue with complete security. In the event for Amazigh New Year, I was present as Hakim's guest, which allowed me to take up a position in the front stands near the stage making it easier for me to move between all the participants to observe, take pictures and film some videos.

For the qualitative surveys, I did not want to distribute them haphazardly to people in public spaces as there was a possibility of not receiving them back which would mean data collection would take much longer. Silverman (2017) claims that it is common for a researcher to use existing acquaintances during the research process. In my case I contacted an Algerian friend during my MA course at university. She was teaching at the university of Tizi-Ouzou and I asked her whether it was possible to give her copies of the surveys for her to distribute to her students and give them back to me once they had completed them. I told her to either reserve a few minutes of her session (whenever she finished her lesson early) to distribute the surveys to the students and wait for them to respond and get them back immediately, or simply take them and complete them at home and bring them to her the following session. She welcomed the idea and suggested that I should do it myself where I would attend her sessions to distribute the surveys to her students and provide them with further explanations whenever they were needed. I went to her at the university and attended three sessions with her of three different groups. For the three sessions, my friend gave her lectures first, and allocated me the last 15 minutes of the session to distribute my surveys to her students. Before I could distribute the surveys, I made sure to give a speech to the students and informed them about my research: topic, degree, university, and most importantly the purpose of the survey. I told them that they

did not need to write their names as I felt this would make them more comfortable, more secure and, consequently, more honest in their responses. For the first two sessions, I managed to receive the surveys back immediately, but for the last one, the students could not finish responding in 15 minutes. I could not be selfish and take more time from them. For this reason, I suggested to their lecturer to tell them that they could take the surveys with them and complete them at home, returning them to me in the next session two days later. After two days, I went back to university where I met with my friend who gave me the rest of the completed copies and I invited her for lunch as a way to thank her and to have a nice chat as we had not met since my departure to the UK in 2017.

I managed to write fieldnotes at the live events that I attended. During fieldwork, I also relied more on my brainstorming and taped videos. In addition to the fieldnotes, I used 358 pictures from those I took myself (271 pictures) and those I downloaded from the internet be it social media platforms or Google image (87 pictures), also, I filmed 33 videos which lasted from 5 minutes to more than one hour. Moreover, out of 130 printed qualitative surveys, 120 were distributed, and 91 were completed and returned to me. I conducted 8 interviews with Algerian young adults aged between 19 to 24, also, my gatekeeper and a well-known female DJ (DJ Dia) who gives performances on national TV programmes and at wedding parties in different parts of Algeria. The interviews lasted from 10 to 45 minutes depending on the quality of the responses.

2.3.1.3. Translation

During my data collection, I made sure that my participants were comfortable by leaving them the freedom to choose the language they felt happy with while discussing issues with me. I wrote all my interview questions in English once back home in summer 2019 and I did a pilot interview with my brother in which both of us spoke in English. It is worth mentioning that English in Algeria is a foreign language (third language for Arabs and fourth for Imazighen), and not everyone can speak and write it. In the case of my brother, he speaks it to some extent. After asking around three questions, I noticed that he was finding difficulties in communicating his responses due to the language he was using: he was thinking about the words to use in order to express his thoughts. I could see how much he was struggling to find the right words to deliver the idea in the right way which was leading him shorten his responses and focus more on producing a correct sentence (grammar counted more for him than the idea that he wanted to discuss). Therefore, I stopped the interview and suggested starting again from the beginning

using this time the language that made him feel comfortable. I stayed speaking English while asking my questions (as he could perfectly understand it) while he was responding using two to three languages and mixing them (French was dominant in his speech). For this reason, in the other interviews, I made sure to tell my participants right from the beginning to choose whatever language they wanted as what mattered was the information produced more than the language used. As far as I was concerned, I asked the questions in English whenever the participant understood English, or simultaneously translated them to the language(s) they understood better (French and Kabyle in some cases). All interviews, which were designed for different categories of participants, were first written in English then translated to French whenever it was needed.

Concerning the surveys distributed, those distributed in the UK for Ph.D. students were written in English as they had mastered English, and it was the language of their field. Once in Algeria, before printing the surveys, I asked some of my participants for their agreement to take part in a survey and to identify the language they would like the survey written in; most of them said in French. For this reason, I translated the survey from English to French, and printed fifty copies for each version. Before distributing them to the participants, I made sure to leave them the choice of which one to complete, and after they had selected the survey, I insisted that they should respond in the language they were most comfortable with, to the extent of using more than one language in cases where they had lost their words in a specific language. After collecting the surveys, and having a quick look at them, I found the presence of many languages of which English was dominant followed by French. There were some students who responded in French in surveys originally written in English and vice versa. There were others who started responding in English and used other languages such as Arabic and French to respond to some questions in the same survey.

I transcribed the interviews directly in English, both when participants had used English and a different language. In addition, while interpreting the data obtained from the surveys, I only used English for all the quotations that I extracted (including translations from other languages, mentioning at the end of the quotation the original language in which the claim was made). The reason behind the direct use of English for the translated parts is to facilitate their understanding by the non-speakers of the other languages and to avoid making the chapters lengthy. It is worth mentioning that all the translations are mine.

2.3.2. The process of the data analysis: grounded theory

My key objective in terms of grounded theory as developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) was to create and to capture the opportunity for a ‘thick description’ which was developed by Clifford Geertz (1973). All the online and offline observations followed this procedure. This led to the development of three main data chapters which I have sought to categorise relying on the settings of the observations. In other words, each data chapter projects a specific spatial field where the music was produced and consumed by the Algerians (singers and audience). These three main spaces (or fieldworks) consist of:

- The social media platforms
- Live event performances
- And wedding ceremonies

The common point between the three settings was the large number of people (audience) that were found there to consume and to react to what they received from the artists (see chapter three and chapter four) or in some cases a DJ (see chapter five). In addition to the thick description from the observations, the qualitative surveys’ responses were all considered and interpreted where I noticed major comments shared by different participants who served in highlighting important key concepts namely: patriarchy, conservatism, Islamic/ religious ‘submission’, nationalism (national idealism). The ethnographic interviews were transcribed and examined. All the themes that were previously highlighted in the surveys and found (again) in the interviews were joined together in a safe document as memos to use as support claims to the ethnographic observations. I have adopted the grounded theory in my process of data analysis as its stages can be recognised in what I have just written above. Grounded theory, in fact, is not a theory, as its name indicates, rather a methodology or a strategy that is followed or applied for data collection and analysis in social and qualitative research (Punch 1998). Grounded theory was first introduced by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 after the publication of their book *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: strategies for qualitative research* (referred to by other researchers as *Discovery*) which perhaps emerged from their earlier ethnography where they studied patients’ loss in hospitals (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Their study came as a challenge to the quantitative domination in the USA, also, as an encouragement for researchers and beginners in the field of sociology to generate theories from grounded data and to start critically reflecting on the grand theories as according to Glaser and Strauss (1967: 11)

... the masters have not provided enough theories to cover all the areas of social life that sociologists have only begun to explore. Further, some theories of our predecessors, because of their lack of grounding in data,

do not fit, or do not work, or are not sufficiently understandable to be used and are therefore useless in research, theoretical advance and practical application. On the other hand, the great theorists have indeed given us models and guidelines for generating theory, so that with recent advances in data collection, conceptual systematization and analytic procedures, many of us can follow in their paths: from social research we can generate theories for new areas, as well as better theories for areas where previous ones do not work.

What Glaser and Strauss emphasise is the fact that not all grand theories can fit present research as they may not be relevant because they may lack generalisability i.e., they do not cover all aspects of that specific field which, consequently, necessitates a generation of new theories. Glaser and Strauss (1967: 28-29) believe that there is no harm in generating new theories as this does not destroy the existing ones just modifies them, and that this generation has ‘the same benefit as testing theory, plus an additional one’ (adding a new theory).

Grounded theory is considered to be the most influential method of research in qualitative research (Bryman 2016) which adopts ‘an inductive theory building approach’ (Khan 2014: 224) starting from initial questions and ending with a generated theory as opposed to the deductive positivist approach. The name of grounded theory entails that the theory is grounded from the gathered and analysed data (Strauss and Corbin 1994; Noble and Mitchell

2016) following a particular process:

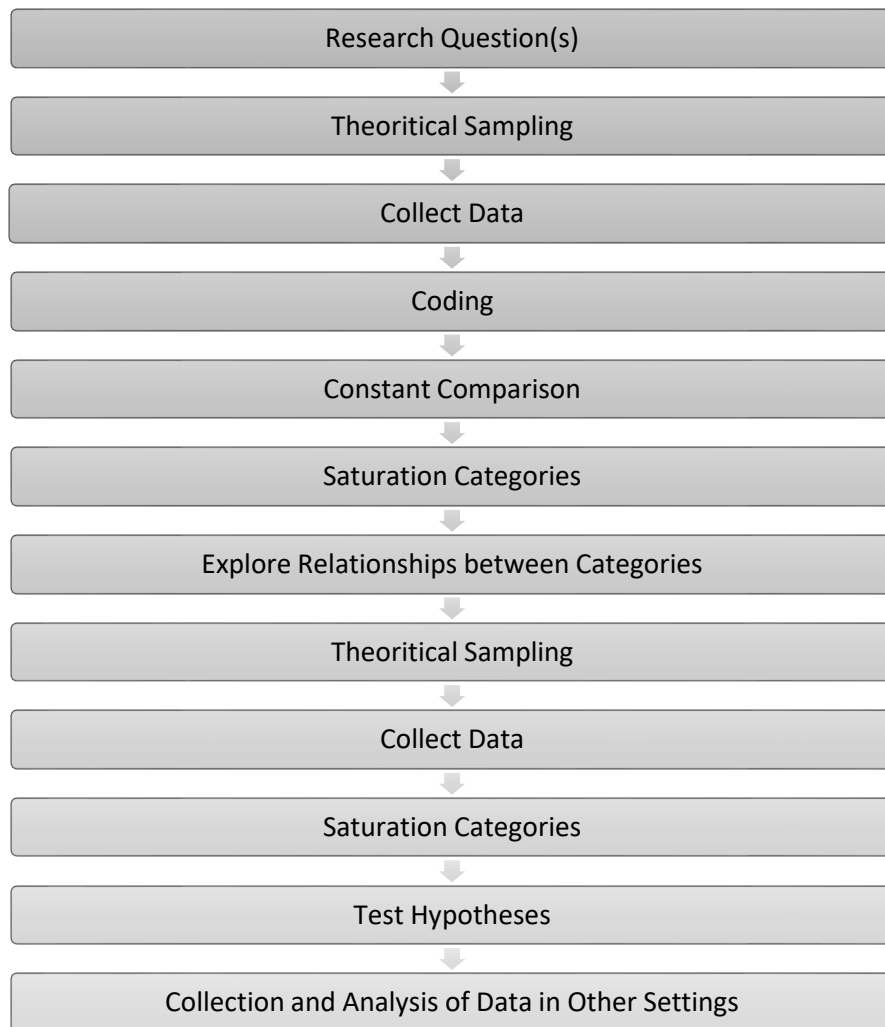


Diagram 2.1. The process of grounded theory suggested by Strauss and Corbin

This diagram was structured by Bryman (2016: 577) inspired from the process of Strauss and Corbin in their book *Basics of Qualitative Research: techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. The thing that I wanted to discuss in the diagram is the repetition of some steps which makes grounded theory different compared to other research methodologies. Glasser and Strauss (1967) argue that replication is the ideal means for verifying evidence. Charmaz (2014:4) for her part claims that

Through studying data, comparing them, and writing memos, we define ideas that best fit and interpret the data as tentative analytic categories. When inevitable questions arise and gaps in our categories appear, we seek data that might answer these questions and fill the gaps.

There is a simultaneousness in data collection and data analysis while conducting research under the grounded theory approach. This simultaneousness allows the researcher to develop

the initial concepts and paves the way for them to identify the missing concepts and go back to the field and collect the needed data to form a whole and generate a theory. In the next sections I will discuss my data coding and the theory that I have generated relying on my experience while in the field.

2.3.2.1. Coding data from qualitative surveys and interviews

Coding is considered as the fundamental process in grounded theory. Charmaz and Mitchell (2001: 165) consider coding as the start of the analysis in research and ‘the first step in developing theoretical categories’. It is a process that permits the researcher to separate the data and name them depending on what they project (a stage where the researcher gives meaning to the data) (Charmaz 2014). Coding data is done through different stages which are named differently by different sociologists such as Glaser and Strauss (substantive codes, theoretical codes, and core code), Strauss and Corbin (open coding, axial coding and selective coding), and Charmaz (initial coding, focused coding and theoretical coding). All follow the same procedure consisting of dividing the data into concepts, finding connection between the divided data (or the labelled concepts) and selecting the core code which will make a significance the most for generating the theory (Noble and Mitchell 2016).

During my data analysis, as a first step after receiving the surveys from the research participants and the transcribing the interviews, I did a first reading for the whole corpus. Right from my first reading, concepts started to appear, and I immediately wrote them down on paper (first impression concepts). The second step was reading the corpus for the second time and starting to place emphasis on key words supporting the key concepts. The third step, I read the corpus another time and, this time, I put one to three stars near the claims that I felt could be very useful to my work (the number of the stars depended on how strong the argument was). In this third reading, I selected what data to keep (and to use) and what data to leave. After this selection came the writing up of the memos which Charmaz (2014: 4) defines as the ‘preliminary analytic notes ... about our codes and comparisons and any other ideas about our data’. All the selected corpus (quotations more precisely) was developed in an interpreted document that was later on used as a support for the interpreted online and offline observation texts.

2.3.2.2. Chaperone ethnography: towards an understanding of a new research method

This final part of the section will sketch out the research literature and the idea for developing a new concept and procedure in ethnography titled chaperone ethnography. It has been previously mentioned that conducting ethnographic research is challenging for the researcher especially when it is a female. Certain social conditions that Gill and Maclean (2010) consider to be as boundaries prevent female researchers from conducting successful studies compared to their male colleagues. Among these boundaries, there are some places that are not advisable for women to visit (Warren and Hackney 2000); spaces that Pain (1997) refers to as 'social geographies'. They are social because it is the society (its people) who make it inappropriate for women. To go to places unfamiliar to women in specific periods of time (by night) can be of high risk for them (Lefkowich 2019). Another reason that can prevent a female researcher from conducting her study is 'patriarchal ideologies' (Osezua and Agbalajobi 2016: 122). In such a case, the female researcher risks being exposed to gossip created by people who are watching her generally when she moves in a way that is not matching with their expectations for her gender. For example, doing research in male locations where the female has to meet men and have a short/long chat (interview) with them leading to her being in a suspicious situation (Gill and Maclean 2010). Lefkowich (2019) claims that when someone recognises a space not being safe for females that makes the gender power imbalanced (the creation of stereotypes). As a third reason, female researchers encounter many struggles because of their sexuality. In other words, during fieldwork, professional contexts can become sexual, with explicit offers being made by the participants (mainly men) to the female researchers (Lumsden 2009; Poulton 2012; Haddow 2021).

Callaway (1992: 35) argues that the reason behind these problems is the background of the female researchers as in many cases participants pay attention not only to the gender but also to the social status of the female researcher which defines these way participants treat her; in the case she is young and single, she could be an 'eligible woman for marriage', and in the case where she is older and married, she can be treated as an 'adopted daughter' or as a 'sister'. This can be positive to some extent, but in other cases, it can be the opposite. This is a point that is shared by Okely (1992) who noticed the change in the treatment of participants to female researchers according to their social status. These female researchers went back to settings they studied when they were single, to study them again after getting married and/or having children. Okely (1992) found that being married or a mother gave the female researchers more freedom of circulation within the field, even being more comfortable when speaking to the opposite sex,

knowing that they used to be chaperoned by older women when they were single. Being treated differently according to their social status was faced also by both Maclean (a married female researcher) and Young (a single female researcher) who had males as their main focus of study, exposing them to potential gender discrimination. In the case of Maclean (Gill and Maclean 2010), she was the subject of gossip as she was in touch with male participants individually in bars while being a married woman. In the case of Young (1991), one of the male participants wanted their relationship to go to the 'next level' where he started to get physically closer to her and ended up asking her to have sex with him, and got angry when she refused. Both researchers felt their gender limitation and thought of alternative solutions. In the case of Maclean, she brought her husband to live with her during the field study and in the case of Young she formed a bi-gender research team. As mentioned above, a chaperone can serve as a protector for a female researcher during the fieldwork.

Being a female researcher on the field of Popular Music, I faced some obstacles (particularly being in a conservative society) which prevented me from having access to some places for data collection such as night clubs. Belonging to a Muslim conservative family, I was not allowed to go to some 'ill-reputed' settings; it was believed that those places were not secure for me. 'Only drunk people are there, even worse, you can find drug consumers and dealers' said my family. There is a certain 'geography of fear' (Gill 1992: 22) that families have in their minds and transfer them to their daughters and teach them in which places and what times it is not advisable for females to be outside on their own. Gill (1992: 25) argues that gender division of children starts at the age of 10 and 11, and it is reinforced by the age of 16 where families ensure that their daughters

are chaperoned by others, or by indirectly pressurising them to avoid particular places where strangers may attack them out of the visual range of others... Parents therefore instill [sic.] a sense of vulnerability in public space into their daughters which consequently affects their behaviour and use of space.

The fear of their daughters' sexual harassment results in restriction from accessing certain locations. As was my case when my parents left me with no chance to go to night clubs. I was left with only 'familial' live shows not young adults' events. In addition, even though the events to which I was allowed to go were familial, I was not allowed to go on my own as my family considered it to be risky to move on my own by night. The solution they suggested was that I would be accompanied the whole time by at least one family member, and, in effect, that was

what happened. Doing this permitted me to introduce a new method of research in the field of ethnography, which I called the ‘chaperone ethnographic’ method.

Within ethnographic accounts little has been written on ‘chaperonage’ where the ethnographer has to be accompanied by another person to conduct a specific research. Chaperonage has been given some credit by Blackman (2007) when he conducted an ethnographic study on female domestic exploitation when he went to see women who had experienced domestic violence and therefore had to be accompanied with a social worker due to safeguarding practices. Other literature on chaperonage has mainly dealt with health issue cases i.e. authors who have referred to chaperones in their works were discussing topics on health, such as the work of Whitburn (2013) who studied young people with vision impairment (VI), who received schooling with the help of paraprofessionals as chaperones; and the work of Allan (2005), where female nurses acted as chaperones during examinations which were intimate in some cases for some female patients. There is also, the work of Van Hecke and Jones (2014) discussing the attitudes of patients towards having a chaperone accompanying the doctor during their examinations. Chaperonage is found to be challenging in the field of health (as it was the case of the last two examples) and mainly in the sector of women’s care (sexual issue/abuse, intimate examination, pregnancy troubles, etc.) as these issues are found to be sensitive to the patient which may necessitate the presence of a third party during the examination giving the patient more comfort. Chaperonage takes place in other fields as well as, for example, the work of Sedzielarz (2003) who conducted an ethnographic study on children who were accompanied by chaperones during a school field trip to a museum.

2.3.2.2.1. Chaperone ethnography in practice

This section explores an example of chaperone ethnography in practice. During the summer of 2019, I was supposed to attend six shows of only male Algerian singers (three of L’Algerino, one of Soolking, one Cheb Bilal and one of Kader) but due to some limitations of tickets I was able to attend only that of L’Algerino in Tizirt’s festival of Belles Nuits de Tizirt.

In late July 2019, L’Algerino announced that he was going to perform two live shows in Algiers three days before these events on his Instagram official account. He kept it secret as a surprise to celebrate the good game that the Algerian national football team was giving in the CAN (African Cup of Nations). He organised one concert for the 18th of July (the eve of the finals) and another for the 20th (a day after the finals). I tried to guarantee tickets after the singer

put the details where the tickets were to be sold and the phone numbers of the team. I contacted my friends living in Algiers as I did not have the means to go to the outlets. Also, it was a strategy for me to gain time as I lived far away and I had only two days in hands to cover everything (tickets, hotel, people to accompany me as the shows would take place by night from 10p.m. to 1a.m.). When my friend went there, he was told that the tickets would be sold on the night of the event on the spot; one day left with no progress. With no support from my family, I had to abandon the event of the 18th leaving all my hopes for that of the 20th. The latter was due on a Saturday, because of the Hirak that took place each Friday: all roads to Algiers were closed by the police (so that people from other provinces would not be able to join their friends in the capital). I decided to go with my little brother on the Saturday early in the morning, buy tickets first and then find a humble hotel where we could spend the night after the event. The Algerian football team won the final game of the African Cup. They were coming back to Algiers on the Saturday. By Saturday the 20th, all national roads leading to Algiers were closed so that the Algerian football team would pass freely. A second occasion when it was impossible for me to attend a concert.

Dispirited, I contacted the festival promoter, Hakim Bellout, who gave me the good news of the official dates and the names of different singers that were about to perform in Les Belles Nuits de Tizirt. This offered me an opportunity to attend three important events (one of Cheb Bilal, one of Kader Japonais and one of L'Algerino). While waiting for the events, I was daily checking the different singers' posts to update myself with their summer programme. Soolking, who left Algeria in 2011 and could not come back since then, announced that he was returning to Algeria. Everybody was waiting for him as he was a number one singer in Algeria since the year before (2018). He announced that finally he was coming back to his country for a large concert in 20th August Stadium, Algiers on the 22nd of August 2019. I was happy as I was there in Algeria. Unlike L'Algerino's concerts, this time I had the time to get things done. He announced that tickets would be available in different branches of the ONDA (Office National des Droits d'Auteurs) in a couple of cities in Algeria including Tizi-Ouzou, my hometown, starting from the 4th of August. I went before the 4th to the office (ONDA) in my town to confirm whether it was true that they would sell the event's tickets there, and if it was true, whether it would be possible for them to keep me some VIP tickets before they were sold out. The man there gave me their office phone number and I left him mine he told me that he would call me whenever the agents came from Algiers as they were the ones to sell the tickets as the ONDA office was just a sale point. I went there on the 4th and was told that they had not received any

agent or any tickets at that point and he asked me to come back the following day. Tickets were already being sold in Algiers. The following day, I was told the same thing. A week passed, and tickets were not brought to our town. In Algiers, things were even worse as thousands of people came from all the provinces to buy tickets. Many incidents happened (sale point not opening during regular opening hours, scrambles, fainting, etc.). I was scared to go to Algiers to buy tickets after seeing that news on social media. Even my family discouraged me to do that. Luckily, the concert of Kader Japonais was going to take place in the same evening in Tigzirt. It was a Rai event which was more relevant to my research, so, I opted for this second show and I abandoned that of Soolking. Everything was fine, my programme was fixed until the eve of the first show that I was about to attend. My grandfather died on the 17th of August and buried on the 18th. All my family members told me that it was not doable to go to a musical event on the day of the burial. On the one hand I was sad for the loss of my grandfather, and on the other hand I felt disappointed because of the events that I involuntarily kept missing. Even my brother, who was supposed to take me, was not ready to go to a musical event in such circumstances though it was the event that he wanted to attend the most as he liked Cheb Bilal. I missed the event of the 18th in Tigzirt. My family was more tolerant for the one of the 22nd. I was ready to go to attend Kader Japonais' event. The evening of the event, I was in the car with my brother, everything was ready, and we were about to go when I called Hakim to let him know that I was coming. The surprise was that the event had been cancelled due to weather conditions. He told me that it was posted in their Facebook account, but I could not check it earlier because of my mourning. It was only on the next day that I could see some light and was able to attend the show of L'Algerino on the 23rd of August.

At previous live events far from my home, necessitating car travel, and taking place at night, I had always been accompanied by at least one member of my family. I was accompanied by a male 'chaperone' rather than a female to protect me. On this basis to do a popular music study at public events in Algeria, I was an ethnographer who needed a chaperone to conduct a whole study, or in my case I was an ethnographer who was 'obliged' to have a companion to be able to go to her fieldwork. For this reason, this research is going to present a new concept to the field of Ethnography consisting of 'chaperone ethnography'.

Through what has been illustrated above, chaperonage is not unusual to the field of research. However, what is specific and different in my case is the type of chaperone involved during my data collection. I did not have a person or chaperone to facilitate the procedure of data collection or to serve as a mediator with the research participants. For me, having a

chaperone was not to grant access but its primary purpose being ‘protection’; that is why my chaperone has always been (a family member). However, what characterises my chaperone ethnography compared to other studies was the involvement of emotions and purpose it was more about adding than compromising. When I was at the major concert venues, I was free to speak with participants, I did not require a guardian. As far as the conservative Algerian context is concerned and my research positionality as an Islamic feminist, this chaperonage allowed me to be independent in the field and, it has given me the power to be negotiate with my family in the field where they became participants, and I was the researcher exploring the people (including them) and the events happening in the field.

The specific research context which generated the strategy of chaperone ethnography derives from my family to some extent preventing me from attending some events. Being an Algerian, I am aware that Algerian society is conservative in nature, and that reputation is extremely important to the people who live there. They do not like to bring shame to their names through living a love story out of marriage, drinking too much alcohol or going to night clubs. For me, as a young female lone researcher, it was really challenging to do a topic on music and on Rai singers in particular as these singers performed mainly in night clubs which were not favourable settings for females wanting to preserve their reputation.

For each event that I had to attend, I had to have a long negotiation with my family members to allow me to attend it. I had to explain to them what kind of event it was, where and what kind of people that would be there as well. In some cases, this negotiation ended either by a verbal fight, as happened once with my mother who was upset when she knew that I asked some of my female cousins to accompany me (as I needed them for my research: they were the ones to film while I was taking notes). My mother was afraid that we would be harassed by young men while there would be only my brother (only one against many) there to protect us. She was scared by the potential for such events that might bring us trouble (fights and harassments). Trying to convince her how important it was to attend those events, and that all things were under control was not enough, making me in some cases raise my voice or break my phone (crash it). Or in other cases, the negotiations ended up in tears because I had to miss an event after they had refused to take me and prevented me from going by my own as was the case when I saw the announcement by one of the female Rai singers, that she was having a live event in my hometown for the celebration of Amazigh New Year. I looked for the place where she was about to perform. I found that it was a hotel in a town called Maklaa, I checked the

reviews concerning that hotel and found that it had a good reputation. I waited for my brother to tell him to take me there after my father had refused to do it; the excuse was

the problem is not with the singer but the environment and the people there; if it was in another place like the House of Culture or another familial setting I am the one to take you. But in a hotel, there will be those who drink and consume drugs. It is not safe at all.

After hearing my father's words, I almost knew what was going to be my brother's opinion, yet I wanted to try my chance. Once he arrived, I called him to my bedroom and asked him whether he knew a certain hotel in the town of Maklaa, he directly told me, even before I completed my sentence

It's a night club, don't bother yourself. [and left the room without waiting for my response]

This left me desperate and disappointed as I felt again that my family had let me down and could not understand to what extent those events were important for my research. I felt unable to go and had to give up on the event with tears in my eyes.

Where the restrictions were overcome, for the events I could attend, I was accompanied by more than one family member (brother+ cousins or Parents+ aunts). The fact of being accompanied in the field by my family members never prevented my study from being conducted in the way it was supposed to be conducted. I could observe that the main reason for their accompaniment was to protect me (in the case of my brother and father), and to attend and have fun in the live events (in the case of my mother, aunts and cousins). The notion of protection was not present all the time, as I realised that what my family was afraid of was not the fact of attending events, rather going there on my own. As both my brother and father on different occasions drove me to the settings and left me doing my job (they did not stay the whole time by my side to protect me). They knew that I had to meet men and talk to them once in the field, and this did not bother them as I was secure once being in the centre of the working team. For my part, I was not bothered knowing that my family was there, as I could balance between my relationships where I made them implicitly understand that once in the field, I was not their daughter anymore, but a researcher. I was not seeing them as my family but as participants who came to attend live events at any time that I started observing the setting. At the same time, I have always been so proud to project this image of a successful woman in their eyes who is able to communicate with leaders of the festivals I have attended. I felt so happy to

be given this opportunity where my parents and family could see how successful I was in my research career.

2.4. Theoretical framework

In this section, I will deal with the theoretical framework this Ph.D. has adopted that of Max Weber's *Verstehen* (or interpretive sociology). I will first provide a brief definition of this theory, then, illustrate the criticism this theory had on positivism and the solutions (focus, aim and claims) it had brought to the field of humanities (social sciences). I will also explain how this *Verstehen*, serves both the methodology of this Ph.D., that is, ethnography and the approach of data analysis, i.e., grounded theory. As a last point in this section, I will introduce my research positionality which falls into Islamic feminism in relation to Max Weber's *Verstehen*.

At a linguistic level, *Verstehen* originates from German signifying 'understanding'. At a theoretical level, *Verstehen* refers to 'a systematic process in which an outside observer attempts to relate it and make understandable by others [that is] identifying the meaning as well as cause of social phenomena.' (Abdul Rashid 2015: 1). This methodology is often attributed to the German philosopher and sociologist Max Weber who challenged the positivist point of view in studying human behaviour and social events put into value experience and belief as matters of research (Crossman 2021). In other words, *Verstehen* looks for the interpretation of the human actions and gives meaning through understanding (or revealing) their historical motives (Chowdhury 2014).

During the period when Weber was developing his new sociological approach, natural science (or positivism) was dominating the world of research. The latter consists of finding objective and generalisable connections between the explainer and the explanandum using universal laws (Marquis 1968). These laws, Weber (1949) says, are crucial for natural science as they (laws) measure 'concrete' and individual events' 'universal unconditional validity'. Trying to follow this positivist methodology, Max Weber found it difficult to quantify human individuals in terms of experience and behaviour (Gann 2017). Adorjan and Kelly (2016: 2) believe that it is inappropriate to adopt a

deductive model to the study of history, culture, society and individual motive. Because human beings have a subjective inner world, a different methodology and conceptual framework was necessary. Moreover, this model had to emphasis [sic.] the uniqueness of social action...

Concerned with the objective nature of an external world, Weber believed the natural sciences were unable to accommodate this intersubjective reality. (Emphasis added)

Positive sociology for Weber, in this respect, was a deficiency (Crossman 2021). In effect, there are two main limitations in positivism that led to the introduction of *Verstehen*. On the one hand, positivists have denied the fact that statistics need to be interpreted to give them meaning and decide the extent of their relevance (Abdul Rashid 2015; Tucker 1965). On the other hand, the definition of the real world based on a positivist observation could not be complete as there were ‘hidden patterns’ which belonged to the field of sociology or social sciences (Chowdhury 2014: 335). Weber (1949: 56-57), for his part, claims that normative standards become dissolute once the focus moves from ‘the concrete problems’ to the ‘problems of economic and social policy’ as ‘we cannot learn the meaning of the world from the results of its analysis...’ as he continues ‘we not only observe human conduct but can and desire to understand it’ (Weber 1949: 83).

Weber was one of the thinkers who gave credit to the ‘mind’ and its importance in, approximately (Weber 1947: 97; Fulbrook 1978: 72), understanding individuals and their social actions and organisations (or categorisations) (Adorjan and Kelly 2016; Tucker 1965). In his attempt to understand human behaviour, Weber, hence, abandoned the traditional focus on individual concrete phenomena and shifted his focus onto collective and abstract characteristics (or cultural values) namely historical events, social institutions, belief systems, governments, nations, churches, and cultures, as he believes that human individuals are ‘cultural beings’ who ‘develop ideas concerning desirable or obligatory ways in which their coexistence should be structured’ (Burger 1977: 168). Weber (1949: 72) explains the main aim of his theory by saying that

Our aim is the understanding of the charlatanistic uniqueness of the reality in which we move. We wish to understand on the one hand the relationships and the cultural significance of individual events in their contemporary manifestations and on the other the causes of their being historically so and not otherwise.

He is interested in the external motivations that define what Weber calls ideal roles that reside in the individual to fulfil what Weber (1949: 57) refers to as dogmatic cultural values. Tucker (1965: 159-160) defines external motives as ‘the goal orientation of the individual (or individuals) involved’, in other words, the causes behind a certain action. What captures Weber’s attention to interpret social actions are these contextual motives (Marquis 1968; Burger

1977), i.e., taking into consideration the conditions under which social meaning is created (McKerrell 2016).

In this Ph.D., the importance of Weber's interpretive approach played a significant role in the development of an inductive approach advanced at the Chicago School resulting in the introduction of urban ethnography as a new method of research (Adorjan and Kelly 2016). According to Gann (2017) Verstehen is primarily based on observation where the researcher's mind is a tabula rasa as they go to the field, as opposed to the positivist perspective, they go with no expectations of what to find there. In effect, during fieldwork for this Ph.D., observation was the dominant method producing direct data. Here, we can relate to the ethnographic principle of 'making the familiar strange and the strange familiar' as nothing can be taken for granted especially that 'what "things themselves" say will be different in light of the changing research horizons and the different questions researchers learn to ask' (Chowdhury 2014: 336). In this respect, the ethnographic approach falls into the same category as Weber's interpretive sociology where the former's aim is to interpret the meaning of the research participants' discussions and behaviours to reach 'the highest standard of understandability [or Verstehen per se]' (phrase added) (Turco and Zuckerman 2017: 1280). On the one hand, ethnography is about the recitation of facts happening in foreign places (for the researcher) through the subjects' perspective (Crossman 2021). On the other hand, ethnography is also about the ability of the researcher to give meaning to what is happening in those places through sorting 'winks from twitches' and produce 'thick description' (Geertz 1973: 16). Weber (1949: 82) raises the decisive role of the researcher themselves as, for him, there would be no 'meaningful knowledge' of the reality without the investigator's 'evaluative ideas' to clarify cultural significance that cannot be reached through concrete scientific values. In addition to understanding the subjects' behaviour, an ethnography, as is the situation in this Ph.D., goes further in explaining in detail the historical conditions of the events (before, during and after) and reveals the causal mechanisms of particular behaviours and conditions (Turco and Zuckerman 2017). Following the same path, Glaser and Strauss (1967) rejected the empirical methodology and formulated a methodology (grounded theory) based on the generation of theory via regular return to the fieldwork to get better understanding of the concepts (Adorjan and Kelly 2016). Verstehen defined my work as I was searching for meaning and understanding in every research context.

2.4.1. Feminist positionality

In the following section, I will deal with my positionality from a feminist perspective. I will discuss what Islamic feminism is, its origins, the related issues and debates, and its influence on my research and myself.

Islamic feminism is one of the multiple forms of feminism that seeks to guarantee a social, economic and political democracy for women in an Islamic paradigm and through a direct understanding of the Qur'an (Badran 2002; 2010a). As a movement, it aims to eradicate patriarchy and empower Muslim women (Mir-Hosseini 2006) within the framework of Islam, that is, via the use of 'authentic' and 'well-understood' instructions of Islam (Alak 2015). The term 'Islamic feminism' appeared (Kynsilenhto 2008) after a group of Muslim activist women started publishing in journals, to incite founding organisations to promote women's rights and improve their position at the internal (family) and external (politics) levels (Jawad 2003). According to Badran (2008; 2010b), Islamic feminism is based on two major concepts: gender and feminism. It was attributed this appellation due to the strategy of re-reading the sacred texts (Qur'an) to reach justice. It is worth noting that feminist social activism dates back at least to the 1920s, when the movement propagated under its Arabic name *nisa'iyat* (the equivalent of Womanism in English) in Egypt. This explains why heroines of feminism in the Arab world are not 'young' women with miniskirts, as Fatima Mernissi asserts (2002: 160), but women who are 'the age of grandmothers, grey-haired [sic.] and with quavering voices, but whose remarks are full of vitriol'.

Badran (2008; 2010a) claims that Islamic feminism, as a movement per se, became increasingly visible from the late twentieth century in different countries thanks to the contribution of its major figures. The Malaysian Sister in Islam, for instance, issued pamphlets to raise awareness about domestic violence against women in the mid-1980s. Similarly, a group named the Global Movement for Equality and Justice in the Muslim Family established *Musawah* (Arabic word for equality). Fatima Mernissi's study in 1991 equally denounced the misogyny of Hadiths (misuse of Hadiths), in parallel with Zanan's publications in Iran that addressed gender equality and justice in 1992. Amina Wadud's influential study in 1992, likewise, called for 'tafsir al Qur'an bi al Qur'an (interpretation of the Qur'an based on the Qur'an itself)' (original focus) from a female perspective (Wadud 1999:5). These scholars of the Islamic feminist movement advocated similar goals, such as entry to the labour force, gaining political rights (Tønnessen 2014: 11), a return to early Islam to attain a new vision of

womanhood, investigating family issues (marriage, divorce, custody...) from a female perspective, etc. (Jawad 2003: 111).

The issue that female feminist activists address is the creation of political systems which exploit misused and misinterpreted elements of Islam (Shari'ah) to legislate political ideologies that include family law. (Mir-Hosseini 2009). According to Mir-Hosseini (2009), modern nations (mainly Islamic ones) espouse Shari'ah (universal, eternal, divine thus infallible) to fiqh jurisprudence, (local, temporal, human thus fallible), and tend to consider man-made establishments (fiqh) as Allah's instructions (Shari'ah). Thus, they use the former as 'a means to silence and frustrate Muslims' search for legal justice and equality, which are intrinsic to this worldly-justice' (Mir-Hosseini 2006: 633). Wadud (1999) conveys her worry about the degree of authenticity of such interpretations, due to the unequal values they engender. This led her to question such male 'traditional tafasir' and suspect the exclusion of women, their desires, and their needs while interpreting sacred texts.

To date, Muslim societies put restrictions on women and impose gender divisions which limit women's public appearance (less job opportunities, unequal salaries, etc.) and interaction (no involvement in discussions with the opposite sex) and render their quest for equal considerations partially impossible (Wadud-Muhsin 2007). Women are given consideration only in terms of marriage and divorce, i.e., they are limited to their sexuality and male satisfaction because of the historical and cultural subversion of their equal status granted by God (Williams 2014). In effect, many imams warn about gender mixing as unveiled women exhibit their bodies and make themselves beautiful and offend the public, men in particular (Mernissi 2002). Moreover, Mernissi (2002) asserts that since around the fifth century women and wine are considered in Arab countries to be the source of conflicts in society which is why the former had to be confined (or boxed) and the latter banned. During the Black Decade in Algeria (as highlighted in chapter one), for instance, Abbassi Madani delivered a sexist speech where he called 'on the name of Islamic religion' to purify the Algerian society which, according to him, was spoiled by the legislation of wine, gender mixing in public institutions, and free mobility for unveiled women (the speech is provided in appendix 11) (ibid.). A more recent example is the Taliban case which forces women to be fully covered and chaperoned by a male relative once they leave their domicile. Indeed, some Muslim countries resist modernity as they consider it a Western characteristic that goes against the 'Islamic' principles (Mir-Hosseini 2009). Gender equality, in particular, is seen as a threat since it deviates from the 'real'

instruction of the Shari'ah (both Hadiths and Qur'an) which exclusively allows knowledge seeking for women and reserves a high place for educated believers, hence, '[w]omen have the right to learn and choose their career' (Ireiqat 2015: 3).

Henceforth, women wanted to understand the motives behind gender inequality in Muslim societies and whether Qur'an in itself was the origin (Badran 2010a). For this purpose, Islamic feminists, such as Amina Wadud, encouraged a return to the original text (Qur'an) to review the words and the contexts from a female perspective, free from any stereotypes to seek its real and authentic meanings, i.e., to draw reliable interpretations (Wadud 1999). Additionally, these re-readings would enable Islamic feminists to prove Islam's consideration of all human beings as equal, regardless of gender. It would also provide them with verses and chapters from the Qur'an to back up their claim and denounce any corrupted patriarchal activities (Tønnessen 2014). Mir-Hosseini (2009) suggests that understanding the difference between Shari'ah and fiqh is one of the key steps towards an Islamic-based gender equality. Initially, Islam acknowledged women's status and granted them rights, protection, and respect which were exclusive to women of noble families (Wadud-Muhsin 2007). Additionally, Islam freed women from being inherited like objects by men and became inheritors (receive legal shares) per se (Mernissi 1987; Stowasser 1984; Gerner 1984). In the sight of Allah, all human beings are the same, and they will be judged according to one criterion: taqwa, i.e., their deeds and intentions during their lifetime, rather than their nationality, race, wealth or gender (see the verses 49: 13 and 16:97 in appendix 12) (Badran 2002; Jawad 2003). There are many Hadiths which prove that women in the time of the Prophet used to give their opinions independently and requested to participate in serious discussions with him and his sahaba (Companions) (Al-Faruqi 2005). Following the Prophet's instructions before his death, Aisha, (his wife) whose advice was highly sought, reported many of the Hadiths. Additionally, Islamic feminists provided evidence from the sacred texts that women have the right to independently own businesses, money and properties. The texts also highlighted that none of the belongings/properties of the woman would be affected after marriage, that is, they remain exclusively hers and, in the case where she commits an offence, her penalty would be the same as her male counterpart (see verse 24:2 in appendix 12) (ibid.). Therefore, in Islam men and women receive the same rewards and punishments. The differences in interpretations, however, are due to the divergence in the socio-cultural backgrounds and political ideologies of nations' leaders, which leads to discrepancies based on religion such as where polygamy may be allowed in a country (Algeria) and banned in another (Tunisia).

As far as my research is concerned, the context of my data collection was ‘conservative’. I could notice how much my research participants’ responses were influenced by the religious and patriarchal domination of society which Weber (1949) referred to as part of ideal types accentuated by one-sided points of view of a dominated ‘historical’ group of people in regulating certain social relationships to exercise authority on others. Women in Algeria tend to be chaperoned by men because people are misled by the ideological and political interpretation of Islam, and its impact on legislating laws that promote gender inequality especially at the family level (see Family Code in chapter one). Most Algerian men (and some women as well) are convinced of their eligibility to control, entitling themselves to make decisions in the household and forcing women to obey. Wadud (1999) believes that, in spite of the religious distinctions between men and women in terms of morphology and tasks to accomplish, there is no verse in the Qur’an which asserts that these differences are in favour of men. In fact, the point that Wadud wants to raise here is that Allah’s goal from this differentiation is for believers to reach compatibility between each other, that is, men and women are different because Allah wants them to complement each other. Likewise, Al-Faruqi (2005) believes that there are different functions for men and women, responsibly equal but not necessarily identical and that is intended to create a harmony between them instead of a competition. Therefore, from a feminist angle, I believe that Muslim women, Algerian women in particular, are not socially and politically given the same and exact rights which their religion granted them. Most Algerian women live in patriarchal surroundings which limit their freedom, as my data have shown. In some places, female audiences avoid listening to a certain genre of music at wedding parties because it is considered shameful. Then at other musical events, I observed women singing and dancing in ways that previously would have been prohibited. Furthermore, I believe that such instructions should be revisited and authentically corrected under the ‘real instructions’ of Islam, in order to establish a balanced gender division in society and abandon the ‘cultural connotation of interpretation’ (Williams 2014: 13) of religion to grant equity to women.

As far as the Kabyle region is concerned (as most of my fieldwork was conducted in Tizi-Ouzou which is known as the great Kabylie), in general, the Kabyle region is believed to be less influenced by the Islamic (and any other) religion and having a secularist tradition (Ait Ali 2017) and the Kabyle women, consequently, are freer and more independent. Ait Ali (2017) asserts that Kabyles did not welcome the Islamic religion as they saw it as a social mechanism with which they would be deprived from their lands.

Henceforth, it appears that the Kabyle region do not relate to the Islamic Shari'a yet the data have showed the opposite. Most of the qualitative surveys were distributed at the university of Mouloud Mammeri Tizi-Ouzou which is mostly populated by Kabyles and through my contact with my research participants while distributing the surveys and conducting the interviews I can confirm that they were Kabyle (as I was talking to them during informal conversations in Kabyle and they responded with it). In the responses of these research participants many of them referred to the misuse of religion and the fact that this latter was used as an instrument to oppress Algerian women. This leads us to understand that Kabyle women are not separated from the Islamic religion as these women are Algerian in addition to being Kabyle. They obey the same system (government) that is inspired from the Islamic religion which the Kabyle women apply as the rest of the Algerian population.

2.5. Research paradigm

This Ph.D. is interdisciplinary in nature and follows a qualitative research approach. It aims to examine the position and representation of the Algerian woman within the Algerian popular musical sector. This study aims at understanding the way the Algerian people (young adults in particular) view the activities of the Algerian singers focusing on two categories of singers: Female Raï singers and Franco-Algerian male singers. The initial data suggested certain gender inequalities in the musical experiences which required further elaboration.

In this context, and as a way to explore my research questions, this study has adopted the social constructivist paradigm. The word paradigm is believed to have its root from Greek meaning 'pattern' (Kivunja and Kuyini 2017: 26) and first used by Thomas Kuhn (Bryman 2008) 'as a framework to assist in the true understanding' of the world (Edwards and Skinner 2009) or simply 'our way of understanding the reality of the world and studying it' (Rehman and Alharthi 2016: 51). In his book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Kuhn (1996) introduced this term to natural sciences to describe the research process and to argue that each study has its own paradigm which cannot be compatible with that of another research. Thus, this perspective of thinking or dominant approach termed paradigm, understands the nature of reality according to its specific principles (Kaushik and Walsh 2019), also, guides the researcher's choice of a relevant methodology for their work. It can be found under other appellations used by different researchers or authors such as worldview (Creswell and Creswell 2018). This worldview of social constructivism aims to explain how the world is perceived, and

‘distil... what we think about the world’ (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 15). Kivunja and Kuyivi (2017: 26) describe this concept as follows:

It constitutes the abstract beliefs and principles that shape how a researcher sees the world, and how s/he interprets and acts within that world... It is the lens through which a researcher looks at the world. It is the conceptual lens through which the researcher examines the methodological aspects of their research project to determine the research methods that will be used and how the data will be analysed.

Kivunja and Kuyivi suggest that the paradigm shapes the methodology that a researcher selects for their work. In effect, not only the methodology but also the epistemology and the ontology of the work. This Ph.D. falls into the social constructivist paradigm. Social constructivism (or Constructivism) is usually combined or used interchangeably with interpretivism, and it is seen an approach attributed primarily to qualitative research (Creswell and Creswell 2018). It came as a reaction to the positivist paradigm that focused on a deductive, objective, and context free way of conducting research and nomothetic generalizations (Lincoln and Guba 2000). Social constructivism emphasises the multiplicity of realities and aims at understanding the way the world is seen by individuals (Creswell 2007) following a mainly qualitative, inductive and contextual approach (Morgan 2007). In this sense, Lincoln, and Guba (1985: 49) argue that the researcher has to be involved in discussions with the researched and make the context a fundamental entity to understand the setting (or fieldwork) in order to produce an ‘idiographic’ interpretation (implying that the participants are the core actors of the investigation). Lincoln and Guba (1985: 43) continue by saying that ‘N [Naturalist] cannot specify the precise form of the data to be sought, he or she must fall back on an open- ended adaptive instrument: the human being...’ i.e. the conclusion of the researcher is dependent on the responses of their participants as there are multiple realities and these people are best-placed to give sense to the different interpretations of the multiple realities in their local settings. Hence, constructivism is grounded on understanding the ‘human mind’ and how it shapes or constructs the reality that the world is based on (Balbi 2008: 16). This Ph.D. places a position of importance on the ‘lived experiences’ and different voices of the research participants. At the same time, this work focuses on understanding and interpreting gender inequality in the musical sector both face to face and through YouTube channels and Instagram accounts of the different musical artists. The participants were the ones who controlled the direction of the research along with my research priorities. During my data collection I had direct contact with my participants focused on

subjective interaction and a context dependent investigation, and thus generated data from a constructivist position.

It is worth noting that the way different paradigms were treated differed i.e. what is named as ‘constructivism’ by some researchers such as Lincoln, Lynham and Guba (2017) is called ‘interpretivism’ by other researchers such as Bhattacharjee (2012). In this Ph.D., I used them interchangeably as they have the same view of the world and the same process of knowledge inquiry which matches with the followed methodology of this study that I introduce in the next section (the ethnographic approach of the Chicago School) and the procedure of data collection (grounded theory). Constructivists believe in the multiplicity of realities and the aim of their research is to understand the nature of these realities (Creswell and Clark 2018). For this reason, Constructivism applies a natural way of conducting research where the researcher is considered as an instrument of research who has to be present in the fieldwork, build subjective and trustful relationship with people under study, and directly interact with them (either via observation or interview) to obtain first-hand data of how they understand a reality or construct knowledge about particular phenomena relying on their personal and social experiences (Bhattacharjee 2012).

2.6.Review of literature of the methodology

2.6.1. Ethnography: the Chicago School approach

This study is ethnographic in nature with its focus on groups of people, institutions or organisations bound by a common language, boundaries or culture (Draper 2015). It has to do with the study of human beings, their cultural patterns, behaviours, experiences, etc. (Altheide 1987) involving the direct presence and sometimes the participation of the ethnographer without being influential to the community they study (Brewer 2000: 10). As a research method, ethnography originated in anthropology (Harman and Harklau 2013; Genzuk 2003; Watson and Till 2010) and consisted of moving to ‘exotic and foreign places’ and living with foreign people in order to explore them and their cultures which are generally different to that of the ethnographer (Cohen 1993; Roberts 2009; Shagrir 2017). The key figure in systematising and exploring ethnography through participant observation was Malinowski. Blackman (2016: 66) states that ‘he pitched his tent at Omarakana in the Trobriand Islands and set about learning the local language.’ In the beginning of his book, Malinowski (1922) narrated his own experience of conducting an ethnographic research and proposed an effective way to achieve a successful

observation. For Malinowski, the first step to be close to the natives was to learn their language. He tried to learn the language of the natives he was studying by means of trade (grabbing names of products while selling them). In doing so, the crucial thing for Malinowski was to avoid any bias and pre-judgement on the natives. Moving to the village, Malinowski knew that it could be challenging, even bizarre, but it would become natural through time especially by adopting the exact daily lifestyle of the natives (he was a complete insider). In this context Malinowski (1922: 6) shares how his life became integrated in the village

As I went on my morning walk through the village, I could see intimate details of family life, of toilet, cooking, taking of meals; I could see the arrangements for the day's work, people starting on their errands, or groups of men and women busy at some manufacturing tasks ... Quarrels, jokes, family scenes, events usually trivial, sometimes dramatic but always significant, formed the atmosphere of my daily life, as well as of theirs... I had to learn how to behave, and to a certain extent, I acquired "the feeling" for native good and bad manners. With this, and with the capacity of enjoying their company and sharing some of their games and amusements, I began to feel that I was indeed in touch with the natives, and this is certainly the preliminary condition of being able to carry on successful field work.

It was indeed my aim as I attended larger popular music events and smaller wedding ceremonies to observe and be part of the setting and breathe with the people. Observation, as stated in this quotation, necessitates in some cases both the physical and mental presence of the researcher. It can sometimes not be enough to share the same activities as the participants to convince them to accept the researcher among them. To get rid of the 'iceberg', a researcher has to show that they care about what their participants are feeling and facing and show the same emotions as them (see: Malinowski's *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* -1967). Bronislaw K. Malinowski, in effect, is considered as the founder of this approach (O'Reilly 2005). He believed that the major feature of ethnography is understanding the participant's vision and interpretation of the world (Gobo 2011).

Traditional ethnographic studies have been criticised on the basis that Western cultures defined themselves as superior to the 'Other' cultures (Savin-Baden and Major 2013). For this reason, Chicago School researchers during the 1920s and 1930s started studying their own urban culture and pursuing biographical approaches; a methodology which has come to be called by Draper (2015: 36) as 'modern Ethnography'. This approach focuses heavily on in-depth interaction between the researcher and the researched (Cohen 1993) while the former has

to move to the setting of the latter, live there from months to years (Sharp, Dittrich and De Souza 2016), get used to their life, behaviour and culture so as to be able to understand each of their moves and translate them later to fieldnotes (Hine, Kendall and Boyd 2009; Agar 2004; Brewer 2000; Krüger 2008) especially when it is not the ethnographer's own culture (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Hine (2008) insists on the importance of getting familiar with the culture it is intended to study as any lack of knowledge or any inconvenience may lead to failing in the realisation of an effective ethnography there. Ethnography is characterized by its focus on the informants' opinions where the research is shaped by '...whatever the informant judges as important rather than what ... [the ethnographer] thinks is important' (Sharp, Dittrich and De Souza 2016: 789). Sharp, Dittrich and De Souza (2016: 791) reintroduced the same idea by saying that ethnography '...explains why things are the way they are, from the community's point of view'. In this thesis, my own ethnography held to some of the principles of the Chicago School, as I was studying my own culture in a location which I was familiar with. So, my background influenced my research positionality in conducting data collection.

Giving a straightforward definition to Ethnography is not an easy task, yet some authors like Reeves, Kuper and Hodges (2008: 1) succeeded in giving a clear explanation to this approach as follows:

Ethnography is the study of social interactions, behaviours, and perceptions that occur within groups, teams, organisations, and communities. Its roots can be traced back to anthropological studies of small, rural ... societies... in early 1900's... [which were] later adopted by members of the Chicago School of Sociology... and applied to a variety of urban settings in their studies of social life.

Ethnography is an interdisciplinary research method within sociology, cultural studies, media and communication, politics and social psychology and cultural geography (Watson and Till 2010). Pink (2013) argues that ethnography does not belong to any discipline, and that it is not a discipline by itself rather a methodology. Indeed, it is a 'qualitative approach' (Jones and Smith 2017) that aims to realise an in-depth and a 'thick description' (Geertz 1973) or explanation of the culture or the phenomenon under study which is generally obtained thanks to what has been documented and analysed (Kharel 2015), also, the way this culture is perceived by its people (Naidoo 2012; Reeves, Kuper and Hodges 2008). Geertz (1973: 10) considers ethnography to be a microscopic practice and doing it 'is like trying to read ... a manuscript-foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalized graphs of sound but in transient examples of

shaped behavior'. In other words, ethnography is focused on understanding the behaviour of a given people in a given social environment and how the latter influences the former (Wilson and Anmol 2009; Roberts 2009). Additionally, ethnography occurs 'within the doing of it' (Robertson 2016: 259) and the craft of the ethnography takes shape through the writing and reading at an interactive level to produce a living text of experience. Moreover, ethnography adopts interpretivist epistemology and develops a naturalistic paradigm for studying a social phenomenon (Krüger 2008) known as 'naturalism' necessitating that 'the social world should be studied in its potential 'natural state', undisturbed by the researcher.' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 7). According to Draper (2015), and as explained above, interpretivists consider cultural context as a fundamental element that must not be ignored in any study as they believe that the world is about people's experiences which project different meanings, and it is the role of these interpretivists and ethnographers to interpret them in a natural (Sandiford 2015) and real context (Bryman 2016). It is on this basis that the idea of the musical mosaic could try and capture the intense experience of musical production and reception by young Algerian people.

A key feature of my fieldwork which was dramatic and difficult at times related to the value of the preparation, I had to be flexible and reflective in relation to my positionality in the field. In terms of data collection, the researcher has to decide right from the beginning whether the research approach will be an overt one where the informants will be aware of the observation, or covert by not completely exposing themselves as a researcher in the field (Jones and Smith 2017). In other words, as a researcher, they had to decide whether they would be an outsider (i.e. as an etic) and be there just to observe and to take notes needed for their study, or as an insider (emic) where they are going to take a role in the majority of the activities in the setting they are studying (Jones and Smith 2017) in addition to accessing 'to insider feelings, motivations and meanings' of the participants (Hodkinson 2005: 140). In some cases, this position is determined depending on the depth and the closeness of the relationship between the researcher and the researched. Hall (2014: 2181) has shared her experience of facing some awkward moments in her research and said,

That I was studying the families was central in my being positioned as an 'outsider', since becoming a family member is almost impossible. This was compounded by that fact that I lived at a discernible distance from what participants regarded as my 'home', where my family lived. My 'outsiderness' was confirmed by participants' descriptions of me. On numerous occasions I was referred to as a 'Woollyback'— a colloquial and comical (if not slightly derogatory) term for someone from outside the region.

Maxwell (2013) claims that it is all a matter of dependence. Sometimes, it is not up to the researcher to decide how to position themselves in their fieldwork, instead the nature of the study imposes a specific positionality on them. In Hall's case it was her chosen setting that defined her positionality as she could not be an insider since she was not a biological member of each family she studied and lived with. This limitation, in effect, 'imposed' on her the position of the 'outsider' researcher even though she was living in the home of her participants. During my own research, the restriction imposed by my family generated the compromise of chaperone ethnography in order to work through the research process. Bryman (2016) argues that in some cases it is necessary for the ethnographer to be an 'insider' in the field as they may lose their reliability when projecting a lack of commitment in the participants' activities or in their daily life routine. From my fieldwork, I have always considered myself an 'outsider insider' (Holliday 2016) as being in musical events it cannot be possible for the research to be a complete insider in spite of the gained access. I always felt that my 'insiderness' was not full, as I was not able to communicate with everybody because of the large number of people being there.

The ethnographer, once in the field, has to be both reflexive and flexible as it is a long process and learning is constant (Hine, Kendall and Boyd 2009) ending up with conclusions that were not expected at the beginning (Agar 2004). I personally found it easy to have contact with my informants as I came from the same culture as them. We shared the same language, culture and beliefs (to some extent). It was not hard for them to get in touch with me and share thoughts about different aspects of their lives. The only challenge for me, at the beginning of the research, was the shift in the type of relation with people for whom I used to be 'natural' (moving from a personal/friendly to a professional/serious relationship). Here again the flexibility of the researcher defines the situation. According to Blackman (2016: 68) positionality is about how 'researchers locate themselves in relation to participants, and how relationships are formed that demonstrate honesty and openness'.

As a final point in this section, an ethnographic research necessitates the use of a range of tools such as observation and interviews which are, as discussed earlier, the dominant techniques used in this approach (Krüger 2008; Hall 2014; Jones and Smith 2017; Bryman 2016). In addition to these two methods, Genzuk (2003: 1) added documents that produce 'narrative description' including the use of journals, cultural artefacts (Jones and Smith 2017), 'photographs, audio and video recordings, the collection of the life histories or written documents, and narrative analysis' (Harman and Harklau 2013: 217) as well as many other

methods that are applied to produce ‘flexible and open-ended’ data (Brewer 2000) (see: Watson and Till 2010: 122).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced both the research methods and the methodology that this study has adopted in order to collect relevant data to be able to respond to the research questions. First, I introduced the different research tools used during this study to collect data back home (Algeria) namely observation, interviews, visuals and online ethnography; followed by research questions that this Ph.D. sought to respond to. Additionally, I provided a detailed account of my data collection and data analysis process where in the latter I introduced a new method of research, chaperone ethnography, which emerged during my fieldwork due to some conservative restrictions. In this chapter, I also introduced the theoretical framework that influenced the data analysis of this study (Max’ Weber’s interpretive sociology) in addition to my research positionality that falls into Islamic feminism; both joined together to provide a meaning to the data and the context and circumstances in which they were constructed. Then, I introduced the research paradigm that this Ph.D. adopted consisting of social constructivism. In the final section, I gave a broad scope of the methodology of this study namely the ethnographic approach of the Chicago School.

Chapter Three: Between the Gender Lines: an online ethnography on Algerian female Raï singers and male Franco-Algerian singers.

Introduction

The position of Raï has always been controversial in Algeria (Schade-Poulsen 2001). It has long resisted governmental control censorship. However, my gatekeeper, an events promoter, has said in an interview 'Raï is officially recognised and protected by the UNESCO' (since 2017), but it still faces negative criticism from sections of the Algerian population such as that having religious orientations as discussed in chapter one. It appears that comments, especially through social media networks, become more aggressive when the post is made about a female singer, where a male singer generally receives appreciation from the audience. Thus, in this chapter I shall be critically looking at both female Raï singers and male Franco-Algerian singers based on an online observation of their different social platforms namely Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. This work will ethnographically explore these artists focusing on their style and dress, their performance, and the material they release. The aim behind this is to explore the similarities and differences between these two gender categories of singers, and to highlight any contradiction in the perception of these Algerian musical artists.

3.1. Female Raï singers

In this chapter the data is categorised into two major sections (3.1. and 3.2.). These sections are identified in relation to the category of the singers under study, i.e., the first section is about the female Raï singers and the second is about the Franco-Algerian male singers. This research has the aim of investigating the situation of women in the Algerian musical sector and to draw a comparison between them and their male counterparts and the latter is used as evidence and a mirror reflecting gender inequality in contemporary Algeria.

There is a difference in size between the two sections, the first section on female artists is longer (approximately double size) than the second section on male artists and that is due to two main reasons. Firstly, the female Raï singers served as a concrete example of gender inequality in the Algerian musical sector. Secondly, the data on women raised further social and cultural issues related to feminist theory, in contrast, the male singers who tended to

conform to traditional masculine identities including the use of nationalism through the Algerian flag and materialism through use of cars and jewellery in popular music videos.

3.1.1. Style and dress

In terms of style and dress, many similarities were shared between the chebat¹³. These women tended to make different modifications to their bodies and appearances in three areas: hair, tattoos, and piercings. They projected a high degree of femininity; be it clothes or makeup which the singers identified as being ‘attractive’. The female Rai singers adorned their bodies in a sexualised way through social media. According to the data within the qualitative surveys, some of the research participants believed that these Chebat were transgressing the Algerian social and religious taboos by wearing revealing clothes, bold make up, performing in night clubs for strange men, and dealing with sensitive topics which might result in a bad influence for the generations to come. It would appear from the discussions that participants saw the female singer’s image as transgressive and in conversation some participants felt the need to make negative comments in order to show that they disapproved such women. However, certain participants appeared to be speaking for Algerian society rather than for themselves. For example; see the following comments

Akli (m)

Most of them don’t have the principles of an artist and they don’t even respect their selves [sic.] obviously the public won’t respect them.

Tafsut (f)

... may be [sic.] people would have respected them much more than they do now. But. since they post dirty videos and pictures, I think it is very normal to not have any respect to these women, be they singers or not.

and Tilelli (f)

...I don’t like listening to women singing Rai (most of them) as Rai music does not fit on females. Also, females who sing this genre are found to be out of the tradition (not all of them). [translated from Arabic by RK]

It was identified that some research participants put personal conservative ideas about female Rai singers and their performance in their assertions; this included the use of certain phrases and terms such as ‘our society’, ‘principle’ or ‘tradition’. From the fieldwork, it can be

suggested that their judgements were influenced by their surrounding be it social (family) or religious (Islam). These external factors prevented some people, such as these participants, from responding with their real feelings under circumstances where it might be recognised that they supported such apparent ‘transgressive’ musical artists. Later, I shall offer a detailed assessment that contradicts this conservative position.

In the following section, I will explore three aspects of female body modification: hair, tattoos, and piercing. First, all female Raï singers changed their basic hair colour mainly to black or blonde (black is dominant). In the observation from videos and live concert performances, I noticed on the comments of the audience that there were two colours which were considered to be the colours worn by so called ‘non-respectful’ and ‘bad-behaved’ women in society as confirmed by my 19 year old participant Tannina (f)

The way they keep changing their style like their haircuts, the colours they wear. I am not saying that these things are wrong, but not in our society; people reject girls adopting such behaviour. Also, the pictures they post reinforce the negative image people have about them ... our country is a religious one. There are some acts that we do not have to do, maybe in other countries it is accepted. Posting pictures with different men, faking her body, tattoos, singing in night clubs. How can people love them in this case?

The female Raï singers’ use of hair colour and changing their hair style was interpreted by conservative young people as ‘shocking’. The response seemed to be directed not merely at these artists but to assert that Algeria had conservative values which were challenged by these female artists. From within the fieldwork, I have found that people like Tannina (f) do not truly direct their comments to the artists but rather to Algeria and its conservative values. This may lead us to critically reflect that these female artists were a mediating device which affirms the conservative values they then attack and challenge. This was found by the audience as being ‘daring’ and ‘shocking’. Some of these singers wore other alternative colours as was the case of Cheba Sabah who always kept ‘shocking’ her public with her bold and unusual looks. She wore colours like blue and pink in her hair. She also mixed these colours with black (more than one colour in her hair). Sticking to the hair, one of the other modifications they made to their appearance was wearing wigs and extensions (both long) especially for their evening shows.

A second modification that can be mentioned is ‘tattoos’. In the Algerian society, it is considered to be completely inappropriate to wear tattoos primarily for religious reasons. It is not clearly stated in the Holy Book (Qur’an) that tattooing is forbidden for Muslims, but this prohibition was attributed to some of the Prophet’s Hadith (sayings) (Larsson 2011). According

to Larsson (2011) tattooing was forbidden for three main reasons; it causes pain and inflicts serious diseases to the human body; it is mixed with dye - the blood will be affected by 'filth', and it changes Allah's creation. In terms of cultural history, elder Algerian women used to believe that having a tattoo was a sign of beauty, healing, fertility and childbearing, hence, voluntarily, or obediently (to their mothers or husbands), they wore at least one tattoo on their faces by the age of five (Bendaas 2012). Many of these women have expressed their regret of wearing these tattoos mainly after they were informed that it was religiously considered as a sin (Bensemra 2015). The Chebat emphasised their individuality and independence through the display of a range of tattoos on their bodies. This phenomenon existed since the era of modern Raï's 'mother' who is considered as the 'root' of this musical genre, Cheikha Rimitti, (Virolle 1995). She had a large tattoo on the back of her right hand surrounding her wrist. Cheba Sabah has at least three tattoos. On her left arm, she has a crown and her name 'SABAH'. On the right side of her chest, there is a word or an expression (MF∞ BS), and a third one, on the back of her right hand that looks like a pattern of Hanna. Cheba Souad was another female Raï singer who has a phrase tattooed on her right shoulder, 'Jack Daniels', which is a famous US brand of Whisky, but, for her, it referred to the nickname of the man who was believed to be her boyfriend called Amine El-Maarouf. She usually shouted this nickname at the beginning of each song she released. Similarly, Cheba Warda Charlomanti has a crying eye tattoo on her left shoulder. Occasionally, these singers had temporary and fake tattoos which they wore generally for only one event. The common tattoo that was found in all these female singers was that of eyebrows. From what has been observed, they all have tattooed eyebrows (see the pictures in appendix 13).

A third modification is 'piercing'. The most common body piercing is for young women to wear earrings in Algeria, whereas female Raï singers challenge conservative values by wearing piercings in different parts of their bodies as Cheba Sabah in her left eyebrow, Cheba Souad in her lower lip, and Cheba Warda Charlomanti on the left side of her nose.

In terms of clothing, all the Chebat expressed their sexualised femininity through contemporary fashion (see appendix 13). They were rarely found in pictures with traditional clothes. Nonetheless, their clothing style differed from one event to another. Their style of dressing differed from official events to live shows. In TV interviews, they wore 'presentable' clothes that every ordinary Algerian woman could wear in her daily life such as jacket, t-shirt, and trousers with pretty shoes. These artists' outfits completely changed during night life. They became 'bold' in their choice of clothes. They emphasised their body parts and female shapes.

The Chebat displayed female flesh by showing their legs and parts of their breasts at nightclubs. The data revealed that Cheba Sabah was seen as the boldest singer in relation to 'ill-behaviour', style and dress as declared by Tannina (f)

... when it is... Cheba Sabah, I think all what has been said about her remains little because last time all her pictures have been hacked where she was with men, so she deserves that. She does not have values and does not respect herself; she sings whatever, and wears whatever.

In this quotation, Tannina (f) has dealt with the scandal of Cheba Sabah when an intimate video of her and a man was leaked online. Tannina was blaming this singer for her irresponsibility because of doing 'immature' deeds which people came to know about as she had them in her phone. From Tannina's comments, we can see the projection of 'hatred'. Such comments carry a lot of 'envy' against female Raï singers, such as Sabah, because apparently, they have chosen to challenge a society that was controlled by religious and patriarchal authority.

In one of her interviews uploaded on YouTube in 2015, in Morocco, Cheba Sabah said that 'a style of dress is a personal choice'. She added that no one could judge another person based on their clothes since 'not every exposed girl is bad and not every covered one is pure'. Thus, with this kind of assertions, it was not surprising to find her posting provocative pictures of herself during parties in nightclubs or during walks. In photographs of her at parties, she usually wore mini dresses or skirts with see-through tops where we could clearly see her bra, or a top with a very large collar showing half of her breast (as it was the case of Warda Charlomanti and most of the other female singers). Sabah once sang wearing pyjamas in one of her open-air shows. Also, she posted pictures of herself during holiday wearing a bikini (as was the case of Cheba Souad). These female Raï singers projected a range of images of themselves; from the conservative covered women (during religious occasions and on TV programmes) to the rebellious 'beasts' (at night clubs and social media).

Additionally, these female singers projected a luxurious and materialistic life through social media where they wore Western corporate brands such as Adidas, Burberry, DSQ2 (Dsquared), Gucci, Guess, Louis Vuitton, and Versace. These female singers wore heavy gold accessories. It appeared that these artists projected materialism and financial success through wearing expensive accessories whenever they were in public. Female Raï artists also appeared to follow a stereotypical pattern of objectification and materialism through their public representation. Female Raï singers wore their accessories almost every day, as was the case of Charlomanti with her Versace golden set that she wore in her video-clips, live shows, and off-

scene life. Such accessories are extremely expensive in Algeria, only rich people can afford them. Moreover, there was a display of expensive cars of different brands such as Mercedes, Land Rover, and many others.

3.1.2. Performance

In order to analyse the performances, I managed to distinguish four main areas in which female Raï singers perform: interviews/ TV meetings, nightclubs, open-air stages and video-clips.

Firstly, Live performance during interviews/ TV meetings: importantly Chebat's performance was limited in terms of invitations to programmes on mainstream national TV stations such as Programme National owned by the State. Most of them were invited by private stations like El-Chourouq TV or Dzair TV. From the analysis, it was found that many of the female Raï artists were invited to be ridiculed and publicly humiliated which showed a patriarchal dominance of the contemporary media. I observed some episodes where male singers were invited, and I could see that the way in which they were ridiculed or provoked was not the same as their female counterparts. With the male singers, the interviewers' questions focused more on the masculinity of the singers i.e. underestimating their manhood to see their reaction. When you watch these episodes, you deduce that the aim from the prank was to test the degree to which a male Raï singer cared about his manhood and made from him a hero in the eyes of the audience who would see him defending his reputation in a way that could sometimes reach physical harassment.

On the other hand, with female singers, the questions were more derogatory in the sense that female Raï singers were accused of not having a real talent, behaving rebelliously and being the source of social immorality. These interviewers were implicitly giving alerts to the audience to focus more on the 'evil' side of these female artists and alienate them consequently. These women were not invited to be encouraged to sing and play but rather to be put in embarrassing situations (using prank programmes as a strategy of humiliation). For example, journalists exploited the chance to ask the Chebat to sing acapella so as to make fun of their real voices being not mixed with autotune. Additionally, in one of the programmes in Echourouk TV, Cheba Warda was hurt by one of the questions addressed to her when the interviewer told her that she might have been the reason behind her husband's murder. He asked her about a rumour saying that her family-in-law had accused her of the murder, and that she had used her work as an excuse to be outside Algeria when the murder occurred. She cried and openly expressed her

love for her husband and told how well he was treating her and her children (from previous failed marriages), and how she was depressed after his death especially given that their marriage was successful.

Few female Raï artists were invited to mainstream TV stations and were given the opportunity to perform with musicians and other artists of the same genre of music. As an exception, in her appearance on a mainstream TV channel, Cheba Kheira (one of the singers of old Raï) behaved in a 'respectful' way and interacted with the audience present there. She sang with her real voice without adding any autotune. She also selected less assertive songs with 'respectful' lyrics dealing, for instance, with unfaithfulness. In other words, she sang songs that could be played during familial gatherings.

Nonetheless, the reaction of Chebat, during interviews, differed depending on the type of questions being asked to them. They always presented an image of self-confident women, ready to answer any question asked and made sure to use appropriate words. However, they became aggressive whenever they felt offended by some questions related to their singing abilities. This happened to Cheba Sabah when she was a guest in a prank show in Dzair TV, in June 2017. This episode was prevented from being broadcast on TV, when she lost her control, and destroyed the studio, hit the journalist with a chair, and used swear words which the producer hid with beep sounds. It also happened with Charlomanti when she threw a big eagle statue at the journalist in her own house and ejected him. This episode was broadcast in May 2018. It was clear that TV networks were exploiting contemporary female Raï singers for the purpose of humiliation and misogyny, in contrast, there was a greater acceptance of older female Raï singers who could conform to masculine authority and heterosexual hegemony and therefore cause little challenge to men or patriarchal Algerian society (as it is the case of Cheba Kheira).

Secondly, live performance in nightclubs: female Raï singers sang in nightclubs all over Algeria (Oran, Algiers, Tizi-Ouzou, etc.), France (Paris, Lyon, and Marseille), Morocco, Spain, and Italy. The spectators in the diaspora were mixed (males and females) and from different ages. In terms of performance, each Cheba had her own way of performing; from less to more assertive. They had a direct and positive contact with their musicians and had a good relationship with their audience, especially men. However, the interaction between the two (singer and attendees) differed from one Cheba to another. For instance, Cheba Warda Charlomanti was very close to her audience. With the presence of two bodyguards beside her, she allowed her fans to come on stage, give her money, touch her arms, put their hands around

her neck, whisper in her ear, and tell her the dedications they wanted her to shout. Moreover, she hugged them and danced for them by making moves with her hips or playing with her hair.



Figure 3.1. Warda Charlomanti's Dance at a Restaurant in France (from YouTube)

This picture is a scene captured from a video uploaded by Cheb Salah on his YouTube channel in February 2018 at night where he and Warda Charlomanti gave a performance in his restaurant named El Manara in Lyon, France. In this scene, Warda Charlomanti was dancing and making her famous dance - moving her hair upside in a form of a circle. In the video, the clients seemed pleased with her performance and from time to time they gave her presents such as a golden necklace. However, with Cheba Sabah, things were somehow different where she kept a distance between her and her audience unless grabbing money from them. She listened to their dedications and repeated after. At her performance, she focused on her female pleasure through dancing and moving with her body with the music and the atmosphere. As far as other female singers were concerned, such as Samira l'Oranaise and Cheba Dalila, their performances were similar to the previously mentioned artists. They created a partying atmosphere and invited the audience to dance and repeat the lyrics after them, and in other cases joined the latter on the dancing floor and joined the clients as did Samira l'Oranaise in one of her performances in Morocco.

Thirdly, live performance in open-air shows: not too many shows have been uploaded on the internet. For those found, they were made in the same place (places, for example, La Khaima des Andalouses). Also, some singers managed to do some humble live shows in France like Charlomanti in Marseille. In those events, unlike in nightclubs, young people and families were present. Many families attended Cheba Souad's performance in Béjaïa, Algeria. Similarly to nightclubs, at these events, the connection between the singers and their audience was really positive. The Chebat kept people singing and dancing with them all the time. The difference

between the two places was that in concerts, the Chebat behaved in a less rebellious way i.e. they used only soft gestures while dancing, like moving their shoulders and heads while others played with their hair.

Finally, the Chebat's performance in video-clips: most of their video-clips were filmed in the recording studios, mainly Studio 31 located in Oran (31 stands for Oran's car registration number in Algeria). In some video-clips, they sang in the presence of the musicians, the song composers, and the melodists. Other video-clips were filmed by the singers themselves using their own material (mainly phones' selfies). They did duets with male Raï singers, in which, most of the time, the Chebat were dominant. If we compare the Chebat's performances in the video-clips made in the studios to those made outside, they were found to be more dynamic in the studio. In the latter, they repeated the song lyrics (always carrying a microphone and, on some occasions, the paper where the lyrics were written). They danced during the whole song (especially the famous Oran dance EyEy WeyWey). In addition to dancing, they always translated the lyrics through their body language, and made gestures that challenged the Algerian gender tradition. Another location that these singers chose to film their video-clips was their personal houses which were easy to recognise thanks to the observation I made of their social platforms where they usually posted their daily activities in stories in their houses which were the same as the houses in their video-clips.

3.1.3. Material

In terms of the topics being discussed in the songs, female Raï singers' lyrics were consistent with the topics that have always been tackled by previous Raï singers like Cheb Hasni and Cheb Bilal since 1990s and 2000s. In their selection of subjects, the Chebat were inspired by the daily life issues of Algerian adults and young adults who were greatly influenced by the Western lifestyle be it alcohol consumption or men/women's meetings (Boumedini and Dadoua-Hadria 2010: 193). It is not surprising that the dominant topics in the female Raï singers' songs were 'Love' and 'Men', as it was 'Women' in the case of the male singers as Schade-Poulsen (1999: 6) says 'Raï is a form of popular music which, like most mass-produced music, mainly deals with love. Wherever I went in Algeria, when discussing [R]aï I inevitably found myself involved in stories of love [...]'. In their songs, the female artists openly expressed themselves about love and described how a woman fell in love with her beloved (without specifying whether he was her friend, partner, or husband) which was, again, a position and a challenge to conservative Algerian society. Simon Frith (1988) called this phenomenon a

‘lyrical realism’ where the singers are typically inspired from what is ‘really’ occurring in the society and developing it to song texts. The reason behind that according to him (1988: 123) is that

Most people lacked skill in ‘the verbal expression of profound feelings’ and so a public, impersonal love poetry was ‘a useful – indeed a necessary alternative’. The singer became a ‘mutual messenger’ for young lovers, and pop songs were about emotional possibilities.

Additionally, these women chose lyrics that were inspired from the language used by young adults (street language) to produce a ‘direct expression’ of social realism (Virolle 1993: 126). According to Blackman (2004: 82), this is strategic in popular music where artists tend to get closer to the ‘street culture’ as a way to ‘disrupt conventional meaning’ i.e. deal with topics oppressing the youth via the use of the latter’s language to challenge the upper power (whether the government, society or religious movements). These female artists, on some occasions, used a bold language that, apparently, was not welcomed by conservative people who believed that it did not reflect the style of the Algerian woman, as highlighted by Tiziri (f)

Most people in Algeria have negative attitudes towards them because they broke a lot of the Algerian ideal norms of the society like they go and sing in pubs for strange men they smoke and drink alcohol. Which are not allowed by the Algerian culture that is restricted by the Islam religion.

And Guraya (f)

... If these singers are meant to live somewhere else in the world say in Britain for instance they might not be criticised as they are now, because here we are referring to two different social backgrounds were [sic.] social restrictions and rules are distinctively varied. For me, I do think of them passively. I believe they are a terrible representation of this sort of Algerian Music and specifically that they are ‘females’. The way they sing, dance, wear is really disgusting and repulsive. This is from a personal point of view, though I believe that they might be professional in a way in what they are doing still my belief is that professionalism cannot be attained when social barriers are violated... I really feel embarrassed of the lyrics they have in their songs. So, simply, they are criticised because what they are doing is socially considered as a violation to the social balance.

Female Raï singers were assertive in their language. Their topics included consuming alcohol and drugs by women, such as in Cheba Warda’s ‘Megwani’. Also, referring to sex and having a child outside of marriage, as in Cheba Souad’s song ‘Dirli bouche à bouche’ released in 2015. A critiron that could be said as being inherited from their ‘mother’ Cheikha Rimitti, who witnessed to have song that have implicitly or explicitly referring to sex namely ‘Charak

Gataa' (Tear, Cut) and 'El ghamza b Noss Aine w Aand El Fahmin' (The wink of half an eye is between initiates). These song narratives are a challenge to the Algerian society in general and the Islamic movement in particular, leading this religious party to reject and contest this music genre. Islamists consider this music as being an abuse to the Algerian norms and the Islamic beliefs (DeAngelis 2003). This affected the youth's attitude toward this genre as they were confused and somehow scared to show their 'appreciation' of Rai. '... Algeria's youth [faced] a choice between the West (represented by rai) and the mosque (represented by fundamentalism)' (Jankovsky 2000: 148). As an instance of that, the audience during the 1990s was confused between practising religion or listening to Rai music, here, Schade-Poulsen (1999) identified three types of audience; the ones who practised religion and listened to Rai claiming that they did not listen to any Rai, but only the nqi¹⁴ (clean) one (meaning there was a vulgar Rai); the ones who did not listen to Rai because they believed in the FIS principles; and the ones who used to listen to Rai, yet felt the need to abandon it as they started to be affected by the religious movements and wanted to join them.

Sometimes research participants would speak of the power of Rai music and particular artists who have spoken up for young people's independence within Algeria, as asserted by Cheb Khaled, the most popular star of this genre (Wilford 2015), who was quoted by Eyre (1991: 45 cited in Gross, McMurray and Swedenburg 1994: 24)

I am against Islamic fundamentalists. Young people want to progress. Even now, I can't smoke in front of my father, not even a cigarette. Young people who want to speak with a girl or live with her can't talk about it with their parents. In rai music, people can express themselves. We break taboos. That's why fundamentalists don't like what we're doing.

He also added that though he was not a good practitioner, he loved God. In Khaled's citation, he directly accused the fundamentalists, not Islam, who were using religion to prevent youth from developing, thus, as Jankovsky (2000: 148) claims '[i]t is the politicized interpretations of "the world" ... that rai challenges'. Not only religion's interpreters, but also, according to Schade-Poulsen (2001), Algerian society did not welcome the content of the Rai song mainly 'love for a man' and 'rebellion' (being in conflict with ordered society). 'The notions of reason ('aql), respect (qder) and modesty (hashâm) are involved' and family members must show respect according to the distribution of power i.e. children towards parents, and sisters towards brothers (Schade-Poulsen 2001: 110). In order to protect their children, parents in many cases prohibited such music in their families, claimed the research participant Lunja (f)

... some of Rai songs talk about taboos and use inappropriate/vulgar language (eg sexual references) and for this reason, and in an attempt to protect their children, some parents prohibit their children from listening to Rai music to prevent any potential negative influence by these songs.

Living and believing a fantasy, Algerian parents were afraid that their daughters would adopt the female Rai singers' clothing style and behaviour and believed especially that these singers were believed to be promoting immorality (dealing with topics that encouraged consumption of alcohol/drugs', illegal migration 'Haraga', having sex outside of marriage, etc.). This could be explained as an internal moral panic generated by fear that support of female Rai singers would reflect badly on them. When Cheba Warda was asked to comment on this issue during an interview, held in May 2018 in a programme called بعيدا عن السياسة (far from Politics) on Shourouq TV, she asserted that she did not oblige anyone to listen or follow her. She added that she was an artist who sang about women be they married, single, or those who had lost their beloved. She wanted to make people happy and dance to her songs, and she felt extremely pleased when she watched them positively reacting to her songs.

The topic of 'Love' along with that of 'Men' were the dominant themes in the Chebat's songs, yet this did not prevent these women from dealing with other topics that might excite their audience, particularly young adults. Among the topics raised in their songs were: unfaithfulness, envy, blind trust and depressed love. From a feminist viewpoint, singers like Cheba Kheira always described in her lyrics how men were not faithful in their relations, and how they abandoned their partners and followed other goals like finding new women for themselves. We can see that female Rai singers' criticism of male disrespect for women was understood as an attitude of masculine authority and patriarchal control. Cheba Kheira described her partner as 'an enemy' as she gave him her heart, but he forgot all about the fact they had lived together and let her down in her song 'moment واعر' (you forgot me in a sensitive moment) released in 2005.

نسيتني في moment واعر
كي بديت انا نبغيك من قلبي
روح وخليت لي لعقل طاير
بصح ما علبش نوكل ربي

you forgot me in a sensitive moment
when I started falling really in love with you
you went and left me foolish
yet it's alright... I left you to God (translation by RK)

This song struck a chord with young adults in a similar situation and particularly spoke to young women, revealing the male-defined conservative society to be hypocritical, a conservative society where women were not allowed to express themselves about such topics. For the female audience, this was an opportunity to listen to and attend the shows of those female singers (even male singers in this context) who were voicing their experiences (Schade-Poulsen 1999).

In terms of video-clip production, the Chebat's video-clips were generally filmed inside the studios, personal houses, on highways or at beaches. Economically, female Raï singers lacked capital and money in their productions and were unable to travel to large cities such as Paris, London, Miami, etc., or even to move inside the country to well-known places and receive agreements from the State to film there. Even the quality of the image was not high. In some cases, they did the video-clips with their personal phones' selfie cameras (not enough precision in the image, not enough light, etc.). Nonetheless, this did not prevent their fans from most of the time following them and giving a positive reaction. Moreover, these people went to nightclubs and spent amounts of money just to hear their dedications from the mouths of these singers. The profits that a Cheba and her team gained were big. They reached around 1,60 million of Dinars (around £7000 in the Black Market¹⁵ for just one night in a club. In an interview, Cheba Sabah was asked to tell the journalist about the amount of money she gained per night in a nightclub. She replied, 'I won't tell you ... otherwise you will faint'. A question to which I was able to find an answer when I interviewed one of the managers of El-Khaymat in Algeria where he gave an amount of 1 million Dinars for a one-night performance (around £5000 in the Black Market). On her Instagram, Warda Charlomanti has posted a video of her with a fan who was giving her Rechiq¹⁶ or Tebrah (see chapter five) of 1 million Dinars by himself. She announced that she achieved the amount of 4 million Dinars (around £15000 in the Black Market) that night. In another question, I asked this manager about the money they gained from Tebrah, he responded that the agreement differed from one manager to another, however in his case, he was the one who benefited from the Tebrah as the singer took a fixed amount of money. The economic success of the female singers and their popularity shown through the number of Instagram followers demonstrates a contradiction within the present social conservatism of so-called traditional Algerian culture and the popularity and the economic success of the female singers (more details are provided in this chapter).

3.1.4. Degree of truthfulness: playful and difficult

During the ethnographic observation on the Chebat, I noticed that the female singers were elusive and perhaps contradictory in their comments and actions. However, given the ritualised humiliation of female Rai singers through negative ‘pranking’, it is no surprise they offer different responses. For example, when Cheba Kheira was interviewed by a journalist in her house in 2011. In that year, she said that she wore the veil and decided to abandon her singing career to become a housewife. She promised to build a mosque as well. In 2018, she had another interview with the same journalist. This time, she removed her veil, and her justification was that she has never been veiled, and that during the previous interview she was sick and felt cold and wore ‘a scarf’ to cover herself well. Moreover, when he asked her about her return to singing, she said that she had not returned and that she has never sung on stage, and that she has only ever released two songs. However, the facts show something else. In May 2018, she performed in a TV show, and in August 2018 she performed at a live show in Constantine, Algeria. Concerning the mosque, she did not want to answer the question. She just said that maybe she had built one, and nobody had to know as it was between her and God.

Cheba Kheira was not the only example of the female singers who played with truthfulness to some extent: this also happened with Cheba Sabah who lied about her age three times during the same interview. The first time, she said that she was 27, then 26, and by the end of the show she said that she was born in 1988 (which meant that she was 28 since the interview was held in 2016). However, playfulness in the Chebat’s words was related to their spiritual connection to God and Islam. Throughout their interaction with journalists, they kept using holy words such as ‘al hamdou li Allah’ (thank God), ‘Rabbi ātani’ (God gave me), ‘Subhan Allah’ (glory to be Allah), etc. to show how deep their faith was in God, and the fact that they were same Islamic believers as was the majority of the Algerian population. Additionally, these women confirmed on each occasion that they believed in God as claimed by Charlomanti

Thank God, I have never done something that makes him angry against me. I do all my priers and give donations. [translated from Arabic by RK]

Even within the time of Cheikhat, artists did not miss the chance to highlight their faithfulness to religion as did Cheikha Rimitti who went for a pilgrimage in Mecca and was called Hadja afterwards. She was defining herself as a pure Muslim and belied in a tolerant and fair Ilamic

religion excluding any traces of social and ritual signs from it (Virolle 1995) as declared also by the King Khaled when he talked about religion and his Islamic principles.

Within a conservative society such as Algeria, the influence of Islam and religious institutions can appear as a constraint on women's independence. As discussed in chapter one, the Algerian constitution is based on Islamic instructions, and that Algerians are Sunni Muslims (Achoui 2006). In other words, Algerian people follow the Suna of the Prophet Muhammed which takes the form of Ahadiths (narratives) (Stowasser 1984). During the period of his life, the Prophet was the source of legitimacy, he was the one to inform his people about what was right or wrong relying on Quranic verses (Hussain 1984). As far as the case of women is concerned, as illustrated in chapter two, Islam clearly states that both men and women are created equally by God, and only their faith and deeds will make the difference between them in front of God (Hussain and Radwan 1984). After the death of the Prophet, religious interpretations differed (Hussain 1984). In Algeria, for instance, many people believe that the 'real' Muslim women should stay at home (Schade-Poulsen 2001) and be responsible for domestic duties while men are meant to be heads of their families to whom women must show obedience, taking charge of financial support (Landifo 2018). Women believe that domesticity is the key to femininity, and that '[g]ood girls... are valued for their gentleness, their supportiveness, their empathy, tenderness, and unselfishness' (Whiteley 2005: 67). Music, in such condition, is used, especially by females, as a medium to show resistance (Dunbar 2016) against this patriarchal 'pseudo-Islam' (Hussain 1984: 5). In effect, this is not limited to the Algerian context, but the same resistance is found in other Muslim countries such as Turkey, more specifically, in the music of the Black Sea territories. People, there, use music as escapism from social and religious bans in order to sing love for women, for God; to sing for their deprivation from sexual pleasure/practice (Reinhard 2000).

3.1.4.1. Female Rai singers in context

Dealing with gender inequality in Algeria, I asked my participants whether they believed that women in general are oppressed in their country. The answers varied. Some participants were convinced that not all women were disrespected in Algeria and that women's respect was dependent to the reputation of their occupations (as previously illustrated about the gender distribution in the society and how men and women are expected to behave relying on this distribution). In this respect, Butler (1988) argues that gender is a fantasy that has been brought

into existence via the performance of certain acts distributed conventionally to men and women who, for their part, have to respect and adapt to, consequently, ‘actualise’ and ‘reproduce’ this fantasy as a reality. As my thesis was mainly about music, my research participants related their examples to gender inequality in the singer’s context. Some claimed that female singers of some genres like Andalus were respected. For them, only female Raï singers were subject to discrimination and misogyny as they believed (as illustrated in chapter three with Camila’s quotation) that it was their own choice to become who they were. In this respect, I have classified the participants into two categories: those who blamed female singers themselves and those who blamed the Algerian society for this discrimination. The first category said that the lack of respect for female Raï singers was a result of their own acts, as was claimed by Akli (m), Tafsut (f) and Tilelli (f) as discussed in chapter three. The second category were those who blamed society for this lack of respect, and had a further vision and assessment of the situation. Some research participants, like Cirta (f), blamed Algerian society for being patriarchal, supporting men and oppressing women

...unfortunately, Algeria is still a “men’s world”. Men are given all rights, under the use of religion wrongly, of course, to justify their desires of oppressing women...

According to Cirta this patriarchy has long lasted as it takes its force from the interpretation of religion, leading to the construction of dogmatic ideal types that suited men’s interests or as referred by Weber (1949: 90) ‘one-sidedly emphasised viewpoints’. This is a point that was not only raised by Cirta, but also by Khaloudja (f), who went back in time to when all started with the Black Decade in late-80s until mid-90s saying

... I think that the resurgence if [sic.] Islam in the 80s and the 90s contributed a lot in the subordination of women. The men and even women who became religious and fundamentalists used Quranic verses and Hadith to oppress the woman. I am not against those canonical texts, yet I am 100/100 against the way those people used these to paralyse the woman... Music is an Art, and there are people who ... [think] that Art is forbidden, so imagine if a lady sings. For them she will go to hell and will not smell paradise.

A view that was also shared by Wezna (f)

Women in Algeria are not considered as humans but objects who are supposed to stay at home. You are expected to just give birth, cook, clean and keep your mouth shut. If females succeed in their studies and work, they’ll be throwing rumours around them because those men cannot reach their level... They use religion as an argument but they miss the fact that Quran gave women a value of being equal to men as humans... Female singers will never be accepted in their bodily

appearance and language because they don't match what I mentioned and because they are rebellious.

The family essential laws, in Algeria, are based on religion. (Achoui 2006), and most women, right from their early age, are taught how to master house duties so as once married, they will prove themselves in front of their families-in-law. They are taught 'good manners', what to do and what to avoid such as 'non-wedding behaviour' (Schade-Poulsen 2001) that may lead to 'sexual intercourse (zina)' (Landinfo 2018: 21). Music also is one of the things to which people and women particularly have to be selective. Tafat (f), unlike the previous participants, gave a broad point of view where she generalised her answer to all Algerian women not only the singers. According to her

Many husbands ban their wives from going out, even ban them from work. For many years, girls study hard and by the end they are banned from work. I don't know why men contempt girls.

This male authority reaches the extent to which, as was the case in the incident, the woman is banned by her husband from staying in her parents' house and the length of her visit there is limited, or else, she would suffer from harsh consequences. This husband's authority is inspired mainly from the misinterpretation of the religious texts and the prophets' Hadiths reciting the duties that a married couple have for each other. In effect, the verse 4:34 (see appendix 12) is the most debated verse in the Qur'an as it is the verse which is used by this misogynistic category of people to justify their patriarchal authority and gender hierarchy. Mir-Hosseini, Al-Sharmani and Rumminger (2015) state that many concepts in this verse such as *qiwamah* and *wilayah* have been misinterpreted, and misused against women on whom was imposed unconditional obedience in their marital relationships. This quotation above made me reflect, as well, on what I have read about women in Algeria (see chapter one). I found that, at the level of the law, women are recognised in Algeria. Not equally to men, but at the same time they are not oppressed. The law protects women and offers them many rights namely the right for education, work, voting etc. Nonetheless, in the fieldwork, I saw that many of these Algerian women encounter discrimination at social and familial levels limiting their access to crucial rights such as economic independence and equal employment. The data suggest that many Algerian women, even now, are prevented from many essential rights for self-identity. Some of these women are banned from work. Many suitors when they come to ask a family if they can marry one of the daughters (which is known as an arranged marriage), the family of the young man gives work as a condition to 'take' her (the woman will not work or if she is already working, she will quit) either because the groom wants that, or one/all of his family want it. Or

in many cases when the couple already know each other, men give this condition for the women in order to marry them, and most of the time women accept because they are in love and stereotypically convinced that it is up to men to afford their financial comfort. Most Algerian families are afraid that their female members will bring shame to their family name because being out and hanging out with men leads to dishonoured sexual relationships (Landinfo 2018), for this reason they encourage their daughters to marry in order to avoid such scandals. Hence, the Algerian women's situation is a personal rather than an administrative one.

3.1.5. Breaking the 'stereotype': the denied truth

Some of the data collected from the research participants and through the humiliation of women singers are suggestive of a negative attitude towards Algerian female Raï singers. In contrast, the virtual space projects an opposite attitude towards them. In other words, surprisingly enough, what research participants reported about their perceptions did not reflect what I had noted during my online observations, which leads me to critically reinterpret participants' responses and to question whether what they have said was through conviction or due to an external influence. Therefore, in this section, I will explain the contradictions that seem to reveal what can be described as a 'denied truth'.

The female Raï singers are very popular on social media. They reach levels on an international scale. During the period of fieldwork and the observation of their online official platforms, including Facebook, Instagram and YouTube, I noticed that the success of these singers was more in the virtual space through gaining a large number of followers or phenomenal numbers of views and likes for their videos especially on YouTube.

On the 5th and 6th of October 2020, I checked those singers' platforms to obtain the latest updates of their (platforms') activity. The numbers were astonishing on both Facebook and Instagram. Cheba Werda Charlomanti, for instance, had reached more than one million followers (on each platform) while Cheba Dalila had more than 600 thousand followers on Facebook and over 560 thousand followers on Instagram. Cheba Sabah had more than 160 thousand followers on Facebook and more than 500 thousand on Instagram. However, on YouTube things were different to a certain extent as the video-clips of these female singers were not generally uploaded on their personal YouTube channels. Rather, they were uploaded on the recording companies' channels. For this reason, female Raï singers' YouTube channels were not successful except for Cheba Warda Charlomanti's channel which gathered nearly 500

thousand subscribers and the total of more than 50 million of views (though many of her other successful video-clips were found in other channels).

Female Raï singers' YouTube videos are very popular, and they reach a large number views on an international scale. One of the most viewed female Raï videos is Cheba Souad's (ft. Hichem Smati) عشقتنا راه في خاطر (Our Love is in Danger) which has reached more than 165 million views and more than 700 thousand likes (last checked in 19/10/2020). This video was uploaded on the 3rd of March 2018 in Hichem Smati's YouTube channel which had nearly 4 million subscribers. Such numbers represented a large number of supporters for female Raï singers with comments written on behalf of this video (nearly 55 thousand comments). The first thing that grabbed my attention was the variety of nationalities of the viewers: Algerians, Moroccans, Libyans, an audience from the Gulf (especially Iraq) despite their difficulty in understanding the Algerian accent, as many have mentioned in the comments. Female Raï singers have succeeded in achieving fame not only in Algeria but in the Arab world as a whole. The difficulty of understanding the Algerian Arabic dialect has not prevented this Middle Eastern audience from listening to and watching their video-clips many times as according to the comments the music and the beat were vivid.

In addition to the followers and views, female Raï singers' video-clips were trending on YouTube in Algeria as on many occasions they attained the top five trending videos in Algeria. Warda Charlomanti's جيبولي بوقوصي (Bring me my Handsome) uploaded on the 29th of January 2020 reached one million of views in less than 24 hours with the 1st place in the trending as she announced it in a video on her Instagram account. This video has collected more than 26 million views (last checked on 20/10/2020). With this 'international level' record, the following video-clip of Cheba Warda was compared, as she said in one her interviews, to the number of views of Elissa's video-clips (one of the most famous and successful female singers in the Middle East and the Arab World as a whole) whom Warda surpassed. The video-clip, تالمو نبغيك (So much that I love you), which was uploaded on YouTube on the 12th of August 2020, gained the first place in trending with nearly half million views after only few hours from its upload. In addition to the video-clips of Warda Charlomanti, the video-clips of Cheba Sabah, Cheba Dalila, Cheba Souad and many other female Raï singers have experienced great success on YouTube.

In their recent video-clips, these singers adopted a wise strategy to avoid being negatively criticised. This strategy consisted of choosing their real husbands as the actors of their video-clips. This act has been initiated by Cheba Dalila when she filmed with her husband the video-

clip of the song يا قلبي (Oh my Heart!) uploaded on YouTube in 2015. The video-clip has reached 7.5 million views, but in another video, the same song has more than 28 million views and according to my observation of the comments, the video was still watched by the audience even 5 years after its release (last checked on 22/10/2020). Apparently, Dalila's video-clip became an inspiration for other female Raï singers. Both Cheba Sabah and Cheba Warda have made a video-clip with their husbands as the main actors in 2020. Both video-clips were successful where Cheba Sabah's video-clip حبيبي راني نبغيك (Darling I love you) has achieved more than 9 million views in less than 2 months from its release, while Cheba Warda's video-clip تالمونبغيك (So much that I love you) was at 6 million views after two months from its release (last checked on 22/10/2020). According to the comments that I have read down the videos (the comments' section), they were projects that have satisfied the public who found that these singers have improved themselves and have 'cleaned' their texts, performance, and behaviour. Most of the comments were positive especially that Cheba Sabah has appeared pregnant in her video-clip accompanied by her husband projecting the perfect image of the 'happy family'. The major opinion that has been shared by the viewers was how Cheba Sabah has changed after her marriage, and the fact of people being happy for her to finally have a 'stable' and a 'normal' life and achieved her dream of becoming a mother (as she has declared in one of her TV appearances).

The online observation has revealed a truth about the perception of the audience that the face-to-face data could not uncover. Unlike in the real world, online, the audience was found to show a great deal of positivity towards female Raï singers, where they follow and leave thousands of likes and comments on their official social platforms. In one of the interviews with one of my participants, I asked her whether she was following one or more female Raï singers on social media. She said that she had only subscribed to their YouTube channels as it was the only social platform that did not reveal the identity of the subscribers as long as they did not comment on the videos. I went deeper in my investigation and asked her about the reason why she did not want to react to those female singers' posts online. She told me that the reason which had pushed her to remain 'passive' was the fact that her name would appear, and that she was scared that people from her surrounding area would notice that she followed this category of singers and put her reputation in danger. Such responses led me to critically reflect on what other participants had declared, and to ask myself whether their answers were given through conviction, or whether they had been influenced by external factors to protect themselves and their reputation as we will see in another case in chapter four. So, as a strategy to obtain more

clear ‘individual’ answers, I tried to ask general questions in the following interviews. In this way, participants would not feel the need to give sensitive content and provide me with their ‘real’ perception. For instance, I asked my participants about the reason behind gender inequality in Algeria. The answers varied, but most importantly, I could see that my research participants were more liberated and expressive, like Numidia (f) who said

Actually, this kind of music contains some vulgarity (just the recent one), which is of course not tolerated in both males and females. But since we live in an indirect patriarchy, everything is tolerated in men but not in women.

Numidia raised an aspect of this patriarchal discrimination, a factor that was mentioned by other participants such as Cirta (f) who said

... the predominant culture in Algeria has more tolerance towards men than women - they are socially given more rights. They can go out, smoke, dance, shout, curse and it is all fine. If a female does this, a new rulling [sic.] applies!

Living in a patriarchal society, apparently, is one of the factors that has pushed the audience to find an ‘escapism’ in the virtual world. The latter serves as a protector for their identities and their reputations. The virtual platforms offer a certain confidentiality to this ‘oppressed’ female audience which permits them to create a ‘digital identity’ (Gündüz 2017: 86) and have a ‘second life’ (Schechtman 2012: 329) which enables them to freely watch, listen and follow their favourite artists namely the female Raï singers.

3.1.6. The purification ritual

It seems that not only the audiences found that Raï artists had an ‘unclean’ career, but some of these Raï artists themselves admitted that as well. Be they males or females, some Raï artists have confessed either on TV programmes or via their social media platforms that, at one point, they have messed up their career. A thing about which they were obviously ashamed and which they made sure to change for the better. ‘Regret’ and ‘confession’ are common in the musical sector, in this context. Blackman (2004) has cited the names of some western singers such as John Lennon, Robbie Williams and Brian Harvey, who have publicly confessed their drug addiction and their awareness of the gravity of its consequences. In this work, I shall give the example of a few Algerian singers from both genders who have initiated a ‘purification ritual’ for their career.

As a first example of this ritual, I will deal with Cheb Houssam who is considered as one of the male pioneers of the modern Raï song. His first appearance was around 2008 and since then his name has gained space in Raï music and the hearts of most Algerians. Relying on my observation, he is best known for his sentimental style with which he produced successful hits that attained millions of views since their release. They are also continuously played on social media, wedding ceremonies and mobile playlists (of mainly young adults) etc.

In one of his formal appearances, Cheb Houssam was invited to a Radio Programme called Jow Music Live. The episode was also filmed and uploaded on the YouTube channel of the programme on the 31st of December 2020. Throughout the episode, Cheb Houssam was asked different questions about his career, and music style. As a tradition in the programme each invited singer had to bring with them a new talent that they had discovered. During this section, the interviewer raised the point of recent singers not singing with their real voices and adding some changes to them. At this point, Cheb Houssam interrupted him with an intonation that was slightly high compared to the way he was answering previous questions. He said,

I feel pity for myself, they [people] are confusing between us [Raï singers]. There is, I don't know! one who doesn't even know how to hold a microphone and tells you 'what did you think? It's easy'. They made it easy!! There are people who are paying money to enter to studios. What can studios do? They agree because they want to make money. They say 'the voice is good, we'll fix it' [in a sarcastic way]. So, this man [the singer to be] puts money, makes a song and sends it to his friends who will post it on social media, in their turn. He will find himself having fans... I feel pity for myself being an artist, or let's leave this word [artist] alone, do you know what they do with this word?! An artist! it is not easy to become one. We are still learning. We can't say 'we're at the top!'. I'm still learning, music is a sea. You learn step by step, but don't ruin it. I am not saying that you ruined it and I didn't. I also did some [silence] which were not at all in their place, and I admit it! But I fixed it, go listen to the music that I am making, you will know how I used to be, and I how am now. (originally said in Arabic and translated by RK)

From his words, it was easy to understand that Cheb Houssam was disappointed from the way some singers were treating Raï and music in general. At the moment where he was spending a lot of time to find a good text and a beautiful music to produce a decent song, other singers produced many songs just to reach views. He focused on the quality while they focused on numbers. For this reason, he wanted to convey a message for this category of singers at the end of the interview

I wish we could clean [our texts] and work. We have to bear in mind that there are people who are listening to us, there are families who are

listening to us, there are youngsters, there are old people, there are experts who are listening to us, therefore we have to clean it [the song]. This terrain, the 'Raï song', needs a performance and a music so as we can produce and progress. (originally said in Arabic and translated by RK)

Blackman (2004) says that music has always been used to confess about the bad deeds (eg. drug consumption) of the singers, but also as a means to spread awareness among people. In the case of male Raï singers, such as Cheb Houssam, they have opted for direct and formal meetings to share their thoughts and to address their message. Houssam clearly confessed that he along other Raï artists have served in 'spoiling' the Raï song mainly through texts. He realised his mistake and worked on 'fixing' it via adopting the sentimental genre which was characterised by its slowness and the wisdom of its lyrics in which people have enjoyed him. In another appearance of his on Echorouk TV in the programme غني جزائري (Sing Algerian), Cheb Houssam emphasised the same point when he was asked about the song he regretted having produced, he said

You mean songs!!! [emphasising on the plural form] ... we have all mistaken and started in an unprofessional way as did those before us. Everyone has mistaken before us. You regret things that you did, you regret songs that you made, but then you change your style, find yourself in the sentimental, you clean the Raï song, thank God!... it's a responsibility because old and young people are listening to us. All the categories of people listen to you. You must know what to say. It's a big responsibility. We don't want it to be a music that will influence people to do bad things. As far as I am concerned, I will stay with the sentimental, and subjects about love be it sad or happy... (originally said in Arabic and translated by RK)

In addition to Cheb Houssam, Fayçal Mignon is another male Raï artist who has confessed to his audience in many live posts on Instagram that what he used to do was wrong and he was trying to fix himself and his way of living. On many occasions, Fayçal reminded his fans that he stopped gaining money from singing as he repented of his previous deeds including singing, night life and tattooing. He said,

To be precise, I did not tell you [his followers] that I will stop singing, but I am not gaining money from singing anymore. I don't need it. The thing that I have told you and I will repeat it, music's money, I mean singing [silence] in places, you know, here and there in places [silence], [he meant nightclubs]. I have my projects with my wife... an honest job... (originally said in Arabic and translated by RK)

Fayçal has announced to his followers that he stopped making music to gain money as according to him, it was a dishonest job or haram¹⁷. He emphasised that releasing songs would become a matter of pleasure and a way to keep himself close to his fans. Silences were major

in his speech whenever he dealt with his past career. He could not even say the word ‘night club’. The reason behind that was the nature of this place which, according to Schade-Poulsen (1999), was a male space where all that was rejected outside was appreciated there. It was a place where smoking, drinking, flirting, and accessible women were found, also, ‘[t]ransgressions of gender roles were acknowledged as a fact in the sphere of lust and leisure in the Oran area, where the singers themselves profited from their nights spent in a milieu with easy access to women’ (Schade-Poulsen 1999: 141). Such environments dominated by men were referred to by Cohen (1997:30) also McRobbie and Garber (2006: 180-1) as the ‘Street’ regarding the male activity and their rebel identity discouraging the female presence there, as opposed to ‘Bedroom’ spaces which are advised for women where they can attend and passively (or safely) consume pop music. Apparently, Fayçal was ashamed by his previous career and considered it haram, hence, he wanted to purify himself and his life by changing his profession and starting a textile business.

Similarly, there are female Raï singers who had the same point of view as their male counterparts. Many female Raï singers have said that it was difficult to start a career as a Raï singer, and that it was more difficult as a female. Most female Raï singers did not have their family support to become singers. The TV programme of العشرة (The Cohabitation) hosted both Cheba Dalila and her husband in one of its episodes. Dalila articulated how much Algerian families were conservative and how this fact made them prevent their daughters from getting involved in public activities that could ruin their reputation. She said,

... You know our Algerian families are very conservative, our culture. They say, it’s over, she has ruined her family’s reputation. Especially a woman who sings Raï, she is executed in people’s eyes... it almost cost me my life when my father found out that I was singing. He was looking for me to kill me! (originally said in Arabic and translated RK)

Cheba Dalila opened her heart to the public and shared her experience with her family, and her father in particular. Also, she admitted that she was obliged to choose between singing and her family, and that she had chosen singing. It was a choice that left her abandoned and forced her to get married at an early age. As she recounted, it was a forced marriage in which she felt ‘submissive’ (and got divorced later). It was four years before that she could meet her father for the first time and fix her relationship with him. Cheba Dalila was not upset with her father’s reaction to her job, in effect, she was comprehending this herself. In another programme جزائري غني (Sing Algerian), Cheba Dalila has admitted that Raï has been ruined and that was the reason

why people were keeping their distance from it. She did not accuse the audience of being harsh to singers, rather, she accused the Raï singers of being harsh to the Raï song. As she claimed

Our Raï, and the Raï of others, is ruined a lot ... even more nowadays. Everyone has to respect and judge themselves relying on what they are doing, because they will find its consequences once people find out [about their work] and say that they [this artist] don't respect us... purify yourself on your own. There were also singers, our ancestors, who have purified themselves and entered people's houses, weddings, concerts, and evening parties. They are everywhere ... (originally said in Arabic and translated by RK)

As Dalila understood her father's reaction, she could also understand the source of the rejection of Raï which, according to her, was the singers themselves. She admitted that the content of the Raï song recently was not conveying a 'pure' morality. On this occasion, she invited Raï singers to purify themselves as they were the ones to choose to be 'hated' or appreciated. Raï singers such as Cheb Bilal, Cheb Abdou, and Cheba Kheira, says Houari (2003) were rebellious as they sang about love, passion and pain. Though marginalised and considered vulgar by some, Raï has imposed itself as a music genre and succeeded in invading people's homes (as described by Cheba Dalila) and crossing the frontiers (internationally) to gain a large public (ibid.). Raï is a 'phenomenon' (Idjer 2011).

Nonetheless, unlike Cheb Houssam and Fayçal Mignon, Cheba Dalila did not attribute this act to herself. She did not confess being 'stray' at any point in her career. She is not alone in this but, relying on my data, none of the female Raï singers has attributed bad deeds to themselves. Stanley Cohen (2011: xli) calls this fact 'interpretative denial' (original focus). He believes that people, in such cases, recognise and acknowledge the existence of a problem, however, this acknowledgement is incomplete as these people's inner implication and 'cruelty' is 'denied'. In effect, female Raï artists have always kept the agent of their sentences anonymous when it came to 'unclean Raï. From a linguistic perspective, Fairclough (2015) believes that highlighting or declining agency in a sentence projects an ideology. That is in case the sentence is agentless, such as the passive voice, the aim is to provide less information about the agent and to leave their causality and responsibility ambiguous as a way to protect themselves. Contrary to these female artists, the male Raï singers highlighted their agency in their sentences. In each sentence these men produced, they used the first person, either I or WE. In fact, the use of pronouns namely WE can indicate 'inclusion' or 'exclusion' in the producer's sentence (Fairclough 2015). The personal pronoun WE reflects both these connotations depending on the message that the speaker wants to convey. Its use is ideological.

On the one hand, it refers to solidarity and familiarity (the ‘inclusive WE’), on the other hand, it refers to power and authority which arises from one person speaking on behalf of the rest (the ‘exclusive WE’) (Fairclough 2015). In the case of the male singers, for instance, the reason behind their use of the personal pronoun WE was to speak on behalf of all other Raï singers and admit to their audience that what they used to do was ‘shameful’. It is an ‘inclusive WE’ which implicitly brought a call of solidarity to other artists to ‘clean’ the Raï song. Female Raï singers, on the other hand, did not admit doing something wrong by singing, and they did not understand why people were attacking them and asking them to repent to God. These female artists were aware of people’s ‘hatred’ and they opted for singing as a way to respond to them. Most recent female singers’ releases have dealt with negative topics such as envy, jealousy and betrayal. For example, Samira L’Oranaise’s *هدارين بزاف* (A Lot of Gossipers) was released on the 31st of December 2020 and reached more than 5 million of views in less than a month, the main topic being gossiping in which she said

غيارين بزاف
 سحارين بزاف
 يدو و اجيبو بزاف
 يدو و اجيبو الهدرة العقلية الخاسرة
 يا مرانيش غاية
 سبابي عدويا
 يا مرانيش à l’aise
 سبابي دوك الناس

Many jealous people
 Many bewitching people
 They transmit words, the spoiled mentality!
 I am not feeling well
 My enemy is the reason
 I am not comfortable
 Those people are the reason. (translated by RK)

In her single, Samira L’Oranaise was directing a message to the people who were attacking her verbally. She described how some persons gossiped about her to put her in trouble. She asserted that jealousy was the reason why people were harassing her verbally and even in some cases physically (she referred to sorcery). Sorcery is a topic that has long existed in Raï, and it is usually attributed to women (Schade-Poulsen 1999). It is common in the Raï song for women to be accused of resorting to ‘black magic’ to reach their objectives such as making men love them or changing the destiny of other people; be it either their personal or professional life (usually for the worse) (Schade-Poulsen 1999). Relying on the lyrics, this female artist was exhausted by people’s ‘hatred’ as she explicitly said in the last four lines. In relation to

responding to people's 'hatred', Cheba Dalila has expressed her thoughts about these people in her song رواحكم كيدايرين (What Souls!) released on the 24th of July 2019

طيحولي الصحة جرتهم مالحة
هدي شدة و تعدي و انا jamais لن randi
مكواه قلبي يمرض كلشي فيا برد
نتوما شدو الحقد و انا قلبي بيض
رواحكم كيدايرين
قلوبكم كحلين
وجوهكم صفيرين
نعرفكم كيدايرين
تخدمو خدمة كحلة
وجوه النميمة
ماعندي وين نزيدكم
ربي وكيلكم

You made me sick
It's an ordeal which will go but I will never give up
Poor heart won't get sick, I don't care about anything
You! Keep feeling envy while my heart is pure
What souls!
Dark hearts
Pale faces
I know who you are
You do dark things
Gossip faces
I can't say more than this
I leave you to God! (translated by RK)

The first time you listen to the song, you would think that Cheba Dalila is directing a message to people who dislike her, as Samira did. I thought the same as well. However, when I listened to it many times, I could identify something deeper than what the lyrics were illustrating. Elsewhere in her song, Dalila said in two other lines

ما تخلونيش نهدر
عندي dossier ياتكم كحلين كحلين

Don't push me to speak
I have all your files! Dark! Dark! (translated by RK)

In these lines Cheba Dalila was threatening her harassers. This meant that she was not responding to members of audiences who negatively criticised her, rather, she was addressing herself to people she knew. These people could be from her domain i.e. other artists who used to criticise her. On the TV programme where she appeared جزائري غني (Sing Algerian), the interviewer asked her to cite some of her ups and downs during her career. All the downs that she mentioned were related to people from the musical domain. She has highlighted their selfishness, sabotage and 'hatred' towards the success of their colleagues including her. She

never mentioned the audience. This made me consider the link between her comments in the TV meeting and the lyrics of her song, and I could understand to whom the song was dedicated. It was rumoured that the Raï sector was a corrupted environment, and most artists had affairs of which apparently Cheba Dalila had evidence (files) and might use, as she declared above, to protect herself from their gossip.

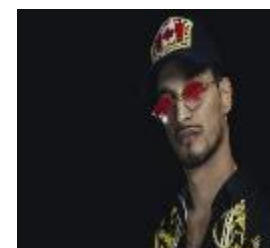
3.2. Franco-Algerian male singers living in France

Before dealing with the description of these singers, it is worth noting that none of the men use their real name. They all have a symbolic stage name such as:

L'Algerino is called 'Samir Djoghlat'. According to what he said in an interview, when he was 12 or 13, he wrote a song, and in one of the lines he used the word 'Algerino' (meaning Algerian). Since then, his friends attributed that word to him as a nickname which he, in turn, kept as a stage name when he started his career in 2005.



Soolking's real name is 'Abderraouf Derradji'. He was inspired by the cartoons 'One Piece', more precisely by the character named 'Brook' who decided to go on his own to sing and named himself 'Soolking'. Abderraouf started his career in Algeria with a rap band named 'Africa Jangle' (see pictures in appendix 13). However, just like Brook (the cartoon character), he started a solo career in France starting from 2018. Sharing the same destiny, he adopted the cartoon's nickname, Soolking, as a stage name, and the former's laugh as his signature in his songs.



Lacrim's real name is 'Karim Zinoud' who has had a very complicated life since the age of 13. His name was always linked to the French Court. He went to jail more than twice (mainly accused of theft). He even started to rap when he met a famous rap singer in jail and made 'criminality' the main topic of his songs (inspired from his own experiences). Therefore, he gave himself Lacrim as a stage name which is a short form of 'la criminalité' in French meaning the criminality.



The reason why I have selected these three names from a large number of Algerian singers succeeding in France is that my observation of their different social platforms has revealed that

they were the most influential Franco-Algerian singers in contemporary Algeria. By this I mean, these male artists were the most followed and positively received by the Algerian audience. Additionally, they were the ones that performed the most in Algeria and openly glorified their country of origin and supported it in its different cases and were closer to the Algerian people's and young adults' heart consequently.

3.2.1. Style and dress

Unlike female Raï singers, the social platforms of the Franco-Algerian singers did not reveal a lot about their clothing style. Data obtained from my online observation of their official accounts, namely Instagram, illustrated that these male artists were not really active on social media in terms of uploading pictures or videos of their daily life. They used their accounts only for professional matters such as announcing the production of a new album, single or a video-clip, or uploading posters of their coming albums, live shows' rendezvous, or, in other cases, reposting some of their fans' videos.

In those few pictures and videos of themselves which they posted, in addition to a number of their video-clips, interviews and concerts, I found that the style of dress was nearly the same for all of the men. They showed a high degree of masculinity while wearing corporate brands which they usually used as a symbol of their success and a way to emphasise their male dominance (Harrison 2008). From a semiotic point of view, these music visual signifiers are believed to be signs attributed to the black rap culture in the US (Hasio and Chen 2018; Nixon 2013). The field diary has revealed that L'Algerino remained faithful to the Versace style in most of his appearances be it interviews, video-clips or live shows. He also wore Gucci shoes and hats and chose mainly Dior for his sunglasses collection (that he wore all the time). This also could be clearly heard in his corporate songs where he kept shouting the corporate brands that he wore. According to Arthur (2006), singers belonging to the genre of rap project a Pimp Fantasy which promotes materialism in video-clips such as owning luxurious cars, living in large villas, surrounded by many women, etc. to emphasise their masculinity. In terms of accessories, I found that sunglasses were a common accessory shared (in terms of style) by all the male singers that this study involved. In effect, sunglasses and watches were the only accessories that these male artists wore (except for Lacrim who sometimes opted for bracelets, rings, and necklaces). In this context, during an interview with the Moroccan 'Hit Radio', the interviewer asked Soolking about the reason why he kept wearing a hat and sunglasses in all his appearances. He said that they protected him. In other words, in his daily life, he did not

wear them, and people could not recognize him, therefore, he could walk freely. According to what has been observed on their social platforms, during their daily life, they apparently did not show off, and did not tend to show to people how rich they were, as mentioned earlier, they were not active on social media, and they rarely posted something related to their personal lifestyle. Materialism was mainly projected in their video-clips when they tackled subjects related to money, well-living and wealth. While filming video-clips, they used cars of big brands like Ferrari, Lamborghini, Bentley, etc. and large houses and villas. According to Palmer (1997: 107), the expositions of cars by males completes their masculine freedom i.e. supreme male control is obtained via materialism in addition to emphasising gender disequilibrium.

The clothes that these singers chose while shooting a particular video-clip always reflected the topic of the song being performed. Also, unlike the Chebat, they had the same style of dressing on all the different occasions in which they participated. Moreover, they focused on showing their body muscles wearing tight jeans and opening the buttons or the zippers of their tops. Larcim, nonetheless, had another orientation in exposing his body. His rap was more of a 'gangsta rap' and in most of his video-clips, he was found topless. Additionally, while performing on stage, Lacrim generally ended his live shows by removing his top as well. Connell (2001b: 370) suggests that the sportsman body exposition is used at the industry level as a 'marketing tool'. McDonald (1997: 279) also believes that the male torso is commonly displayed in music videos as a means to distract the attention of the viewer and as a way to make the male body 'a spectacle to be desired'. Easthope (1990) believes that such body projection is a narcissistic pleasure with which a man influences people to watch him in the way he wants to be watched and, consequently, excites his ego (semiotically, he wants to be adored and read like a text's lines). This, in effect, confirms the patriarchal dominance in societies such as in Algeria where a male singer faces his audience half naked and still receives great support while female Raï singers are rejected even when they are completely or partially covered.

Additionally, these male artists tended to affirm their masculinity through adopting the character of rich men that all women dream about (i.e. they take control over women's hearts), switching from different languages (especially Spanish) semiotically as a way to make from accent sound attractive and show that they are educated and open to the world's different cultures. Some of these artists even adopted the character of criminals/thugs, and based their words on violence and taking risks, fearlessly, in talking about drugs or showing themselves with a number of guns. Also, the language these artists used was full of swear words, and they

sought to reinforce their constructed male misogyny describing women as being ‘bitches’. Even when the message was addressed to men, they insulted them with their sister or mother as in Lacrim’s song ‘Jon Snow’ released on December 21st, 2018 where he said

Elle me dit 'je t'aime' dans une villa avec vue sur la mer, mais dirait-elle
pareil si toutes les fins d'mois, j'étais dans la merde
Le mental est fort, aussi fort que ton coffre-fort, j'fais des efforts, des
grosses couilles et une barre de fer

...

J'dors avec elle, Je la vois me faire les poches, uh, J'f'rai semblant
jusqu'à demain

Pour qu'cette **petite pute** s' imagine juste temps d'une nuit que je n'suis
pas le malin

C'est vrai, de temps à autre que le succès monte à la tête'
personnellement, c'est pas mon cas [the words written in bold are all
swear expressions]

She said to me 'I love you' in a villa with a sea view, but would she like
it if every end of the month, I was in the shit

The mind is strong, as strong as your safe, I'm working, big balls and a
bar of iron

...

I sleep with her, I see her doing the pockets, uh, I will fake it till
tomorrow

For that this little whore is just imagining the one night time that I am
not the clever one

It is true, from time to time that the success go [sic.] to their head,
personally it is not my case

This extract best described the unequal gender roles' segregation in favour of men in a rap song. Bretthauer, Zimmerman and Banning (2006) claim that male rappers identify themselves in their songs/video-clips as the dominant part with a lot of money and many women at their disposal. A woman is reduced to the position of a submissive ‘whore’ who can do anything for money namely a one nightstand as described in Lacrim’s lyrics. The only ‘value’ that a woman receives, in such cases, goes to her body and its shapes which is a discrimination in itself as she is treated as a sexualised object.

At a cultural and traditional level, in different videos and pictures, I found these male singers referring to their country of origin, illustrating how proud they were of being Algerians as was clearly shown in figure 3.2., below, but contradictorily they do not live in Algeria. Soolking has not visited Algeria since 2011 as he was called for the army service which, according to him, was an obstacle to his career. As a result, he lives in France. In January 2018, he was invited as a guest in a programme called ‘Planet Rap’ on the French radio station

‘SkyRock’ where he sang for the first time a solo freestyle named ‘Guerrilla’ that soon became a hit, winning the Golden disc in France. In this song, he described the miserable life that African people suffer and also openly expressed his love for his country -Algeria

Ça sera toujours nous les coupables, coupables d’être africains
 Coupable comme Kadhafi ou comme Nelson Mandela
 Mama, c'est le moment, même on a trop souffert
 Ma’alich, c'était écrit qu'on devait souffrir plus que les autres
 Mais les autres et leurs fils ils nous ont tout pris
 Donc moi j'vais voler chez les riches comme mon frère Badji
 La la la la
 Je chante l'amour au milieu de cette Guérilla
 Parce que j't'aimerai pour toujours mon Algeria

It will always be us the guilty, guilty of being Africans
 Guilty like Kadhafi or like Nelson Mandela
 Mama, it's time, we've even suffered too much
 No matter, it was written that we should suffer more than the others
 But the others and their children they've taken everything from us
 So me, I will steal from the rich like my friend Badji
 I sing of love in the middle of the war
 Because I will always love you my Algeria



Figure 3.2. Franco-Algerian male singers reflecting their country of origin

In the survey that I distributed to a number of Algerian young adults, I asked them whether they were influenced by this category of singers or not, and to share their opinion about the reason why Algerians had become increasingly addicted to these artists. More than two thirds of the participants said that they were influenced by these male singers, and as for those who said that they were not influenced, they did not deny the fact that they listened to them. The main reason stressed by the audience about the influence of these male singers on young Algerians was the ‘good’ selection of topics and lyrics that had a message to deliver between the lines. They sang about things that ‘perfectly’ reflected what was happening in Algeria (Frith’s ‘lyrical realism’) as Chavha (f) said

...They sing what Algerians want to listen to.

Tasadit (f)

I am influenced by them because I feel like some of their songs are comprehensive, they sing on [sic.] our society, miserable and corrupt [sic.] country or on [sic.] their hard and painful personal experiences.

In addition to the content of the song, many of the participants admired how these singers, mainly Soolking, became famous. I was impressed how the majority of them knew the story of Soolking, his illegal stay in France, misery and struggle to become who he is now. Many of the research participants followed him because they saw in him an example to follow in getting over life's obstacles. Additionally, most of the participants felt 'sympathetic' with these singers as they supported the Algerian Hirak (a detailed example is provided in chapter four) through producing songs which made the audience feel that these singers 'represent' them as asserted by my research participant M'hand (m). Tiziri (f) shared the same point as she was speaking about Soolking

... he shows his love of his country Algeria through his songs which attract people given that Algeria is in a period of consciousness. All the Algerians want to liberate [the] country from the unjust system imposed by the government and Soolking touches this point in his songs namely his song (la liberté).

Another factor for their influence was the relation between Algerian singers and the international stage. A considerable number of participants believed that the influence was due to the use of the French language that some of these participants were trying to learn through listening to some songs in that language. Also, the fact that Algeria's culture was partially French made easy for the audience to understand the songs' content and context. Finally, the feeling of pride knowing that an Algerian was gaining success abroad as expressed by Ferroudja (f)

It always has been "the Algerian Dream" to succeed in France and show that success to the Algerian society...

Malha (f)

Maybe because they are Algerians and the feeling that they belong to us...

Gaya (m)

... I am happy and proud when I hear that Algerian singers are becoming international.

The online ethnography revealed that Algerian people sympathised with the fact that the name of 'Algeria' was heard worldwide thanks to an Algerian football player playing in a well-known

club like Manchester City, for instance, or an Algerian singer succeeding at an international level namely the singers based in France. While observing the social platforms mainly Instagram, I often saw random posts worshipping these famous figures and considered themselves (the owners of the posts) fortunate to have them (celebrities) as Algerians. The comments on such posts showed that the Algerian people were supportive of these football players and singers as they raised the profile of their country, particularly in the West.

3.2.2. Performance

Live Performance during Interview/ TV Meetings: compared to female Raï singers, male singers were more visible on such occasions, and they were always asked to sing during shows and radio/TV programmes. They appeared on different stations Arabic, Amazigh, and French of which some were mainstream channels such as France 5. Additionally, the programmes to which they were invited were more serious and formal compared to the prank programmes where the Chebat appeared.

During their interviews, these male singers behaved in a natural and an informal way with the interviewers in the sense that they used an informal language in their interaction such as calling the interviewers ‘cousin’, ‘frérot’ (abbreviation of the word ‘frère’ in French meaning brother). Also, they found it easy answering questions related to their personal life, and the hardships that they faced to achieve fame. As an instance of that, Soolking confessed about his experience when he first arrived in France where he worked in different humble places like a bazaar. He added that he reached stages in his life where he could not find a place to sleep, thus, he used to sleep in halls and streets. Another instance was that of Lacrim who admitted that he used to be a thief when he was adolescent and had been to jail twice in less than two years. My research participants sympathized with their experiences as expressed by Zohra (f) in her interview

I listen to them because, let’s say, they are brothers. We all have the same Algerian blood in our veins which makes it impossible to not encourage them especially that most of them are people who escaped from misery through singing giving us as audience hope that things will change for all of us one day.

Concerning their performance in TV shows or interviews, usually with the presence of an audience, these Algerian male singers were very dynamic and gave a great energy to their listeners. They felt themselves free, and controlled the atmosphere in that space. They had direct contact with the spectators and involved them in the performance. Everybody was generally

satisfied with the singers' shows. The male artists were set out to gain respect within the TV programmes which further reinforced their masculine control and hegemony.

Live Performance in Concerts: Algerian male singers performed at large live shows in different places in France, Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria. Unlike female Rai singers, these male singers were fortunate enough to have more economic opportunities to sing in bigger stages such as the Drôme of Marseille (the largest stage of the city) in France, Zenith of Constantine or la Coupole of Algiers in Algeria, and the international Festival of Carthage in Tunisia (see pictures in appendix 13).

Though some of them were born in France and grew up speaking and singing in French (except for Soolking) and made their career in France, these male singers were more appreciated by the Algerians than were the Chebat, who were based in Algeria. Thousands of people (including women and families) came to watch the male singers. In turn, these male singers made sure that their audience was satisfied to a great extent. They used every second on stage to please the audience. They jumped and moved around the whole time and engaged with the audience, asking them to sing or play with their phones' flashes and even asking those who had flags of their countries (especially Algeria's) to raise them in the air. In fact, it was the DJ that played the songs and they repeated them behind him. Thus they felt free and, in some cases, let their audience take control over the songs while they danced in a crazy way like doing hip hop gestures on some occasions (as will be seen in chapter four).

Additionally, a criterion which showed that these male singers projected an Algerian identity was the mysteriousness of their personal life. None of these singers have spoken during interviews or have publicly shared moments of their private life with their followers and media. The majority avoid discussing their personal relationships. Moreover, it is not even known whether they are married or not, or at least whether they have girlfriends. It is known that Lacrim, for instance, has two children as he is used to mentioning them in his songs and interviews, but he has never spoken about his relationship with his wife. He has never said her name, and nobody knows her face. Whenever he has spoken about his 'invisible' wife, he has referred to her as 'my wife' or 'their mother' (speaking about his children). Personal secrecy is shared by many male artists around the world as was the case of John Lennon who kept his marriage secret but came to be revealed by a journalist during an interview to whom Lennon told 'that no one is supposed to know' (King 2013: 66). Algerian men do not like to share information about their personal lives and about their partners (especially wives as their names are officially bound to them) to protect their honour.

Performance in Video-clips: in terms of shooting their video-clips, male singers are more professional than the female ones as they have access to better technology and more developed economic resources. Their video-clips are more professional and sophisticated as more money has been spent producing them. The male singers made several video-clips, going to different destinations to film them as was the case of L'Algerino who has already gone to the USA (Miami), Algeria (Khenchela), Germany, Morocco, Colombia. Also, Soolking who made some of his video-clips in Germany, Italy and France. Their video-clips were well edited, organised, and produced. They included actors where women played the role of the singers' partners who always kept dancing in an appealing way (the notion of voyeurism is found in some of their video-clips) as in Soolking's 'Milano' or 'Vroom Vroom' (where women were doing strip dance), or L'Algerino's 'Les Menottes' and 'Fleur fanée', or Lacrim's 'Mon Glock va te Mettra è Genoux'. The ideas of the male artists contrast substantially with those of the female Raï artists. Male artists appear supportive of corporate brands, have capital investment and are adored for their worship of Algerian Nationalism through the use of the Algerian flag.

3.2.3. Material

In terms of topics, Franco-Algerian male singers tackled nearly the same topics as Chebat namely 'love for women', 'unfaithfulness', and 'life hardships'. At the same time, they also dealt with other topics such as 'love for money' and 'criminality' which were two subjects that considerably affected young adults, in particular young men. There was a difference between the texts of the male singers and those of the female ones where money and life hardships were the dominant themes in the songs of the former while 'love' and 'envy' were dominant in those of the female Raï singers. It is easy to discern that young Algerian men have the stereotype of women being materialistic. Also, they believe that women abandon their beloved ones and follow rich men. Therefore, young adults enjoy songs that interpret their vision. In fact, many songs of these male singers reflected this 'social interpretation'. Even the selection of the lyrics was very strategic. The singers, in some cases, used the third person point of view (sometimes the first person point of view 'WE') which might refer to anybody, and ideologically create a sense of solidarity (Fairclough 2015). The lyrics had a general application and knowledge, and anyone who was experiencing the same case could feel that they were the main actors of the story. Moreover, in one of his interviews, Soolking said that he had to take into consideration what was happening to people while writing his songs, not only Algerians, but he had to think about French people as he was living in their country and singing in their language; as well as

the Tunisians and Moroccans since Morocco and Tunisia along with Algeria were the three main Arab countries of the Maghreb World having language, history, religion and many cultural rituals in common (Cremades, Lorenzo and Turcu, 2015: 175). All young adults shared the same life conditions, and that was why they were taken into consideration by these male artists while writing the song lyrics. Among the songs that referred to the desire for money and how females wanted the latter, abandoning love, was L'Algerino's 'Les Menottes' (2017) where he said in one of the lines

Elle veut pas de ta bague, elle veut l'Audi quatre anneaux

she doesn't want your ring [referring to marriage], she wants the Audi four-ring [referring to the logo of the brand]',

or in Soolking's 'Milano' (2018) saying,

Hbiba lalalalala on va se sauver, on va s'aimer, faire de la monnaie
Lalalalala ce soir il joue derrière les barreaux
Lalalalala vie de luxe shopping à Milano
Lalalalala chérie donne-moi la mano
J'temmenerai loin de là là là plus besoin de trabajo

We will escape together, love each other, we will make money
Tonight either rich or behind bars
Luxurious life, shopping at Milano
Darling give me your hand
I will take you far away from here, no need to work anymore

As if they wanted to show that the best way to seduce a woman was through using the language of money i.e. they explicitly presented a stereotypical and a narrow materialist projection that women were interested in money. Role division based on gender has long existed in popular music where aggressivity and assertiveness were 'naturally' attributed to male sexuality while their female co-partners, on the other hand, were attributed characteristics like sensitive and passive consumers (Frith and McRobbie 1978; Frith 1983).

As stated above, the topic of criminality had a key role in the life of the male singers based in France (les Beurs) be it legally or illegally. The way the Algerian diaspora was represented in the French press, mass-media and the opinion of the French people was somehow negative and associated to a violent and ideologic racism (Marranci 2000). Lacrim experienced such marginalisation during his childhood when was 13 and his school erased his named from the list of the pupils without telling him and his family. He recited in one of his interviews how much he suffered as a teenager and became a thief giving rise to several appearances in French courts. He was jailed for the first time at the age of 16. Even after his fame, he could not get rid

of the police who found his fingerprints on illegally possessed arms belonging to a drug dealer and was jailed for one year and a half before he was proved innocent. These difficulties motivated him to rap on behalf of marginalised people. French politicians have always had a fear of crime which was usually associated with immigrants especially as statistics have shown that the crime rate increased in suburbs occupied by immigrants (Haddad and Balz 2006: 27). According to Blatier et al. (2010) people aged from 18 to 30 were the category of people who commit homicide the most, yet this does not absolve minors who were found to be guilty, who were always found to be males. Nonetheless these young male immigrants (such as Algerians) were not concerned with homicides, instead, they committed crimes such as thefts (see: Miliani 1995; Collyer 2006; Loyal 2009 and Schneider (2008) for more context about the Algerian immigrants in the French diaspora). Lacrim was one of these minor males, and he clearly said that in the lyrics of many of his songs. In the one called ‘Oh Bah Oui’ (a duet with another French rapper named Booba), for instance, he said,

Jeune menotté, prisonnier sans diplôme
J’me démerde, dès 16ans j’roule dans un p’tit cône

Handcuffed young, prisoner without diploma
I cope, from 16 years I roll in a little cone

In these two lines, he referred to his past when he was jailed at the age of 16 saying with no diploma referring to his expulsion from school. He also mentioned this incident in another song ‘J’ai Mal’, yet in a detailed way, singing

J’ai grandi banlieusard
J’trainais tard le soir
...
Ils voulaient pas nous croire
Faut marquer l’histoire
De rêve de pouvoir
Petit j’ai quitté l’école, un talent gâché
Impossible de bouger, quand le daron m’attachait

I grew up suburban
I walk late in the night
they didn’t want to believe us
we have to make history
of dream and power
little I left school, a spoiled talent
Impossible to move, when the father tied me

Lacrim grew up in the banlieues (suburbs), and from an early age had no fear of night life (that generally symbolised illegal affairs). He says ‘they don’t want to believe us’; he referred to the

police (they), and himself or people living as immigrants (us). However, the most important word in this line was the word ‘want’ as if Lacrim wanted to demonstrate that the police were not objective but rather discriminatory in their decisions since their work depended on choosing and believing stereotypes without evidence. From his experience, the police and officials were seen as ignoring the truth and biased. People who had the same experience as Lacrim reacted positively to his songs and considered him as voicing their feeling, limitations and needs in France. Whiteley (2004: 10) argues that rap music serves singers to create a self-defined identity to resist the oppressive cultural and political regimes and considers it as a speech that leads to ‘action, change and liberation’. Even in Algeria, Lacrim received support not mainly because people are suffering from what was in the lyrics, rather they supported those living in the other side of the Mediterranean. In other words, Algerians have a sense of solidarity with their alienated ‘brothers’ and ‘sisters’, as Zohra (f)- research participant- referred to them. Another song Lacrim made is called ‘C’est Ma Vie’ which he dedicated more particularly to his son. The song started with a real phone call record between Lacrim and his son. Lacrim promised to take him to attend a football game on a Sunday (i.e. have an ordinary life as other children). Throughout the song, Lacrim referred to the promises he gave to his children and his wife but could not grant because as he said,

J’t’ai promis l’or, mais j’suis dans la merde, c’est ma vie
Des montagnes de problèmes: c’est ma vie

I promised you gold, but I am in the shit, it’s my life
Mountains of problems: it’s my life

From his biography, he was chased by the police, forcing him to escape for a long period of time and leave his family behind him. He could not attend the birth of his baby girl as announced in one of the headings included in the video-clip of the song (see appendix 13); a song of a hopeless man just like many immigrants suffering from the same destiny.

Lacrim was not the only singer who tried to portray the situation in the cités or banlieues. Many rap singers of African origins have released songs in which they have described how Banlieusards were living and how they were surviving the hardships of life in France. Moreover, to produce the songs, the rappers called Raï singers to make duets and form the perfect match of the image. The latter always achieved the top ten in France (Sewendenburg 2015). Among those songs and singers, Sewendenburg (2015) has taken the example of three hit songs in France namely: ‘Partir Loin’ by the rapper Rim’K (an Amazigh-Algerian from the rap group 113) and the Algerian Raï singer Redha Taliani, ‘Don’t Panik, Je Suis Muslim

Everyday’ of the rapper Médine, and ‘Même pas Fatigué’ by Cheb Khaled and the Magic System band (from the Ivory Coast). In the first hit, Partir Loin, the part being sung by Rim’K (living in France) explained how hard it was for an immigrant to live in France, also, how much these immigrants missed going back home whereas Taliani’s part (living in Algeria) as said Benachour (2007 cited in Sewendenburg, 2015: 113) ‘best captured the concerns of the new young generation for whom the dream of illegal sea crossing is the only hope for which they live’. In ‘Don’t Panik, Je Suis Muslim Everyday’, Médine tried to respond to the misrepresentation that media kept broadcasting about the banlieues and Muslims. Apparently, singing was found by Maghribi singers, along other Africans, as the best means to unify these marginalised and hopeless immigrants and, hopefully, make change.

Male singers use a harsh and assertive language full of swear words such as ‘whore(s)’, ‘mother fuckers’, and ‘fuck’ in most of their songs. Such language is not commonly and openly used in the Algerian society and music, yet this did not prevent Algerians listening, following and reacting positively to these singers. The Algerian audience ignored what words were used to deal with such topics. They kept supporting these Franco-Algerian singers regardless of the broken taboos of the Islamic religion and the Algerian tradition. As an illustration of that, in Tunisia, during his live concert in Carthage, Soolking was singing his hit ‘Guerrilla’, and the audience was ‘on fire’. At the moment when he was about to say the only swear phrase that was in the song (son of a bitch!) he downed the microphone and avoided to say it. It was the whole audience who said it instead, more surprisingly, the tone of females was dominant. A contradiction appeared in my observations revealing tolerance in Algeria towards exclusively male artists which Yamina (f) explained

Because of social and cultural ideologies. Women are not welcome to expose themselves or their voices. To people, women must cover themselves and stay home, they are not allowed to do what they want especially singing.

In general, the answers varied, however, it was found that research participants had a preoccupation with the notion of ‘conservative society’ in relation to female Raï artists. In effect, Frith (1983: 225) states that from their early age, females are encouraged to stay at home and take in charge of the domestic tasks such as caring, and that women are men’s ‘preserve’. Following the same context, Algerian society is influenced by religious and cultural institutions used to exercise patriarchy on women such as forbidding them to go to some settings, do

specific jobs like singing, wear a certain style of clothes or behave in a certain manner (as discussed in earlier sections) including the language used.

Conclusion

In this data chapter, I have presented an ethnographic online observation of both categories of female and male singers focusing mainly on their style of dress, performance and material. Throughout the chapter, the online ethnography was supported by face-to-face data collected through direct contact with my research participants (surveys and interviews).

The interpretation and analysis of data in this chapter have shown that despite their exposure to Western ‘civilised’ culture, the majority of Algerians are highly committed to their social and religious norms, forming a society which some of the research participants described as ‘conservative’. Trying to bring some Western culture in the field of music, for instance, by recent Algerian artists like the adoption of a new style of dressing, or a new way of delivering lyrics was harshly criticised by a majority of the Algerian population. On rare occasions, I found some appreciation of this type of change as it was considered by some participants to be ‘courageous’ from the female singers to challenge society, leading them to respect these artists. Nonetheless, it was found in the majority of the qualitative surveys, as well as the interviews, that not all people have welcomed this change, as, according to them, it is a style of life that does not belong to Algerian people and the Algerian society. They consider themselves as being conservative and try to protect their values and those of their religion, as a result excluding anything or any person trying to ‘poison’ these values. In this context, I found in the surveys many claims against some Raï singers. Some participants were not convinced that what these singers were producing was not art. Other participants, whom I found had an ‘objective’ vision, considered that assertions like this one were due to two main reasons: patriarchy and misinterpretation of religion. These participants viewed that Algerian society has long been obeying a patriarchal ruling where several things were tolerated (though not accepted) for men (as seen with the Franco-Algerian male singers) but not women and thus used religion as a means of offering power to one category of people over another (Weber 1949), a condition that obliged some audiences to opt for the virtual world which reflects them and their preferences. In effect, the online observation has revealed that the virtual world serves as an escape for this category of people who have found their freedom restricted in real life because of religious and social restrictions.

Chapter Four: ‘MA-GNI-FICENT’: An ethnography of a live music event in Tizirt, Algeria.

Introduction

This chapter provides an ethnographic description and an analysis of music live events in Algeria that I attended. I focused my analysis, in this part of the thesis, on one main event consisting of the last event of the second festival of Belles Nuits de Tizirt (BNT). First, I will ethnographically introduce the festival: its origins, evolution, location, staff, sponsors and the different events that it holds. Then, I will provide a ‘thick description’ and a discussion of both the press conference of the festival, and its main event -L’Algerino’s- which I attended as part of my fieldwork. Both the description and the analysis, in this chapter, will be reinforced by visuals that were either captured by myself or downloaded from Google image or obtained from the Facebook page of BNT. Additionally, the descriptions and reflections will be supported by data from the audience who responded to the qualitative survey, interviews with key participants including ethnographic conversations with Hakim Bellout, the concert promoter, who is the chief organiser of the whole festival and my central gatekeeper for this part of the study.

4.1. Les Belles Nuits de Tizirt (BNT)

BNT is a Kabyle festival that takes place in Tizirt, Tizi-Ouzou, a coastal city in the north of Algeria. It is mainly a musical festival that lasts from one to three weeks. It consists of many evenings (from 5 to 10) where most popular singers of Amazigh songs and new talents are invited to perform for people in Tizirt. BNT has its origins from ‘Les Belles Nuits de Boudjima¹⁸’ (BNB) in Boudjima. The latter is a town in Tizi-Ouzou, close to Tizirt which has hosted this festival on three occasions. Started in the Ramadan of 2016, Les Belles Nuits de Boudjima, managed by Hakim Bellout, took place each evening for the whole period of Ramadan. In the summer of 2018, Bellout had the inspiration to run a bigger festival in a larger city. In the interview that I conducted with him, I asked him about how the idea of Belles Nuits de Tizirt came to his mind; he said, as explained above, originally it was Belles Nuits de Boudjima, and then

...there is a young developer here in Tizirt, Aziz Khial, a property developer, and at the same time he works in the sector of tourism. He is from here [Tizirt]. He wanted to do a similar festival in Tizirt as it was important for the tourism of the region. He contacted me and

suggested the project asking me whether I agreed to do the same festival in Tizirt, yet during summertime which meant either in July or August. He told me that the terrain in which the festival is going to take place was ready. He also told me that he was going to give a great financial help and he would devote the necessary means to enter to Tizirt by its big door. So, I immediately gave him my approval. After that, we spoke to the mayor as we needed to have a permission. The mayor welcomed the festival in his region saying that it was a good thing and it was an honour to welcome such a festival. From this, we agreed on everything, and launched the advertisement of the first festival of BNT right after the end of the third festival of BNB.

It was clearly said by Hakim that the objective of the festival in Tizirt was to promote tourism in that town. As a leading objective, it necessitated for the managers to choose an appropriate season in summer. It is the best time of year as Tizirt is a coastal city that welcomes Algerians not only from different provinces of the country, but also Algerians living abroad (mainly France) who come each summer and enjoy their vacation near the beach. Promoting tourism in Tizirt helps also to promote its economy by attracting people to come and rent houses, studios or book hotel rooms; also go to the different beaches and use the different facilities in that town such as attending musical festivals. Unfortunately, they had to abandon the BNB festival as, according to Hakim, the month of Ramadan was not a fixed month and kept moving each year which made it impossible to have events in that period (which could be nearly in winter) as it was an open-air show which could lead to human and material damage. In his official Facebook page, Hakim announced that the festival had officially come to its end in the town of Boudjima, yet celebration would continue in other places such as Oued-Aissi (in Ramadan) and Tizirt (in summer).

BNT has had two festivals, the first was in August 2018, which lasted from the 1st until the 20th with an interval between each of the events giving a total of 10 events in 20 days. BNT brought something new compared to the festivals of Boudjima, with a new style of music which was introduced to the festival consisting of L'Algerino (an Algerian Amazigh singer based in France) who sang rap and freestyle French music. The second festival took place in August 2019 from the 17th until the 25th with a total of 5 events. Considerable changes were made compared to the first festival. The first change concerned the managers, where in the first festival there were only two organisers (Hakim DJ Events that became Ev Play, and Pacte Immo) while in the second festival there were three organisers (Ev Play, Magvision and Pacte Immo). Additionally, a new and better equipped stage had been installed thanks to the Magvision team. More official sponsors were given subsidies to support the events (Essendou, Nouara,

Massaessyle, ONDA, IF Travel, Delux Video, and the Province of Tizi-Ouzou's Assembly). Also, there were two evenings (they were not part of the official programme of the festival) held during the 6th and the 7th of August, with the tickets reduced to half price, in which big names of Kabyle song performed. Economically, in this new version of the festival, 10% of the ticket's price was dedicated to associations dealing with the protection of the environment in the town of Tizirt. The only inconvenience of this second festival compared to the previous one consisted of the total number of events which represented only half of the previous festival's live events. The main similarity to highlight is the space where the events took place- the same terrain, Espace Louni (see the pictures of both posters in appendix 14).

4.1.1. Espace Louni: the ethnographic context



Figure 4.1. Map of Tizirt's Location in Algeria (source: Google image)

Espace Louni is a large private terrain situated on a hill in Tizirt which was rented by the organisers of the festival of 'Belles Nuits de Tizirt'. It is a large undeveloped sloping area surrounded by brick walls with two big entrances at the bottom. The surface was all dirt except the space reserved for the stage which was refurbished by building a large area with a rectangle shape made of cement. It was situated in a high place far from the city centre and close to the forest and some real estate under construction with a beautiful sea view. When I was there filming and taking pictures, I felt how much this 'Espace' was financially poor and needed support. It lacked means; it was too humble compared to the prestigious festival itself. When I asked Hakim about whether they received support from the state and whether this covered the

festival's costs or at least a considerable percentage of them, his answer was not pleasing. He said:

The help of the state was only this year. We received a subsidy from the province's Assembly... it was the only aid we had from the state... compared to the greatness of the festival, it remains really little... if I say it does not help, I will be lying, and if I say that it helps us, it doesn't... so for this moment, it remains very insufficient, but we hope that there will be more important contributions for what is coming.

4.1.1.1. Visual ethnographic description of Espace Louni

This section describes the setting up of the festival and the specific sponsors.

Inside this space, there was the huge stage near the second entrance. The background consisted of five steel squares with different sizes (from smallest to biggest), each having three thin screens (two on the sides and one on the top). In addition to the screens, around four stage lighting gantries (at least) were installed at the top of each square with stage LEDs. At the back of the stage, a large screen was connected to the smallest iron square while 20 loudspeakers (10 on the left and 10 on the right) were connected to the biggest square. I reached the stage by going up a few stairs. The stage was not fully equipped; it was almost empty. There were some additional loudspeakers on the floor, music locked boxes, a battery (as one musician came on when I finished filming to test it for the coming event in the evening of the same day) and microphone stands (with no microphones).



Figure 4.2. The Stage of Les Belles Nuits de Tizirt (source: captured by RK)

At the bottom of the stage, there was a large poster with a white background containing the names of all the official sponsors of the festival, ordered as follow (see the pictures of the logos of the different sponsors in appendix 14)

- **ONDA** (Office National des Droits d’Auteurs): The National Office of Authors’ Rights.
- **PACTE IMMO**: a private real estate agency owned by Aziz Khial from Tizirt who also sponsored the JSK (Jeunesse Sportive Kabylie) the football club of the province of Tizi-Ouzou in the first league of the country.
- **Ev Play** (Evolution Play): previously known as Hakim DJ Events which is an association taking in charge of different activities such as the promotion of cultural events, the organisation of weddings and artists, artistic management and audio-visual production. This association is owned by Hakim Bellout.
- **MAGVISION**: an international audio-video enterprise responsible of the broadcasting of video, multimedia, sound and picture. It has a branch in Algeria led by Hakim Lounis.
- **Nouara**: Flan Factory.
- **Essendou**: dairy products factory
- **Berber TV**: the Amazigh TV station based in France.
- **IF Travels**
- **Delux Video**
- **Mizrana Production**
- **Massaessyle**: clothing brand
- **Town Hall of Tizirt**
- **The Popular Assembly of the Province of Tizi-Ouzou.**

A small space was kept between the stage and the stands. To avoid any troubles during the events, a considerable number of crowd control barriers were installed to separate the public from the artists and the stage in general. They erected two stands separated with barriers as there was a hall between them where a number of electric cables were placed connecting the stage material to the technical equipment (the latter was situated at the centre of the two stands). Those stands consisted of hundreds of plastic chairs (most of them were white and the rest were either blue, green or red). They occupied around the half of the area while a huge sloping space behind was left empty for people who would watch the events standing. At the left of the stage, there was a big building that resembled a barn made of cement which contained a couple of rooms. The first room, having its door in front of the stage, was for fast food serving; the one behind it, having its door in front of the second entrance, was for the press where singers were interviewed right after the show. The largest room had its entrance at the back where the press conference was going to take place.

4.1.2. The press conference of ‘Les Belles Nuits de Tizirt’

The press conference was the key organising moment in the festival routine and here I will introduce my gatekeeper Hakim Bellout. Hakim Bellout is one of the head-managers of the festival and the owner of Ev Play. Being in touch with him offered me great opportunities within the field. Thanks to his prominent position and his closeness to every person there, I could interact with them all. Being introduced to the whole organising team as one of Hakim’s ‘acquaintances’, and the fact that I was a Ph.D. student abroad made them be very welcoming and friendly with me. My contact with Hakim in person was fundamental to my Ph.D. as it would have been different if the contact was with any other person in the festival with less ‘prestige’ or authority.

From the beginning of my fieldwork, I was in touch with Hakim. A year before, in the summer of 2018 (once back home), there was the first festival of les Belles Nuits de Tizirt, and I heard rumours that a second festival was going to take place the coming summer (2019). When I started my Ph.D., I began planning for my data collection and the different destinations to collect my corpus, luckily, this event was close to the village where I live (about 45 minutes away by car). I immediately looked for Hakim’s page on Facebook (EV Play) which I managed to find. Without hesitating, I sent him a message where I introduced myself and my Ph.D. topic asking whether the festival was going to take place and what was going to be the list of the singers who were going to perform. He said that the festival was going to take place in the coming summer in Tizirt, but the list of the singers was not defined yet and that he would keep me informed. He activated the option of ‘top fan’ for my Facebook account in the official page of the festival so as I could receive notifications about any news and updates related to the festival. In one of his posts, he confirmed the dates of the events, but he asked the followers to name their favourite singers they wished to see. I checked people’s comments, most of them opted for Soolking, L’Algerino and some other well-known Kabyle singers such as Ait Menguelat, Takfarinas, Allaoua, etc.

Once back home in July 2019, I sent him a message to confirm the events and the list of the singers, he answered me by midnight, apologising for not responding earlier and he gave me his phone number asking me to call him as it would be better. I immediately called him and had a nice chat telling me that it is such a pleasure to hear that one of the Kabyles is succeeding abroad doing something related to our culture. I asked him about access and whether there were VIP tickets as I needed to be in a good place to catch every detail of the events also whether it was possible to take notes and film videos. He said that there were VIP tickets, and as I was

from the same region as him, he would facilitate the access for me ('you are a family member' he said); concerning the notes and videotaping, he was totally fine with the proposition. I explained how important it was for me to attend the events and whether it was possible to have the chance to do an interview with him and the singers related to my research. He was really humble by saying that he would do his best to make it possible for me to meet the singers. Concerning himself, he welcomed the idea to conduct the interview, but he asked for some time as he was really busy with the preparations for the festival.

By the beginning of August, I tried to call him, but he did not respond to the first call. I thought that he had abandoned the idea, yet I did not lose hope. I tried to call him the coming day, he did not respond, but he wrote me a message, instead, where he said, 'I will call you back'. He did not. Hence, I thought to change the method of contact where I sent him a message to let him know what I needed as follow 'I am really sorry for the pressure, I just wanted to know whether we can fix a day for the interview. Also, whether it is possible to have tickets before the events?'. It was a good approach and he immediately called me thanking me for reminding him via the message, and that it was possible to meet him either the afternoon of that day or on the coming Thursday by 5 p.m. in Tigzirt. My interview questions were not ready yet, so it was impossible that afternoon, I said it would be better if we would leave it for Thursday. By Thursday, my questions were prepared, and I was ready to interview Hakim.

Following my development of chaperone ethnography, I was accompanied by my brother and a cousin (a female), we went in the afternoon to Tigzirt. Once there, I called him many times, but no response. Meanwhile, I tried to do something useful, where I went to buy the tickets in the selling point after seeing the post on Instagram in the festival's official page. For each event, I bought two tickets as my brother would accompany me (the shows were at night). It was 5 p.m. and my gatekeeper, Hakim, was not responding. After a while he sent me a message saying that he was away for another appointment and that he was sorry. As the festival was in two days, I proposed to postpone the meeting after the end of the festival. By the coming day, he called me and invited me to their press conference reserved for the next day where, according to him, important journalists from different TV stations were going to attend the conference and he would do the interview afterwards in the Espace Louni at 2 p.m. The next day, by 1.30 p.m., I went to Tigzirt again with my brother and another female cousin to the Espace Louni where the festival and the conference would take place. Once having arrived there, I found a group of men standing outside the property, wearing the same t-shirt, they saw me and one of them asked me who I was. I said that I was a Ph.D. researcher in the field of

music, and Hakim had invited me to attend the conference and that those in the car were my brother and cousin. He welcomed me and told my brother to park somewhere around and get inside. He said that (pointing to Hakim who was with a group of journalists) ‘the man with a white shirt is Hakim go and see him as you are the one who knows best what you have talked about’. I got inside with my brother and cousin. I went to Hakim, shook his hand and told him that I was Radia Kasdi, the Ph.D. student from Canterbury Christ Church University. With a smile, he welcomed me, and invited me to enter the room and have some refreshments along with my guests until 2 p.m. when the conference would start in another room.

I went to the refreshment room, which was small, where I found tables laid in the centre, covered with white table paper clothe. There were many journalists, men and women, aged between around 25 and 50. One journalist came to us (I did not know at the beginning that he was a journalist). He invited us to have some refreshments, I said that I was okay, he insisted on me having something. On the tables, there were different sorts of sweets (modern and traditional) and drinks where we found juice, cola, coffee in thermos flasks, water, patisserie, croissants, traditional bread and soufflés. To please him, I took a bottle of juice whereas my cousin ate a soufflé and my brother a genoise. There were chairs and a small couch. My brother went outside while my cousin and I found some space on a couch and took a seat. Everybody there was eating and drinking something and their interaction was friendly. The journalists from different TV stations and different cities of Algeria were asking about each other, and whenever somebody said that they belonged to the Kabyle community, then everybody was interested to find out why and when they moved and lived in other cities rather than Kabylia. The conference took some time to begin as the Numidia TV station’s journalists had not arrived yet. After the refreshments, we (my cousin and I) joined my brother outside where there were chairs and other journalists (mainly from Berber Television). They were talking about the different programmes they hosted and the different guests (authors, politicians, singers, etc.) they received and what was their impression about them.

Among the journalists, there was one female with a short white braces dress in which the backside of her bra was uncovered. She was listening to the discussion of the journalists (she was the only female with five males). I thought she was a French woman working for the Berber TV, but I was really amazed when she started speaking: she was Kabyle. I was interested in how open she was i.e. being a Kabyle woman smoking freely in a very conservative area in front of Kabyle men. Moreover, she and the male journalists were speaking of the Heineken beer industry in Algeria and its (the beer) different making in different countries which meant

that she was drinking as well. I also observed the reaction of the men, who were supposed to belong to a conservative society, accepting the fact that a Kabyle female had broken specific taboos and stayed with them with a cigarette in her fingers and spoken about beer. From my own Kabyle upbringing and socialisation within a conservative culture, for a moment I felt anguish and inferiority in that environment. I felt also inferior during the conference as the journalists were experienced in interviewing while it was my first time. I was really scared to undergo that experience, but I kept convincing myself that I would be able to do it.

While waiting for the press conference to begin, Hakim appeared with Mecipsa Didouche who was responsible for the communications at the festival. He introduced him to me telling me to provide Mr Didouche with more details about my Ph.D. research as he could help me to contact relevant people in the musical sector for my research. Hakim left, and Mr Didouche took a seat beside me. I explained to him the research theme and its objective, mentioning that Raï music was becoming more dominant in the music sector in Algeria. He said that he disagreed with me concerning the fact that Raï was the leading musical genre. I was reflecting on his response, and I felt that he was impulsive. I found that behaviour interesting and I told one of the sponsors of the festival about it a few weeks later. This latter (the sponsor) said to me that Mr Didouche was a separatist Amazigh and that he was worshipping anything that was Amazigh and having such reactions to my response did not surprise him. Mr Didouche said that he did not have many contacts in this sector (Raï), yet he would ask other people that might contact me, which had not happened so far. I kindly asked for his details where he gave me his phone number, e-mail address, Facebook and Instagram accounts. I went to take a tour around the 'Espace Louni' where the whole festival was going to take place after getting the permission of Hakim Lounis, the second manager of the festival, who asked me some questions about myself and my research in return.

It was 4 p.m. after two hours of wait, Hakim called all of us to the conference room as the press conference was about to start. Once there, I saw the poor conditions in which the festival was taking place where that room was not well equipped and obviously used to be a barn due to the smell. The walls and roof were covered with large white fabric creating an atmosphere of a tent. The floor was of dirt which was wetted to avoid people walking causing dust in the room. For the lighting, they had installed LEDs (blue and pink) on the ground near the fabric which gave, me personally, a warm feeling. We found plastic chairs, like the ones put near the stage, placed in lines. There was a small hall through which the hosting members would walk and answer the journalists' questions. Between the stands and the panel, there was a small space

where cameras of different TV stations were fixed on hangers. The panel's table was covered with a traditional fabric threaded usually by women to be worn on top of their Kabyle dresses. On the centre of the table, a set of microphones each belonging to a particular TV station such as El-Hayat TV, Numidia TV, Dzair TV, Djazairia One, Algerian TV and Berber TV (all from Algeria except for Berber TV which is based in France) were settled. Behind the panel, there was a projector screen that projected in a slideshow of the logo of the festival with its deferent sponsors. The journalists sat on the first line of chairs, followed by the partners of the festival such as Aziz Khial and his brother. Behind these two, I took a seat, on my left was my brother and on my right was my cousin who was filming and taking pictures while I was taking notes. Everybody had taken their seats. It was time for the press conference to start.

4.1.2.1. The press conference live

Below is the complete transcription of the press conference (translated by myself from Kabyle and French). It offers a critical insight into the setting, local and national arrangements for a large festival and also the cultural and political context in ethnographic details.

Didouche: welcome to the press conference of the festival of 'Belles Nuits de Tigzirt'... so it is the second festival and we are at the first day of its opening. It is today that the festival will officially start though we did two previews on the 6th and 7th of August 2019. Here, at this table there is me Micipsa Didouche the manager of communication during the festival; by my side there is Hakim Bellout the representative of the organising tripartite organisers of the festival; on his right there is Mr Abbas who is the representative of ONDA, he is the acting leader, and to my right [sic.] (to his left) we have the mayor of the town hall of Tigzirt who is Mr Abbou. So... I ... I declare the festival... [looking to Hakim] I... I give the word to Hakim to introduce the festival.



Figure 4.3. The Panel of the Press Conference of Belles Nuits de Tizirt (source: captured by RK)

Bellout: Good afternoon... welcome... dear assistants, journalists, guests. We thank you for your presence; welcome to the town of Tizirt and welcome to the 'Espace Louni' where the festival, we call 'Belles Nuits de Tizirt', is taking place. The Belles Nuits de Tizirt is a festival that comes back for the second time. Recently, before the Aid Kbir¹⁹, we made two events as previews where Kabyle singers made shows; to whom we might cite: Malika Domrane, Rabeh Asma, Kamel Igman. These were two previews, but the festival will officially begin starting from today, from the 17th until the 23rd. We will have five nights. For the programme of tonight, there will be with us Ali Amrane and the Groupe Amzik [for the latter] it is the first time that they will sing in Algeria. Tomorrow there will be with us Allaoua, Ghiles Terki, Nassima Ait ami. The 19th, there will be with us Cheb Billal. The 22nd Kader Japonais and by the end, the 23rd, is L'Algerino. The Festival of BNT, as you know, we started it last year our partner Pacte Immo headed by Aziz Khial who paved us the way to come to Tizirt, also he is the one who brought us to this beautiful place so as there will be a festival which will come back each year in this town - Tizirt. Why Tizirt? Tizirt is a coastal city, a beautiful binary city where people living inside and outside the country come to and enjoy their holidays. Previously, there has been a lack of animation in this city, as it is the case in the majority of the cities in the country, we, as the representative of the event or the festival, have thought of establishing a festival that will come back each year here. In this second version, a big company joined our team of organisation. The one we call MAGVISION headed by Hakim Lounis, hence, we are organising the

festival the three of us, also, he is in charge of the technical part. For sure, those who followed the first festival, have noticed that we have established a big stage [for this year] and I can say that maybe it is for the first time in the region that we achieved to make a stage worthy of big international festivals. Also, the new thing that the festival of this year brought, compared to the first one which introduced only the Amazigh song, we went a bit abroad and opened ourselves to the Raï and rap Song which will be present. That's it, thank you so much.

Didouche: concerning this festival, it has this year a logo named 'Bel'eco'. It is the slogan we gave to this festival. It is about the 10 DA [Algerian Dinar] we dedicated to the local associations to support them protecting the environment, cleanliness and the sensitisation of the inhabitants of the town of Tizirt, visitors or traders of the region. Bel'eco is also a further vision to give support to these associations to protect this city so as it will have a stronger touristic potential. The festival from our part as its creators and animators, we will increase the things and try to animate more places in this city of Tizirt not only Espace Louni but also enlarge [networks] and try to achieve the beaches and districts. So, through Bel'eco, we hope that this festival will receive more people and gain more outcomes so as to distribute more to the local associations. Now, we will give the word to Mr Abbas, the representative of ONDA, he will explain how the ONDA gives supports for the initiative of festival of Belles Nuits de Tizirt. Mr Abbas the floor is yours.

[Bel'eco is the assimilation of two words: 'Belle' (beautiful) and 'Ecologie' (ecology) which is the logo of the charity initiative made by the festival's team. It consists of keeping 10% of the tickets' prices (the equivalent of 10DA as the tickets of all the shows were sold for 1000DA - around 4£- except for L'Algerino's which was for 1500DA) dedicated for associations responsible for the cleanliness of the town as another way to promote tourism there and positively serve its Economics.]



Figure 4.4. The Logo of the Bel'eco Charity (source: BNT Facebook page)

Abbas: good afternoon, salam alikoum... as it has been told by these brothers, it would be meaningless that the ONDA will not support such activities or events of this type... it is obvious. The ONDA, as you know all, has, according to the perceptions, a specific budget to support any cultural action which we call 'the cultural promotion'. It is absolutely evident that we are by side of associations and festival to support them a bit to persevere their actions especially that this event 'BNT' gives a good example of helping associations which are active in the region. Each time we can, we set aside each year, according to the budgetary exercises and their balance, we consider always a good amount to support everything that has to do with cultural activities, and it is our role ... to support both cultural activities and also the social actions of artists. This is our role... what I have to tell you about this programme, we are here, and this is a proof of our job consisting of helping associations, as I have already said festivals, be them regional or national that we already supported such as Timgad, El-Djemila or Festivals of Raï and others. Thank you.

Didouche: Thank you sir. And now we give the floor for Mr Abbou the mayor of the town hall of Tigzirt who welcomed BNT in his town for the second time.

Abbou: Good afternoon for all the presents here, welcome to Tigzirt, we hope that you are going to have good evenings here with us. As the first festival was a success, we hope that this year's will be better. Each time, the festival has a name, and we, as the local authority, are here to accompany them as long as we can. And we are happy this year as the theme is ecology [supporting the associations responsible of the protection of the environment]. As you may know, ecology is the most common problem that we can face nowadays especially that we are progressively experiencing it since few years. There is a lot of pollution throughout Algeria. So, this festival will serve as a form of sensitivity

which has to be real so as the citizens will be aware that this environment is theirs and needs to stay clean. So, I thank the organisers who have thought about this theme, I thank them as they gave some support for associations working in the domain of ecology and environment. We hope, as this event coincides the Hirak (popular revolution), to have a better Algeria with an advent of second republic better than the one before where Algeria will find itself in a good state. Hence, we hope this all will be a success. Thank You.

Didouche: [addressing himself to the mayor] Thank you for welcoming us in your town. Concerning the ecological activity in the town of Tigzirt, we also from our part Mr the mayor [laughing] this time, we focused on what is related to the town be it posters where we used to print around 3000 while this year, we printed only around 100 or less. All that has to do with the signs that are bonded in panels made of wood so as it would be easier to remove and put them back. We did not use glue for displays and the traditional means instead we are on social media so as the city stays clean... so [smiling] ... we are here. Without forgetting our sponsors. I thank cheese 'Essendou'; Berber Television being as the official median partner, flan 'Nouara', Massil Confection, the town hall of Tigzirt, the province of Tizi-Ouzou Assembly and ONDA. We thank them all and Delux Video thank for helping us, for the support and trust they put on us. This is the end of our speech, the questions ... eh ... [smiling] the debate is open.

[Silence ... waiting for questions.]

Journalist 1: So

Didouche: yes.

Journalist 1: last year, I am addressing the question to one of the organisers, last year you have faced difficulties to announce the festival, it was hard for you at the beginning [Bellout nodding his head], was it easier this year? Or did you find the troubles you faced last year easier this time?

Bellout: well, as you have said, it is true that last year, at the beginning, we faced difficulties at the level of permissions. We do not know why. It was not a mistake from us. We had all the agreements both from the town hall and the ONDA. Our trade register conveys the activities we are doing. We do not have anything illegal. We still don't know what the reason behind the difficulty was. However, it became softer, and they let us work

in peace by the end. This year, we did not have any trouble. We had all the permissions; they even have facilitated things for us to proceed the festival. Thank you.

Didouche: Thank you. [pointing to another journalist allowing him to ask his question] sir.

Journalist 2: Hamou Merzouk, Berber Television. To start, we saw in the committee that tickets are for 1000 DA, but the last night is for 1500 DA, why? And, also, you have mentioned here bar code can you please explain to the viewers what does it mean?

Bellout: so, first of all, you have to know that ticket prices are not randomly fixed; it has been previously studied. We already made two evenings as previews where the price of the tickets has been reduced to the maximum where it reached 500 DA. 500 DA compared to the prestige of the evenings, we offered, was really low. Nonetheless, it was a strategy from us to sponsor these two preview evenings. Concerning other evening, we have fixed them at 1000 DA [four events] except for that of L'Algerino which is at 1500 DA... it is simple... the charges to bring a foreign artist are not the same as those of a group living in the country. I will give you a small example: a group that comes from abroad in case they are ten of them, at this period where we are, it will cost you 10 flight tickets; this is already a budget and generally when it is a foreign group, the money is in euros and in ours is in Dinars [Dinars is really low compared to Euro]. I can say that the price of the live show of L'Algerino at 1500 DA is a great effort from the organisers otherwise it would have been more. This was the reason.

Didouche: concerning the bar code, it is a way to secure our tickets at the entry. There will be a verification of tickets so as there will be no fake tickets. So, it is an application, a colour code. When the ticket passes once, the colour will be green; twice orange and in case it was fake or used many times, it will be red. So, it is a way to control the access.

Bellout: to avoid people buy fake tickets outside as happened last year. You know that we have a fixed place of selling tickets which is the cinema of Tigzirt. One of the spectators went to buy a ticket there after the closing hour. He found somebody there who sold him a scanned ticket and he found troubles to get access during the event to the extent where he received a verbal trial (minutes). Hence, with this new technique we will avoid people getting in such troubles. Thank you.

Journalist 3: Sarah Abdilil El-Hayat TV station. I would like to congratulate you first of all for this festival. So, just one question what new this second festival will bring compared to the previous one?

[discussing who will answer, and opted for Bellout]

Bellout: So... thank you so much. The new festival is more about getting opened to new styles. For example, it is for the first time Kader Japonais [male Raï singer] and the Raï song will be present. Same thing for Cheb Bilal [male Raï singer], it is the first time that he will sing here in Tizi-Ouzou. So, we can call this as a new and a well opening with a Mediterranean and international flavour. Thank you.

Didouche: to add to your question, the thing that marks the most this event is the slogan Bel'eco which is ecology as a millennium and world aim. We engaged ourselves to reduce the impact on the environment. So, we are at our second festival, and it is a great effort from us to be engaged in such commitments, and we will be engaged more in the festivals to come. Also, the stage is bigger, the organisation is better, a better attraction, more collaboration with local actors (associations, civil organisations), more contact with citizens, more exchange. There is also the reduction of our impact on environment. So, it is a whole, and we target to go further in the future, open ourselves to the Mediterranean [meaning mainly France] and the southern shore of Europe, get inside cultural and artistic exchanges. That's it.

Journalist 4: good afternoon [missed the name] from Channel 2 Radio station. So, I wanted to talk about the artists; how does the selection of the artists that are going to sing in your festival is established? The region of Tizirt has many artists, have you ever thought of helping them; big singers are already known, but have you ever thought to raise these young talents?

Bellout: good afternoon, thank you for this question. I will respond to you concerning the selection of artists. You have to keep in mind that our festival is under sponsorship, and it is not strong enough. It takes in charge the majority of the charges which are obtained through the ticket prices. That is why the first choice is focalised on big stars that can be financed. As you know, this is a big stage, a big festival that we nickname as open-air Zenith of 6000 to 7000 seats. It is a big scene with lots of charges, therefore with producing or helping, I won't say small artists, but artists with humble popularity, we won't be able to finance this event. However, what we did is making two previews

where we invited 6 six artists of average popularity [four males and two females all Kabyles]. So, this is an action that our festival did to support new talents or artists of average popularity. We hope, in the future with more festivals, we will have more means not only here but also do parties in the city and the beach and animate the whole town where new talents who have less chance to be in the bigger stage will be given access in smaller stages in the city of Tizirt. I can also tell you that there are other artists that are not accessible either because they were not ready or free, but we still have an artistic direction where we made a whole artistic selection before calling anybody. Thank you.

Journalist 1: it is a question in a general sense, it does not target only the festival of Tizirt. A lot have been said, considering the context, there is a revolution in Algeria the Hirak [protest]. They have said that festivals must be stopped, there must be no cultural activity, what is your response and vision concerning that?

Didouche: a really important question, and to answer I will say it is a whole... we are not against the revolution, and we are not against the will of the people. Their will, in fact, is a change and a radical one. Our stage has the ability to transmit awareness. From our side, this year we opted for ecology. We made an initiation so as to create a change in the country whereby this, Algeria will become more ecological by reducing the oil, using the solar energy. So, with this festival, the song in itself has a message. They are singers who sing about culture; Ali Amrane has songs about the environment; other singers sing about that as well. What matters is that all what is sung is popular music and the Algerian citizen's experience. So, if we take away art from this whole, we will find that this revolution is incomplete. In a way, we are in the process of change, and we are doing it in an artistic manner where we leave the floor to the artist [to say their word]. Also, we want Algeria and Tizirt to be beautiful. This is our approach. Each revolution has its means, and we are engaged in its artistic side that we do not have to neglect. I hope that we have answered your question.

Journalist 4: so, there are three singers that came last year (Allaoua, Ali Amrane and L'Algerino), do you give the chance to your audience especially in your page on Facebook to propose names for the festival? does the decision of bringing back these singers consist of the audience's will or yours?

Bellout: thank you for your interesting question. As you have said, we will bring back Allaoua, Ali Amrane and L'Algerino, I do not know whether you are following our page on Facebook. We posted since last January that the second festival of BNT is coming back in August, and we opened a debate for our followers to write us on comments the names of artists they like and want to see. I can say that these three names are the most cited. There are other names cited many times yet unfortunately they were not accessible due to either the budget or their schedule. One thing is that each name mentioned by the followers, those we could afford, has been brought back.

Journalist 5: [missed the name] I came here especially for the festival. my question is about families. You have said that the tickets are for 1500 DA per person, have you thought about families? There are families of 6 members for instance, is there any group price. Have you thought about this? Is there also an exchange with the artist during and after the festival? Have you considered a space for the exchange with them? Have you thought about making tickets for families with no means as Tizirt is a coast city far from its neighbourhoods?

Bellout: Good afternoon, thank you for your question. So, I will respond. Our tickets are for 1000DA, 1500DA is only for one exceptional event. There had been two shows for 500 DA. We reduced the price to its maximum to allow as many people and families as possible to come and attend not the whole festival but at least one or two evenings. Concerning families, you have to know that in our festival, children less than 12 years old have free access. It happens where families come consisting of the parents and four to five children, seven persons come in with the price of two. Where the family is big with adults only let us say 8 to 10 members, we tolerate 2 to 3 persons for free. It is a social festival to some extent, as you know it does not occur in big city we are surrounded by villages, all people know each other. We try to help each other to the maximum hoping for the coming events we will have more means and more partners to make this festival more accessible especially for families. Your other question concerning the contact of artists with the audience, usually there is a big contact. Always by the end of the event, the singer gets down the stage meet with the audience take some pictures and their contact details for personal weddings parties. That's it.

Didouche: thank you. Another question maybe. Other questions. So... We will close the press conference. We thank you for coming. Maybe the presents here with me in the panel want to say a final word. Maybe the mayor wants to welcome the attendants.

Abbou: We will say to the comers: welcome to Tigzirt. This city is getting better and better. What is the best thing in it is its welcoming and citizens who are really tolerant people compared to other provinces where we hear from this and that incidents of families' intolerance which is not the case here. For those who wants to come welcome, come and you will not regret it. Thank you.

Didouche: Thank you sir.

Abbas: what I want to say is that thanks to such events, festivals and concerts throughout Algeria, we are here [ONDA]. In case we do not gain money, for an artist will be valued, we won't have the ability to help them as our budget by the end of the year will be very low. Singers and artists in general are waiting for us as they do not have many concerts. To help them we either arrange them meetings in TV or radio programmes. The national office of authors' rights [ONDA] won't have the ability to help them without such festivals. Thank you.

Bellout: Thanks to Mr Abbou, the mayor of Tigzirt, Thanks to Mr Abbas who represented Mr Bencheikh the headmaster of the ONDA; thanks for your accompaniment. I will thank the journalists for this meeting. I thank every person who has attended, and those who gave us support, partners in general. Welcome to this festival of BNT, we hope that you are going to be with us every evening and have beautiful image of it and this town of Tigzirt. My last word is the repetition of the programme of this festival:

17/08/2019 Ali Amrane and Groupe AMZIK (for the first time in the country)

18/08/2019 : Alloua, Ghiles Terki and Nassima Ait Ammi

19/08/2019 : Cheb Bilal

22/08/2019 : Kader Japonais

23/08/2019: Algerino

Thank you and I hope we will meet soon.

4.1.2.1.1. Post press conference: an assessment

During the conference, many issues were raised directly or indirectly related to the festival. The main point to consider in this conference is the logo Bel'eco that has been established by the organising team to give financial support to the associations responsible for the cleanliness of the town. As clearly stated by the mayor of Tigzirt, the country suffers from the issue of pollution, and being brought up in Tizi-Ouzou I have been raised with the stereotype of Tizi-Ouzou being the least clean province in Algeria. Such prejudices can provoke people of

this region to react positively as was the case with this initiative. To devote 10% of the tickets' prices was a strategy to promote tourism in Tizirt and an implicit way to refute those negative claims on that province. Additionally, the conference had a political flavour where one of the journalists raised the point of partying while the country was going through a hard time referring to the national protest, Hirak, initiated by the Algerian population to ask for the eradication of the system in the country to which the answer was that the festival was not ignoring what was happening and that on the contrary artists had a word to say about that case through singing and spreading awareness on stage as part of that 'political expression' (Dillane et al. 2018: 5).

In addition to the political aspect, the attendees at the press conference also tackled social issues consisting of the prices of the tickets and the affordability to families of those prices. It is common when a musical event is scheduled, everybody wants to attend, but due to the expenses of life not everybody can afford the fees of the event especially when it is only one member who is in charge of the whole family or when the family is large. However, the organisers defended themselves against that, saying that they have taken such conditions into consideration. As a solution, they had organised two pre-events before the beginning of the large festival to allow everybody to have their part of the enjoyment by reducing the tickets' price to 500DA which is really low compared to the names who performed during those previews. On this occasion, Bellout has emphasised that the profits of the tickets were dedicated to sponsoring those previews without benefiting from them. Additionally, Bellout gave an anecdote concerning issues that people might face when they buy tickets which made them take security measures to keep both people's money and the festival's reputation safe.

After the end of the conference, everybody stood up. Some journalists had more questions for the panel where each member of the latter was invited for additional brief interviews such as Mr Didouche and then Mr Abbou who answered further questions individually for Berber TV. While I was waiting for Hakim to finish his cigarette outside, Mr Didouche came back to me and had a look at my questions and asked me whether I was doing my research in English. I said that it was the case, and he was a bit astonished as it is not usual that somebody masters the English language to such an extent in our region. I said that I prepared those questions for an interview with Mr Bellout and unlike what the journalists had done, brief interviews of two to five minutes, I needed much more time to have as much details as possible. He said that it was evident as it was more academic. After about five minutes of waiting, I decided to leave the room and look for Hakim who had moved to the refreshment room. Once there, I found everybody in a rush as had been the case in the other room, I felt myself lost and I did not know

exactly what to do. I saw Hakim, I went to him and said that it was an interesting conference and that I could not conduct my interview with him in such conditions as I needed to see him and have a detailed chat for around an hour. I asked him whether it would be possible to leave the interview until after the end of the event. He was really friendly and understanding and welcomed the idea. I, along my brother and cousin, left the Espace Louni, and went back home, waiting for the coming events related to my research to begin.

4.1.3. 23/08/2019, L'Algerino's live show: an ethnographic account

On the morning of the event, I called Mr Didouche to confirm whether the event would take place and his answer was positive. Also, whether there would be a chance to meet the singer for an interview, and he said that Hakim was the one I had to talk to as he knew better what we had already talked about. I ended the call, prepared my interview questions with L'Algerino (in case there would be a chance to meet him), I prepared my bag (notebook, pens, power bank, iPad, phone and chargers, consent form, ethics approval and my student ID) making sure that everything would be ready for the evening.

There were ten of us that night, three males along with five females and two children. We left home around 8 p.m. as the event was supposed to start at 10 p.m. On my way, I called Hakim to make sure that gates were open and to confirm whether I could meet the singer after the show. He said that he was not at the location at that moment but in the hotel, so he apologised for not being there to afford us seats at the front. Concerning the singer, he said that after what had happened the previous night at Soolking's concert which will be discussed shortly, L'Algerino has refused to meet any of the press even the official sponsor Berber TV, hence, it would be hard for me to meet him. It was nearly 9 p.m. when we arrived to the Espace Louni. We hardly found anywhere to park the two cars because thousands of people were already parked there, or parking, others walking to the main entrance in large groups.

4.1.3.1. Location

There was no parking directly outside the Espace, anybody could park wherever they found a suitable place for their car. The area was under construction and the streets were not tarred yet. Dry grass was on both sides. As mentioned before, it was an isolated place where only recently new real estates were established, and they were still under construction. Thankfully, my brother found a place near one of these real estates around 300m away from the

main entrances. We got out of the car and started walking towards the Espace Louni. The monitoring team was outside wearing casual summer clothes with yellow gilets on top of them to be recognised. The road leading to the Espace had been blocked by these monitors with a 'do not cross' tape (to keep the space around the Espace Louni accessible so that the singer could pass safely). We walked up a small hill; we could find many cars parked near the Espace though the road was closed (maybe those of the working team, the journalists, some important figures and relatives of the team). Once close to the entrance, I saw people queuing to buy tickets. Between the two entrances, there was a very small window which a man was standing behind selling the tickets. As I had already bought tickets (8 tickets costing 8500 DA- around 40£ in the black market), we went directly to the second entrance where tickets were verified to get access. There were nine of us, and a small child who had free access. I told the monitor that we were 9 with 8 tickets and according to what Hakim had said in the press conference we could go all inside together. He took the tickets, counted them and opened the 'do not cross' tape.

Once inside, I felt much more excited than the first time I visited the field. Everything seemed familiar to me - the space and the organising team. I felt I belonged there. I met Hakim Lounis, the owner of MAGVISION, he remembered me and asked me to come to him once the show would start. He said that I would find him in the sound/light engineering corner (pointing with his finger to the technical equipment situated in the middle of the two stands). I thanked him and went along with my family to look for chairs to take a seat. On my way, I noticed some changes compared to the last time I had visited the location. The audience stand situated on the right-hand side had been pushed up to leave an empty square for those who wanted to watch the show standing. Indeed, there was an audience stand on the right-hand side and near it a standing square; behind the latter was the second stand. Additionally, a few more shops (clothes and food shops) had been set up at the left side of the stage (near the 'barn'/building). Two large projector screens had been placed on the right and left sides of the biggest steel frame of the stage. Last but not least, a wall projector had been put in one of the constructed apartment blocks on the right side (outside the Espace Louni), where a slideshow of the different events' posters and the sponsors were played. The right stand was already full, and as it was not safe to stand up for the whole show in the standing square, we went to the left stand and sat in the first line. We could easily and clearly see the stage as the ground was sloping. I made sure that all my family members were there and each one had a chair, then I took my iPad and started filming the setting.

The DJ was on stage playing disco music with no lyrics. The LED/ stage lights were on (a colour game: pink, blue, green, red following the rhythm of the music). I left my chair and headed to the standing square where I found a few young adults standing near the control barriers looking at the DJ and waiting for the show to start. I went closer to the right stand to have a look at the audience that had already arrived. I left the audience stands and headed to the corner with the shops. The first shop was the same as that one on the press conference day which had its door on the left side of the stage selling refreshments (soft drinks). Near it, there was a table behind which sat a man on a chair responsible for renting Shishas. I moved to the next shop which was a tent established by the sponsor Massaessyle (Textile Amazigh brand) selling different t-shirts of their brand. It was the make of the t-shirt that the staff had worn the day of the conference. I moved to the upper side where I found a large barbeque and fast-food selling point managed by a group of young male adults. I was wondering how people could eat those sandwiches because of the low hygiene standard. On the contrary my observation proved that everybody seemed happy, and nobody had complained. It was 9:21, I finished my tour and came back to my chair waiting for the event to start while taking notes on each occasion I noticed something relevant to my research. I found my brother had moved to an isolated place on the slope to have a phone conversation. He was not enjoying the event as it was only 6 days since our grandfather passed away; he was there just for me. This was true for me as well, I was not enjoying the festival as much as I would have liked, it was for my Ph.D. that I was there.

4.1.3.2. Food/Drinks

As previously mentioned, there were two main areas where food and drinks were sold. The first area was the same one offering refreshments in the press conference day. The only difference was that food was displayed to people compared to the last time where it was inside the room. A group of young male adults were working there. While I was filming, I heard a young man calling my name. When I turned around I saw one of my classmates from primary school, from the village next to mine. He asked me what I was doing, and I said that I was there as a researcher. He asked about my career and that of my cousin who was with us in the same class as well 'she is now a doctor, I heard' he said 'it is a pleasure to hear that your mates are all graduated' he added. I asked him about himself, he pointed to the displayed fridge 'I'm in the domain of catering' he replied I wished him good luck; he told me that he was there in case I needed something. I took some pictures of the place and left. In the display fridge, there were bottles of different sizes and different brands of drinks (Fanta, Coca-Cola and Sprite) also

bottles of cold water. Close to the display fridge, there was another large display container (its bottom made from wood and its top made from glass) selling roasted salted peanuts. Between the two, there was a small table where people would checkout. Beside this, there was a man preparing pancakes stuffed with chocolate and bananas. In the fast-food corner, there were different sorts of meat (red and white) set in a display fridge. People chose what type of meat they would want to be grilled for them in addition to chips or eggs. The order was prepared and served in pressed sandwich (see the pictures in appendix 14).

In such events, Algerian families take their own snacks (biscuits, chips, chocolate, candies, etc.) and water from home especially when there are children under the age of ten with them who get hungry from time to time. As they come in a considerable number (5 to 10), families cannot afford the prices of food there which are usually higher compared to their prices outside the location. Additionally, women who have babies between six months and two years, bring with them baby bags with the necessary supplies. From my detailed observations in the field diary, the food shops were catering primarily for young males who were parading around, whereas family groups tended to be more self-reliant and remained in one particular area (with some exceptions).

4.1.3.3. Audience

According to what the singer declared near the end of the event, there were about 10,000 people in the Espace that night. It could easily be seen that there were Beurs (Algerians living in France) due to the language spoken, which was French most of the time, and the type of clothes (less conservative and more modern clothes) even the type of phones owned by them indicated that they came from abroad (only young adult immigrants could afford the latest versions of luxurious phones). There was not a particular way of how seats were distributed (no VIP or standard tickets). Tickets were all the same for everybody, each had to come as early as they could to choose the best seats. As I have mentioned, when we arrived, we found the right stand already full. While I was filming, I noticed that that area was occupied by families having elder members with them. It appeared that they were the ones who were living in that city or nearby as they were the first to come (those who lived in Tizirt and those who rented properties there for summer holiday). The standing square was rapidly occupied by young male adults who were either on their own or in a group of young males only. There were some exceptions where young females were found in that square. However, relying on my experience of living in Algerian society, I could tell that they were Algerians based in France, and they had come

for holiday. It is hard for a woman living in Algeria to attend a show in the standing square. Even with the presence of the male members of her family, she is not allowed to be there as it is a male dominated place which will expose her to both physical and verbal harassments, something that is not tolerated by an Algerian man when female relatives are involved. In the context of chaperone ethnography, in effect, the male will guarantee seats for his female family members, and make sure that they are safe between other families and leave them while he will watch the show in the standing square while taking a look at them from time to time to check that everything is all right with them or have a seat with them and enjoy the show from the 'familial stand'. This was the case (my cousins and I) when my brother took his chair away to talk by phone. He made sure that our male cousin was there 'protecting' us before he left.

The event was a mixed gender one, hence, both males and females were present. Young people were the majority of the audience aged between approximately 15 to 35. However, there were younger (children) and older people (around the 50s and 60s mainly women) who came to enjoy the show. It was hard to distinguish which gender was the most dominant: a considerable number of women attended the show. In the recent past, women in Algeria had rarely had the chance to be out at night. Whenever there was a show, they watched it at home on the TV screen. Only women living in urban cities having better conditions of life (educated and/or working) who had the opportunity to attend such shows in person. From the fieldwork observations at different festivals and events it was apparent that the situation of women was changing in Algeria where they became more visible in the public sphere. However, they are still dependent to the male authority in many aspects of life such as having permission to leave the house or attend such music shows, or even the type of music played. The data suggest that a female still needs to be accompanied by a man whenever she goes to a distant place especially at night. Indeed, this was the case in my personal experience, no matter what my age and my social status was, as I will be discussing in the next chapter.

4.1.3.3.1. Clothes: style and dress

There was not one single style of clothing that evening, however, the modern style dominated the traditional one. The clothing matched the atmosphere of the occasion which was more like an international music event. Everybody was wearing casual clothes and more precisely summer clothes (beach style). On one hand, most of the young females were with short dresses/skirts, shorts and tops (sleeveless or half sleeves). They kept their look natural and soft in terms of makeup (some of the women did not wear makeup). Concerning their hair, there

were some different styles where some opted for straightening their hair and others bound it in the shape of a tail while others curled it. Most of them were wearing light casual accessories (silver thin necklaces, bracelets and rings). On the other hand, most of the young males were in shorts, some others in jeans along t-shirts or shirts for some others. Many young males as well were wearing accessories such as long silver chains, leather bracelets, watches, sunglasses and hats. Broadly, the style of dress conformed to clothing worn at music festivals on an international basis.

4.1.3.4. Music

In what I observed, I could divide the music in that event into three performances:

Performance one: performed by the DJ of the festival - DJ Nissou.

Performance two: monitored by the DJ of L'Algerino - DJ B-Mike.

Performance Three: L'Algerino's performance.

4.1.3.4.1. Performance one: DJ Nissou

At our arrival, we already found DJ Nissou on stage playing soft disco music with no lyrics waiting for the whole audience to arrive and settle themselves. The situation remained the same until 9:57 where he stopped the music for few minutes. The audience was there, and everybody had chosen their seats. He started again, yet this time playing a medley. He initiated the list with an American song then switched to African-French songs (Algeria, Morocco and Senegal). He played around eleven songs to which he added a disco remix; five of them were Soolking's. After the first American song, he switched to that of Soolking 'Vroom Vroom' (more details about the mentioned songs in this performance and the following one are provided in appendix 18) where he was reducing the sound from time to time to involve to audience. The latter was perfectly connected where they responded to the signals of the DJ on time. Meanwhile two clowns (an adult and a child) were passing through the attendees asking families to take pictures for them beside the children. The DJ continued and switched to l'Artiste (a Moroccan singer living in France) 'Clandestina', after that he played Booba (singer from Senegal born in France) 'Validé'. When I heard this song was playing, I was fascinated because I knew it had sexual connotation (doggy style). I found myself waiting for the line where this expression was sung to see the reaction of the audience. As this line passed and the expression has been sung, nobody complained. Thinking reflectively, I started analysing in my head how things changed in a very small period of time, and at the same time I started questioning myself whether the

language (English) helped to cover the situation. In his medley, the DJ was not playing the whole song but just some extracts. After the extract of Booba, he played a Rai song by Reda Taliani (ft. La Fouine) 'Va Bene'. For this song, the audience positively reacted slightly more than they did with the previous ones where more people screamed and sang after the DJ. He switched to another Algerian singer living in France, Heuss L'Enfoiré 'Aristocrate' which the audience knew well. He broke the western rhythm with an Algerian band song 'Mama Africa' released that summer for the Algerian football team who participated in the CAN 2019 in Egypt. Everybody was thrilled to hear the extract as they were proud of the football team who won the cup in the final. At the same time L'Algerino's staff were on stage preparing their equipment, taking pictures of the audience and dancing to the music played. DJ Nissou put on some disco music again, but this time with a high tempo making the audience react better by screaming and jumping. Another time, Soolking was back in the playlist with his hit 'Dalida' switching to the classic of Queen 'We Will Rock You'. It was the first time the DJ Spoke to the audience and said,

DJ: I will test the ambience; are you here tonight?!!!

Audience: yes!!!

DJ: Who are you waiting for?!!!

Audience: Algerino!!!

DJ: Alge...!!! ... **Audience:** "...rino!!!" [x2].

DJ: OK. We Will Test the ambience all together. I will move my hand to the left and then to the right [he was expecting the audience to do the same as him].

Each time he moved his hand, he was playing a 'boom' beat while the audience were making the same move as him. Each time he moved his hand from the left to the right, he was rising the speed of both the beat and the moves until he reached an extreme tempo.

DJ: Make some noise!!!

The audience was screaming, waving in the air and jumping. The atmosphere was very high. In order to make things look better, DJ Nissou played a Kabyle song of the Kabyles' all-time idol Matoub Lounes (assassinated in the late 1990s) an outspoken singer who had long sung about the situation of Imazighen and 'Tamazgha' in Algeria. The audience was really pleased to hear that extract; everybody was repeating every single word of the song. After a few disco beats, DJ Nissou added three extracts of Soolking's songs consecutively 'La Liberté', 'Milano' and 'Zemër' to end his performance for that evening.

With these songs, the performance of DJ Nissou had come to its end and there had been no alert for the audience that a new DJ would give a performance. No-one was hosting the event

to ensure a professional and slick transfer from one DJ to another. We worked it out ourselves after a moment when we saw DJ Nissou taking away his material while DJ B-Mike had already started playing.

4.1.3.4.2. Performance two: DJ B-Mike

B-Mike's style at the beginning was more Latino when he played 'Mi Gente' by J Balvin and Willy William followed by Aya Nakamura's 'Djdja' (African style) then back to the Latino with 'Taki Taki' by DJ Snake ft. Cardi B, Selena Gomez and Ozuna. After that, he made a small medley of DJ Snake's most well-known music. The audience was a bit calm compared to how they were with DJ Nissou until, B-Mike played Lacrim's 'A.W.A' and started reducing the sound and implicitly invited the audience to get involved. Knowing that that song contained cursing, which that time was sang in French, there was no way that crowd would not understand the lyrics, yet the young adults were repeating the lyrics even some of those who came with their families. After that, he played three other songs of which was a Raï song by Cheb Houssam 'Ana Naachak w Ana Ndalak'. Everybody was dancing to it, and I could hear my chaperones (a young female in her early twenties) saying to one of the other females (in her early twenties as well) 'though all other music genres make you dance, Raï's ambience is unique' (translated from Kabyle). This immediately made me reflect on her claims during an interview that she had with me where she had a different point of view of this music genre. In the interview, she had clearly denied the fact of listening or showing interest in Raï. She said that she was just listening to one male Raï singer -Kader Japonais-. However, during that event, she praised the ambience of Raï and described it as 'unique'. In the previous chapter, I raised the issue of a 'denied truth' in the statements of my research participants among whom, apparently, was this young female, who unconsciously confessed her real thought about a musical genre far from any external pressure at an event where she felt free. Around 10:45 p.m., DJ B-Mike stopped the music for a while as the compare of the event finally came up on stage. It was the big moment to announce the arrival of L'Algerino. I have translated his small speech which was in French (see the full speech in appendix 15). DJ B-Mike turned the music back again though this was like an intro music (creating suspense) waiting for L'Algerino to come out from the car. A minute later, the lights went, all the audience took out their phones and started filming the stage as L'Algerino was out of the car heading to the stage. At that moment, B-Mike put a record of a female voice like that we usually hear in a plane when it is about to take off saying 'ladies and gentlemen, the international company airline welcomes you to the flight Algiers 013, destination to a new

world, the captain L'Algerino and his musical crew wish you a nice flight' which was in French and then followed by its translation in English. It is important to mention that though the solo performance of DJ B-Mike came to its end with that 'hostess' announcement, he did not leave the stage when L'Algerino's performance started. Instead, he stayed for the rest of the evening as he was the DJ and the co-ordinator of the songs' launching of L'Algerino.

4.1.3.4.3. Performance three: L'Algerino



Figure 4.5. L'Algerino at Les Belles Nuits de Tizirt handing the Amazigh flag (source: BNT Facebook Page)

Around 11:05, L'Algerino finally came on stage. He started directly singing an extract of one of his most viewed songs on YouTube, more than 260 million views by 11/10/2019 (Disc Dimond reward) 'Va Bene'. He, then, saluted the audience in Tamazight and continued the whole speech for the whole evening in French. He said,

Azul fellawen Tizirt (in Tamazight meaning good evening Tizirt), it is a pleasure for me to come back to this city, this region that I like; with an audience that is burning and this much numerous. You are magnificent tonight. Make a maximum of noise for you FAMILY!!! [the audience screaming].

It is clear from his opening statement that L'Algerino brought together both the organiser and the audience in this music event to support the location, Amazigh culture in particular and Algeria in general. I left the iPad with my cousin to continue filming while I went to the location where I was supposed to meet Hakim Lounis. I went to the technical corner, as he had told me to, and found him there standing up near three other men. The place was slightly higher from the ground where all the team responsible for the image and lights were there. I called him, and he gave me his hand and helped me getting to their position. It was in the centre of the Espace where I could see the stage better, together with each move the singer was making (I was about

50 metres away). Mr Lounis was standing up beside me. He was explaining to me that the background scene was in 3D and that they established a sound system that was the same for the whole audience i.e. the one who was in the front would receive the same sound quality as the one who was standing 100 metres away or more. In this context, Hakim had mentioned during the interview that

We [the team] are paying a lot for all that is technical, as you have seen, we work with the most recent/ new systems of music production which can be found almost anywhere. For those who know it, it is what we call the system of sound DMB which is used in the biggest countries with big stages and big stars. both the light and all what is video/screen LED projection; we do pay a lot.

Mr Lounis was giving some instructions to men next to him on chairs behind computers concerning the background of the stage and the projector screens. One of them was in charge of the background of the stage. He had a selection of colour themes; for each song he put a specific theme. He was also in charge of the projector screens and the video film played on them. This projected film consisted of the whole event filmed by the Berber TV cameras which was broadcast live on their TV station that night. There was another young man on my right who oversaw the manual light that had to be directed onto the artist wherever he moved. On his right, there was the sound team standing on chairs in front of their computers. I started taking notes while L'Algerino continued singing his second song 'International'. Most of the audience were filming him while others were enjoying themselves, dancing, and some were waving the Amazigh flag, and screaming. Though many people had chairs, everyone was standing up, and there were some (especially young females) who stood up on their chairs to capture the scene better so as to have better souvenirs in their galleries. While singing, L'Algerino asked them to raise their hands which the audience happily did. He sang another song - 'Bonderas', and the atmosphere in the audience was the same, yet this time he was asking them to sing the song with him. The audience knew the song by heart. After the song ended, he spoke again to the audience, describing them by saying

What can I tell you tonight except the fact that you are MA-GNI-FICIENT Tigzirt [screaming coming from the audience] you are super super burning tonight. Are you still fine friends? [yes!] No, no,no,no. ARE YOU STILL OKAY TIGZIRT?!!! [YES!!!].

He continued singing and each time the audience heard the introduction to the song played, they immediately recognised it and started screaming [they knew his whole repertoire]. The third song was 'Les Princes de La Ville'. What grabbed my attention while I was watching the

recorded film of the event on my iPad was the fact that L'Algerino was avoiding singing the swear word that he used in this song called 'Niquer'. L'Algerino knew that he was in front of a conservative public, also, families were there. He took that into consideration and showed respect to them. He spoke to the audience after each song. However, in this one, he spoke to them in the middle of the song

Are you still fine friends? [yes!!!] let's do a short cover.

He then introduced a very small cover of an extract of Cheb Khaled's hit 'Didi' which the audience enjoyed and sang with L'Algerino. Then, he continued his song.

So, I think we are dealing with a super burning and a super super serious audience, family. You are at the top. Light engineer [x2] can you please light this crowd for me please, I really want to see them [lights on, and all the public was waving to him while he was taking off his sunglasses to see them well] anyway, last year was the first for me here. Today is my second, and when I see all this, In shaa Allah for sure [laughing] we will come back [screaming from the audience] you are magnificent. Light engineer! keep the light on the audience please, I want everybody with the X sign like me please [as a way to introduce the coming song which is his most viewed video-clip on YouTube with more than 540 million views in 11/10/2019. The audience raised their hands and formed an X] don't move, it is magnificent. I would like to take a selfie [he went to bring his phone which was with B-Mike and took a selfie with the audience] stay like that, I want to take a short video now [he was filming and addressing a question to the audience] are there people in Tigzirt tonight?! [the audience with the sign X screaming YES!!].

DJ B-Mike launched the song 'Menottes' and L'Algerino started singing involving the audience from time to time. It is worth mentioning that each time L'Algerino was speaking to the audience, music did not stop where DJ B-Mike was playing a background music either of the previous song or the following one (but most of the time the following one).

are you still fine friends? [yes!!!] so, for those who know L'Algerino since the beginning, and I know that at Tigzirt, it is an audience of connoisseurs. L'Algerino is not only about songs, he is also about music, what we feel every day. There is emotion, deepness, and tonight I want to share with you a song that is important to me. Tigzirt are you here? [yes!!!].

He sang 'Hacienda' having as a main topic: hardships of life and hypocrisy. A song that was not familiar to the audience. The song had an expression where it says 'Si Tu Savais a Yemma' which is the title of another of his songs. Therefore, he switched directly to the song starting by a slow version to give the audience an alert and then launched its original rhythm. The audience was back to the partying mood as they mastered the lyrics of this one. Then he switched to

‘Adios’ which was a duet with Soolking knowing that the night before, the latter had a huge concert in Algiers and when he sang this song, he invited L’Algerino to sing his part with him on stage as a way of surprising the audience. I thought that L’Algerino would do the same as Soolking, yet since things went wrong on the previous night, it was obvious that Soolking would not come. L’Algerino continued to speak to the audience after each song

Tigzirt [x2] honestly, I want a maximum of noise for you because you are magnificent tonight, make some noise Tigzirt, some noise!!! [x4] [audience screaming].

Then launched the song ‘Andale’. With this song, the ambience was in its extreme: everybody was moved by the beat and the atmosphere, screaming, dancing and raising their hands in the air.

Are you still fine friends? [yes!!!] as we are having an incredible evening, [...] I am feeling so good in Tigzirt. We are going to party tonight. Are you still here? [yes!!!] so, I noticed tonight that it is very familial. There are moms, there are dads, there are little brothers and little sisters [laughing], there are young adults who are here [meaning the standing square]. Magnificent. Tonight, we will give an example. We will show that here, at Tigzirt, we know how to party and how to have fun without any incidents [referring to what happened the night before in Soolking’s concert where at least five people died, all young adults, because of scrambles at the gates] Ok family? [yes!] because we have to think about the little boys, the little girls who are here. They are here to party as well. We have to be careful. Are you still fine friends? [Yes] A few years ago, I made a song [the background music of the coming song was launched by B-Mike while L’Algerino was telling its story] and I think that it is the right place to play it. I wrote a song which is an anthem of Tamazgha in which the whole Maghreb, well I know that Tigzirt is also a home for Tamazgha. Imazighen always strong friend! [the audience who are these Imazighen were proudly screaming repeating their famous sentence ‘anwa wiki? D Imazighen!’ meaning ‘who are these? They are Imazighen!’] In this song, I want everybody jumping, everybody dancing with a smile Family ok? And be careful please, we have to care about the children who are in the front please, OK?

The song started with a bagpipe which characterised the music genre of Chaoui (another ethnic group of Imazighen to which L’Algerino belongs) in Algeria. Everybody screamed; a scream that could easily be recognised as that of pride of belonging. The songs celebrate and pay homage to Imazighen who are a small ethnic group in Algeria who have long been and still are suffering from a political marginalisation in the country. This ethnic group believe that some if not all of the governing ‘Arabs’, as they are called by essentialist Imazighen, refuse to declare that the Algerian territory was Amazigh before Arabs invaded the place (Morgan 2004). Even

worse, it was until few years ago (a few years ago) that Tamazight was accepted to be a national and second official language after Arabic, yet it still has no existence in the administrative sector, only in the entertaining one (Poggeschi 2016; Sutton 2021). This has long made Imazighen protest for the recognition of their identity (Forstag 2008; Wilford 2015). In his song 'Bawa', L'Algerino uses many expressions referring to Tamazgha such as 'danse comme un Chaoui' which meant that he supported the Tamazight case. Nonetheless, the main aim of the song was to call for union not only in the country but in the whole Maghreb as he says 'li qbayli, li rifi, li Chelahi, Li Arbi, Maroc, Algérie, Tunisie, MAGHREB réuni' (Kabyle, Rifi, Chelhi, Arab, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, MAGHREB unified).

Imazighen are lovers of music. As introduced in chapter one, Amazigh music is diverse, ranging from Kabyle folklore in the North to Tuareg music in South Algeria (Sahara) and many others (Wilford 2016). Kabyle music was no exception in supporting the Amazigh issue, many singers such as Idir, Lounis Aït Menguellet, and Cheikh El Hasnaoui have served to make a solid Amazigh heritage with the poems and messages that their songs conveyed (ibid.).

4.1.3.4.3.1. Algerian singers support the Hirak: critically assessing the popular music artists Soolking and L'Algerino

From the fieldwork at the festival event and wider observations it can be seen that Algerians have shown their support for the Hirak. From what has been seen on social media platforms, singers both inside and outside Algeria supported their brothers and sisters both by going in person to the gatherings to march and by writing songs which were soon played in marches within Algeria and the diaspora (France, Canada, England, etc.). Among the songs that had been influential in the protest, Soolking's 'La Liberté' which had been released on the 14th of March 2019 (nearly a month after the start of the Hirak), became the anthem of the protest. In this section of the chapter, I will look at music artists Soolking and, secondly, L'Algerino in terms of their support for this national political movement.

A source of inspiration for many Amazigh and Algerian singers, Matoub Lounes, a Kabyle singer, was another figure who had greatly supported the Amazigh cause and openly expressed his hatred of the Algerian regime, costing him his life in 1998 (Langlois 2001) where he was tragically murdered in his car. In his book, *Le Rebel (the Rebel)*, Matoub wrote his life story, and how he had been targeted many times as he was an activist singer. He shared his experience when he was kidnapped during the Black Decade in the 1990s (Mehdid 2006). He

explained how fundamentalists were eliminating anything and anyone that went against their Islamic beliefs including singers. This did not stop him from continuing his fight as he felt the need to voice his thoughts and was ready to die for them saying ‘I shouted out my anger in my songs. Music is my anger.’ ... ‘I don’t censor myself...’ (Morgan 2004: 116). In this context, Matoub has become the symbol of the Kabyle identity and the pride of its people even if it has been more than 20 years since he died (Wilford 2015).

After singing the song, L’Algerino continued his speech

I have always known that the Kabyles of Tigzirt tonight will represent
[their identity] family, thank you so much, you are magnificent.

DJ B-Mike put the background music of the coming song ‘Algérie Mi Amor’. In those instances, L’Algerino went to the audience and borrowed a Amazigh Flag (as shown in figure 4.5.) and put it on his shoulders. Everybody in the audience was full of joy and was clapping. He started singing ‘Algérie Mi Amor’, and of course all the public followed him. It was a song that L’Algerino has dedicated to his homeland especially since Algeria was going through a sensitive period since February 2019.

4.1.3.4.3.1.1. Soolking: a sound of hope for Algerians

In his song in collaboration with the band Ouled El-Bahdja, Soolking spoke in the name of the whole people where he addressed a direct message to El-Hokouma (the Government) telling them that the real power belonged to the people; inspired from some of the Hirak’s slogans namely ‘Only one hero; the people’. Since its release, the song was a success. During my stay in Algeria for the fieldwork, I could hear it everywhere I went, at the marches, as a phone call tune, in buses, on social media, etc. The song was achieving large numbers of views where in a year it passed the 190 million views. Being an Algerian who faced hogra (contempt) (Davis, Cheurfa and Serres 2019) in person which led him to escape to France, Soolking knew exactly how to translate the people’s grief in his song lyrics; he says, right in the first lines

Paraît que le pouvoir s'achète
Liberté, c'est tout c'qui nous reste
Si le scénario se répète
On sera acteurs de la paix
Si faux, vos discours sont si faux
Ouais, si faux, qu'on a fini par s'y faire
Mais c'est fini, le verre est plein
En bas, ils crient, entends-tu leurs voix ?
La voix d'ces familles pleines de chagrin

La voix qui prie pour un meilleur destin

Apparently, power can be bought, freedom, that's all we're left with
If the scenario repeats itself, we'll be the actors of peace
So fake, your speeches are so fake
Yeah, so fake, that we end up getting used to them
But it's over now, the cup is full
They're screaming downstairs, can you hear their voices
The voices of all those families that are full of sorrow
The voices that are praying for a better future
(Translation from: <https://www.theinternationalconnect.net/soolking-liberte-english-lyrics/> accessed on 16/03/2020)

In this first verse, Soolking was daring as he used an 'insulting' language to address himself to the government. In the first line, he referred to corruption from which Algerians are still suffering and said, 'power can be bought', also he said, 'your speeches are so fake' referring to all the promises that were given for change and a better life in Algeria. In the following line he was informing them that the people were awake and had had enough (the cup is full), and that they were ready to fight another war of independence like that in 1954 (if the scenario repeats itself), yet in a peaceful manner (we'll be the actors of peace). He also told these rulers that the people were walking in the streets and shouting their dictatorship and authority (They're screaming downstairs, can you hear their voices; The voices of all those families that are full of sorrow). In fact, what captured my attention was his metaphoric use of the word 'downstairs', as if he was referring to the elites being in the offices (on power/ at the top) and the people on the streets (at the bottom oppressed with no future). In the second verse of the song, he continued

Il n'y a plus personne, que des photos, des mensonges
Que des pensées qui nous rongent, c'est bon, emmenez-moi là-bas
Oui, il n'y a plus personne, là-bas, il n'y a que le peuple
Che Guevara, Matoub, emmenez-moi là-bas

There's no one left, nothing but photos, nothing but lies
Nothing but thoughts that haunt us, that's it, take me over there
Yeah, there's no one left, over there, there's only the people
Che Guevara, Matoub, take me over there
(translation from: <https://www.theinternationalconnect.net/soolking-liberte-english-lyrics/> accessed on 16/03/2020).

In the first line, Soolking referred to the ex-president who was not doing his mission due to his sickness leaving by that his people with no active president to govern them. They were left with his framed picture which exposed Algeria to an international mockery (Young 2020). He referred to two main figures as symbols of rebellion and resistance to corruption namely Che

Guevara and Matoub. Matoub, Algerian Amazigh the rebellious singer who has long fought with his songs for the Amazigh identity against the corrupted system, had a disastrous end as anonymously murdered with more than 75 bullets driving home in the Kabylia. In the closing lines, Soolking said

Ceci est notre message, notre ultima verba
Soolking w Ouled El Bahdja

This is our message, our last words
Soolking w [and] Ouled El Bahdja
(translated from: <https://www.theinternationalconnect.net/soolking-liberte-english-lyrics/> accessed on 17/03/2020)

To confirm that the song was a message aimed at le pouvoir, Soolking emphasised his name (stage name) and that of his collaborators (Ouled El Behdja) at the end of the lyrics as a strong sign about Soolking's fearless commitment to the Hirak. This was an act that has been appreciated by Algerians as was the case of many of my participants in the survey and interviews. There were no negative comments on Soolking and his career as a singer and as a person. On the contrary, many informants considered him as a good example to follow for how he was fighting the hardships of life and staying faithful to his origins though his success in France.

In chapter three, I have presented the research participants' attitudes towards the Franco-Algerian singers and the reason behind their success and influence in Algeria. The data have showed that the notion of 'patriotism' was the main reason why this category of singers was appreciated by the Algerian audience. During my interview with my participant Lea, she had a further vision of this appreciation. In addition to the singers' support to the Hirak, Zahia (f) believed that it was a 'must' for Algerians to support these male singers based in France especially after what they have been through to reach their success

I listen to them because, let's say, they are brothers. We all have the same Algerian blood in our veins which makes it impossible to not encourage them especially because most of them are people who escaped from misery through singing giving us as audience hope that things will change for all of us one day...

4.1.3.4.3.1.2. L'Algerino: for a unified Algeria

The feeling of belonging evoked in each Algerian the need to do something for their nation no matter who and where they were. The protest joined together people from different

ages (new-borns, children, young adults and older people), from different social and educational backgrounds (doctors, lawyers, students, illiterates) and both genders (Park 2019). L'Algerino was no exception. Despite being brought up in Marseille, France and his international success, this did not prevent him from going back home (Khenchela, Algeria) to participate in the weekly march as a normal citizen with no security around him, as I could clearly see in the stories which he uploaded on his Instagram platform as part of my ethnographic observation. Additionally, to the march, he also supported the people through music of which 'Algérie Mi Amor' was part.

'La Liberté' was not the only song that was influential during the Hirak, even L'Algerino's 'Algérie Mi Amor' (Algeria my love) released on the 14th of March 2019 (same day as Soolking's La Liberté). Unlike Soolking who was addressing a direct message to the persons in power, L'Algerino has taken another strategy. He dealt with the issue from its emotional side. He expressed his love and his feeling of belonging to his country, also, shouted his pain and grief. It is worth knowing that L'Algerino was born and brought up in France, and that he was going to Algeria only for holidays with his family or for live events (as he said in one of his interviews uploaded online). In fact, he was not really affected by the consequences of the 'corrupted system', but being originally an Algerian, L'Algerino felt the necessity to support his oppressed brothers, sisters and his home country through singing. In 'Algérie Mi Amor', L'Algerino was not directly referring to himself, rather implicitly referring to the Algerians living in Algeria despite his use of the first-person narrator 'I' in the lyrics of the song. The aim was to give a voice to the people (adopting their oppression) and to insist on his feelings of belonging and support for the movement (reflecting it on himself). Additionally, what marked this song is the use of three languages in it: French, Arabic (Algerian vernacular) and Tamazight. They are the three languages that are most used and understood by Algerians. L'Algerino usually introduces some words from vernacular Arabic, Tamazight and Spanish to his songs that are written mainly in French; he has never reserved a complete verse for another language or more. This act was fascinating, this time, where he mixed between French and vernacular Arabic (five lines in Arabic and three in French) in the first verse while he mixed Arabic, French and Tamazight, (two lines in Arabic, two in French and four in Tamazight) in the second verse, in addition to the refrain which is a mix of French and Arabic including the Spanish phrase 'mi amor'. L'Algerino had two main aims behind this language mixing. The first was calling for union between Arabs and Imazighen. The second was broadening the Algerian issue to the world by keeping the French language.

The Hirak was a successful movement asking for democracy and transparency in the system. It succeeded in pushing the president to resign after 20 years of reign. It has, also, succeeded in putting in prison many politicians who have long been corrupted, violating laws and robbing the National Treasury (Guemar, Chiheb and Northey 2019) giving the Algerian population a hope for a better Algeria, and succeeding in applying what had become the leading slogan of the Hirak, ‘Yetnahaw Ga’ (they shall all be removed) (Davis, Cheurfa and Serres 2019: 19). The Hirak succeeded also in postponing the presidential elections twice (28th of April 2019 and the 4th of July 2019) yet it failed to cancel those of the 12th of December 2019 electing Abdelmadjid Tebboune as the new president of Algeria. He is a president who has not convinced the people, which made them continue their Hirak each Friday until it had to be stopped because of the Corona virus pandemic, for safety measures (see also: Boubekour 2020; Chekhab 2019; Cherkaoui, Arnold and Allouche 2019; Chomiak 2011; Djelloul 2019; Harize 2019; Nyadera and Agwanda 2019 and Zagoritou 2019 for more details in this context).

After singing ‘Algérie Mi Amor’, L’Algerino wanted to tell the audience that night about how he came to produce this song, and thank the people who helped him in realising that:

Tigzirt, you are fantastic this evening. It is a pleasure for me to play this song here in Tigzirt. It is an honour, a pleasure and a pride for me. With all that we have been through these last months, I wanted from my heart to write a song to well unify Algeria. I really wanted to write it in Tamazight, in Arabic and in French. I wanted to thank Riad Aberkane who helped me writing the lyrics in Tamazight [he invited him to come on stage and hugged him under the applause of the audience] So we were in the studio, and I told him that I wanted to sing in Tamazight you have to help me. I am an Amazigh as well. I speak a little of Chaoui which would make things easier for me. Do you want to tell them a thing? It is your family; you can tell them anything, go on. [He gives the microphone to Riad Aberkane to say a word to the audience. He spoke to them in Kabyle] ‘Hi everybody [applauses from the audiences], good afternoon, how are you all? Thank you for opening the doors of Tigzirt for us. We welcome ourselves here in your home [meanwhile L’Algerino received the Algerian flag from one of the staff members and raised it to the public]. It was a small contribution for the country, Algeria, of course, along with the work of Samir, L’Algerino. With this song, Algérie Mi Amor, as he [Algerino] says ‘Atas iveghigh amdinigh d yemma ik moufigh’ [Amazigh lyrics from the song meaning ‘there is a lot that I want to tell you, you are like my mother’] the day he wanted to write he said to me ‘Riad, Algeria is my mother, my homeland, the woman that I will always love until the last breath, and I want to tell her this in all languages. I want to tell it to the heart of Algerians. Riad write in Tamazight for me because my people speak Tamazight as well. I want to speak their language as well to make them happy and transfer them this message’ [said L’Algerino to Riad in the

studio] and today, it is all done, the message was transmitted. Make some noise for L'Algerino!!! [applauses and cries were everywhere from the audience while L'Algerino hugged Riad another time before the latter left the stage].

After this long chat about homeland, L'Algerino came back to sing and this time, he played his hit of the year 'il est Oû?' which was a great success. The audience was really involved with this song and the ambience was terrific. To make the atmosphere comic, L'Algerino answered the question of the title and said,

well, you do not need to ask about L'Algerino's location tonight because he is here in Tizirt. He is having fun tonight; Light engineer, you are not lighting enough my audience for me I want to see the faces, the beautiful faces [laughing] that is too much. I do not know how much are we here tonight, but it is magnificent. [addressing himself to one of the audience members] you're good? Not tired? Yes, yes you... very good. Tizirt W Allah you are MA-GNI-FICENT, make some noise Tizirt, SOME NOISE!!!". [He asked to keep the lights on and started to sing "Panama"; at one point he asked the DJ to stop the music to sing the song in acapella with his audience then resuming it with the DJ.] So, family, are you still burning? [YES!!!] very good, in case you are still burning, each time I say 'I am burning' you say 'we are burning' ok family? [YES!!!] I am burning [we are burning] [x8]. [It was a manner for L'Algerino to introduce the coming song 'Savastano' which has its chorus 'je me sens chaud' (I am burning).] Tizirt make some noise!!! Let's change the atmosphere a little bit. We have to satisfy everybody. Tonight, it is super familial, hence, we will please everybody, isn't it Bloumi [addressing to one of the audience members randomly using the name of a famous Algerian soccer player during the 80s] So, sometimes when I am in the studio, when I make a good session, make a song of which I am proud, I am happy, before going to sleep, there is always BB [one of his musicians], our keyboardist, who plays short melodies to make me relax. BB: can you play for me the one you usually play please? [the keyboardist started playing the melody of one of the most famous songs of Cheb Hasni. Meanwhile L'Algerino asked the audience] does that remind you of something? [YES!!!] so, Tizirt, it is easy. Light engineer, you will turn off all the lights please, and I would like all the phones on please. All the phones on, at the back all the phones on please. I take advantage of this moment because it is magnificent. You do not know what I am looking at, it is amazing. I feel like I see billions of stars. Tizirt you are amazing tonight.

While all the audience have turned on the flashes of their phones (see the picture in appendix 14), the keyboardist was playing the melody of 'Matbkich' of Cheb Hasni, the atmosphere was really calm and somehow sad. It was giving chills as Cheb Hasni was and still is loved by the Algerian audience. He is loved by Kabyles though they do not greatly welcome Rai in that region. Moreover, his songs were all romantic (Wilford 2015). He has always sung for love

which I found a bit controversial in this context. On the one hand they refuse to listen to songs of modern Rai which deal with romantic relationships. On the other hand, they love listening to ‘the king of romance’ as he is called in Algeria. However, it is worth mentioning that young adults are not able to listen to Hasni in front of the elder family members as this shows disrespect as talking about love is a taboo in Algeria. L’Algerino started singing a cover of the first verse of the song helped by the whole audience who knew it by heart, then he switched to his own song that he named ‘Hasni’ on his honour, yet in a slow version not in its original beat. After he finished the song, everybody was applauding him.

Thank you, thank you Tigzirt. Are you still fine friends? Are we here? Me, I am good, I am very very good. Don’t move, I take news [he went backstage for a second] they said that I am good, and still have time. So, we will stay here in Tigzirt and we will continue having fun. Have you still got the energy? [YES!!!] we will change again the genre. I want to know if, here in Tigzirt, people like Reggae? [only few said yes] I expected this reaction. Each time I ask whether people like Reggae, generally, the response is not that strong. However, tonight, me, L’Algerino, will make you love Reggae in Tigzirt, trust me. At the same time, I will show you how Reggae can perfectly be mixed with our music [meaning Algerian music] so, it is easy. With Reggae, we relax, we let ourselves go with a smile. We know that Algerians were lovers of Reggae, there are elders here who used to listen to Bob Marley and so on. I know everything family, true or not, B-Mike! launch the melody please.

B-Mike launched the song ‘Avec le sourire’ that the audience did not know well. Though their lack of knowledge of that music genre and L’Algerino’s song, this did not prevent them from having fun and enjoying the song. After a few minutes of singing, L’Algerino switched to a famous Reggae song by Khaled named ‘Aïcha’ ‘Is this familiar to you?’ L’Algerino was asking. He sang a short cover of it with the help of the audience that knew this classic by heart.

Music is magic. They are telling me in my headset that we are at 10,000 of us tonight [applauses from the audience along cries] more than last year [around 6 000]. It is amazing. So, tonight you are numerous and burning that is why I will give you a mark; I give you a mention ...
MAX.

The audience rapidly understood that he was referring to the last single he launched and started jumping and screaming. The DJ played the melody, and everybody was crazily singing with L’Algerino. When I was watching the recorded video of the event, I could hardly analyse what happened in that moment as my cousin, who was filming, lost her control and started jumping to the song and screaming as well. After he finished the song, L’Algerino took profit of the

moment to congratulate those who passed their Baccalaureate exam and insisted on the importance of studies in someone's life

By the way, a big dedication, I want to congratulate all the senior school graduated pupils of Tigzirt and all the region, congratulations. I want also to encourage those who failed. In life, failures happen. We all had ones. The important is to take the exam again and pass it next year. So, concerning 'Mention Max', it was a video-clip that I really liked. It was not for showing the Good Samaritan, it is not my thing. It was a matter of value, to value all these young adults who cling to their studies and try to go as far as they can in them, it is super important. When I made this video-clip, this young boy [a young boy from Algeria born in Marseille who succeeded in his baccalaureate exam named Sofiane has been surprised by L'Algerino and made a video-clip with him] has really touched me. I was with him for the whole day, and I could see stars in his eyes. It was something that myself, when I was at my final year at senior school, have felt. What I wanted to say is that he has experienced what he has said and did not stop from saying it for the whole day. He said to me "Samir! I did this for my mother". I was really touched when I heard that [applauses] it is the best motivation that we can ever have; try to succeed for our moms and our dads, for our parents. Also, the most important, here I am talking to young adults specifically, thing in life is not to watch rappers, soccer players, singers, no; the real success is the academic achievements when you reach the furthest degree in your studies. So, I insist and encourage all young adults to go as far as they can in their studies for their future, to satisfy their parents. It is super super super important [applauses from the audience] this does not mean that in case someone has not succeeded in their studies, they won't be successful in their entire life. However, they [studies] are weapons that will help you move forward. There is a sentence that I like, and hear almost the time 'knowledge is a weapon' for this reason do not hesitate to instruct yourselves through reading, being curious, it is very important, ok family?

He continued speaking, this time he was telling them that he would give them a music lecture and teach them how with the same notes and strings (yet a different melody) someone can do many hits. He made a medley of around five of his songs; some he has already sang that evening and some that he has not. After that, he introduced his team of musicians one by one to the audience, their names, origins and specialities. He thanked the light and sound engineers along with those who made the stage which according to him was better than that of the previous year. The show was about to end and as a last one to thank, L'Algerino asked one of the managers of the festival to come on stage and thank them for the great efforts they made to do such a great work. Aziz Khial, owner of Pacte Immo, came on stage hugged L'Algerino and gave a short speech to the audience thanking them for their trust, also, announcing that there is going to be a third festival the coming year with bigger surprises. L'Algerino said

So, to do a huge concert like this one, you need good managers, a good musical team, a good artist [laughing], but above all an amazing audience and to tonight you were a magnificent public; make some noise for your family!!!

The audience was responding to his request, and then he asked for the lights to be turned on so as he could see the audience before singing the same song he sang when he first came on stage 'Va Bene'. He started with a slow version of it and then suddenly everything stopped, singing, playing, lights, people started shouting when rapidly everything came back with a high tempo this time. He played the full song and before the music was stopped, he gave his last speech

Thank you, thank you very much, thank you for the welcome. I had a fun time tonight. I hope that you had fun. In shaa Allah, we will do this again next year, we will come back here with new albums and new hits. Please, leave carefully the space and drive home safely home, be careful with the children. Tonight, you have been exemplary Tigzirt. Exemplary until the end and until you are home family. Thank you, Thank you so much.

Then, he left the stage while musicians were still playing for few more seconds.

When the music by L'Algerino's musical team ended, people started to leave the setting while a considerable number of young men went to the stage to take pictures with B-Mike. Hakim Lounis was there, as well, preventing people from staying in numbers for a long time on the stage as he was afraid the material would be broken or stolen. I was near the stage trying to have my last chance to meet L'Algerino through looking for Hakim Bellout. It was really hard for me to find him in the middle of that crowd, yet I succeeded. He saw me as well and came to see me asking whether the event was good. I congratulated him for the amazing job they have done. Before I could even ask him to meet L'Algerino, Hakim presented me his apologies as it was impossible for me to interview him. L'Algerino refused even to do any press with the journalists. I said it was a shame, but I would be really pleased to meet him [Hakim] after a few days for the arranged interview. We agreed upon that; he left while I went back to join my brother and cousins. It was 1 a.m., and we had to leave as soon as possible as we lived quite away and the route home was isolated to some extent.

Outside the location everybody was heading to their cars. Those who parked near the location were ready to leave, yet they were stuck in the traffic as thousands of people who parked far from the location were the first to leave. There was a heavy traffic that night near the Espace. While waiting, different male groups were partying in their cars. I heard different songs. Those who were listening to Raï music, those who were listening to Kabyle party music, etc. It was really diverse and dynamic. At the time where many cars were waiting for their turn to

leave, hundreds of other people were still walking to the place where they parked. When we arrived at our cars, we made sure that everybody was there. We knew the place well, and we knew different shortcuts there. Therefore, it was easier for us to leave the space without struggling with the traffic to get back home.

4.1.4. Reflection

From what has been written above, it can be said that Algerian live events are not only about having fun, but also a place where different aspects of life, culture and politics are being discussed. Concerts in Algeria are occasions for freedom of speech about different ideologies, as happened in L'Algerino's show. It was an occasion for honouring imazighen's identity where on different occasions L'Algerino was using the word 'family' to call the audience who were Kabyles while he is a Chaoui as if he was calling for union between the two subethnic groups. Additionally, in his song 'Bawa', he used different lines referring to the Amazigh union and worshiping their Tamazegha such as in 'une équipe de Berbères vient pour tout rafaler' (an Amazigh team has come to take it all) and other extracts of the song that have been mentioned above (in the section about Amazigh identity). The Hirak as well had its part in the discussion, making these the two key themes dealt with in a musical event, thus, confirming what Mr Didouche mentioned during the press conference. The stage was another space and music was another means to raise awareness and highlight local and national issues. The event was also an opportunity for raising social awareness where L'Algerino was encouraging young people to make the most of themselves at the professional level and preserve their familial relationships.

'Ma-Gni-Ficent' (intonated form of the word 'magnificent' used by L'Algerino that evening) was a phrase which celebrated and resonated throughout the evening of the event at Tizirt in Algeria. I have used the term because it was a word that L'Algerino in particular did not stop using during the whole show to 'glorify' his audience. The audience, Algerian in this context, glorified the singer back as they came in huge numbers (10,000) to attend his event though the price of the tickets of the latter part was the most expensive compared to the other events. The status of the singer affects the way they are seen and this interactivity between artist and audience consolidated L'Algerino, with an international dimension as well as belonging to the Algerian nation and made from him a source of pride to the Algerian people.

Nonetheless, it can be argued that all these acts were a strategy from the singer to attract and impress the public and make them keep faithful to him. As the record of the event was replayed, I realised that what my brother told me while we were leaving the Espace that night

was true. He said that, for him the event was a failure as the singer was speaking more than singing. L'Algerino spoke a lot in that event. It is worth mentioning that he was informed on topics that he was tackling where he was glorifying the audience, with Tamazgha and patriotism. Relying on my personal background, they are the things that Algerians are proud of the most (who they are and where they come from). I critically reflected on the extent to which these male singers' worship of their identity of origins was sincere. The data showed that none of these singers was based in Algeria, and the reason for their visits to the country were purely professional i.e. they went to Algeria to make money (live concerts, filming clips, etc.) and leave afterwards. Moreover, the French language was dominant in the texts and the speeches of these singers during concerts and other professional (interviews) and ordinary (Instagram posts) conversations even those male singers who have settled only recently in France (namely Soolking).

In this respect, the event was supposed to start at 10 p.m., yet L'Algerino did not arrive until 11 p.m. sending first his DJ to distract the audience. After his arrival, he spent around five minutes talking and only two minutes singing. On previous events that I had attended before I started my research, I have noticed that the audience was more tolerant of such acts coming from a singer living abroad compared to local ones (as happened when I attended a performance of a Kabyle singer at the Amazigh New Year celebration in 12/01/2020). Similarly, songs with vulgar lyrics and taboo topics were tolerated from an international singer while they were harshly criticised when they are sung by a local singer such as the case of a female Rai singer. The fact behind that, may not only be that people in Algeria are conservative and belong to a conservative Muslim society. It can also be the feeling of inferiority to the western culture, as declared by one of the participants, who believe that people consider all that comes from abroad as being good. Even from the third world country, Algerian people always value what comes from abroad and consider it better than what is local just because it comes from a developed world even if it contradicts their norms leading us to question the context and whether this is due to the influence of the Western capitalist and liberal modernity (see Kapoor 2002). As another reason, Algerians have always had the feeling of pride knowing that an Algerian is making success abroad as expressed by some participants as discussed and illustrated in the previous chapter.

Another thing I observed in Algerian live events was the weak presence of female artists. In BNT's festivals, for instance, both the first and second one, there was a male dominance in the performance (see the lists in appendix 16). Only five female singers have performed (less

than three female singers per festival), and it is important to know that they have been given a secondary role i.e. they were not performing alone for a whole show, but they shared the stage with other singers (who most of the time were more popular than them). When I asked Hakim about whether there was a reason behind this male dominance, he answered

No, there was no reason behind that, it's not a discrimination for instance. I don't know whether you have noticed; in the Kabyle region, there are not a lot of women who sing. Unfortunately, I say unfortunately, there are not enough female singers compared to the number of male singers... Why? Because there has been a period when a woman sang, she was considered as taboo, but I see nowadays, it is not as it used to be; women sing. We hope the coming generation, even if it won't be 50-50, but there will be more female singers than before.

Hakim was aware of and implicitly confirmed this male dominance. In fact, what is relevant is that women in Algeria are not oppressed in all sectors and in all contexts as Hakim described it. Nonetheless, I have discussed in chapter one, the unequal opportunities and their scarcity that female artists (singers and musicians) experience in the music industry compared with their male counterparts, and this has long been an issue of which BNT's stage was a concrete example.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented an ethnography of the live event performed by a range of artists namely Alaoua, Ali Amrane, Cheb Bilal and L'Algerino in Tizirt, Algeria. The aim of the ethnography has been to give a 'lived experience' account from my arrival at the festival, through to the press conference to my fieldwork relationship with my gatekeeper of this study, Hakim Bellout, and how our contact has become stronger moving from virtual to face-to-face. Also, how he served the progress of the generation of my data and establishing myself within the field. Additionally, I have presented an ethnographic illustration of the last event of the festival (L'Algerino's) ending up by giving my reflection on it.

The event was not only about producing music and having fun, but also it was about raising political and social issues indicating the Hirak. L'Algerino found a good occasion to remind the Algerian people about his support to the Algerian cause in general and the Amazigh one in particular. For this reason, it is found that L'Algerino is close to the Algerians' hearts despite his slight culture-based difference. Though he was found to be bold in some of his songs' lyrics, the Algerian audience tolerated his act as long as he did not deny his origins and continued to glorify them in his music.

Chapter Five: Wedding ceremonies in Kabylia and the performance through ethnography.

Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the music performance and consumption in Kabyle weddings as another aspect of the Algerian musical mosaic. In Algeria, summer is the perfect period for wedding ceremonies. Unlike previous chapters, the data in this chapter will take an anthropological derivation due to the context of the data collection. Therefore, the chapter looks at a certain number of traditions and rituals that the Kabyle wedding witnesses along with a range of musical performances produced both by men and women reflecting the variation of the Amazigh¹⁸ culture. In this context, there will be an overview of the music performance and consumption by Algerian Kabyle people at a Kabyle wedding ceremony, followed by a detailed ethnographic description of a rural wedding. Additionally, this chapter reflects on the ‘gender performance’ (Butler 2006) during such events by exploring the different relationships’ distribution within the Kabyle family and society as a whole. In this chapter, ethnographic observation of the different weddings will be supporting the survey and interview data collected with participants and DJs in relation to music production and consumption at wedding ceremonies.

5.1. An Anthropological lens of Algerian weddings: Bourdieu and the female ‘stoop’

A marriage is an important event that marks a shift in a man’s and a woman’s lives: they have agreed to continue the rest of their lives together in legal (civil and religious) circumstances to found a family (Kasri 2018). In order for a marriage to be agreed in Algeria, it has to follow some steps towards civil registration. A couple is officially said to be married when they have their religious wedding ceremony, with a few conditions having to be satisfied. The woman receives a dowry from her future husband to spend on her own (Bourdieu 1958). Additionally, the marriage cannot be complete without the presence of her guardian, wali, whom the bride can choose, under the legislation of the article 11 of the Family Code, yet this guardian has to be of legal age and male; a woman is always considered as minor no matter at what age she gets married (CICADE 2016). Though equal status for women was granted by Algerian Family Code in the article 39 compared to their male counterparts (ibid.), many Algerian women still experience a cultural and social misogyny (Bourdieu 1958). In effect, during the war of independence against France, Pierre Bourdieu had studied Algeria and its

people including the regional minorities such as Kabylia (Calhoun 2006). While ‘picturing Algeria²⁰’, Bourdieu has written about the position of the Algerian man and the Algerian woman in society since the war of independence against France. He described the different roles each gender had in the family, village and society as a whole. He also referred to the unequal distribution of responsibilities inside and outside the house. According to Bourdieu (Bourdieu, Schultheis and Frisinghelli 2003: 97) women and men are expected to follow conventional ‘mythic reason’ which Butler (2006: xxxiv) refers to more specifically as ‘gender fables’. In his observation on Algerian villages, Bourdieu noticed that men tend to have control over the external aspect of the house while women are left with domestic tasks. Additionally, in public places, a ‘manly man’, as called by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, Schultheis and Frisinghelli 2003: 92-94), is the one who

‘goes straight to his target, without detours, is also a man who refuses twisted and devious looks, words, gestures, and blows. He stands up straight and looks straight into the face of the person he approaches or wishes to welcome [while] , a well brought-up woman [is the one] who will do nothing indecorous “with her head, her hands or her feet” is expected to walk with a slight stoop, avoiding every misplaced movement of her body, her head, or her arms, looking down, keeping her eyes on the spot where she will next put her foot, especially if she happens to have to walk past the men’s assembly... In short, the specifically feminine virtue, lah’ia, modesty, restraint, reserve, orients the whole female body downwards, towards the ground, the inside, the house, whereas male excellence, nif, is asserted in movement upwards, outwards, towards other men.

Bourdieu, in his description, highlights the passivity and the subjectification of the woman and her body, and explains how sensitive her presence in public is, especially in front of men. A woman has to be careful with her style of dress and every move she has to make outside of the house to preserve her lah’ia (modesty) at the time the man has to stress his ‘maleness’ via walking with the head up and looking straight in other people’s eyes. This unbalanced image is, in effect, reinforced by the way tasks are distributed between the two where it is up to men to take charge of external, dangerous and spectacular activities while women are expected to be in charge of internal and housekeeping responsibilities (ibid.). Weddings, in this respect, are no exception. Reflecting on my previous experiences at wedding ceremonies and during my presence in the field, I could notice this ‘spatial dominance’ of activities. At weddings, women, including myself, are responsible for all the ‘internal’ housekeeping mission such as cleaning, cooking, reordering furniture, taking care of older people and young children/ babies while men

are responsible for external tasks namely the sacrifice of the ox (or a ship in some other regions), lighting, buying groceries, hiring the wedding staff, etc. (see appendix 20 for more details).

5.2. A Brief contextualisation of the music performance and consumption at Algerian Kabyle weddings

Before dealing with the Kabyle wedding context, it is important to give a brief background of the region itself. Kabylia is a region which is situated in the North of Algeria (the Northern centre). It consists mainly of three provinces: Tizi-Ouzou (known as La Grande Kabylie or the Great Kabylia), Béjaïa (known as the La Petite Kabylie or the Small Kabylia) and Bouira. They are three provinces that have as their residents an ethnic group speaking Kabyle and known as Kabyles or Iqvayliyen/Leqvayel. These people and their culture are known to belong to the Amazigh community who are believed to be the original inhabitants of Algeria and North Africa (Morgan 2004).

The Kabyle wedding is characterized by its ceremonies that are practised on four successive days. Within each ceremony, the degree of importance of the music and its performance gradually differ from one day to another. A wedding is valued in the Kabylia as it is '[o]nly when the marriage has been publicly announced through the wedding party [that it is viewed] valid in the social sense, and the spouses can begin their marital partnership' (Landinfo 2018: 22). When this union arrives, a large celebration occurs with the participation of the whole family, neighbours, friends, and colleagues.

The first day of celebration takes place in the groom's house, and it is called Lawayed²¹. Only the closest members of his family are present to attend the main event consisting of sacrificing a bull for the big day. On this first day, music had less importance as only a small female gathering was made within the house. A few hours (one to two) before the beginning of the ritual, women inside the house turn on the stereo and have a 'humble' party. During the ethnography, we, young females, took charge of the house duties while older women took a seat in the living room all well-dressed. During the time the music played was an album of the Kabyle singers such as Allaoua, Said Youcef and Dahak that kept repeating itself. In many cases, I heard one of the older females calling one of the younger females to change the music and put on something new. At this moment, one of the hosting family's women went to change the CD (compact disk). It happened that the CDs bought consisted of a collection of the best Kabyle songs which perfectly suited the context. In this case, the women enjoyed the medley and had a great ambience. Whenever, the party was at its highest tempo, we stopped the cleaning

and joined the older women in the living room and watched them dance. On the dance floor, there were two to four women dancing while they were supported by clapping and Ululates²² by the rest of the women. As it was a small gathering with no protocols, the party in this part of the day was characterised by its spontaneity and comedy. By the latter I mean that women on this occasion had discussions and shared great laughter. One of the topics that they enjoyed was making fun of men and more specifically their husbands (for those married). I witnessed women interpreting the dance of their husbands in a sarcastic way to make the other guests laugh. Other women gossiped about their husbands (and their in-laws) and told funny anecdotes about them and shared a big laugh. It is worth noting that the party in Lawayed is typically female dominated which, in effect, does not last for a very long time as after few hours, the main ritual starts outside the house where the atmosphere becomes male dominated (more details about Kabyle wedding rituals are provided in appendix 20).

As far as the second day is concerned, most of the events take place in the house of the parents of the bride rather than of the groom. This ceremony is about the celebration party for the bride on her last day in her family house before starting a new life with her future husband. In terms of celebration during the evening, there is a difference between the groom's party and that of the bride. While a humble gathering is made at the groom's house, a great party is held at the bride's family house. This party is large and will be added to that at the groom's house the following day. Depending on the financial situation of the family the music performance can be made by a DJ or one (or more) known Kabyle artists. Unlike the day of Lawayed, this party is bigger, more serious, more organised, and almost a time of mixed gender in the party as men participate in the celebration. Nonetheless, the comic aspect is always present as it is a gathering for sharing happy moments and enjoying the stay at the hosting family's house (or at the party hall). The bridal party has specific characteristics differentiating it from the groom's party to which I have provided an ethnographic description account in this chapter.

The third day, in effect, remains the big day for everybody despite the party that the bride had at her parents' house. On the third day, more events take place in the groom's house. As previously illustrated, the first ceremony is about food rituals, the second one is about farewell to the bride's singlehood. The third ceremony, for its part, is about the union of the couple. In terms of music performance, what characterises this day is that there are two different music performances that are exercised: Idhabalen and the evening party (either a DJ or artists show). Nonetheless, not all people offer these two performances, that is why those with lower incomes opt for the least expensive performance (most of the time a DJ performance or Idhabalen in

case the family is a fan of this male folkloric troupe). According to an older relative, 'Idhabalen used to be performed for men only!'. One of the events that I have attended was the celebration of the circumcision of my cousin's son for which he (my cousin) rented a folkloric troupe and invited all the neighbours in the village to attend their performance in a fixed place in the village. Biographically, I remember that, my grandfather, grandmother, and I, were sitting in one of the bedrooms at my grandparents' house and I told him that there was a gathering at (the family's name) house by 4 p.m. for an Idhabalen performance on the honour of their son's circumcision. He angrily replied

Idhabalen's performance lost its value since the day women started attending it! Traditionally, only men attend this performance and only men go to that place (the place's name). (originally said in Kabyle and translated by RK)

It is clear that elder men can appear upset about the changing roles of genders as women could attend and dance to a male dominated troupe and supposedly a male dominated performance which takes place mainly in the street. For this reason, he, and many conservative men who share the same opinion as him, refuse to hold parties at their houses whenever there is a wedding or a happy occasion, and limit the 'segregated' gathering to a simple dinner and group chats before each guest heads to their house. In contrast, for people who are more open to the idea of partying and having mixed gender gatherings, they organise large parties for the evening of the third day. This celebration is similar to the one had by the bride's family yet with a greater number of attendees (mainly more men as the groom invites many of his acquaintances) and a more male dominated evening as every man wants to share a dance with the groom as a way to express their joy for the latter's marriage.

The fourth and final day is the Savah (a borrowed word from Arabic meaning the morning). This is the last ceremony that is made in Kabyle weddings. It takes place in the groom's house where, in the morning, the bride wearing a traditional dress is taken by a group of women all dressed traditionally singing tithubarin²³, clapping their hands and ululating while walking. The bride is accompanied to the closest well to the house to fetch water. On the one hand the first day's party was an 'introductory' warmer to the main event. On the other hand, this gathering is a sort of 'closing' party which is characterised by its feminine atmosphere (only females are involved) and its traditional flavour. Just like Urar Lxalat (see below), this gathering consists of females who recite poems with a rhythmic tonality having texts about good wishes and beautiful qualities describing the spouses and dedicated to the new couple. This performance does not involve dance as the rhythm is quite slow. The performance is very

short. It lasts only for few minutes just the time to accompany the bride to fetch water and to come back to the house to receive her family for their first visit to her in new house.

5.3. The different musical performances at a Kabyle wedding

Here, I will present the different musical performances that could be found at a Kabyle wedding party explored ethnographically through a range of weddings that I have attended.

5.3.1. DJ's performance

A DJ is the most frequent performer at private parties (Miliani 2002) namely a wedding party in Kabyle regions especially at a bridal ceremony. The customs of regions or even families (of the same region) differ in Algeria from the least conservative families (mainly the northern part of the country) to the most conservative ones (generally in the middle and southern parts of the country). In case of the least conservative families, only one dance floor is prepared where all the guests (men and women) are gathered in blocks. By that, I mean men stand up as a block in one side (generally at the entry of the house) and women in the other side sitting on chairs. The DJ is most of the time a man. In the case of conservative families, men are completely separated from women and the DJ is a woman (I have attended only one wedding where the DJ was a woman in Algiers). In some parties, there can be two segregated dance floors prepared: one for men and the other for women. The performance of a DJ consists of a medley of songs from all genres (Assimi²⁴, Kabyle, Chaoui, Western, Middle Eastern and many others) with a focus mainly on the genre of the place where the wedding takes place reflecting the origins of the attendees as is the case in the chapter, Kabyle party music at a Kabyle wedding.

5.3.2. Artists' performance

Artists usually perform at a groom's party where a number of singers, along with their musicians, are booked for an evening performance (generally on day three of partying). Depending on the preference of the families, the artists are mostly men from two to three singers each having an individual performance. There are other parties where the main singer is a female for example Hassiba Amrouche, Nouria and Toues Arhab. At parties where the performance is held by artists, the latter perform a number of their songs alongside covers of well-known songs of other artists having a good dancing tempo and a partying theme such as

Samir Sadaoui interpreting Mouhamed Allaoua's songs or Youcef Guerbas interpreting Ali Farhati's songs. In such parties, the notion of Reshiq²³ is present to a great extent where money is given to the artists to shout the good wishes of the guests (the ones who gave money) to the spouses.

5.3.3. Idhabalen

The two previous musical performances are found in all the Algerian wedding parties, however, Idhabalen is a musical troupe that belongs only to the Kabyle culture. Other cultures in Algeria have musical troupes which have different appellations such as Karkabou (in the West) and Aissaoua/Issawa (in the East). Idhabalen is a Kabyle folklore troupe which consists of four men wearing white large dresses along with taamamt on their heads, two men playing Lghidha (bagpipe) and two others playing on large tambourines. This troupe plays around four times at a party. It is worth noting that they are booked by the groom's family. (1) They perform around half an hour when they arrive at the groom's house, (2) around another half an hour when it is time to go at the bride's house; (3) they perform at the bride's house for a few minutes and (4) they perform at the groom's house once back from the bride's house for a few minutes and leave.

Biographically, I remember when I was a child, Idhabalen was a more common performance and had a greater value. They used to spend the night at the groom's house, perform in the evening and the following morning. However, as life has got more expensive, most families cannot afford to pay Idhabalen for more than few hours as they need to pay the expenses of the other musical parts of the wedding (either a DJ or Artists). Idhabalen spend the night only if the hosting family cancel the other musical performances which would be replaced by the performance of this folkloric troupe. In this case, men are the only ones dancing while women watch from the terrace without participating, just clapping and ululating. People who have such parties and traditions argue that they do not mix both genders as they care for the dignity of their women, and they do not accept for them to be exposed and revealed to other men than them as 'they are not a merchandise' especially given that there are usually drunk men at the party. At the same time this male practice of segregation prevents the women from active participation and regulates their leisure and pleasure.

The performance of Idhabalen consist of covers of well-known Kabyle songs' music (without lyrics) with the use of two main instruments: Lghidha and tambourine. The interpreted songs are mainly from the 1970s 1980s and 1990s repertoire such as Rahim's Yad Aminigh,

Ahlili Ahlili, S Usarwal Abarwali, Matoub Lounes' Iywexxer wagu, Rabah Assma's Amtimmi, Ait Menguellet's Taqbaylit and more recent songs from 2000s and 2010s such as Kamel Igman's Tiziri (2011), Said Youcef's Allah Ya Elouali (2007). In this performance as well, the Reshiq is present where the guests give money to the Idhabalen to shout their good wishes to the groom and his family. The money is generally put on the Tammamt (turban) of one of the Idhabalen. The head of the troupe shouts the dedication starting always with the famous expression used by this folkloric group Ala Khatar coming from the Arabic expression على خاطر meaning 'on behalf' in this context.

5.3.4. Urar Lxalat

I have previously mentioned that Idhabalen is a folklore male troupe, in contrast, Urar Lxalat, for its part is a gathering of women in the party house to sing old songs such as Hamidouche's Siwdas Slam. Unlike the male folklore troupe that is fixed in terms of a number and persons, Urar Lxalat is neither programmed nor fixed. A wedding party in Kabyle regions, used to be based on Idhabalen for men outside the house and Urar Lxalat inside the house. For women, in the present day, this kind of gathering has almost lost its value as Urar Lxalat occurs only occasionally while waiting for the rest of the guests to have dinner to start the main party. Urar is initiated mainly by three to four older women and then starts to increase as more women get involved. There is always one leading woman playing a bendir/avendayer²⁵ (a hand tambourine) or a darbuka to give a melody to the songs while the other women who know the lyrics sing with her and clap their hands. For those who do not know the lyrics they limit their participation to clapping and ululates. Unlike Idhabalen, women, in this gathering, interpret both the music and the lyrics of different old songs such as Hamidouche's Tawizet n Tnach, Rahim's A Yul-iw Susem Susem and many other songs that belong to the tiroire Kabyle using only Avendayer/darbuka and clapping as their instruments. Following the same rhythm, the women make a harmony and form a sort of a choral to which other women such as the mother of the bride/groom dances.



Figure 5.1. Urar Lxalat (picture from Google Image)

5.4. Rural versus urban weddings

According to what has been found in the data, Kabyle people are increasingly opting for weddings in urban settings. It is worth mentioning that not every person who does their wedding in an urban setting means that they live in cities. Many people live in villages but prefer to do their weddings in halls in urban districts. In this context, I will highlight the major differences between urban and rural wedding parties that I notice while doing the fieldwork on wedding ceremonies. Below is a table setting out the differences.

| | Urban | Rural |
|------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Place | party rooms/halls | personal houses |
| Day Time | during the day | by night |
| Hours | limited | unlimited |
| Food | prepared by workers | prepared by party owners |
| Impression | materialist and superficial | more familial and natural |
| Music | mainly one performance (DJ) | a variation of musical performances |

Table 5.1. The major differences between an Urban versus a Rural wedding

The table displays five major differences between urban and rural wedding parties. The first difference consists of the place where the party takes place. In urban weddings, parties are held in party rooms and the reason behind that is mainly not having enough space for people living in cities (living in apartments or small houses with no terrace), or simply reducing the efforts on preparations especially for people who could afford holding a party in their personal large

houses such as the families living in villages. On the other hand, rural wedding parties are held in personal houses where food, celebration and the different rituals are exercised there. The second major difference between the two parties is the time i.e. the duration of the party. Parties in urban settings most of the time take place during the daytime, and people are invited to have lunch. Party rooms are booked for a limited number of hours (such from 11 a.m. until 7 p.m.). Rural wedding parties take place in the evening most of the time, and people are invited to have dinner. Third is the time in a rural wedding is unlimited and celebrations last for days (even the party lasts until dawn). Knowing that the ceremonies are scheduled at the hosting family's own house, they are free to decide when to begin and end the party, however, at party halls, the setting is privately owned, and the owner limits the hours so as to give several families the chance to celebrate. Parties are ended at an early hour in the evening so that the team will have enough time to clean the hall and get ready to receive another party the coming day. The fourth difference is related to food. The menu is generally the same in both settings. The data suggest that the two main differences are when and by whom it is prepared and served. Food is prepared, cooked, and served by the staff working in the hall in an urban wedding while in a rural wedding the hosting family themselves take care of their guests. There, all the house duties are carried out by the women (the mother, sisters, aunts, cousins, sisters in law and neighbours). They take charge of cleaning the house, preparing the ingredients of the menu before giving them to the cook, serve the food and clean after the party is over. Since there is much to do, these women divide themselves into groups to complete all the tasks on time. As a personal reflection, the fifth difference in the table is the impression that a person gets in the different settings. At urban weddings, the party is more modern, and people try their best to look elegant. Urban weddings are more about appearances and material, hence, reflect a less natural and friendly atmosphere. In contrast, in rural weddings, the atmosphere is more natural and outgoing. The last difference in the table is music. Musical performances are not usually varied in party halls, and most of the time the hosting family opt for a DJ that they book themselves or they are provided with the party hall's service (the DJ works for the hall's owner). Only occasionally, was I told by friends or relatives of their attending parties at party halls where the musical performance was executed by artists. As far as I am concerned, all the urban wedding ceremonies that I have attended as part of my fieldwork had a DJ as their musical performance. At a rural wedding, the choice is more flexible as the venue is privately owned by the hosting family (there are no restrictions that they have to satisfy or orders to follow during their celebration). Therefore, the musical performance varies depending on the preference of the family and what they can afford, as discussed in section 5.3.

We have discussed above the major differences between a rural versus an urban wedding. Nonetheless, these two have many features in common. Be it in an urban wedding or a rural one, the same rituals are exercised, the same order of the ceremonies is followed, and the party is made in a similar atmosphere. This means that, for example, if a family is conservative, both genders are separated during the party despite its luxury and modernity (mainly in urban settings). Beliefs and traditions come first. As far as my Ph.D. is concerned, due to the pandemic of COVID-19, party halls were closed, and for this reason, my research observation was limited to rural weddings only. However, this did not prevent me from relying on my personal experience of attending other wedding ceremonies in the Kabyle region and its neighbourhood during my very early fieldwork to provide further ethnographic description. In the coming section, I have provided a detailed ethnographic description of a rural bridal wedding ceremony which took place in my village in the province of Tizi-Ouzou, Algeria.

5.5. A Rural wedding party 24/09/2020: an ethnographic description

In 2020 the research world changed with Corona virus. Because of this pandemic (also known as COVID-19), I was obliged to give up some of my fieldwork to secure the safety of my participants' lives as well as mine. People felt the necessity to postpone or completely cancel their wedding ceremonies as large gatherings were dangerous and were soon banned by the Algerian authorities.

During the whole period of the lockdown in the UK, the field diary was added to by my friends and my family who provided me with updates of the village and its people in Algeria. Many couples postponed their wedding parties to a further date, and others decided to get married without having any party, and limited the ceremony to a simple dinner between family members (parents, uncles, aunts, and cousins). After more than four months since the Algerian government had closed its borders, the State organised a number of evacuation flights. I registered and succeeded in gaining a seat on the third flight (28/07/2020). After seven days of quarantine in a hotel, I joined my family. During that period, security instructions against the virus were lifted to a certain extent. However, people were still avoiding large gatherings which included weddings. By the end of August, the authorities had reopened the offices of marriage registration (the government had previously banned the marriages' registration as a strategy to prevent people from having parties). With this decision, some people felt relieved and free to hold parties and invite a larger number of guests to their ceremonies.

During the fieldwork period of my stay in Algeria, I managed to attend two wedding ceremonies (Brides' ceremonies). It is worth noting that wedding parties in Kabylia generally take place at the end of the week as people are not working and can attend the wedding ceremony until late in the night (3 a.m. to 5 a.m.). A wedding ceremony is a private and a sensitive event, the hosting people are very selective and careful whom to invite to attend the rituals. For the weddings I attended (Thursday 24/09/2020 and Friday 02/10/2020), both the brides were my mother's relatives (daughters of my mother's cousins). Both parties took place at the brides' houses at night. As there was a funeral that coincided with the second wedding ceremony (02/10/2020), the party was cancelled. There is not much to say about that wedding, therefore, I will focus only on the wedding party that took place on 24/09/2020.

5.5.1. A rural bridal ceremony

As stated above, weddings are private and familial ceremonies and people need to be invited to gain access. My hometown follows the practice in the Kabyle region as a whole, and the hosting family organises a whole day for inviting people a few days before the big day (a ritual known as Necheda in Kabyle). They go to each relative's house and tell them about the day of the party and invite them either to lunch or dinner depending on when the food will be served, also, invite them to attend the party. For the wedding ceremony of the 24th of September, it was the party for the bridal ceremony. Usually, there are two ways to invite people in this region. The first one is that one male and one (at least) female from the hosting family go together to the guests' houses and invite them (the woman will invite the women and the man will invite the men). The second way, one female (or a small group of females) from the hosting family will go to the guests' houses to invite the women while the man will invite men whenever they come cross them outside (in a café, in the street, etc.). the important point is that women need to receive an invitation in their houses. Where relatives live some distance away, they are invited via a phone call.

Around four days before the big event, and precisely around 6 p.m. the cousin of my mother along with his wife came to our house to invite the whole family for Thursday (24/09/2020) evening to have dinner and attend the party in their house. Usually, the visit of the hosting family is very short as they need to leave and continue inviting other families. They come to verbally invite and give the details of the event as mentioned and leave. On this occasion, the mother of the bride holds a small bouquet of flowers. Basically, she picks some flowers from her own garden, and while she enters into other people's houses to invite them,

some women pick flowers having a nice fragrance to add them to her bouquet to go with a lot of verbal good wishes to the spouses. Women, in this context, believe that the journey of this couple will be as beautiful as those flowers and as good as their smell. Once back home, the mother of the bride/groom puts the bouquet, which has grown compared with its size at the beginning, in a vase and leaves it somewhere in the living room as a souvenir of the 'invitation's day'.

As guests in that wedding, we were supposed to go on the time that we were invited. Unfortunately, I did not have the chance to observe the preparation for the evening (the food, the party area, the helpers). At home, my mother and I have prepared ourselves. I did my hair and did my mother's. We decided to keep it as natural as we could. We both wore formal clothes; a red dress with black high heels for me, and a blouse and a skirt for my mother to which she decided to add small heels as she could not stand with high heels for a long time. As it was a familial and sensitive setting, it would be awkward to appear as a researcher there. I decided to act as a normal guest (and relative) in the field. I took only my camera with no field diary. For the notes, I used my mobile phone.

It was around 7.30 p.m. when we (my mother, my brother and I) left the house and headed to the wedding party. It took us one minute to arrive there by car as they live in the neighbourhood. Once we entered the house, my mother and I found many guests had already arrived. Men were standing outside and the women inside. There were some who were already having dinner, and others waiting for their turn (for both men and women, but in separate settings). It is common in Algerian weddings that there are two places where food is served; a space for men and another for women (they are served separately). If the house is large, the women are given food on the terrace with men being served in the garage, in smaller houses women are served in the living room while men were served in the street (or, in some cases, at a neighbour's garage). In this party, the dinner was served for men in a garage while women were served in the living room.

Since the party took place in a period when the world was facing a pandemic (COVID-19/ Corona virus), we were confused and did not know how to deal with the other guests there. We were asking people each time whether they did not mind shaking their hands. There were those who did not mind while others were satisfied with a distant wave. However, the hosting family's females (mother, daughters, and close cousins) were giving hugs and kisses for all the female guests. My mother gave to the sister of the bride our gift. I stood near the stairs with my mother along with many other women to wait for our turn to have dinner when one of the bride's

sisters told us to go to the upper floor (the party area) and have a seat until they would call us. I went upstairs, I found a few women, who already had dinner sitting, there, next to each other on chairs. I found some empty chairs and I took two to have a seat along with my mother. After few minutes more women came up; some of them were cousins of mine and joined me in the corner where I was sitting.

5.5.1.1. The family or the husband: a patriarchal oppression

As I have just mentioned, I was on the first floor while waiting with my cousin for our turn to have dinner when suddenly I heard a slap and a man saying ‘aaaaah!!!’ on the ground floor (outside the house where men were waiting). Since there was no music playing while people were having dinner, I could hear all what was going on there. I thought it was an ordinary chat between men who were clapping their hands, but few seconds later I heard ‘stop!!! Wait!! Wait!!’. All the women on the first floor came to the corner where I had a seat as there was a balcony there. They all came when they heard shouts coming from outside. Once we were able to have a look, we saw a huge gathering of men trying to separate two men who were beating each other while one of my male cousins was shouting at them ‘stop it!!’; ‘it’s not in this way!!’; ‘take him away!!’.

From the field diary, at the first sight, I could see that there were three men involved in the fight: the elder brother of the bride and the cousin of the bride beating a man wearing a suit whom I did not know. Guests and men from the hosting family were trying to split them up and trying to take the man with a suit to a far place to protect him while the elder brother and the cousin of the bride were caught by other men. At this moment when everybody thought that the situation was under control, the younger brother of the bride came running with a metal bar in his hand to beat that ‘unknown’ man. Luckily, he was too young and older men could easily catch him before doing anything ‘stupid’. Not too long after this, one of my aunt’s daughters-in-law recognised the man with a suit who had received a slap from the bride’s brother and a kick from her cousin. With a shocked face she whispered in my ear ‘girl! It’s Y’s husband’. I could not believe what she said as it did not make sense to me. The beaten man, according to her, was the husband of the bride’s sister which meant the kinsman of the hosting family. One of the guests heard us talking, and she immediately spread the news. I started panicking as I was not sure whether the news was correct and the woman has immediately spread the ‘gossip’, and if it was wrong, that would not be kind for us as we were the origin of the ‘gossip’. I felt anxious and I found it hard to believe that it was the truth as the couple had only been married

for nearly four months. I started thinking about the ‘scandal’ and what would happen to the bride’s sister; whether she would have to choose between her husband or her family, whether her husband would ‘accept’ her after he was disgraced by her brother in front of everybody. When the party started, the bride’s sister acted as if nothing happened and danced and changed her outfits on different occasions. However, the female guests’ eyes were on her more than the bride because of the scandal of her husband. Many women felt pity for her, and I could hear some comments saying, ‘poor girl he is going to kill her!’, or ‘I don’t think he will accept her again; I hope at least she is not pregnant!’, or ‘it was obvious that this would happen, how did she marry him, he is a very hard and nervous guy?! She is like a pearl; she deserves better than him’. The bride’s sister was doing her best to look calm and act in a normal way in front of the guests, so that the ceremony would not be spoiled.

A few hours after the party had started and the music had begun, one of the bride’s relatives, who was our relative, came to us and quietly confirmed to us that it was the kinsman of the hosting family who was beaten. She said that the real reason behind that was that this man refused to bring his wife to her family’s house until the evening of the ceremony when, being the sister of the bride, she should have been there at least three days before the event. Moreover, he allowed her only two hours and told her that he would come back to take her from the party. Again, being the sister of the bride, generally she would not go back to her house until the whole rituals were completed. This made her brother angry, especially when the kinsman came back after two hours to take her, telling her by the phone: ‘either you come now, or I come and take you out!!!’ and started insulting her. At this moment, her brother could not control himself and he hit him. There were rumours that he immediately orally divorced her (in Islam if the husband says ‘you’re divorced’ to his wife, this will religiously cancel the marriage between the couple, and they must live separately even though their marriage is valid on paper).

This example reflects the situation of many Algerian women who suffer from such patriarchal discrimination and dominance. A powerless woman got ‘verbally’ divorced because she was not obedient to her husband who ordered her to quit the party and leave her parents’ house! These ethnographic moments at the wedding confirmed that though officially women have gained rights in Algeria, females cannot enjoy these rights until now (see Bourdieu 1958).

5.5.1.2.Location

As I have mentioned previously, the party took place in the bride's family house. This consisted of four floors (two underground floors, the ground floor, and the first/final floor). The first underground floor was where the whole family lived, and during that day only the hosting family had access to that floor as the bride and her possessions and the whole family's possessions were there (as a security measure). The ground floor had the main entrance, two garages, a living room, a kitchen, a bathroom and one bedroom. It was the floor that was open for guests where the dinner was cooked in the garages, and it was served for female guests in the living room. The first and final floor was an unstructured spacious block based on walls of brick, a floor of cement and a ceiling of cinder blocks. Obviously, it was not finished in terms of construction. This floor, in effect, was reserved for the evening party that night. Once I moved to the first floor, I saw a large empty floor with few chairs pushed to the walls. Near the stairs, there was the scene made for the bride where she could sit once she started her *tasdira*²⁶ so that people could see her. The scene consisted of a small platform where a white couch with some sparkles was put in the middle with two wooden columns at its sides. On these columns, there were two plastic flowerpots and at the bottom of each column, there was a medium size plastic tree. The platform was covered by a large mauve fabric. Behind the couch, the wall was covered by a white large curtain to give a beautiful background to the scene. On the ceiling, there was an electric green string onto which many lamps were connected to give enough light to the area.



Figure 5.2. the bride's corner at the party floor

5.5.1.3. Food

When there was enough room, one of the women of the hosting family came upstairs and started to ask women in groups whether they had dinner or not. Those who had not were invited to go downstairs to eat. My family members (mother, cousins, aunts, and grandmother) and I went all together to the living room to have dinner. Once there, we found two rows of tables one horizontal and another vertical and chairs with a capacity of around twenty to twenty-five persons. As far as food was concerned, the menu was humble. Once settled, one of the bride's cousins came to serve us plates of a varied salad as a starter. On the tables, there were other (empty) plates and a spoon in each plate. Near the plates, there were plastic cups for water that was put at the middle of the tables in plastic bottles. Additionally, there was salt and vinegar. While eating the salad, the hosting family's females started to serve the main meal consisting of the Imazighen's main traditional meal, Couscous. There were two groups composed of two females serving both table lines.

As these events were taking place at a private house, there was no background music, as would usually be the case at a party hall (another difference between urban and rural wedding parties). One of the females was responsible for serving the larger plate of couscous and the another was responsible for placing on the table a large cooking pot containing the sauce of the couscous. Each time a guest finished her starter, she moved to the main meal. At this stage, it was a self-service. With the help of a ladle each woman took the amount of couscous that she needed and with another ladle she added the sauce (full of different vegetables mainly French beans and chickpeas). At this moment, the wife of the bride's uncle came with a plate in her hand full of pieces of meat packed in a piece of aluminium. She passed through the female guests one by one and handed them the plate to randomly pick one piece of meat to eat it with the Couscous. In general, the reason why the meat is not left on the tables like the other food is that the hosting family is afraid that guests will pick more than one piece which would mean that not everyone would have the chance to eat meat (the same procedure was followed at my uncle's and cousins' wedding ceremonies). Additionally, not all the pieces of meat are good. They are haphazardly cut while being cooked and there are some pieces which are purely meat and others which are full of fat or full of bones. To avoid guests carefully choosing the piece they want, the cook covers the pieces with aluminium so that the selection will be fair for all the guests (a luck game). The dessert at a wedding is generally one type of fruit, and that night the hosting family served red grapes.

5.5.1.4. Guests

Weddings are occasions for a huge number of people to meet. They can be familiar with each other, and in other cases not (there are strangers). Hence, as a conservative society, male and female guests in a Kabyle wedding generally remain separate until the beginning of the party depending on the degree of conservatism of the family. On that evening, the party was a mixed gender one. Men were outside the house while women were inside. Men were served in a garage while women were served in a living room. Unfortunately, the atmosphere was conservative, and I could not have the chance to go out and observe men, their behaviour, and the kind of the topics that they were tackling. However, I could still do that with women. In effect, Schade-Poulsen (1999) has faced the same limitation while he was doing his ethnography in the West of Algeria as he could not have access to female gatherings (it would be awkward and inappropriate for the women to be exposed to a foreign man). For this reason, he limited his ethnography to male settings. In conservative research fields, gender can be a challenging element to reach the needed data as already discussed in chapter two.

After dinner, I returned with my family to the party floor (the first floor). I took a seat and started observing women. The first thing I noticed was that they had organised themselves in groups i.e. they took seats according to the closeness of their relationships; women from the same family, or close friends, or neighbours. The reason might have been the shared knowledge that they had about the topics they knew and the persons they spoke about. The main subject that was discussed by the guests was the Corona virus and the updates of its spread in the region. Women were confused whether to kiss each other or not. This was the case the whole time. Some women rejected some people when they came to shake their hands saying that it was risky, but they then kissed and hugged other women because those ones were close to them, whether relatives or close friends. In addition to Corona, some women have tackled other subjects like whether taking pictures would be allowed, and wondering about the identity of some foreign guests, etc. In terms of pictures, not all hosting families allow their guests to take pictures. At some parties which I have attended, the DJ announced a request from the hosting family banning pictures. The reason is to protect their bride from being posted on social media, and in other cases, to protect her from being bewitched.

5.5.1.4.1. Clothes, dress and style

From fieldwork observation that night, there was a diversity in terms of clothing; from formal to casual, modern to traditional, daring to conservative. For men, their style did not

change from daily dressing and they kept their look casual. However, their style depended on their age where young males and teenagers (aged from around 11 to 40) wore mainly t-shirts and jeans along with trainers, whereas older men opted for shirts and trousers with formal shoes. For women, things were different to a certain extent. Unlike men, women in parties do not keep the same regular days' style, and it is an occasion where females can show off. It is an opportunity for women to expose to other women what they have as clothes and accessories. Most of the female guests that night opted for the traditional dress (Kabyle dress). It is a heavy colourful dress consisting of two parts Taksiwt (the dress) and L'fuda (a fabric that accompanies the dress's design tied at the level of the waist). Nonetheless, not all women wear a Kabyle dress at wedding ceremonies. That evening, some females, for instance, opted for casual outfits such as skirts, shiny tops, yet what characterised their appearances was the addition of heavy and expensive gold and silver accessories that cannot be worn every day for fear of their being stolen. Additionally, on such occasions, women wear heavier makeup compared to normal days. Another difference between men and women at weddings is that dressing does not determine the age of women. Any woman can wear Taksiwt, and younger or older females can wear casual clothes. However, it is easier to recognise a single from a married woman since a single young woman wears a Kabyle dress with less patterns compared to that worn by a married woman (see pictures below). They are not recognisable in terms of clothes only but also accessories, makeup, and haircuts. Single women tend to keep their look as simple as they can to look younger, and on some occasions to give the impression of a 'single lady' which may attract the attention of older women who are looking for brides for their sons at a wedding ceremony. Frith (1983) sees that women rely on fashion and dance floors to look attractive to the attendees. Additionally, '... the dance hall has, indeed, been one of the few places where girls could enjoy themselves physically' (Frith 1983: 231). In this context, the dance floor is a means for some young females to attract the attention of older women and secure a husband.



Figure 5.3. Pictures of married versus single female guests' outfits at Kabyle wedding ceremonies, Algeria

In terms of clothes, the hosting family prepares more than one outfit for that day. Men generally have two outfits: one for preparing and serving food (a casual outfit) and another for the party (most of the time a formal suit). However, women have more than two. They wear a casual dress while cooking, another one while serving food and one/more evening traditional or modern dress (es) for the rest of the evening. The bride, for her part, wears a set of clothes that day starting from a casual outfit when she goes to the hairdresser, then a traditional dress to receive some of her guests. During the party, the bride starts her 'fashion show' where she changes five times or more (depending on the region and her financial abilities). That night, the bride wore six outfits which I will list according to the order which she followed for her fashion show that night (pictures are provided in in appendix 21)

- A white modern Amazigh dress (reflecting the Amazigh Culture)
- A black Karakou (reflecting the capital's culture)
- A purple Caftan (reflecting the West Algerian/Moroccan culture)
- An evening sparkly khaki dress (reflecting the Western culture)
- A white traditional Kabyle dress (reflecting the Kabyle culture)
- A wedding dress.

It is worth noting that the bride and all her sisters are veiled (they wear the hidjab). However, during the wedding, all of them took it off (except for one of her sisters). It is common in

Algerian weddings for women to take off their veil as long as the party is a single gender one. In the case of a mixed gender party, there are some women who still opt for taking off their veil in front of men while others not depending on their own will or that of their husbands or any other male relative (father or brother).

5.5.1.5. Music

From the field diary, that evening, after I had dinner, I returned to the party floor. It was around 9.30p.m. when the DJ (a man) started playing the music. He played a warm-up song consisting of Dhurata's (a female singer from Albania) hit Zemer with Soolking released in 2019. After this song, the DJ gave a speech greeting the guests on behalf of the hosting family and offered his good wishes to the bride in her new journey with her future husband. After the speech he invited the guests to dance and launched a Kabyle song named Arih laamber by Ali Arsan which has the topic of wedding celebration which people adore and dance to even more than 20 years after its release. It was the sisters and cousins of the bride who came first to the dance floor along the wife of their cousin. It is not astonishing that the hosting family are always the ones to initiate the dance as they feel free and comfortable to come to the centre of the floor and dance in front of hundreds of guests because it is their house and their party. In a few cases, the men of the family initiate the dance along with the women of their family. At this moment, the hosting family gives a Rechiq to the DJ to announce a dedication to their guests and thank them for coming to share that happy moment with them and the bride.

5.5.1.5.1. Rechiq: wedding versus cabaret

According to Daoudi and Miliiani (1996) Rechiq is a tradition found in the Maghreb region referring to a male 'public shouter' with a strong voice responsible for announcing dedications (at wedding ceremonies) and events that necessitate the gathering of the whole community/village (a funeral, a prayer, cultural festivity, etc.). This phenomenon appeared within cabarets and recording studios of the Raï song. As seen earlier, Raï singers and their lyrics have a direct connection with the audience which inevitably make dedications a necessity (ibid.). Nonetheless, few differences could be highlighted between a Reshiq at a cabaret/Nightclub and a Reshiq at a wedding party following Marc Schade-Poulsen's (2001) comparison that both my online and offline observations have confirmed. According to Marc Schade-Poulsen, the purpose of Reshiq (also known as Tbrah or et-tebriha) in cabaret is

economic where the fan pays to hear a wanted song (and a personal dedication). Moreover, cabaret is the space where Reshiq opens the door for gender transgression where women are named publicly which can, as Marc says, provoke ‘unregulated leisure and lust...’ (Schade-Poulsen 2001: 112). Also, Reshiq is a means through which the fans shout their frustrations in relation to, for instance, a condemned love, misfortune, alcohol consumption, honour and pride (Daoudi and Miliani 1996). At weddings, on the other hand, Reshiq has the aim of helping the hosting family cover the expenses of the party. Also, it is a phenomenon which respects the gender roles and the sexual features by, for example, covering the names of the women who gave the Reshiq as a way not to ‘exhibit women in public life’ (Schade-Poulsen 2001: 112). The data has shown that when it was a woman who gave a Reshiq, she sent her child to give the money to the DJ who would pronounce the dedication on their name (the name of the son/daughter followed of the name of the father sometimes). It is worth noting the guests give more Reshiq at weddings when the musical performance is led by artists rather than a DJ; just like in night clubs, the singers repeat the dedications of the guests (mainly men).

According to this fieldwork observation, dedications are more encouraged when they are pronounced by a star (just as is it the case in cabaret), yet in a more non-transgressive way. Additionally, the way artists pronounce the guests’ dedications is the same as it is done in a cabaret, using the same expressions such *un milliard de fois* (a billion times) and *sayess* (asking the musicians to slow the beat). Reshiq in many cases takes on a competitive nature where the people close to the groom try to show who supports him the most. For example, at the wedding of a male cousin of mine (17/08/2018), I witnessed a competition between the male cousins of the groom from the mother’s side against cousins from the father’s side. Each time a cousin from the mother’s side gave a Reshiq to the singer to shout a dedication emphasising the fact it was from the cousin (saying his name) from the mother’s side, this Reshiq was immediately followed by another dedication emphasising the father’s side. The competition lasted for nearly thirty minutes where each side tried to impose their pride against the other side (even at the dance floor they were in confronted groups).

On the occasion of this bridal ceremony, however, Reshiq was not frequent. Only a few (maybe due to the expenses of life) dedications were shouted by the DJ which were all from the hosting family thanking their guests and wishing a good life for their daughter. After few songs such as Mourad Guerbas’ *A Hebbu* (2018), Manis Himmi’s *Lemhiba Ughilif* (2020), Kamel Chenane’s *Amdawigh Aguitar* (2015), Yacine Yefsah’ cover of *Ennaqus* (2013), and many others for around a quarter an hour, the female guests started to go to the dance floor. They

were mainly the persons closest to the hosting family, cousins or neighbours, who joined the bride's relatives on the dance floor. The neighbours of the hosting family shared a dance with the bride's sisters. This initiative from the female neighbours gave courage to other female guests to join them on the dance floor until it was full. I noticed that even while dancing, women remained faithful to the groups they had formed while sitting. As mentioned earlier, comedy is a phenomenon that is common on the Algerian wedding dance floor. Those groups danced together and made fun of each other's dancing.

From the fieldwork, it was possible to see that the type of dances these women adopted varied from purely Kabyle dance (tying a scarf below waist line, on the thighs, and move it softly (resembling the Egyptian dance)) to a neutral dance (just making simple movements with their feet and clapping their hands). The DJ did not stop the music during the whole evening; however, he broke the rhythm from fast to slow whenever the bride entered with a new outfit. In this ceremony for instance, the celebration was essentially Kabyle where the DJ played only Kabyle wedding songs during the whole evening such as Samir Sadaoui Lhem Lhem (2018). There were only a few exceptions, and those were some Assimi songs that were played from 10.50 p.m. (after nearly two hours since the party started) when the bride wore a Karakou then, Enrique Iglesias' Bailamos which the DJ played for the bride when she came out in an evening dress, and an oriental song (Elissa's Abalali) when she appeared wearing the wedding dress. For the rest of the time, the DJ played a medley of Kabyle wedding songs, which he had already played during the party (he repeated a number of songs more than one time) such as Maylesse's Thafounasth Oumarkanti (2016), Brahim Midani's Tafruxt (2016) and many others. It is worth noting that not all songs played by the DJ were songs recorded in studios, but he also played recorded live events of other Kabyle singers. These recordings were made either of other wedding events, or during a live event at a restaurant or a cabaret. Among these live performances, I may mention Allaoua's live performance at a wedding and Ali Farhati's, also at a wedding. When it comes to recorded live events, it is hard to find information about that event as it is kept anonymous. The only thing that can be known is whether the performance was at a wedding or in a restaurant/cabaret thanks to the dedications shouted in the recordings. The main thing that I noticed at that wedding party was that the Raï songs were completely absent. Schade-Poulsen (1999: 10) has commented on this absence and said '... except in the Kabyle area, raï was the most popular music in Algeria'.

In order to find the reason behind this absence, I asked my participants to talk about their relationship and their families' relationship with Raï at weddings. Also, when did participants

believe that it was appropriate, and it was not appropriate to listen to Raï music in public and more precisely in front of their family members. Tafsut (f), Gaya (m), and Silyuna (f) (successively) said

I avoid listening to any music which talks about love, attraction, or which contains swear words when I am with my dad, be it Rai, Pop or anything because I respect him and I do not want to feel awkward.

... my parents are old-fashioned and Raï is sometimes vulgar. Even topics like love and expressing feelings of affection, even in a clean way would make me uncomfortable if my parents are around.

...this “modern Rai” is shameful in general it contains some words you can’t listen to it [sic.] with your parents.

On reflection on what has been found in the data in general, young people had a complex relation with Raï music. During their interview, for instance, they would say some negative comments about this genre as a means to support their family’s or their parents’ conservative views but when speaking for themselves they found Raï relevant music. The research participants stressed that there was no gender difference in relation to what they felt or how they behaved in front of their parents while listening to Raï (in case they did.). Also, as Tafsut said, in this context, the genre of music was not the real issue, rather it was the content of the song. Concerning the other category of participants who said that they listened to Raï music in the presence of their families, it is worth knowing that they were selective about the songs they would listen to in such context since some Raï songs contained ‘inappropriate’ content causing awkwardness in the room, as explained by Ferroudja (f)

I can listen to Rai music with family only when it has appropriate lyrics which quite often would be “old” ...

and Jegiga (f)

...when the lyrics are respectful and speak about daily issues and matters (I cant [sic.] [listen to] sentimental songs in front of my family, though).

However, both categories agreed on the fact that it is possible to listen to Raï music among friends or at wedding parties and special occasions no matter what the lyrics or topics were; as claimed by Fetta (f)

In parties, no matter of [sic.] what the lyrics are, it is OK to listen to it...

and Ameqran (m)

it is appropriate to listen to Raï among friends to chill. It is not appropriate when somebody is with their family. (translated from French by RK).

At weddings or in public spaces, as explained by Tannina (f), nobody has a choice about what type of music or songs is played as a guest. They had to listen to what others played (DJs, artists, etc.)

... in places that you cannot avoid like public places or wedding ceremonies where you hear in a CD shop or a DJ playing a Rai song, here, there is no escape we listen to it together. (originally said in Kabyle by RK)

Such comments reflect a positive impression about the Rai song in Algeria generally, but in Kabyle regions things are more sensitive. I further investigated this point with a Kabyle participant and asked her whether Rai was the leading genre in her region (Kabylia), she responded with an anxious face saying

No!! They do not like it because they consider it as a shame. Rai is not good. If you hear anybody who tells you to listen to Rai; implicitly, they are insulting you. I do not know why. Maybe because they have generalised the idea of Rai being not good though there are some good Rai songs... [At a wedding], I can dance to it [a Rai song] whenever I see other people dancing to that song. My dance depends on other people's dance, you know here we live for people's eyes. If I was the one to decide, I would go to the floor and dance even if I would be alone, but you see people are the ones to judge I am obliged to go with their opinion... sometimes, I ignore their [her parents] order, and sometimes I obey and come back to my seat leaving my heart in the dance floor, but I say to myself that they see this song inappropriate making from me a bad person in the eyes of other guests when they see me dancing to such a song. My family cares about my reputation. (Originally said in Kabyle translated by RK)

As clearly stated by this participant, parents in some cases prevented their daughters from dancing to Rai songs in front of people as this would project a 'bad idea' about those young females and the whole family consequently. In my participant's case, helpless, as she mentioned, the young woman went back to her seat surrendering to her family's will. At a moment where music should be considered as a hobby and a personal choice based on a personal preference and not on other people's misrepresentations Frith (1983), it was found sometimes that young people in Algeria, in such cases, were obliged to submit to the will of their parents. This rejection was not only confirmed by the young audience but also by the the DJs. I interviewed a female DJ (DJ Dia) who is a Kabyle young woman who performed at weddings in different provinces in Algeria, and in different TV programmes on private and mainstream channels. Relying on her experience, she was well-placed to give an idea of how Rai was received by people throughout Algeria especially in the Kabylia. She said,

We have 48 provinces²⁷, and each province is different from the other. Each province has its culture, its traditions and its musical genre... even the families with whom I am working differ. You can find differences from a family to another in terms of their personal traditions and musical preferences. As far as I am concerned, I don't have an issue I mix everything. It is a programme that I make with the hosting family. It is a programme done with the spouses, what they like, what they don't so as I know what I can mix at that party and what to not mix. You have emphasised on Rai. Rai, Rai fits all weddings [from different parts of Algeria she meant] but! here, in our region, Kabylia, not that much. Even more, there are some families that comes to you and tell you 'play everything you want but avoid Rai!'. It happened where a man from the hosting family of a party, in which I have performed, heard me playing a Rai song, and said 'remove it! Remove it!' Because for him it's a shame and can't be heard, he did not even hear the lyrics yet! Therefore, here, in Kabylia, Rai doesn't work, generally in many of its regions.

As the ceremony continued, some male members of the hosting family (uncles and cousins from both sides, the father, and brothers of the bride) came to the dance floor and danced in front of the female guests to Kabyle songs such as Ramdane Menache's cover of Ayigh Ayigh (2016) and Ali Farhati's cover of Andat w Udm iw a Lemri (2014). However, their dance was dependent on their female family members i.e. men were not dancing randomly rather they were dancing with female relatives be it their wives, sisters, or mothers. They did not approach other females as it was not suitable in the Kabyle tradition and the Arabic/Islamic one in general. On occasions such as weddings, there could be serious trouble if a male guest danced with other women. This leads to fights and envy between the whole families. It was nearly 3 a.m. when my aunt told us that it was time for us to leave. I observed the party was not over yet when we left, but I could see that most people have already gone. It was only the closest people who were still there namely, brothers and sisters, cousins, uncles, and aunts from both the father and the mother sides. On the dance floor, few men along their female relatives were dancing, but the atmosphere was quite calm as everybody was tired. Outside the house, there were still a few men having a quiet chat while smoking a cigarette and discreetly drinking a beer. We found our cousin waiting for us as my brother left earlier. We got in his car (my mother, my aunt, and I) and headed home.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have dealt with the music performance and consumption in the Kabyle wedding parties as part of the Algerian musical mosaic highlighted in this thesis. I have first given an anthropological lens on Algerian weddings focusing mainly on gender relations and

how this influences the distribution of social and gender relations at wedding ceremonies. I briefly introduced the different rituals constituting a Kabyle wedding with a focus on the music performance and consumption in each ceremony. After that, I highlighted the major differences between an urban and a rural wedding, and gave an ethnographic description of a rural wedding party of my mother's female cousin. In the description, I presented a picture of the location, food, guests, and the musical performance at that wedding ceremony. Additionally, the wedding witnessed unexpected incidents consisting of a male fight and the religious divorce of the bride's sister reflecting an unequal gender role distribution in the Algerian family. The wedding also highlighted a musical genre's 'inferiority' where I observed the complete absence of Raï song in the musical medley that was played by the DJ during the whole night. As illustrated in this chapter, the research participants believed that the reason behind this is the excessive protection of the older family members related to a stereotype of the misleading morality that the Raï songs convey, but in conversation with young people, they moved between criticising and celebrating Raï music according to the setting and who they were with.

Conclusion

The conclusion brings together the findings identified which go hand in hand with the initial objective that determined the path of this thesis. With the adoption of an ethnographic methodology of research and the support of a range of qualitative research methods, this work has sought to provide an in-depth examination of gender distribution within the Algerian musical mosaic in three different settings in contemporary Algeria: social media, live musical events and wedding ceremonies.

As the title indicates, this doctoral thesis used the concept of ‘mosaic’ to refer to the variation in music in Algerian. I have used ‘mosaic’ to denote two main notions; (1) the plurality of the Algerian musical genres, which I briefly introduced in the review of literature, namely Andalus, Chaabi and Amazigh music, and Raï which I discussed more deeply because it played a crucial part in the objective of the study; (2) the different spaces in which these types of music are found, that is, where and how these musical genres were produced and consumed. The objective of this study was to understand the situation of women in the Algerian musical domain and how active and present they are across this musical mosaic. Additionally, I looked at the extent to which female singers (Raï in this context) were ‘valued’ by the Algerian audience compared to their Franco-Algerian male counterparts. The study sought to explore the audience’s standards in terms of acceptance and rejection of a selected category of Algerian artists (female Raï singers and Franco-Algerian singers). Hence, the data collected in the field have served to the identification of the main chapters supporting the formation of a musical mosaic in different spaces i.e. the main settings this Ph.D. relied on to collect its corpus namely: social media platforms, live music events and wedding ceremonies.

This Ph.D. is interdisciplinary and falls into the fields of popular music studies, cultural studies, sociology and gender studies. Its results have contributed to the building of a vision of the Algerian musical context that is connected to each of these fields. This work has particularly taken a feminist perspective in studying gender relations in the domain of music in contemporary Algeria, being mainly constructed based on a set of cultural and social perspectives all operating in the field of popular music. The findings contributed to give different levels of meaning of women’s situation in the musical mosaic in contemporary Algeria. The data suggest that music consumption could be restricted by cultural and, in some cases, religious superstitions which limit the preference of the young audience (mainly females) and provoke the female artists, consequently, to revolt and challenge these restrictions. This

research has contributed to providing a new perspective in linking gender studies to popular music where the findings have revealed that space, in Algeria, plays a crucial role in music consumption between men and women, and this consumption is moving to the online space to escape ‘oppressive cultural morals’.

The contribution of this Ph.D. was not limited to the fields mentioned above, but also included the field of ethnography. Throughout the thesis, I have discussed different experiences of gender inequality in Algeria in terms of history (see chapter one), artists observed, the research participants and myself. Conducting the research in a conservative society and belonging to a Muslim family restricted my field of research in terms of the places I could go to. Additionally, I was required to have a male companion during the events. This research limitation gave me the opportunity to introduce ‘chaperone ethnography’ as a new method of research in the ethnographic approach. Chaperone ethnography, for me, is more than a method of research. It is a reflection on the restrictions imposed on a lone female researcher during her fieldwork. It is a context that illustrates a ‘gender hierarchy’ (Butler 2006: xiii).

1. Research findings

1.1. The spatiality and gender performance in music events

As previously explained in chapter two, this thesis has developed three main data chapters relying on the concept of spatiality. My data collection was at the level of three different settings: online space, live music events and wedding ceremonies. While I was interpreting and analysing the obtained data, following the procedure of grounded theory suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967), I identified those three spaces as the main categories which I developed into three data chapters. This categorisation of data in terms of where they took place has served this Ph.D. to achieve one of its crucial conclusions. The data revealed that gender authority shifts from one location to another in terms of music production and music consumption.

In the third chapter, we saw gender differences at two levels: singers and audience. We saw that social platforms were dominated by female singers in terms of activity. Unlike the male singers who kept their appearance on social media to a minimum, female Raï singers were more active and more present in their social platforms especially Instagram. The purpose of their appearances differed from announcing coming performances, reposting other people’s content, but more importantly posting content that challenged the Algerian religious and cultural principles which received harsh criticism from certain young people. Female Raï

singers were more independent in online platforms. Their freedom of speech was less restricted. They tended to ignore the ‘hatred’ received in comments to their posts. For the audience, on the other hand, authority seemed to be more masculine. Some of my female research participants confessed that they could not be active and visible on female Rai singers’ social platforms (they could not react to these artists’ activities) to satisfy some social ‘ideal types’ as identified by Weber (1949; 1947). According to them, their ‘real’ identity was not protected with Instagram’s terms and conditions. These young females were afraid of being exposed if people from their surrounding found out that they followed those female singers, who were considered ‘immoral’.

In the fourth chapter, data revealed that public entertainment was a men’s world in contemporary Algeria, and Tizi-Ouzou particularly. Live music events were male-dominated in terms of organisation, performance and consumption. In the live events that I attended, female agency was weak compared to that of their male counterparts. Men’s presence in public spaces considerably exceeded that of women. At the live events that I have attended, I found the number of male artists (and musicians) performing was double (sometimes more) the number of females (who were sometimes completely absent). Gender division of labour in the events’ organising teams was unequal, for example only men were head of the main tasks (musicians, managers, sponsors, DJs, engineers, security, etc.) while women were given subordinate tasks (hosts, ticket sellers, etc.). As far as the audience was concerned, the male domination was also clear in the crowd. In the large events that I attended, the space reserved for the audience was always divided according to genders. In a space that was reserved for families, no man was granted access to that space if he did not have at least one woman or a child with him, while another part was kept for people who came with no families, who were mainly male young adults either individually or in groups. This division reflected a high degree of restriction on women’s circulation while attending live events. The ‘motive’ (Weber 1949) of protecting someone’s honour and that of his family pushed him to put their female family members under supervision (as was my case and that of my female cousins when we were chaperoned to L’Algerino’s event). The only occasion where I could see the presence of women as dominant was at a primary schools’ summer holiday party where only a few men attended (except of the staff of the primary school). Here, again the reason for this ‘tolerance’ of the female presence was that women were there to witness the success of their children which implicitly proved their passiveness rather than their independence as they were present as their children’s guardians, and it was their job to be with children and attend entertainment shows on

their behalf (as discussed in chapter one and chapter five where women are charged with indoor duties including childcare).

The fifth chapter for its part has, surprisingly, showed that music consumption can feature in a woman's world. I explored in chapter five the different musical performances that could be found mainly at a Kabyle wedding ceremony, and how gender power shifted from men to women depending on what performance was held. However, as a Kabyle woman who grew up in that community, I could notice a great change in terms of women's access to purely males' musical performances namely the performance of the folkloric group of Idhabalen which was still not welcomed by a category of men among whom was my grandfather. Unlike public performances, domestic ones, according to my observation, were dominated by women in their different spaces (before, during and after the wedding party). Data showed that women played a key part in the entertainment at music performances at wedding parties. Depending on the extent of the tolerance of the families in mixed-gender parties, women had access to all the different musical settings as opposed to men who were not likely to take part in *urur lخالat* as its name indicates (women's performance) or *tibugharin* which were recited by groups of women only when they gathered inside the house. Unlike men, women (guests) succeeded to 'invading' male performances such as *idhabalen* and singers' live performances which at a certain period of time used to be limited to men due to alcohol consumption on such occasions and the need to avoid the risk of drunk men harassing women or getting involved in a fight. Female guests found it unfair to be deprived of the chance of enjoying the performance of well-known Kabyle singers, and therefore, started requesting to join the performance which was a success in most parts of the Kabyle region. Though some restrictions remained, such as those separating females from males and, in some cases, having two segregated dance floors, it was found that women managed to access the men's environment and attended their favourite singers' performances (in some cases, especially where the artists' performances were 'safer', the guests from both genders could join together on one dance floor unless there were foreign male guests (who were generally invited by men from the hosting family as their personal acquaintances)).

1.2. The 'curse' of patriarchy and conservatism

Throughout the thesis I have referred to Algerian society as conservative in nature, a claim that was supported by my data. Not all Algerian women were 'brave' enough to come out and challenge the Algerian social and cultural 'ideals', as most *Raï* singers did. My female research

participants openly confessed about their families' instructions on the places they should attend and when it was appropriate to attend them; the way they were expected to behave in public and many other restrictions (which I personally still experience as a female Algerian). Music was no exception. As mentioned, not all Algerian families were keen on Raï music, especially Kabyle ones. In many cases, they took decisions on behalf of their daughters, for example limiting their music play lists or banning them from reacting to Raï songs in public at wedding parties. Nonetheless, relying on my data and personal experience, there was no male research participant who admitted that he was restricted by his family in relation to what type of music he should listen to. At a point where there had to be a restriction, it would be a personal choice (not an imposition) as they had to show respect to their elder family members due to the content of the songs containing elements which were considered taboo (mainly referring to love, break up, alcoholism, etc.).

Throughout the fieldwork, I observed occasions during family female gatherings when elder females warned young females about doing what was against the norm and when a Raï song was heard on one of our phones, they would first ask 'Do you listen to this music? Does your father/brother know? He will tear your eyes out!' or 'what kind of behaviour is this? Put your feet back on the ground!'. Young female adults are always reminded of the men's power in the family and what could happen in the case of disobedience. Modesty and honour are among the 'ethical obligations' that Algerian women have to fulfil unconditionally in order to satisfy 'dogmatic cultural values' (Weber 1949) which, in the case of some research participants were living a contradiction or a paradox (Deh and Glođović 2018: 104) between internal and external motives, that is the dilemma between belonging to an external conservative community or following their inner thoughts and feelings and consequently becoming rebellious.

The Ph.D. found that the social platform, YouTube, served as a 'a virtual 'refuge' ... keeping the boundaries between online and offline life intact' (Berkers and Schaap 2015: 307). On this online platform, my participants could satisfy themselves and practise their 'real' identity by, in the context of the study, listening, watching and supporting their favourite artists, female Raï singers. According to my participants, YouTube offered them the protection that the other social platforms did not. They could watch and positively react and subscribe to their favourite singers' pages without being exposed to their acquaintances. The online space offered what I refer to as 'oppressed music consumers' the opportunity to construct a second identity, which in most cases is their real identity as it is the space where they are led by their personal/internal motives (Weber 1949) and satisfy them away from any external influence or

obligation as was the case of Cabiria's (2008:8) homosexual participants, who confessed to being 'more "real" in their "artificial" lives and more "artificial" in their "real" lives'.

Nonetheless, this fact led to reveal an 'unacknowledged' truth about the influence of the female Raï singers on the Algerian audience. Through my observation of the different online social platforms of these singers, I could notice great numbers (as presented in chapter three) of positive accounts which these artists had achieved in terms of followers, views and reactions. The comment section on YouTube videos helped me find out that most of the people posting comments were Algerians, therefore, there was an unadmitted appreciation of the female Raï singers' music. This raised suggestions that there were stronger external influences such as family and society that had swayed Algerian young adults' perception of female Raï singers but this was contradicted with the online data. In this context, Max Weber (1947: 95-97) commented on the motive that leads a person to say or do something in a specific way as an irrational motive which in many cases complicates the interpretation of the events and leads us, as researchers, in return, to place a

... particular act ... in an understandable sequence of motivation, the understanding of which can be treated as an explanation of the actual course of behaviour... no matter how clear an interpretation as such appears to be from the point of view of meaning, it cannot on this account alone claim to be the causally valid interpretation... the actors in any given situation are often subject to opposing and conflicting impulses, all of which we are able to understand. In a large number of cases we know from experience it is not possible to arrive at even an approximate estimate of the relative strength of conflicting motives and very often we cannot be certain of our interpretation. Only the actual outcome of the conflict gives a solid basis of judgment.

This Ph.D. offers some interpretations of one social or cultural phenomenon. Qualitative research involves the study of human subjects and their cultures, which is in many cases challenging due to the latter's flexibility. In other words, studying human beings and their minds can lead to different conclusions and interpretations of their behaviours from one field to another or from one study to another. As experienced in this study, for example, where some statements and behaviours of the same participants did not lead to the same conclusion due to contradictions between the two. The fields of humanities and social sciences, as is the case of this Ph.D., tend to provide the closest (or one of several) interpretations of the events relying on 'abstract' factors namely mind and culture.

1.3. The line between love and ‘hate’: the Algerian audience’s perception

Chapter three focused on the perception of the female Algerian Raï singers. The research participants expressed their explicit rejection of this category of artists in most of the qualitative surveys and the conversational interviews. The reasons for their rejection have differed; those who thought that these female artists did not have a real talent (voice) and used autotune which they found to be fake art, and others who blamed the genre in general and considered it to be noisy with no good lyrics. Nevertheless, the majority of the participants agreed on one main reason to dislike the female Raï singers which was the spread of immorality between singers who shared ‘intimate’ pictures and videos ‘inflicting shame’ and this was subsequently used by the Algerian audience (as a response) to degrade and punish them (Burns 2015). Such behaviour is considered by Herring (2002) as a cyber violence that does not necessarily apply a physical harassment but a psychological one where a category of people, female singers in this case, receive verbal abuse in different forms such as insults, objectification, threats which negatively affect the well-being of the victims. These participants believed that most female singers of the Raï genre did not represent Algerian society and the Islamic community. Part of the data have shown that Algerian society is conservative to a great extent, and this conservatism is based on Islamic Shari’a, which, for its part, is believed by Islamic feminists like Amina Wadud, Ziba Mir-Housseini and Fatima Mernissi to be increasingly shaped by patriarchal subjective interpretations.

The data did not report any negative comment on the Franco-Algerian male singers. They were either praised or not known, and in the latter case, the participants confessed that they were pleased to know that there were Algerians who were successful at the international level. Throughout the analysis, I could identify the reasons why female Raï singers were rejected. In relation to the Franco-Algerian singers, the data have shown that this category of singers was appreciated by Algerian young adults for two main reasons: original identity worship and the internationalisation of the Algerian content. The influence of these male singers started in mid-2010s but became international since 2018 especially with the political protest that Algeria witnessed in early 2019. Franco-Algerian singers have long highlighted their Algerian belonging in their lyrics through the use of Arabic words, phrases or whole lines, referring to Algerian historical events, personality characteristics, food, culture, or mentioning the name of the country or its different provinces. They also claimed these origins in their clips through their fashion (wearing Algerian theme clothes, holding the Algerian flag, or accessories with cultural connotations) or material (using cars with registration numbers of their original province in

Algeria) or through filming their video-clips with Algerian people in Algeria. This is one element that brought the Algerian young audience to sympathise with their music. At the level of music, semiotics suggests that singers are aware of the position they have as famous figures and the power of their video-clips as media for raising discussion about social and human concerns. The combination of text, image and sound enhances the transmission of emotions, cultural meanings and messages conveyed by the artists to their audiences (Hasio and Chen 2018).

The online observation revealed how Algerians were proud when it came to defending the honour of the country beyond the Mediterranean Sea. This personal impression was soon confirmed by my research participants' responses and the fieldnotes I wrote down while attending live events, L'Algerino's particularly. The sympathy was 'nurtured' more when these Franco-Algerian singers explicitly supported and physically joined the protest, Hirak, of the Algerian people to liberate the country from a corrupt system. Some of the singers, as illustrated in chapter four, have dedicated songs to this political movement and were welcomed by the Algerians, which also the qualitative survey revealed to be the favourite song (protest song) of many of my participants. Hence, 'music is employed not just in entertainment and courtship, but as an essential component of ritual, often marking transitions between different stages of life ... consequential events' (Cross and Morley 2010: 66). This has been best illustrated in chapter four with the performance of L'Algerino in the festival of Belles Nuits de Tigzirt where he joined together entertainment, country, and glorification of ethnic belonging.

The other factor for the Algerian audience approving of these male singers was the voice they gave Algeria on the world stage. Through the data interpretation, I found many responses explaining the reason behind this enthusiasm as being the feeling of pride in the success of an Algerian in France, which was implicitly a bridge to the rest of the world. This made me reflect on this pride as being a double-edged sword, especially when I observed the great amount of tolerance given to Franco-Algerian male singers' use of bold language in the texts of their songs (containing bold lyrics and bold narratives) particularly when such language use was rejected in the Raï song by the same audiences. It could be suggested that this French context helped to 'camouflage' such 'cultural and religious transgression', as expressed by one of my participants who stated, 'all that is coming from France is good'. I became more critical when I attended L'Algerino's event where I could see a difference between an audience's behaviour in response to a local singer and an international one. The audience was more patient and respectful to L'Algerino knowing that he arrived at a late time of the night and gave a show of less than two

hours, in which he spent the majority of the time speaking. At another live event that I have attended, of a local singer, people started yelling and whistling as the singer was late. The singer gave more than two hours show but people were leaving before the end of the live show which did not happen at L'Algerino's show.

2. The limitations and recommendations

During my fieldwork I missed many opportunities for data collection because of the impact of Covid-19. Due to my family restrictions I had to exclude one of the main fieldworks I wanted to study which was the live events at night clubs. I felt my freedom of circulation was limited and I became dependent on my family's instructions, from selecting my fieldworks to imposing a male chaperone on me. I was supposed to attend different Raï live events programmed for Ramadan's night in April 2020 however most countries, including the UK and Algeria, decided to close their international borders and cancel all large events such as concerts and wedding ceremonies in March 2020. I had to stay in the UK after all the targeted events were cancelled.

This is in fact an opportunity for future research in the field of popular music, especially Algerian music, which would enable the richness of its artistic diversity content and context to be explored. I recommend next studies to keep the same context of the current study yet provide a new interpretation based on the Algerians in the diaspora. I would like also to invite other researchers to investigate the setting I could not have the chance to study: studies of night clubs and Raï music festivals in general could yield rich results. Additionally, I suggest that future studies should investigate the controversial situation of Raï music from the perspective of the singers themselves. A final suggestion would be extending research in the context of music production and consumption at Algeria weddings as most of the studies in this context have mainly offered only anthropological recitations.

3. Personal experience

Thanks to this Ph.D. journey my life witnessed many positive changes at a personal and professional level which I would like to share below as an experience to motivate readers and future Ph.D. students.

First of all, doing a Ph.D. helped me in building better self-esteem. By this I mean that I became more confident in who I am and the abilities I have. This journey made me realise the

skills I already had and the ones I have developed throughout the Ph.D. I also could develop my communication skill and got rid of my fear of speaking English in public especially in front of British people and professional colleagues. In this respect, coming to the UK for a Ph.D. course gave me the opportunity to know people from different parts of the world and Algeria in particular. I learned fascinating facts about different people and cultures not only in the world but also in my homeland. I gained acquaintances from different cities of Algeria who taught me a lot about the traditions, lifestyle, food, beliefs that I did not know about my home country. Thanks to this, I managed to learn some of the accents of the different regions and used them with my friends of those regions to understand me knowing that I am a Kabyle who speak a completely different language (Kabyle) from them (different accents of the Algerian Arabic dialect).

This journey was very helpful at a professional level where I deepened my knowledge in fields that I was familiar with and introduced myself to new fields and disciplines that I first knew while conducting my work. I learned about many theories and methods of research especially ethnography that became the main methodology of this academic project. Not only that, but I could also be able to contribute to the introduction of an innovative method of research which I had to use while collecting my data as a female lone researcher in a conservative setting. The research familiarised me more with the history of my country especially at the feminist activities level and opened my eyes to certain academic issues to investigate for further studies.

Endnotes

- ¹ **Mosaic** in the Algerian context, the word mosaic was also used by Miliani (1995: 26) to refer to the Algerian cultural diversity (cultural mosaic).
- ² **Les Belles Nuits de Tigzirt** is the name given to the festival in French meaning ‘The Beautiful Nights of Tigzirt’
- ³ **Milieu** a named given to nightclub and night life usually related to where Rai performances are taking place.
- ⁴ **Amazigh** (pl Imazighen) linguistically means ‘free’. It signifies the subethnic community living in the Maghreb and North Africa in general. They are believed to be the original inhabitants of the area.
- ⁵ **Nubat** a plural form of nuba which refers to the word ‘turn’ i.e. in terms of the Andalus music, musicians waited behind a curtain to be told when it was their turn to perform. According to the tradition of the Andalus, there were 24 nubas of which each nuba had to perform for one hour.
- ⁶ **Shari’a** is a set of religious laws performed under the Islamic tradition which are based mainly on the sacred texts of the holy Qur’an and the Prophet’s Hadiths (sayings).
- ⁷ **Beurs** ‘Le phénomène "beur" naît d'une réalité sociologique et d'une médiatisation conjoncturelle et connaît ses heures de gloire entre 1982 et 1985.’ (Miliani 1995: 24)
- ⁸ **Haïk** a traditional women clothe made of white rectangular fabric covering the whole body (and head) rolled up then held at the waist and neck.
- ⁹ **Ulama** shortened phrase of ‘Jam’iyat al ‘Ulama al Muslimin’ (Association of Muslim Scholars) founded during the French settlement and based of Islam’s beliefs and Arabic tradition to restore the Algerian nation.
- ¹⁰ **l’Etoile Nord-Africaine** Algerian nationalist organisation founded in 1926 by Messali Hadj to denounce the French colonialism; it is believed to be the foundation the FLN. (Wikipedia)
- ¹¹ **Moudjahidates** an Arabic word signifying women fighters mainly in wars.
- ¹² **Evoluée** in the context of the Algerian War of Independence, this word referred to the Algerian woman who received education in the French school during the period of war.
- ¹³ **Chebat** in the plural form of ‘Cheba’ used as a title in the world of Rai music industry to refer to the female Rai singers.
- ¹⁴ **Nqi** (clean) ‘In the early 1990s, the rai scene grew stronger as increasing numbers of hit records were produced. A new style emerged, known as ‘sentimental’ or ‘lovers’ rai’, which appealed to the tastes of new categories of listeners: families and women in particular, many of whom, in the past, had tended to be put off by the sexual aggressiveness of the lyrical content of ‘hard rai’ songs. By contrast, the new romantic musical streak was identified as proper or ‘clean rai’.’ (Mehdid 2006: 211)
- ¹⁵ **Black market** a market where the exchange of currencies takes place illegally (or unnoticeably) to avoid government taxes. It is the rate given in this study as most of the

Algerian population exchange money in black markets more than in banks (where the rate is usually lower).

- ¹⁶ **Rechiq** a non-fixed amount of money that people give to a DJ or a singer in a party (wedding, private, night club, etc.) to announce their dedications.
- ¹⁷ **Haram** an Arabic word meaning ‘prohibited’ which is used in religious contexts to refer to deeds or thoughts that are believed to be banned in the Islamic Shari’a.
- ¹⁸ **Les Belles Nuits de Boudjima** is the name given to the festival that took place during the month of Ramadan (Muslims fast for the whole month from dusk until dawn).
- ¹⁹ **Aid Kbir** a religious celebration of Muslims that comes two months after Ramadan where they sacrifice a sheep (Slaughter it to be eaten and/or given to poor people who cannot afford a sheep for the Aid).
- ²⁰ **Picturing Algeria** is the title of a book that joined over 100 pictures captured by Pierre Bourdieu during his presence in Algeria as a French soldier at the War (1954-1962) and key extracts from his different works on Algeria.
- ²¹ **Lawayed** is the appellation given to the first ceremony of the wedding referring to the stuff that are going to be taken to the bride’s house in that day.
- ²² **Ululates** high-pitched vocal sounds performed to express strong emotion such as honouring someone. It is produced mainly during wedding or happy events by a group of women.
- ²³ **Tibugharin** long poems sung by elder women who have learned them by their ancestors during happy occasions dealing with happy topics such as wedding.
- ²⁴ **Assimi** is an adjective related to anything or anyone coming from the capital Algiers. It comes from the word ‘Assima’ meaning the capital.
- ²⁵ **Bendir/Avendayer** is a musical instrument used by Imazighen. It is a percussion made of a wooden circle in which a hole is made so as to be fixed well in hands. It is covered with goat’s skin and animal gut strings.
- ²⁶ **Tasdira** a segment at a wedding party where the bride comes out to her guests on different occasions with different traditional outfits to party and take pictures as souvenirs with them.
- ²⁷ **48 provinces** the division of the Algerian provinces has changed since the day of the interview where Algeria is now divided into 58 provinces (since December 2019).

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Frans Fanon's original French extracts from his book L'An V de la Révolution Algérienne – Year 5 of the Algerian Revolution- (1959)

‘Chaque voile rejeté découvre aux colonialistes des horizons jusqu'alors interdits, et leur montre, morceau par morceau, la chair algérienne mise à nu. ... Chaque nouvelle femme algérienne dévoilée annonce à l'occupant une société algérienne aux systèmes de défense en voie de dislocation, ouverte et défoncée. Chaque voile qui tombe, chaque corps qui se libère de l'étreinte traditionnelle du haïk, chaque visage qui s'offre au regard hardi et impatient de l'occupant, exprime en négatif que l'Algérie commence à se renier et accepte le viol du colonisateur. La société algérienne avec chaque voile abandonné semble accepter de se mettre à l'école du maître et décider de changer ses habitudes sous la direction et le patronage de l'occupant' (p. 25)

‘[d]évoiler cette femme, c'est mettre en évidence la beauté, c'est mettre à nu son secret, briser sa résistance, la faire disponible pour l'aventure' (p.26)

‘les relations fondées sur le respect absolu du père et sur le principe que la vérité est d'abord la propriété incontestée des anciens qui ne sont pas altérées. La pudeur, la honte, la peur de regarder le père, de parler tout haut en sa présence restent intactes.’ (p. 86)

Appendix 2: Some of the content of the Family Code in Salhi's journal article 'Algerian Women, Citizenship, and the 'Family Code'' (2003)

- (1) women must obey, respect and serve their husbands, parents and relatives.
- (2) Men were given the right to marry four women (institutionalisation of polygamy).
- (3) Women have never the right to ask for divorce while men can do it whenever and for whatever reason they want.
- (4) Women must breastfeed their children and take care of them until their adulthood.
- (5) A woman has no right to pass her name, nationality, or religion to her children.
- (6) Women will be excluded from the country's registration books in case they marry foreigners.
- (7) Women have no right to the family home and have no housing or financial support in case of divorce.

Appendix 3: Pictures of the feminists claims in the Hirak 2019 (downloaded from Google image)



Appendix 4: A picture of the badge worn during data collection



Appendix 5: A blank copy of the qualitative survey both in English and French (the translated version).

A Qualitative Open-Ended Survey (in English)

I am KASDI Radia, PhD student working on “Rai Music in Algeria” in Canterbury Christ Church University, UK; supervised by Pr. Shane BLACKMAN (e-mail address: shane.blackman@Canterbury.ac.uk). First, I would like to thank you for agreeing to take part in this survey which aims to know your opinion about music in Algeria, in general, and Rai genre in particular. The intentions from this survey are completely professional, hence, be sure that your answers will be kept in the strict confidentiality.

- 1. How old Are? 15-20 21-25 26-30 more than 30
- 2. Are you a student? Yes No
- 3. Do you listen to music? Yes No

In case yes, how often do you listen to it?

.....

- 4. What type of music do you listen to? Chaabi Kabyle Rai Other
- (you can tick more than one)

In case other, can you give an example?

.....

- 5. Are there any types of music that you dislike? Yes No

If so, Why?

.....

- 6. Which is the leading music genre in Algeria, according to you? Why?

.....

- 7. What do you think about Rai music?

.....
.....
.....
8. Name Rai singer(s) you listen to the most? Why?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

9. People believe that there are two types of Rai: “old” and “modern”, do you agree with that?

Yes No

If yes, what is the difference between the two?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

10. Why do some Algerians negatively criticise the female Rai singers? what do you think about them (female Rai singers) as persons and as professionals?

.....
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.....
.....

11. Recently, Algerian audience became influenced by some male Franco-Algerian singers namely

Soolking and l’Algerino, Are you? Yes No

What is the reason behind this influence?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

12. Many characteristics are shared by female Rai singers and male Franco-Algerian singers (autotune, bold lyrics, bold clips, etc.), yet the Algerian audience appreciate that most from the male category; according to you, why this “tolerance” for the males and not the females?

.....
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.....

13. Can you listen to Rai music in front of your family? Yes No
When is it/ is it not appropriate to listen to Rai music?

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.....
.....
.....
.....

14. Why do some families prohibit their children (especially girls) from listening to Rai music in some regions in Algeria?

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.....
.....
.....

15. Why is it that women in general and female singers of particular genres are given less respect in Algeria?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you

A Qualitative Open-ended Survey (In French)

Je m'appelle KASDI Radia, doctorante à l'université Canterbury Christ Church, RU. Je travaille sur « LeRaï en Algérie ». Je suis supervisée par Pr. Shane BLACKMAN (adresse mail : shane.blackman@canterbury.ac.uk). Je veux vous remercier en premier lieu d'avoir accepté de faire partie dans ce sondage qui a comme objectif connaître votre opinion à propos de la musique Algérienne en général, et le Raï en particulier. Notre intention est purement professionnelle, c'est pour cela soyez sûrs que vos réponses seront gardées confidentielles.

1. Quel âge avez-vous ? 15-20 21-25 26-30 plus que 30
2. Etes-vous étudiant (e) ? Oui Non
3. Vous Ecoutez la musique ? Oui Non

En cas c'est oui, combien de temps écoutez-vous souvent de la musique ?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

4. Quel genre de musique vous écoutez ? Chabbi Kabyle Raï Autre (vous pouvez choisir plus qu'un)

En cas c'est autre, pouvez-vous citer un exemple ou plus ?

.....
.....
.....

5. Y a-t-il un (ou plusieurs) genre (s) de musique que vous n'appréciez pas ? Oui Non

En cas c'est oui, pouvez-vous citer ce(s) genre (s) et la raison pour laquelle vous ne l'appréciez pas ?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

6. Selon vous qui est le genre musical dominant en Algérie ? Pourquoi ?

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.....
.....
7. Que pensez-vous du Raï ?

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.....

8. Citez quelques chanteurs du Raï que vous écoutez. Pourquoi ce choix ?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

9. Les gens croient qu'il y'a deux types de Raï : « ancien » et « moderne », est ce que vous êtes d'accord ? Oui Non

En cas c'est oui, quelle est la différence entre les deux ?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

10. Pourquoi quelques Algériens critiquent négativement les chanteuses du Raï ? Que pensez-vous d'elles étant personnes et chanteuses ?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

11. Récemment, l'audience Algérienne est influencée par quelques chanteurs Franco-Algériens tout comme l'Algérino et Soolking, l'êtes-vous aussi ? Oui Non

Quelle est la raison derrière cette influence ?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

12. Plusieurs critères sont en commun entre les chanteuses du Raï et les chanteurs Franco-Algériens (robotique, les paroles osées, les clips osés, etc.), mais l'audience Algérienne apprécie ces critères plus chez la catégorie masculine que féminine, selon vous pourquoi cette « tolérance » masculine non pas féminine ?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

13. Pouvez-vous écoutez du Raï avec la présence de votre famille ? Oui Non
Quand est-ce qu'il est approprié d'écouter du Rai, et quand est-ce qu'il ne l'est pas ?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

14. Pourquoi quelques familles interdisent à leurs enfants (particulièrement les filles) d'écouter du Raï dans quelques régions Algériennes ?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

15. Pourquoi est-ce que les femmes en général et les chanteuses en particulier sont moins respectées en Algérie ?

.....
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.....
.....
.....

Merci

Appendix 6: A copy of the consent form



CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Gendered Perception of Singers in Algeria. A Case Study of Female Raï Singers and Franco-Algerian Freestyle Male Singers.

Name of Researcher: Radia KASDI

Contact details:

Address:

| |
|--|
| Faculty of Arts and Humanities North Holmes Rd, Canterbury, Kent CT1 1QU |
|--|

Tel:

| |
|--------------|
| 01227 767700 |
|--------------|

Email:

| |
|-----------------------------|
| r.kasdi256@canterbury.ac.uk |
|-----------------------------|

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I understand that any personal information that I provide to the researchers will be kept strictly confidential
4. I agree to take part in the above study.
5. I agree that this interview will be recorded

| |
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| |
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| | | |
|--|-------|------------|
| Name of Participant: | Date: | Signature: |
| Name of person taking consent (if different from researcher) | Date: | Signature: |
| Researcher: | Date: | Signature: |

Copies: 1 for participant
1 for researcher

Appendix 7: A copy of some of my fieldnotes

17/08/2019
 Conference of press of
 "Belle Mait's de Tigrizit"

People present to be asked

- * Train of Tigrizit
- * President of ONDA: Mass
- * Dj HAKIM
- * the responsible of communication

* Did receive any difficulties this year like last year?
 → It was easier to get the ~~the~~ permission compared to last year

* why the tickets are so expensive and different between the singles?
 → it is ~~is~~ → you have to bare in

* mind the bring a single from France differs and costs a lot compared to the one living here (charges are a lot) → plan for the staff tickets

6 • what's new in this edition?
 7 ↳ the Rai song
 7 ↳ ~~the~~ Belle sco (keep an account of the money obtained to associations of protecting the environment)

9 • How do you select? Have you thought about the young adults here in the region

20 ↳ the big name (for an economic reason)
 11 ↳ there are other activities by the beach why new talents are given chance

N.B
 12 ↳ this is a big stage (Zemyte in plain air - 6)

Scanned by TapScanner

50 * the room has 860 sets (2 entries)
 * nearly 14:30, the blinds are still closed but we can hear the singer (female) doing her last part behind the scene along her orchestra.

51 * the room doors were
 14:40 the audience is growing now to over around 300 (more younger adults are coming now - around 20 years old-)

52 * 14:55 the blinds were opened (some people clapped - around 4)

54 * In the video hall were 5 men (Hassan's ~~and~~ 3 women (Hassan's wife & the singer) and another) ↳ it was in his house

55 * They played a documentary of Amin filmed in 29.03.2001 about the meeting of the singer with the director of the film Hassani in his house in Lille (France)

56 * one of the men was "has" friend who contacted the female singer the filmmaker was the ~~the~~ of "the has"

57 * 16:10: ~~the~~ Arzeki Duabi songs - Matthieu and Amrah Intas madhyas

01

Scanned by TapScanner

Appendix 8: a copy of the coded surveys' responses

9. People believe that there are two types of Rai: "old" and "modern", do you agree with that?

Yes No

If yes, what is the difference between the two?

* The old one was pure clean the lyrics were respectable but the modern one if I can say dirty yes it is it's bad and they use dirty lyrics.

10. Why do some Algerians negatively criticise the female Rai singers? what do you think about them (female Rai singers) as persons and as professionals?

* Because they don't respect their self how would them respect them? they just put that badly they wear half clothes! and even they don't have a beautiful voice, their songs are senseless.

11. Recently, Algerian audience became influenced by some male Franco-Algerian singers namely Soolking and l'Algerino, Are you? Yes No

What is the reason behind this influence?

* I think because they are Algerian first and they are famous not just in Algeria but also in other countries.

12. Many characteristics are shared by female Rai singers and male Franco-Algerian singers (autotune, bold lyrics, bold clips, etc.), yet the Algerian audience appreciate that most from the male category; according to you, why this "tolerance" for the males and not the females?

No idea.

13. Can you listen to Rai music in front of your family? Yes No

When is it/ is it not appropriate to listen to Rai music?

For the time being I think is not appropriate.

14. Why do some families prohibit their children (especially girls) from listening to Rai music in some regions in Algeria?

M

9. People believe that there are two types of Rai: "old" and "modern", do you agree with that?

Yes No

If yes, what is the difference between the two?

.....

.....

.....

10. Why do some Algerians negatively criticise the female Rai singers? what do you think about them (female Rai singers) as persons and as professionals?

(*) because they are materialist persons and they are searching for money everywhere.

.....

.....

11. Recently, Algerian audience became influenced by some male Franco-Algerian singers namely Soolking and l'Algerino, Are you? Yes No

What is the reason behind this influence?

(*) (*) (*) Because most of Algerians think that France is perfect and all what is from France is good.

.....

12. Many characteristics are shared by female Rai singers and male Franco-Algerian singers (autotune, bold lyrics, bold clips, etc.), yet the Algerian audience appreciate that most from the male category; according to you, why this "tolerance" for the males and not the females?

In Algeria men can do what he wants but for the women the society don't allow that.

.....

.....

13. Can you listen to Rai music in front of your family? Yes No

When is it/ Is it not appropriate to listen to Rai music?

You can't listen because usually they lyrics are bad.

.....

.....

14. Why do some families prohibit their children (especially girls) from listening to Rai music in some regions in Algeria?

Appendix 9: a copy of an interview transcription

How old are you? Are you a student?

Student, 18 years old.

What do you do in your free time?

I sleep, I watch a movie from time to time, but most of my free time I spend on sleeping.

Do you listen to music?

Yes, a lot.

How often do you listen to it?

I listen to it a lot; any other, when I am angry, I listen to music, especially when I am sad and happy but not in normal situations.

What type of music do you listen to the most?

Rai. [why?] maybe because of the lyrics as I feel them. It's not only about the rhythm but also the lyrics. I feel that the lyrics reflect me. According to me, these singers were inspired from people's experiences otherwise they would not be able to talk about things that have already existed.

In which context you felt that this type of music reflects you?

Well, you know why most of people listen to music when you are deeply in love you listen to music. Even there, they sing about these things [love/sex] "he left me" "he did to me this and that". Maybe because I lived the same experience that I enjoy listening to Rai.

Which singer female/male you listen to the most these days?

Soefling [why?] maybe because he is the one that most of people listen to recently. Maybe because he sings good, he has good lyrics. I like listening to him because he is good.

Your music playlist, is full of mostly local music or international one?

Algerian, because as I told you I love listening to Rai. I mostly listen to French while I don't listen to English. In all, it consists mostly of Rai, Rai songs and Rai ones.

Is this choice due to a feeling of pride or just the fact of reflecting?

No, it's just because these songs are the ones which touch me, as I already explained Rai touches my emotion while Barber makes me dance as I really love to dance.

So, on which bases do you select your songs?

When I am sad, I like listening to sad music. [do you give more importance to texts or music?] no, texts because sometimes even when the music is good but the lyrics are not, the whole song becomes meaningless.

According to you which is the leading genre in Algeria?

Rai because it is the most listened genre by people.

It's the case here in Algeria?

No, they do not like it because they consider it as a shame. Rai is not good. If you hear anybody who tells you to listen to Rai; in reality they are insulting you. I do not know why. Maybe because they have generalized the idea of Rai being not good though there are some good Rai songs.

So, you believe in this statement of "good/bad" Rai?

Chabba Sevak, Kader Japonais, Cheb Sidi, Hayat Mignon, Cheb Amine, Cheb Hicham.

Among all these singers you have listed only one was a female, what do you think about female Rai singers?

Well, I listen to songs of Chabba Sevak sometimes around 2 and I think that they are really good telling a story that is based by other people with good lyrics. I don't listen a lot to other female singers. I do not have an issue with them, it's their life and they can live it the way they want, however, I cannot listen to Chabba Sevak even if you tell me.

Can you suggest to people younger than you to listen to Rai music?

No [Why?] because they may be influenced by them in the future.

Most of Algerian people negatively criticize female Rai singers, what do you think about that?

They are right, so it was these singers who projected this bad image about themselves (style, behaviour, pictures). The way they keep changing their style like their haircuts, the colour they wear, I am not saying that these things are wrong, but not in our society, people reject girls adopting such behaviour. Also, the pictures they post reinforce the negative image people have about them.

What makes you say these things about them?

Basically, our country is a religious one. There are some acts that we do not have to do, maybe in other countries it is accepted: posting pictures with different roots, faking her body, tattoos, singing in night clubs. How can people look them in the case?

Do you believe that female Rai singers are given less opportunities than their male mates?

No, they are not because they are becoming more and more successful. It is true that they are not given the same opportunities as males, for example, singing in formal sites, but I think that the reason behind that is the fact people reject them and if they sing in those places, they may be beaten by the presenters there. Maybe if they accept to change themselves and perform in the way their mates usually do, they will be more accepted and reduce the danger of being harassed by hater.

What do you think about these singers and their performance?

I love Chabba Sevak a lot. I cannot handle the way she sings.

Recently, young Algerian females added to a new wave of Algerian Rai in France, are you addicted to them? according to you what is the reason behind this addiction?

Yes, I am addicted to them because their music is the best. I like when Algerians include some Arabic words to his songs. [Do you understand the lyrics?] whenever he releases a new song, I go find it on YouTube and watch the translated version to be able to understand the lyrics. I love her but they are known and that they are disliked because I do not listen to French singers.

Many criteria are shared between these male singers and female Rai singers (arrogance, bold lyrics, bold clips, etc.) yet Algerian audience has more a male "tolerance" compared to the females, why is that?

Maybe because men are free to do everything that exists in our country, and the fact that these males have accepted the way they perform, the way they sing, the way they dress, they are accepted in our country, it will not be a disgrace, even if she does something good, she is still considered not good.

Do you believe that not only female singers but women in general are oppressed in Algeria?

Yes, she is. Even if you hear that women now are given more rights making them equal with men, yet she is still oppressed. Women are still oppressed.

Of course, there are good and bad singers. There are some sing well while others not. [do you listen to both categories?] I listen to, but more, I only listen clean Rai. [what do you call "clean" Rai?] the one which does not contain bad lyrics, deals only with people's concerns. Singers who think what to sing, and respect themselves and the others. For this reason, you find most of people generalize the wrong idea on the whole genre.

What do you, personally, think about Rai music?

I personally love Rai, and I listen to it as a good or bad.

Do you follow Rai singers on their social media?

Yes [males or females?]/females.

Can you admit that in front of people? Do you react to their activities and posts?

I only follow them on YouTube not on Instagram or Facebook as it is a disgrace. In some people find out that you are following them they will consider you as well as being a bad person. That is why I follow them on YouTube only and read the comments on their videos to see which singer is harassed the most, and find out which they like and the one they don't. [Do you mean males or/and females?]/no, females. Males are not harassed, only those who act like girls. [do you agree with these announcements?] yes, when it is, it might say the singer's name, Chabba Sevak, I think of what has been said about her is still little and nothing because last time all the pictures have been hacked who she was with men, so she deserves that. She does not have values and does not respect herself, she sings whatever, and wears whatever.

Can you listen to Rai in front of your family?

Never, I played once a Rai song while I was washing the dishes, and suddenly I turned around and found my father as the kitchen talking "daughter! if you become listening to these singers, nothing is left to be said". Since that day, I became careful and confirm that my father is not there whenever I play a Rai song.

When is it appropriate and not appropriate to listen to Rai music in front of your family?

Whenever I listen to Rai music at home really while doing house duties, I always wear headphones, I need to listen to music while doing house cleaning to feel this work easier, but at the same time can't let my family members hear what I am listening that is why I put headphones. However, in places that you cannot avoid like public places or working where you hear in a CD shop or a DJ playing a Rai song, here, there is no escape we listen to it together.

Can you dance to a Rai song in weddings?

No, I can dance to it whenever I see other people dancing to that song. My dance depends on other people's dance, you know here we like for people's eyes. If we see the one to dance, I would go with the flow and dance even if I would be alone, but some people are the ones to judge I am obliged to go with their opinion. [does your family prevent you from dancing to some songs though other people are dancing to it?] yes, many times. How do you feel about that? sometimes, I ignore their advice, and sometimes obey and come back to my own leaving my heart on the dancing floor, but I say to myself that they see this song inappropriate making from me a bad person in the eyes of other people when they are dancing to such a song. My family cares about my reputation.

According to you, why do some families prevent their children especially girls from listening to Rai?

Why? Well, my mother has never told me to not listen to Rai, therefore, I don't know, but maybe because it is not good.

Can you give me some names of Rai singers that you listen to?

to be considered at wedding session

up

Join Helen

males

Appendix 10: A copy of some of the memos

(*)

Qualitative Open-Ended Surveys' Results Description and Analysis Rachid KASSOU

Introduction

In this section I am going to deal with the description and analysis of the results obtained from one qualitative open-ended survey. The latter consisted of 15 open questions. Most of these questions were open-ended, there were five close-ended ones, yet accompanied with a few open-ended questions. The reason of this addition is to obtain more qualitative data on the research in question in return. Around 130 surveys have been distributed in Algerian young adult, middle-aged between 15 to 35 (representatively). As a first stage, I have distributed around 30 surveys for Algerian PhD students living in the UK, and then distributed the rest to Algerian young adults (mainly students) once back home in Algeria at a second stage. In this part of the work, I am going to deal with each question asked relying to answers from the surveys which I found as most "debatable" ones. Some pie and bar charts are included with no aim to present quantitative data but rather to give a general idea for the reader about the overall answers of the close-ended questions. Last but not least, random foreign proper names were given to participants when I have quoted below. I decided to not give their random Arabic names as I did not know their real names, or, afraid to fall haplessly on their names I decided to give them foreign ones (in Algeria they do not name people with western names, only Arabic or Berber ones).

The results

As previously mentioned in the introduction, the survey contained 15 questions; the first three ones were close-ended questions (except the third one containing a sub-question of frequency). The first question was about the participants' age, as the pie chart on the left shows four age categories were suggested (15-20, 21-25, 26-30 and more than 30). More than half of the participants were aged from 15 to 20 while the category of more than 30 years old formed the least category of the participants with only 25%. The second question was about to know whether the participants were students or not taking the form of a Yes/No question, and in the pie chart on the right (illustration almost all the interviewees were students while the smallest group of them were not students (they were graduated and started their professional career mainly teaching).

AGE



PROFESSION



The third question was also in a form of a Yes/No question about whether the participants listen to music or not, and to back this question, a frequency question was added to know when or how often those who answered with a YES listen to music. Only one participant has answered by a NO, all the other ones have said that they do listen to music in a daily basis generally during their free time, while driving, walking by their own, doing house duties (in the case of females), being hired, and so, in the case of some, right before going to sleep.

MUSIC PREFERENCE

Arabic / Other



As far as the fourth question is concerned, it is worth mentioning that I have modified its content after the first stage of the distribution. The question was kept the same (what type of music do you listen to?), but the suggested genres have been modified where in the first stage, Rai/Pop/ Rap/R&B were the genres which were included. However, due to some comments which came from participants of the first stage (PhD students) asking me about the reason why inserting only one Algerian genre and ignoring the others, I decided to keep the special of genres to Algeria ones adding "Other" and as a "recap" question to leave the floor open for other responses. The new suggested genres then were: Chaabi/ Kabyle/Rai/ Other. It is worth

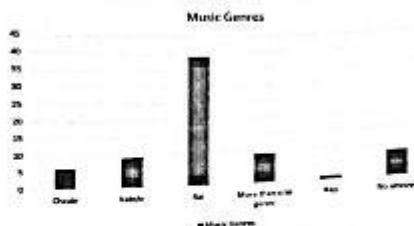
mentioning that while describing and analyzing, I joined together both of the old and new forms of the question. In effect, the answers varied. However, it was common between most of the participants (likes to listen to two types of music. More than half of the respondents have ticked more than two answers (in some cases they ticked all the boxes or answered by words saying that they listen to all types of music). Within this category of respondents, a significant number of them have chosen Rai music in their choice. Additionally, a considerable number of respondents have ticked the box of "Other" only; providing further examples as the question asked. Examples varied for this question, yet the answer that mainly was coming back was that of Rai and Pop but in French or English; others have given other types of music mainly Latino, Country, Jazz, Middle-Eastern, Rock/Metal, Religious Pop and some other Algerian genres that have not been mentioned before namely Arabika. This gave me the impression of how the Algerian audience mainly young adults have become open and accepting to the western world and its culture. There are other respondents who mentioned that they liked to listen to one specific genre and limited themselves to the box of that genre such as Kabyle (around four respondents), Pop (around two respondents) and Rai (around four respondents).

The fifth question was about the music genre that is disliked by the participants and the reason for this dislike. Though a considerable number of the respondents (around a third) have said that there was no specific genre of music that they hated, the majority opted for the opposite. More than two thirds of the participants have said that they disliked certain genres of music and have justified their answers. For the answer of this question, I succeeded in classify them into three categories: those who disliked local genres, the respondents who mentioned that they did dislike certain genres of music without specifying them focused mainly on songs (of different genres) rather than genres themselves. The main reason for their hate as stated by many participants was the loudness that characterizes a specific genre or created by the use of some instruments leading by that to disturbance and loss of interest. The other reason is the wrong choice of topics and lyrics that many described as "too sexual" or "misleading" presenting non-humanistic acts as said by Anna "... I love all types of music or song in the first place but I promise any hate speech or segregation or had influence on vulnerable people" a similar point developed by Olivia who said "I used to dislike listening to people who singing in 'non-sense' by 'non-sense' I mean song [sic] which provide outside, wrong, ...". For the category who disliked some foreign genre, the majority have opted for the Rock music being it local with aggressive lyrics as described by Sophie saying "I don't like hard rock because it

gives me a headache, I tried many times thinking as to when some of my friends suggest titles but I realized that it is only a matter of subjective matter and words describing my own and mind. So, what is the point of I don't enjoy it" and Miled who simply said "I dislike Rai and any music with an Arabic words". Hence, some people are quite particular genres of music that have words, but may be found "harsh" or "harred" in certain countries, but considered as taboo in other countries as it is the case of the Algeria (with some exceptions). I kept the category of the participants who disliked local genres of music to the end because personally I was moved by this finding. More than a half of the people who said that they hated some genres of music have opted for local music genres, moreover, the most interesting thing is that except for those people who opted for Chaabi (two in frequency) and Old Kabyle (one frequency) being, according to them, having all the other participants have mentioned Rai music putting emphasis on the "modern" one as said by some or "harred" not as said by others. Just like those who hated Rock, those who hated Rai asserted that the reason was the fact that genre was noisy, with bold lyrics and so resulting in said by Diana "I do not like modern Rai, the voice of singers is so an excessive noise, the lyrics are meaningless and music is loud", also Catherine telling that "... it is meaningless, all they care about is money [sic]. No content and no message". Jovana as well expressed another opinion saying "I don't know why [sic], I think they just use words in a not a real way". The additional thing was the fact that Rai is a genre of music which belongs to Algeria meaning evolved in a conservative society, but recently reflects none of the latter's criteria as said by Jessica "[I] dislike Rai music because it connotes the pure traditional music [sic] that represents [sic] Algeria" (a phrase added). Another reason for hating Rai was found to be ethnic and racist to some extent as that Julia "Rai music, because I don't like it, I don't like to listen to an Arabic singer" (emphasis added). Algeria is known to be Arabic, but has ethnic tribes known as Berbers who had long been in struggle with the government asking for the Berbers became recognized as Arabs (equality). For this reason, there is a certain clash between the two groups (each is rejecting the culture of the other as a matter of pride) with exceptions.

The sixth question was about the opinion of the participants about the leading music genre in their country with a justification to their answer. The responses are presented in a bar chart below. As it shows, Rai music is on the top of the answers as, according to them, Rai is the music of the youth who represents, as Malik says "72% of the Algerian population" (translated from French).

could be better with another content



Another reason is that Rai deals freely with topics that can't be related to the expression of its lyrics as said by Emma "... it gives huge psychology among the youth, it takes all sorts of life in Algeria into consideration and it speaks frankly about the issues of the youth and women without any restriction (sexuality, adolescence, sex, love, financial problems, drugs, political corruption, ...)" this idea was shared by many other participants such as Claudia "... it encompasses recent generations' feeling, experiences and lived situations, especially the matter of "love". On the other hand, some other participants preferred not to limit themselves to one genre, instead, they referred to more than one genre as, according to them, it was easier to select genres, instead, they referred to more than one genre as, according to them, it was easier to select one specific genre while each genre is popular in one region as expressed by Marnia "I don't think there is a leading genre because each region is favored of its own type", also because Algeria is rich in its music and this has been during wedding parties (from different regions), finding it hard to specify one leading genre as claimed by Anna "... Algeria is big and diverse and every region has got its own unique type of music yet this type is not exclusive. We can see in marriages in Algeria that all types of music songs are played and people dance and enjoy it, they don't say "let's not dance because this music is not our region's". It is worth mentioning that participants who opted for the Kabyle music genre was due to essential identity as they were all Berbers as it can be seen in these two answers "Kabyle, because we have the best singers like M'hammed Louane", "Kabyle, because for me it is the most interesting language that you can listen to or speak it deserves [sic]".

show why

In the seventh question, I have asked the participants about their opinion concerning Rai music. Though its simplicity, this question was among the most debatable ones in this survey. Each participant has given a point of view that could hardly be categorized to another participant's response, yet I managed to classify the answers into four sections (1) participants who gave a neutral point of view; (2) participants who were PARTIALLY for Rai; (3) participants who were COMPLETELY for Rai and (4) participants who COMPLETELY against Rai. As for the first section, some participants decided to not give their personal point of view as they do not listen to Rai, for instance, they limited their answers to just giving facts about the genre of music as given by Mark "Rai is a style of music which is very popular in Algeria" (translated from French), and Vanessa "Rai is one of the popular style of music in Algeria specifically in the west as it is the original place of it...". Concerning informants who were partially for Rai music, they could be divided into two further subsections: (a) those who identified two types of Rai music and listen to only one of them and (b) those who were selective to Rai songs they listen to without taking the genre into consideration. Some of the participants who were partially for Rai were more precise in their answer where they said that they enjoyed listening to Rai music however not any Rai, but Rai of ancient times. They considered it as being meaningful, respectful and the singers were more talented while the modern one is nonsense, uninteresting, noisy and has commercial interest (money) as its unique objective. The answers were pretty expressive, like that of Paul who said "Rai music is declining before it was good while listening to it but now it has so many [sic]" (French added); Joseph as well had his opinion to share "In the 90's and early 2000 it was good performed by good artists, but now it has it's [sic] whereas [sic] because of the new worthy artists who does it now". John shared the same point as Joseph by blaming the new wave of Rai artists for "ruining" this music genre, he said "Rai was a good type of music in the past but I think that the new generations of singers ruined it". Not only male participants, even females shared a similar view point as Jennifer who claimed "Well, the old Rai music is not that bad, but the actual Rai is a complete disaster, it has no music, the rhythm [sic] is fine but the lyrics are terrible...". On the other hand, there were the participants who were partially for Rai but they preferred to be selective to accept not periods in it they might find interesting songs both in the "old" and "modern" Rai and reject other songs of both types what mattered for them was to find a meaningful song, with good lyrics, a piece of art that could be enjoyed with the presence of someone's family member with no need to feel ashamed or embarrassed. This was found in the participants' answers as that of Emma who found Rai as "... a realistic genre of music. Some of it contains offensive and disrespectful words (one cannot listen to them with friends or family). On contrast, other singers and songs are

classified

show a diagram

respectful and attract life in Algeria for themselves)", and Victoria "... Personally, there are some songs that I enjoy listening to, but there are others that I really dislike because of the vulgarity and the violence of the language they use". As far as the third section is concerned, there were participants who were completely for Rai music as they found it, as some described it in single terms, "good", "interesting", "enjoyable", "best music" and others who loved it during specific periods of their life like weddings or while driving, and simply because it best reflected the situation of Algerians in a freestyle. On this concern, Claudia said "I personally dislike "Van" music because it has a very good musical rhythm, and vocal connection, and even spontaneously it touches individual's emotions". Layla also enjoyed Rai music as it offered singers the right of expressing themselves as they wanted "I think that's one of the best genres where there is much freedom of expressing". Emily had another positive vision concerning Rai as she asserted "For me, singers of that genre always find the best rhythm [sic] to make people sing or dance on their songs. I LOVE them". Rai music is loved by some people like Emily simply because it makes them feel happy and move to its good rhythm. Last but not least, the last section that could have been recognized for the seventh question is that of participants who were completely against Rai music. This category of people considers Rai as being too "loud", "a waste of time", "shameless", not only with no message and meaning but also it does not reflect the Algerian belonging as said by some participants like Sophie "For me, I use it as a bit boring. Maybe because I don't like this type, I don't see it as something worth listening", also, Kady "Honestly, I think it has no meaning, and so far from art, maybe the beat is good but words are awful"; and Nicole "For me, Rai music is not my cup of tea. I don't prefer this sort of music since it doesn't reflect neither my personality nor my background".

The question eight consisted of providing names of Rai singers whom the participants listened to the most with a justification. The main finding here was that the majority of the informants listened to male Rai singers only due to, according to their answers, their good lyrics and the messages that their songs deliver which set their personal experiences. Among the Male Rai singers whose names were frequently cited "Bibal Sghai", "Hassid", "Chab Billa", "Chab Akil", "Khalid" and "Kader Jeyouan". A minority of the participants (less than a third) have given the names of some female singers, those who belong to the category of Old Rai as Claudia Ramezini, Zahouena, Chaba Khira and those who belong to the category of Modern Rai as Waïda Charfouat, Chabba Saad, Chabba Sakal, etc. According to Anna these singers (be them male or female) "are truly Rai singers, they sing Rai with pride and they expressed it outside Algeria, they were really successful, they are stars, they have the theater in England, we

have Chaba Khira in Algeria and Chab Khira. I love mainly their melody, their harmony, they speak their mind and the minds of the society, they truly depict the vision of the youth without trying to be perfect, they even use some vulgar words that don't deny the fact they are common in our society and that's why I love them". According to Anna, then, using vulgar lyrics is not a break of taboo or one country's norms, but rather revealing the real face of the Algerian society i.e. rejecting hypocrisy and be real no matter what the price will be.

As a ninth question, I asked the participants whether they agreed or not with the existence of Old and Modern Rai and explain the difference between the two. As the pie chart shows more than two thirds of the participants agreed on the idea of the existence of two types of Rai music namely Old Rai and Modern Rai while few others disagreed with this idea, and only a minority had a neutral point of view. For those who agreed their explanations varied where there was a good number of them who said that the main difference was the addition of new



instruments and styles, singers of modern Rai use the sekenna which is found by some as making the songs noisy. Another difference which was given was that of "intensity" where the Old Rai had better lyrics and that it is better only with social issues, making it possible to listen to it with the presence of the family (old people used to listen to Rai) as said by Patricia "Old Rai was better than the Modern one as my parents used to listen to it but not anymore, Chab Khira was the singer of Rai, however, nowadays many Chabba and Chabba sing only in order to gain fame" (translated from French); still dealing with listening to Rai in the presence of family members like Jennifer stated that "... the old Rai is so respectful it's the music you can listen to with your family, but the modern one is so vulgar and disrespectful you can't even listen to it by your own". Speaking about what Nicole had a thought to share saying that "The Old Rai was classic type of music if I might say this is the issue that the lyrics were more respectful, people were more conservative about certain things, however, nowadays Rai is in my eye,

Appendix 11: Abbas Madani' 'misoginist' speech in Fatima Mernissi's book Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World (2002)

'Our religion enjoins us to take counsel. The Prophet, may health be his, said: "Religion is counsel". ...So we have tried in all circumstances to consult with our brothers, to work together for the well-being of this community and this country. . . . We have seen moral calamities that have no connection with religion or with the traditions of the Algerian. Consumption of wine has become legal; mixing of the sexes in schools, lycees, and universities has led to the proliferation of bastards. Depravity has spread, and we see that women no longer cover themselves but display their bodies with makeup and naked for all to see both indoors and outdoors. Where then is the dignity of the Algerian man after his honor has been publicly flouted?' (p.155)

Appendix 12: Verses from the Qur'an entailing equal treatment/punishment between both genders

Source: <https://quran.com/>

Verse 49: 13

حَبِيرٌ عَلَيْهِمُ اللَّهُ إِنَّ أَنْفَعَكُمْ اللَّهُ عِنْدَ أَكْرَمِكُمْ إِنَّ تَعَارَفُوا وَقَبَائِلَ شُعُوبًا وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ وَأُنثَى ذَكَرٍ مِّنْ خَلَقْنَاكُمْ إِنَّا الْبَاقِيَاتُ بِأَيِّهَا

O humanity! Indeed, We created you from a male and a female, and made you into peoples and tribes so that you may 'get to' know one another. Surely the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous among you. Allah is truly All-Knowing, All-Aware.

Verse 24:2

الزَّانِيَةُ وَالزَّانِي فَاجْلِدُوا كُلَّ وَاحِدٍ مِّنْهُمَا مِائَةَ جَلْدَةٍ وَلَا تَأْخُذْكُمْ بِهِمَا رَأْفَةٌ فِي دِينِ اللَّهِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَلَيْشَهِدَ عَذَابَهُمَا طَائِفَةٌ مِّنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

As for female and male fornicators, give each of them one hundred lashes,¹ and do not let pity for them make you lenient in 'enforcing' the law of Allah, if you 'truly' believe in Allah and the Last Day. And let a number of believers witness their punishment.

Verse 16:97

مَنْ عَمِلَ صَالِحًا مِّنْ ذَكَرٍ أَوْ أُنْثَىٰ وَهُوَ مُؤْمِنٌ فَلَنُحْيِيَنَّهٗ حَيٰوةً طَيِّبَةً وَلَنَجْزِيَنَّهُمْ أَجْرَهُمْ بِأَحْسَنِ مَا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ

Whoever does good, whether male or female, and is a believer, We will surely bless them with a good life, and We will certainly reward them according to the best of their deeds.

Verse 4:34

الرِّجَالُ قَوَّامُونَ عَلَى النِّسَاءِ بِمَا فَضَّلَ اللَّهُ بَعْضَهُمْ عَلَى بَعْضٍ وَبِمَا أَنْفَقُوا مِنْ أَمْوَالِهِمْ ۚ فَالصَّالِحَاتُ قَنِينَاتٌ حَافِظَاتٌ لِّلْغَيْبِ بِمَا حَفِظَ اللَّهُ ۗ وَالَّتِي تَخَافُونَ نُسُوزَ هُنَّ قِعْظُهُنَّ وَأَهْجُرُوهُنَّ فِي الْمَضَاجِعِ وَأَضْرِبُوهُنَّ ۚ فَإِنْ أَطَعْنَكُمْ فَلَا تَبْغُوا عَلَيْهِنَّ سَبِيلاً ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ عَلِيمًا كَبِيرًا

Men are the caretakers of women, as men have been provisioned by Allah over women and tasked with supporting them financially. And righteous women are devoutly obedient and, when alone, protective of what Allah has entrusted them with.¹ And if you sense ill-conduct from your women, advise them 'first', 'if they persist,' do not share their beds, 'but if they still persist,' then discipline them 'gently'.² But if they change their ways, do not be unjust to them. Surely Allah is Most High, All-Great.

Appendix 13: The Singer's pictures from their social media platforms

The set of pictures that have been used to describe the singers are the following:

Female Rai singers

Chabba Kheira

Retrieved from her Instagram official account [cheba.kheira.official]



Chabba Warada Charlomanti

Retrieved from her Instagram official account [cheba_warda_charlomanti]





Chabba Souad

Retrieved from her Instagram official account [cheba_souad_]



Chabba Sabah

Retrieved from her Instagram official account [chaba.sabah.officiell]



L'Algerino

Retrieved from his Instagram official account [algerino_off] and Facebook [L'ALGERINO OFFICIEL]





Soolking

Retrieved from his Instagram official account [soolkingofficial] and Facebook [Soolking]





Lacrim

Retrieved from his Instagram official account [officielacrim] and Facebook [LACRIM VRAIE PAGE]





Lacrim - J'ai mal



Appendix 14: Pictures from the festival of BNT

From BNT Facebook Page:

HAKIM DJ EVENTS APC DE TIGZIRT
Organisent

PROGRAMME

- 01 AOUT: ALLAOUA
- 03 AOUT: RABAH ASMA
- 05 AOUT: ALGERIAD
- 06 AOUT: ALI FERHAT
- 07 AOUT: ALI AMRAN & AMER SESSOUR (1^{ère} PARTIE)
- 08 AOUT: AKIL D & SOUF (1^{ère} PARTIE)
- 09 AOUT: MOUWAD GUENBAS & SADAOU SAMIR
- 10 AOUT: ALLAOUA
- 11 AOUT: ALI AMRAN & STINA (1^{ère} PARTIE)
- 12 AOUT: AMEL ZEN & GHILES TERKI (1^{ère} PARTIE)

1^{ère} ÉDITION
BELLES NUITS DE TIGZIRT

Points de vente de tickets:
Cinéma Tizirt et sur place

Lieu : Espace Louni, Tizirt
Info : 0542 325 956 - 0554 778 664

ONDA PACTE IMMO MAGVISION

2^{ÈME} ÉDITION
BELLES NUITS DE TIGZIRT
DU 17 AU 23 AOUT À PARTIR DE 22H
ESPACE LOUNI

RABAH ASMA, TAOUS ARHAB ET KAMEL IGHAN: 06 AOUT 2019.
SAMIR SADAOU, MALIKA DOMRANE ET DAHAK: 07 AOUT 2019.
ALI AMRAN ET AMZIK: 17 AOUT 2019.
MOHAMED ALLAOUA: 18 AOUT 2019
& GHILES TERKI, NASSIMA AIT AMI

CHEB BILAL: 19 AOUT 2019.
KADER JAPONAIS: 22 AOUT 2019.
L'ALGERINO: 23 AOUT 2019.

Belecotizirt

APW DE TIZI OUZOU APC DE TIGZIRT







From my fieldwork's gallery:











Appendix 15: The speech of the compare given at L'Algerino's live event to announce this latter's arrival

'Tigzirt, good afternoon. How are you Tigzirt? Ladies and gentlemen, good afternoon and thank you for being here for the last evening of the big festival "Les Belles Nuits de Tigzirt". Ladies and gentlemen, my public, I missed you. Ladies and gentlemen, an event that has been organised by Ev Play headed by Hakim Bellout, Magvision headed by Hakim Lounis and Pacte Immo headed by Aziz Khial, and of course we thank our official sponsors: Berber Television for its mediatic cover, the town hall of Tigzirt, the Province's Assembly of Tizi-Ouzou, Essendou, Nouara, Massaessyle, Delux Video and IF Travel. A warm thank for this team. So, Tigzirt are you here? [yes!!!] just a second... let's try with the right side, ok? Tigzirt are you here tonight?!!! [right side: yes!!!] left side? [left side: yes!!!] and now for everybody: Tigzirt are you here?!!! [everyone: yes!!!] you are a wonderful public. Tonight, is the biggest show. With us L'Algerino!!! [audience screaming] and as he says, "tonight is l'Alge". Ladies and gentlemen, I wish you to have a great time, a stunning evening. A small detail, there is a small child who is called 'Yani Zouaoui' whose family is looking for him since a moment. Ladies and gentlemen, an applause for l'Algerino tonight. [the audience clapping and screaming] have a nice evening. Goodbye.'

Appendix 16: The list of singers performed at Les Belles Nuits de Tizirt's festivals (2018-2019)

Belles Nuits de Tizirt 2018

| Date | Singer | Gender | Music Genre |
|-------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| 01/08/2018 | Allaoua | Male | Amazigh Music |
| 02/08/2018 | Rabah Asma | Male | Amazigh Music |
| 05/08/2018 | L'Algerino | Male | French Rap |
| 06/08/2018 | Ali Farhati | Male | Amazigh Music |
| 09/08/2018 | Ali Amrane | Male | Amazigh Music |
| | Amer Sersseur | Male | Amazigh Music |
| 12/08/2018 | Akli D | Male | Amazigh Music |
| | Sorif | Male | Amazigh Music |
| 13/08/2018 | Mourad Guerbas | Male | Amazigh Music |
| | Samir Sadaoui | Male | Amazigh Music |
| 14/08/2018 | Allaoua | Male | Amazigh Music |
| 19/08/2018 | Ali Amrane | Male | Amazigh Music |
| | Stina | Female | Amazigh Music |
| 20/08/2018 | Amel Zen | Female | Pop, Rock and Amazigh Music |
| | Ghiles Terki | Male | Amazigh Music |

Belles Nuits de Tigzirt 2019

| Date | Singer | Gender | Music Genre |
|------------|-----------------|--------|---------------|
| 06/08/2019 | Rabah Asma | Male | Amazigh Music |
| | Taous Arhab | Female | Amazigh Music |
| | Kamel Igman | Male | Amazigh Music |
| 07/08/2019 | Samir Sadaoui | Male | Amazigh Music |
| | Malika Domrane | Female | Amazigh Music |
| | Dahak | Male | Amazigh Music |
| 17/08/2019 | Ali Amrane | Male | Amazigh Music |
| | Amzik (Band) | Males | Amazigh Music |
| 18/08/2019 | Mohamed Allaoua | Male | Amazigh Music |
| | Ghiles Terki | Male | Amazigh Music |
| | Nassima Ait Ami | Female | Amazigh Music |
| 19/08/2019 | Cheb Bilal | Male | Raï |
| 22/08/2018 | Kader Japonais | Male | Raï |
| 23/08/2019 | L'Algerino | Male | French Rap |

Appendix 17: The list of the songs referred to in the thesis

| Singer | Song's Title | Year of its Release | The link of the song on YouTube |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---|
| L'Algerino | Avec Le Sourire | 2011 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JSKMeTSKsfo |
| | Fleur Fanée | 2013 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qyCZb18Earo |
| | Hasni | 2015 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IuL6hqlWu1w |
| | Le Prince de la Ville | 2015 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q1ODxivy9Ks |
| | Banderas | 2016 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Goys33LLBUk |
| | Si Tu Savais (a Yema) | 2016 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aGySZ4qw2l8 |
| | Bawa | 2017 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SQ37DhrXX0U |
| | Les Menottes | 2017 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fvw4vOXyBPU |
| | Savastano | 2017 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YR0WJpQV_zg |
| | Adios (ft. Soolking) | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=adios |
| | Andalé | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=andale |
| | L'Hacienda | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=l%27hacienda |
| | International | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=international |
| | Va Bene | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=va+bene |
| | Lacrim | Pocket Coffee | 2014 |
| J'ai Mal | | 2015 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=j%27ai+mal |
| C'est ma Vie | | 2016 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=c%27est+ma+vie |
| Cheb Hasni | Oh Bah Oui | 2017 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=oh+bah+oui |
| | Jon Snow | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=jon+snow |
| | Matebkich | 1992 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=matbkich |

| | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|------|---|
| Cheb Khaled | Didi | 1992 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=didi |
| | Aïcha | 1996 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=aïcha |
| Soolking | Dalida | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=dalida |
| | Guerilla | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=guerilla+soolking |
| | Milano | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=milano |
| | Vroom Vroom | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=vroom+vroom |
| | W Ha Rayi | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jb4uXBJgrys |
| | La Liberté | 2019 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=la+liberte |
| Cheba Dalila | Ya Guelbi | 2015 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cOixi0OhcO4 |
| | Choufou Rwahkom Ki Dayrin | 2019 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hhfaIdOIVt4 |
| Cheba Kheira | Nsiteni Fi Moment Wa'er | 2005 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NXbbdpcCzh4 |
| Cheba Sabah | Hbib Rani Nbgjik | 2020 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=hbibi+rani+bghik |
| Cheba Souad | Dir Li Bouche à Bouche | 2015 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=dir+li+bouche+A+bouche |
| | A'chekna Rah Fi Khater | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=a%27chekna+rah+fi+khater |
| Cheba Warda Charlomanti | Megwani | 2015 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oNT9-wRWBFk |
| | Jibouli Bogossi | 2020 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ri0ezvAG9Hc |
| | Tellement Nebghik | 2020 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kD2NK-tOx3k |
| Samira L'oranaise | Hadarin Bezaf | 2020 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R52_WMIEwhA |

Appendix 18: The lists of songs played by each DJs (DJ Nissou and DJ B-Mike)

The list of songs played by DJ Nissou

| Song Title | Singer | Gender | Year of Release | The link of the song on YouTube |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|---|
| Vroom Vroom | Soolking | Male | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=vroom+vroom |
| Clandestina | L'Artiste | Male | 2016 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vw0Jg9ozQNM |
| Validé | Booba | Male | 2015 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=35_YJNHfKWA |
| Va Bene | La Fouine & Reda Taliani | Male | 2014 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dapXuCf5cJc |
| Aristocrate | Heuss L'Enfoiré | Male | 2019 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eKtXIePYoTY |
| Mama Africa | Mouh Milano & Zanga Crazy | Males | 2019 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GrQw2tBPID0 |
| Dalida | Soolking | Male | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=dalida |
| We Will Rock You | Queen | Males | 1977 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-tJYN-eG1zk |
| Slavitt Ay Avahri | Matoub Lounes | Male | -- | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HUXO6o2oNr4 |
| La Liberté | Soolking | Male | 2019 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=la+liberte |
| Milano | Soolking | Male | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=milano |
| Zemër | Soolking & Dhurata Dora | Male & Female | 2019 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GCpvmHi1gxU |

The list of songs played by DJ B-Mike

| Song Title | Singer | Gender | Year of Release | The link of the song on YouTube |
|------------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------|---|
| Mi Gente | J Balvin & Willy William | Males | 2017 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wnJ6LuUFpMo |
| Djadja | Aya Nakamura | Female | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iPGgnzc34tY |
| Taki Taki | DJ Snake, Selena Gomez, Ozuna and Cardi B | Males & Females | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ixkoVwKQaJg |
| A.W.A | Lacrim & French Montana | Males | 2014 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tOwuXkPII-s |
| Ce soir ne sors pas | Gims & Lacrim | Males | 2017 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rtx3VWuYNg4 |
| Ana Naachak Ana Ndelak | Cheb Houssam | Male | 2012 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b3jEPfFp2wg |
| Mi Gna | Gims, Super Sako & | Males | 2018 | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NtccSFkAhrM |

Appendix 19: The full lyrics of the discussed songs

Song 1: La Liberté

Singer: Soolking

Released: 14/03/2019

Lyrics (source: Google)

Paraît que le pouvoir s'achète
Liberté, c'est tout c'qui nous reste
Si le scénario se répète
On sera acteurs de la paix
Si faux, vos discours sont si faux
Ouais, si faux, qu'on a fini par s'y faire
Mais c'est fini, le verre est plein
En bas, ils crient, entends-tu leurs voix?
La voix d'ces familles pleines de chagrin
La voix qui prie pour un meilleur destin

Excuse-moi d'exister, excuse mes sentiments
Et si j'dis que j'suis heureux avec toi, je mens
Excuse-moi d'exister, excuse mes sentiments
Rends-moi ma liberté, je te l'demande gentiment
La liberté, la liberté, la liberté
C'est d'abord dans nos cœurs
La liberté, la liberté, la liberté
Nous, ça nous fait pas peur
La liberté, la liberté, la liberté
C'est d'abord dans nos cœurs
La liberté, la liberté, la liberté
Nous, ça nous fait pas peur

Ils ont cru qu'on était morts, ils ont dit "bon débarras"
Ils ont cru qu'on avait peur de ce passé tout noir
Il n'y a plus personne, que des photos, des mensonges
Que des pensées qui nous rongent, c'est bon, emmenez-moi là-bas
Oui, il n'y a plus personne, là-bas, il n'y a que le peuple
Che Guevara, Matoub, emmenez-moi là-bas
J'écris ça un soir pour un nouveau matin
Oui, j'écris pour y croire, l'avenir est incertain
Oui, j'écris car nous sommes, nous sommes main dans la main
Moi, j'écris car nous sommes la génération dorée
La liberté, la liberté, la liberté
[Refrain]
Libérez li rahi otage, libérez lmerhouma, kayen khalel f lqada'
Libérez ceux qui sont otages, nous, c'est tout c'qu'on a
On a que la liberta
W hna homa l'ibtila', ah ya houkouma, w nnar hadi ma tetfach
Ceci est notre message, notre ultima verba
Soolking w Ouled El Bahdja

Song 2: Algérie Mi Amor

Singer: L'Algérino

Released: 14/03/2019

Lyrics (source: Google)

Nkhaf 3lik a bladi wallah mani hani
Je pense à toi toutes les nuits, mon pays, ma famille
L'Algérie ma patrie pour qui je donnerai ma vie
On écrira l'histoire comme nos héros, nos martyrs
Nkhaf 3lik a bladi ah! men 3adiani
Nesma7 fik jamais haka bouya wesani
Bladi 3ziza 3lia ndirha fi 3inia
Ana weldek ntia ya manish berani

3la bladi ghebnouni, derouni, 3aynani
Soufirt, melit, meguani, khelouni
Je baisserai jamais les bras
Je garderai toujours la foi, moi
Comment te dire tout simplement je t'aime
Algérie mi amor, on t'aime à la vie à la mort
Le peuple te portera encore
Algérie mi amor (mi amor, mi amor)
Algérie mi amor (Algérie mi amor)
On t'aime à la vie à la mort
Le peuple te portera encore
Algérie mi amor

Nghir 3lik a bladi, hkili wesh rah sari
T'as toujours été forte, tu n'as jamais faili
Ils t'ont jamais compris, mais tu as toujours souri
Algérie pour la vie, 3lik nmed hyati
Atass ebghir amdinigh, di yemma ykmoufikh
Tessndiyi thamazigh talwith kan imevghir
Dzair fellam erghigh amkeni our oufigh
Anda telid eligh kemi kan tssamourthiw
3la bladi ghebnouni, derouni, 3aynani
Soufrit, melit, meguani, khelouni
Je baisserai jamais les bras
Je garderai toujours la foi moi
Comment te dire tout simplement je t'aime

Algerie mi amor, on t'aime à la vie à la mort
Le peuple te portera encore
Algérie mi amor (mi amor, mi amor)
Algérie mi amor (Algerie mi amor)
On t'aime à la vie à la mort
Le peuple te portera encore
Algérie mi amor (mi amor, mi amor)

Song 3: Bawa

Singer: L'Algérino

Released: 14/03/2019

Lyrics (source: Google)

Danse comme un Chaoui
Billets violets (500 euros)
Feuilles à rouler
Appelle les poulets
Une équipe de Berbères
Vient pour tout rafaler
Les capos c'est nous
Ne viens pas te mêler
J'passe pas à la télé
Tant qu'mes rebeus écoutent
J'ai rien à prouver
Danse comme un Chaoui
Mes Kbaylis, mes Rifis
Mes chlouhs et mes Arbis
Maroc, Algérie, Tunisie, Maghreb uni
Mes Berbères sont frais
Balenciaga

Nique tout sur la piste
Amène ta gow et tape du pied
Danse comme un Chaoui [x5]
Beloumi, beloumi
Danse comme un Chaoui

Rien qu'ils parlent de nous
Nous salissent dans les médias
J'ai repéré l'ennemi (ennemi, ennemi)
C'est seulement pour du pétrole
Qu'ils sont partis bombarder
L'Irak et la Lybie (ouh)
Imazighanes
On lâche rien (rien, rien)
On trouvera l'sommeil que

Lorsqu'on libèrera le peuple Palestinien
Danse comme un Chaoui (danse, danse)
Beloumi, beloumi (beloumi, beloumi)
Peuple d'insoumis

Paire de Buscemi
Berbère money (Berbère money)
Arab money (negro)
Cesse de la ramener
Ramène ton corps sur la piste et
Danse comme un Chaoui

Song 4: Jon Snow

Singer: Lacrim

Released: 21/12/2018

Lyrics (source: Google)

J'ai grandi seul, j'ai pas beaucoup d'attaches
C'est lorsque l'on s'ennuie que l'on fait des achats
J'reviens d'Colombie, j'attends mon bagage
J'essaie d'deviner quelle salope a d'la re-p' dans la chatte
Aucune honte à avoir
Ma mère avait du mal à payer son loyer mais grâce à Dieu, j'suis là pour elle
Le soir, j'me mets à boire, j'suis le même dans le miroir, elle
Fait 95D naturelle avec des yeux de miel
La même couleur qu'y a sous la crosse d'une Kalash
Les deux peuvent t'envoyer au ciel
Ils s'entendaient bien, c'était de vrais assoc'
Il lui a mis dans la tête pour une histoire d'oseille
Mon contrat vaut la baraque à Olivier Nusse, coño
J'vais pouvoir épouser Cendrillon, embryon
L'année d'avant, j'avais la Patek Nautilus, là, j'ai la Patek Tourbillon
Ils n'ont pas le même charisme, pas les mêmes épaules
Tu voudrais faire comme moi mais tu sais pas t'y prendre
Y a des gros gaillards dans la rue qui m'demandent des photos
Ils m'donnent leur téléphone, ils ont les mains qui tremblent
C'est vrai, je fume des joints, je suis l'jefe du coin
Que Dieu m'en soit témoin, oui, je reviens de loin
Tellement loin, j'aurais pu faire quelques affaires avec ton père
S'il était actif dans les années 2000
J'connais la trahison de l'homme et le vice de la femme
De la fleur qui se fane, de la douleur de la flamme
Puis, je connais celle qui avale et le bruit d'la rafale
J'connais des femmes, putain, c'est des merveilles
J'connais des mecs qui étaient chauds et qu'ont beaucoup parlé
Là, canon dans la bouche, ils ont pissé sur eux
On prend la route, un convoi, deux-trois voitures
Mes enfants, c'est leurs pères et tu le vois sur eux
Ils disent que j'vends du rêve, ouais, mais je les vis
J'te rassure, mes cauchemars sont aussi forts, j'ai un cœur
J'suis rempli en émotions (nique ta mère)
Mais toi, tu vois que mes chaussures
Beaucoup sur le dos, j'vais quand même t'aider
Force pas, sur ma colonne, y a des fissures
Elle me dit "je t'aime" dans une villa avec vue sur la mer
Mais dirait-elle pareil si toutes les fins d'mois, j'étais dans la merde
Le mental est fort, aussi fort que ton coffre-fort
J'fais des efforts, des grosses couilles et une barre de fer
Non-apprivoisé dans ma tour d'ivoire
Le pouvoir d'ivoire, oui, mon khey, va falloir t'y faire
Sur le banc des accusés
Tu lui dis qu'tu veux des gosses mais dans une tenue abusée, ouais, ouais

On compte plus ceux qu'on a blessés
J'te dis pas la note du resto, tu vas faire un AVC
Ce matin, j'ai pris le large
Après deux cent mètres à la nage
Allons prendre un petit déj', ma maison est à la page
Mais l'amour est à la déch'
Donc j'ai pris deux femmes de ménage, la peau du python est beige
Petit, t'as qu'à tourner la page
Mon cœur a brûlé dans la neige et mes dix ans près d'un chauffage
Puis, rangé dans un sarcophage
J'ai prié Dieu pour qu'on m'allège, le Tmax a tourné toute la nuit
J crois qu'j'vais me faire ce petit fils de pute en guise de sacrifice
Et comme dans Gomorra, je me vengerai sur la même place
Une rafale avec un beau feu d'artifice
J dors avec elle, je la vois me faire les poches, uh
J'frai semblant jusqu'à demain
Pour qu'cette petite pute s'imagine juste le temps d'une nuit que
Je n'suis pas le plus malin
C'est vrai, de temps à autre que le succès monte à la tête
Personnellement, c'est pas mon cas
Deux verres de vodka, ramène un compèt sur un coup d'tête
J'rentre en route dans le cabinet d'avocat, ok (ok, ok, ok)

Song 5: Guerilla

Singer: Soolking

Released: 23/01/2018

Lyrics (source: Google)

Rien n'a changé dans nos cœurs, c'est toujours la vida loca
Ouais chica passe au local, j'suis un démon magnifique
Ça sera toujours nous les coupables, coupables d'être africains
Coupable comme Kadhafi ou comme Nelson Mandela
Mama, c'est le moment, même on a trop souffert
Ma3lich, c'était écrit qu'on devait souffrir plus que les autres
Mais les autres et leurs fils ils nous ont tout pris
Donc moi j'vais voler chez les riches comme mon frère Patchi, la la la la

Je chante l'amour au milieu de cette Guérilla
Parce que j't'aimerai pour toujours mon Algeria
Je chante l'amour au milieu de cette Guérilla
Ils veulent pas la paix parce qu'ils connaissent pas la Guérilla
Dans nos têtes c'est toujours la Guérilla
Guéri-illa, Guérilla
Dans nos têtes c'est toujours la Guérilla
Guéri-illa, Guérilla
J'suis plus là, si tu me cherches j'suis plus là
Si elle me cherche j'suis plus là, si il me cherche j'suis plus là
Si tu me cherches j'suis plus là, elle me cherche j'suis plus là
Si tu me cherches j'suis plus là, dis-leur tous j'suis plus là

J'reviens de très très loin, tellement loin presque de chez les morts
J'ai rêvé qu'on était plus pauvres et que notre histoire triste n'était que des mots
Mais en vérité ils se sont évadés ou barricadés
Tu vas y arriver, mama m'a dis courage ya waldi
J'attends pas l'amour mon cœur est mort bébé
J'attends la paix et j'espère qu'elle va pas tarder
J'étais dans le trou et toi tu ne faisais que regarder
Maintenant viens pas me gratter continue de regarder (fils de pute)

Je chante l'amour au milieu de cette Guérilla
Parce que j't'aimerai pour toujours mon Algeria
Je chante l'amour au milieu de cette Guérilla
Ils veulent pas la paix parce qu'ils connaissent pas la Guérilla
Dans nos tête c'est toujours la Guérilla
Guéri-illa, Guérilla
Dans nos tête c'est toujours la Guérilla
Guéri-illa, Guérilla
J'suis plus là, si tu me cherches j'suis plus là
Si elle me cherche j'suis plus là, si il me cherche j'suis plus là
Tu me cherches j'suis plus là, elle me cherche j'suis plus là
Si tu me cherches j'suis plus là, dis-leur tous j'suis plus là

Sarbi l'atay ya zina, sarbi l'atay ya zina [x4]

Sarbi l'atay ya zina, eh [x4]

Song 6: Les Menottes (Tching Tchang Tchong)

Singer: L'Algerino

Released: 05/05/2017

Lyrics (source: Google)

Tchin tchang tchong (sabai dee)
Elle parle en thaïlandais (sabai dee)
Tu t'es mis dans la merde (t'as pas idée)

Ah elle t'a mis les menottes, ouais, ouais, ouais
Tu réponds plus aux potos, ouais, ouais, ouais
Elle fait la folle, elle fait la mac, ouais, ouais, ouais
En boîte toute la night tu attends son appel
Ah elle t'a mis les menottes, ouais, ouais, ouais
Tu réponds plus aux potos, ouais, ouais, ouais
Elle fait la folle, elle fait la mac, ouais, ouais, ouais
En boîte toute la night tu attends son appel

Nan, elle t'a pas jeté de sort, c'est toi qui est faible
Petit tailleur, Louboutin, c'est vrai qu'elle est trop fraîche
Tu veux l'impressionner en boîte tu vides le garage
Tu comptes l'amener à l'hôtel mais elle s'arrache
Elle s'arrache avec un autre, ouais, ouais, ouais
Elle s'est mise à ta table pour gratter deux-trois rres-ve
Elle te fait mal, mal, mal quand elle wine, wine, wine
Elle va te sucer ton sang et te dire bye, bye, bye

Elle va te tching tchang tchong (sabai dee)

Ah ah ah, tu t'es mis dans la merde, ouais, ouais
Laisse-moi finir mon pét' et je vais te dire la vérité
La frappe à dans la tête et je remets les Christian Dior
Oh cousin tu as coulé, tu vois pas tu t'endors
Elle veut son sac Céline, elle tenenew la maline
Rien qu'elle fait des lignes, ses narines c'est Medellín
Tu, tu t'es pris pour Mesrine, tu t'es pris pour Pablo
Elle veut pas de ta bague, elle veut l'Audi quatre anneaux

Song 7: Milano

Singer: Soolking

Released: 20/01/2018

Lyrics (source: Google)

Suis-moi hbiba, allons loin de tous nos problèmes
Sois courageuse comme Tata, la plata c'est mieux qu'les poèmes
Notre histoire sera si belle comme tes formes de sirène
Pour moi tu risquerais de tout perdre
Pour toi je prendrai dix ans fermes

Hbiba la-la-la-la-la, on va s'sauver, on va s'aimer
Faire de la monnaie
Hbiba la-la-la-la-la, on va s'sauver, on va s'aimer
Faire de la monnaie

La-la-la-la-la, c'est soit riche ou derrière les barreaux
La-la-la-la-la, vie de luxe, shopping à Milano
La-la-la-la-la, chérie donne-moi la mano
J'temmènerai loin de là là là, plus besoin de trabajo

Viens n'aie pas peur, bras lmima, viens n'aie pas peur
On va ver-squi le mauvais œil et l'commissaire
Ils veulent vivre notre vie, on veut entre millionnaires
T'es mi amore, ma complice, ma poto
Et si je bétom tu cacheras le butin
Tu recaleras les mythos, les hijo de puta
Toi et moi jusqu'à la muerte chiquita

Elle est comme moi cette fille-là
Elle me connaît cette fille-là
Elle est faite pour moi cette fille-là
Je veux le monde et cette fille-là

Remplis mon cœur de love, remplis le sac de lovés
Billets verts, billets mauves, on verra la vie en rose doré
Donne-moi la mano
Oh, oh

Song 8: Oh Bah Oui
Singers: Lacrim Ft. Booba
Released: 28/06/2017
Lyrics (source: Google)

J'me suis souvenu qu'les blessures du cœur
faisaient mal
Et que les larmes avaient le goût de la mer
La patience, une vertu, j'la garde pour mes
gosses
Ferme pas d'travers, on va te niquer ta
mère
J'connais des rappeurs, c'est comme des
nymphs
Pour une bite, ils iraient baisser leur robe
Sale fils de pute, j'suis en connexion avec
des hommes
Susceptibles d'alimenter l'Europe
Un gang de malades, de malades, de
malades
3 heures du mat' dans l'cimetière, j'me
balade
J'me réveillais j'avais la vue sur le T2
Là j'me lève, j'ai la vue sur tout Paname
On rase les clubs, ils rasent des teubs'
Lacrim au placard, ne sait que faire des
tubes
Crois-moi sur parole, ce qui rend fou
l'homme
Ça n'est pas le doute mais c'est la certitude
Jeune menotté, prisonnier sans diplôme
J'me démerde, dès 16 ans j'roule dans un
p'tit cône
J'ai l'habitude des larmes, on communique
par tél' satellite
Pour cent kils, y'a pas d'émoticones
La vie c'est dur mon frère, et l'argent c'est
facile
Y'a la coke pour m'acheter mes dix
hectares sur la côte
Zéro degré, j'fais chauffer ma piscine
J'tape la pose, prends la tof', des condés sur
mes côtes
Force, force à tous ceux qui rêveraient
d'me tuer
Ah la rafale bug, miraculé, il suffit d'une
erreur pour t'enculer
Force, force, j'suis dans ma cité, j'fume un

pilon
Va niquer ta mère, on fait des millions
Cent kilos d'beuh-er dans l'pavillon
Pah, pah, pah! Oh bah oui, si tu manges
mon pain
Qu'on en vienne aux mains, ça ne sert à
rien
Pah, pah! Oh bah oui, même s'ils sont
pleins
C'est des être-humains et mes frères sont
mille, hein
J'enseigne le sale, pas les Beaux-Arts
J'pèse comme un trafiquant mort, Kopp El
Chapo Mendoza
J'aurais tué pour poignées de dollars
Audemars au poignet de Omar
J'vendais d'la frappe, j'vendais pas de
marrons
Ils me demanderont c'qu'ils ont fait aux
Noirs
Dans un appart de mac Avenue Mac-
Mahon
Sur grand écran je leur ferai voir
De nôtre côté, personne cédera
Avant d'être D.U.C. j'fus bon galérien
Porte tes couilles, personne t'aidera
Grosses douilles tah les oufs pour couper
les liens
Sale fils de pute, t'es walou, t'es rien
Comme Jamel Debbouze qui te serre dans
ses bras
J'suis pas dans ta sphère, fuck un Terrien
On va t'niker ta mère, tu l'sais très bien
J'pénètre leur espace aérien (oui)
Dès que j'suis sorti du placard
J'crache sur la pelouse comme un Algérien
(Benzo)
L'herbe y sera plus verte bâtard
J'suis dans l'tur-fu, j'suis raélien
Sortez les nains, y'a Patrice qui vient
J'suis un Glock israélien dans la mano d'un
Palestinien

Song 9: J'ai Mal

Singer: Lacrim

Released: 30/11/2015

Lyrics (source: Google)

Kore, Lacrim
J'ai grandi banlieusard
J'traînais tard le soir
Les lumières nous voulions voir
De l'or et de l'ivoire
Ils voulaient pas nous croire
Faut marquer l'Histoire
Des rêves de pouvoir

Petit, j'ai quitté l'école, un talent gâché
Impossible de bouger quand le daron m'attachait
J'ai voulu m'enfuir, pour m'envoler
Faut prendre de l'élan et j'ai fini par terre
Mais ils ont tort, pour des sous volé de l'or
Mais je n'avais pas de repères
Quel monde de chiens
Les embrouilles avec les porcs
Ils nous chassent comme du lapin

Oui, Maman, j'avais faire c'qu'il faut
J'avais rentrer plus tôt, j'te l'promets
Oui, Maman, j'avais faire c'qu'il faut
J'avais rentrer plus tôt, j'te l'promets

J'sais même plus où j'ai mal
J'ai mal, j'ai mal, j'ai mal
Je garde tout, je garde tout
J'sais même plus où j'ai mal
J'ai mal, j'ai mal, j'ai mal
Je garde tout, j'assume tout

Faire de la fraîche on sait l'faire
Parmi quelques petits excités
J'traînais pas sur les bancs de ma cité
J'étais solitaire, j'rôdais dans Paris
Au pied de la Tour Eiffel, rêvant toute la nuit
Au commissariat nos têtes en photo
Alors qu'on est dans les îles ou sur un bateau
Ma rancœur motivée
C'qu'on vit pour l'appât du gain

Des fois je suis seul, je suis perdu
Des remords, sur mon passé
Elle se fout de nous, j'suis pas mauvais
Mais l'argent nous fait faire des trucs de fou

Song 10: C'est Ma Vie
Singer: Lacrim
Released: 22/01/2016
Lyrics (source: Google)

[Tu regardes les dessins animés
Hein
Tu regardes les dessins animés
Nan
On va sortir, avec Papa
Tout de suite
On va aller regarder l'match, dimanche
Dimanche
Ouais
D'accord

Hein
Ouais, d'accord
J't'aime, eh c'est quoi
Eh t'es en en train d'filmer]

Pourquoi je crie, pourquoi tu laisses
Pourquoi je te blesse, pourquoi tu restes
Même sans me voir, tu saignes quand je saigne
J't'ai promis l'or, mais j'suis dans la merde, c'est ma vie
Des montagnes de problèmes, c'est ma vie
Les ennuis, c'est ma vie
La son-pri, c'est ma vie, les ennemis, oh

J'voulais tous vous mettre bien
Loin de mes ennuis, j'voulais vous amener
La pluie part, le soleil vient
On va s'en sortir, je vais me relever
Mon fils tu feras pas comme ton père
J'te mettrai dans de bonnes conditions
Ma fille je serai ton repère, oh

Pourquoi je crie, pourquoi tu laisses
Pourquoi je te blesse, pourquoi tu restes
Même sans me voir, tu saignes quand je saigne

J't'ai promis de l'or, mais j'suis dans la merde
J'suis dans la merde, c'est ma vie, les ennuis
J'suis dans la merde, j'suis dans la merde
Vous êtes ma vie, oh

Rebelote, c'est reparti pour une peine
Tu n'attends plus qu'je rentre, tu attends mes appels
Les parloirs, j'sais qu'pour moi t'auras tout fait
Lavé mes affaires, me serrer fort jusqu'à m'en étouffer
Tout le temps qu'on passe au téléphone
J'm'endors, j'ai le parfum d'ma fille
Tout le temps ta mère dit que t'es fort

Pourquoi je crie, pourquoi tu laisses
Pourquoi je te blesse, pourquoi tu restes
Même sans me voir, tu saignes quand je saigne
J't'ai promis l'or, mais j'suis dans la merde, c'est ma vie
Des montagnes de problèmes, c'est ma vie
C'est ma vie, t'es ma vie, ouh

[Moi j't'aime
Moi aussi j't'aime
Et ta petite sœur?
J'l'aime aussi
Tu m'as manqué hein
Toi aussi tu m'as manqué
Bientôt on sera tous ensemble
Super
Hein
Super]

Song 11: Samira L'oranaise
Singer: Hadarin Bezaf
Released: 22/01/2016
Lyrics (source: Google)

منكترش الهدرة دعوتي حارة
لا لا لا لا [x2]
البوليتيك راه إه
رانا بعاد عليهم رانا غامينهم
التوسويس راه بزاف
البوليتيك بزاف
الهدارين بزاف
الغيارين بزاف
والله مانزيدهم كلمة وتحزن عليا ما
البوليتيك بزاف
الغيارين بزاف
السحارين بزاف
يدو و يجيبو بزاف
يدو و يجيبو الهدرة العقلية الخاسرة
يا مرانيش غايا
سبابي عدويا
à l'aise يا مرانيش
سبابي دوك الناس
درتوني بين عينكم الله يجيبها لكم
خلوني خلوني
السبابي عدياني
قيلوني قيلوني
السبابي عدياني
يا هاد الخطرة
يا صوالحي ف السطرة
يا هاد الخطرة
يا منكترش الهدرة
يا كلشي وحدي
النقعد وحدي
عشب وحدي
تقابل ولادي
انا مرا و نص شارك فيا تعس
حسبو رواحهم وصلو كانوا فينا يحاولو
انا الدراجة دور
Chacun son tour
ايي بزاف
عدياني بزاف
الغيارين بزاف
البوليتيك بزاف
حنا طلعلنا بدرجة و طريقنا مشي عوجة

مولاي راه زعفان
مولاي راه غيضان
agité مولاي راه
مولاي ماراهش غايا
انا كلامي معاني
les ennemis نفوكر
أسمع أسمع
كابرة مع شيوخ ما نتوسوس ما ندوخ
حفارين بزاف
يا نخاف ندعي عليكم تجيبوها في عماركم
خلوني خلوني
يا راهم جاوني جنوني
غبنوني غبنوني
غادي نوكل ربي

Appendix 20: An anthropological lens of the Kabyle wedding's four main ceremonies

Day one

Lawayed is a ceremony related to food mainly as a bull is sacrificed to provide meat for the wedding menu. This ceremony is also about paying a visit to the bride's family and offer them a range of groceries bought for them to use in their party's menu including. These groceries consist mainly of

- A bull's back leg
- large trays of vegetables (potatoes, tomatoes, onions, carrots, lettuce, sweet/chilli pepper, and cucumber)
- a large tray of any fruit (grapes, oranges, etc.) or a couple of watermelons
- 10L of sunflower oil
- 10L of olive oil
- Quintal of semolina
- Quintal of couscous that should be homemade

In addition to food, the bride receives other gifts from her family in law consisting of

- A suitcase with casual clothes, shoes, underwear, pyjamas, fragrances, sprays, make-up, soaps, traditional fabrics, and a gold set as accessories)
- The wedding dress and its accessories
- Tvaq/Tbaq.

It is worth noting that not all families can afford a bull, hence, some families, with lower financial incomes, opt for buying meat in smaller amounts instead of a whole bull. The visit to the bride lasts around two hours. Before the groom's family leave after having exchange gifts (money from the groom's side known as Tizri for the bride and traditional biscuits and fabrics from the bride's side).

Day Two

Despite that the celebration is in both houses in the second day, many events take place in the house of the bride's parents. The bride wakes up early in the morning to go to the hairdresser who is usually a female after having booked an appointment months before (to secure one). A cousin or a brother drives her to the hairdresser and brings her back once ready. At the time she is absent, the room where she stays and keeps her things during the party remains closed until she comes back and gets the key from her mother or sisters. Only trusted people

can stay or touch the bride's stuff as her family are scared for her to be bewitched. Also, during the period of her absence, other women stay at home and split themselves into groups, those who will cook lunch (couscous generally), those who will clean the house, and those who will peel the vegetables (in which generally I take part), wash them along the fruits and give them to the cook to prepare the Roti or, in case it is couscous and Chourba, women will be in charge of them. Men take charge of outdoor tasks such as bringing tables, chairs and the cooking equipment from the common house of the village. Also, they are in charge of putting lights all around the house. The bride arrives around midday. She is welcomed with ululates and compliments of how beautiful she became. She goes to her room while one of her cousins brings her lunch. After finishing housekeeping, it is the other women's turn to go to hairdressers and get ready for the party in the evening. Guests start to arrive by the evening (around 5p.m.) ululates are produced from time to time and a small stereo is left playing wedding songs. By 6 p.m., men start placing tables and chairs in two different places (one for men and the other for women). After dusk, guests start to come in larger numbers. Cars are parked all over the village. Men stay outside the house, and women go inside carrying gifts or money to be given to the bride. Each time a person arrives, they are accompanied to the place where they can have dinner, if it is full, they have to wait for their turn somewhere in the house (usually in the party setting). By 10p.m., usually everybody is there and has eaten, but to confirm that, a hosting family member goes through all the guests and ask them whether they had dinner (a man for men and a woman for women). In case the answer is positive, men come and take the tables away and gives all the chairs for the women. After receiving the chairs, women install themselves in the party setting in lines leaving three empty spaces: for (1) the DJ, (2) the bride (3) and the dancing floor. The DJ at this moment arrives accompanied by one of the bride's brothers in case the former needs something. Once all the material is installed, the party begins. As soon as slow music is played, lots of ululates are produced by women there at the same time the DJ gives an opening speech, generally, as follow

Good afternoon and welcome to the wedding party of (the bride's name). The family (the surname of the hosting family) is really pleased to have you tonight; they thank you a lot and they wish that they will soon share your happy moments with you as well. We hope that we will spend a great night altogether and make an unforgettable wedding for (bride's name).

He, then, asks women to ululate. After a warming-up slow song, the DJ raises the rhythm and put more dynamic Kabyle party songs. It is generally the female family members of the bride who first start to dance before other female guests join them. They create a warm atmosphere

by clapping, repeating the song' lyrics in group, shouting and ululating. The atmosphere stays like that while the bride prepares herself to come outside, where the guests are, with her first outfit. It is in the traditions of Algerian weddings that the bride comes out to her guests during the party on different occasions with different outfits (traditional and modern dresses along with expensive accessories). Usually, she starts by a bedroun then a karakou, a caftan, an evening dress, a Kabyle dress and finishes with the wedding dress. The first three outfits are originally Arabic (the first and second are Assimi while the third is Moroccan), the evening one has a Western flavour while the Kabyle dress reflects identity and belonging. It is worth noting that outfits vary from one bride to another depending on the region to which the bride belongs to, also depending on her and her family's financial situation.



Bedroun



Karakou



Caftan



Evening Dress



Kabyle Dress



Wedding Dress

(All the pictures are from Google Image)

Day Three

While the bride had a big farewell party the night before, the groom's family made a humble dinner where the family members and the whole village were invited to eat Douara in Arabic dialect or Ikarshiwen in Kabyle which is a meal based on the bull's organs (intestines, lungs and stomach) preserved in day one for the dinner of the second day.



Douara/Ikarshiwen (Google Image)

Day three is the big day. With a procession of cars from the groom's house, people arrive to the bride's house with horns, women's ululates, fireworks and gun shots. Many Kabyle families keep the religious marriage to this day where all men from both sides gather to witness the

Fatiha which is made by an Imam between the groom's male parent and the bride's male parent. This religious marriage breaks any obstacles preventing the couple to be together (Islamic marriage is more valued by the Algerians). Once the Fatiha is over the groom heads to the bride to take her to her new home under the performance of the Idhabalen. On their way back to the groom's house, '[g]reetings, applause and tooting with car horns make the party heard throughout the neighbourhood. Fireworks, firecrackers, and Bengal lights make the party visible to the surroundings. It is important that the party is seen and heard as it acts as a public announcement of the spouses' change of marital status' (Landinfo 2018: 23). A big party is programmed by the evening.



Idhebalen (Google Image)

Day four

This is the last ceremony that is held at Kabyle weddings. It takes place in the groom's house where in the morning the bride, wearing a traditional dress, is taken by a group of women, all dressed traditionally, singing Tibugarine, clapping their hands and ululating to the closest well to the house to fill a bottle of water.



(Google Image)

Once the ritual is made, these women come back to the groom's house and let the bride have some rest or get ready as her family is coming to pay her a visit. It is worth mentioning that this last ritual is becoming less frequent in Kabyle villages, and only a few villages have kept this tradition. Around midday, the bride's extended family arrive in four to five cars where the closest family members (generally the elder ones: parents, grandparents, brothers/sisters, aunts and uncles) come to see their daughter and bring her the rest of her belongings. They are welcomed by the groom's family, and they are taken to the living room where lunch is served for them. Then comes the bride and welcome her family. The groom's family prefer to keep the atmosphere more familial and leave the bride (also the groom sometimes) to have lunch with the guests (the bride's family members) while others will eat in other places. After lunch, the two families sit together and have a nice and long chat about different topics such as the traditions of the two villages, the childhood of the spouses, the important events of the wedding and other topics which they have both knowledge about. After a visit that lasts around three to four hours, the bride's family leave. The bride in tears farewells her family. She is now in her new house with her husband and his family to start a new journey in her life.

Gifts and Food list at a Kabyle wedding

A gift in Kabyle weddings differs depending on closeness to the hosting family, and whether it is for a bride or a groom. On the one hand, the bride's gifts are mainly (1) things with which she can decorate her future bedroom namely beddings, frames, mats, in addition to (2) trays of traditional biscuits, or/and (3) extra gifts like fragrances, soap sets, and dress fabrics. On the other hand, the groom's gifts are mainly things that can serve furnishing like the kitchen (a fridge, dinning/drinking sets, microwave, etc.), the living room (air conditioner) or the bedroom (a TV, frames, etc.). However, there is a category of guests who prefer to give money instead of buying gifts, as they believe that it is better to leave the choice for the bride/groom to buy whatever they want (or are missing).



An example of a bride's tray of cakes (Google Image)



An example of a bride's new room stuff along her clothes in suitcases (Google Image)

Even food differs depending on the financial situation of the hosting family. In case the family is poor, they give two meals consisting of (1) Chourba (a soup) along bread and (2) Couscous along meat (beef or chicken). In some Kabyle regions, the menu of a wedding has to be Couscous regardless the financial situation of the family. This is a way to create a sense of equality between poor and rich families. In case the family cannot afford paying a cook, food is prepared by the women in the house (family members and some neighbours after being called by the mother of the bride/groom or one of her daughters). The Dessert consists of a type of

fruits such as grapes, oranges, bananas, etc., either individually (each person with their own part) or in group (in a big plate and each person will pick one). For the drinks, water is always provided in addition to juice/soda. In case the family has a better financial situation, instead of Chourba and Couscous, they provide (1) a plate of salad (lettuce, tomato, corn, black olives, cucumber, tuna, half boiled egg, and beetroot) and (2) Roti (fries along vegetables or/with rise) prepared by a cook in the house accompanied with a dessert, water and soda/juice. In the village where I grew up, for instance, few days before a wedding when I meet neighbours we stop for a quick chat. At the moment we randomly mention the coming wedding party in the village, the first question that comes to their mind is about food. I am usually asked ‘I wonder what will be the menu?!’. They start making suggestions and whenever the Couscous is the answer, it is the majority who is deceived whereas when it is Roti, it is almost everyone who is pleased. People living in the village get bored when they find Couscous as the main meal at a wedding party because as they say, ‘we’re used to it at home, we want something new!’.





An example of a Roti menu

Kabyle regions differ from Arab ones in Algeria. The menu of food is humbler and somehow cheaper. In Algerian Arab regions, eastern, western, or any other part of Algeria, the menu is richer and very expensive as a consequence. As weddings are private ceremonies which you cannot attend without an official invitation, I had only the chance to attend Kabyle weddings. However, I have interviewed Algerian Arab females who come from different cities of Algeria. Two research participants from Guelma and Oum Lbouaki (East Algeria) have told me how much expensive it is for them to do a wedding ceremony, and how much it costs for them to prepare the menu to be served the day of the party. Algeria is a big country with a rich culture and different customs that identify each region from another.

Appendix 21: Pictures of the bride's tasdira



