"The West and Us": An Exploration of Ideological Positions and Identities within an Algerian EFL Setting

by

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Abstract

This thesis presents an ethnographic study of how a group of students and academics from a department of English at an Algerian university unknowingly position themselves ideologically when performing their daily-life activities within and outside the Department, as well as the relationship their positioning has with their identity construction.

The study reveals that participants' mental dichotomisation of the West and Algeria, as part of the 'Rest' of the world, is present within many of their most common views and behaviours. Their seemingly ideological views apropos language are interconnected with socially spread ideological positions that they hold as part of an overarching ideology, which is named 'compartmentalisation ideology' in the context of this study, that is also connected with their identity construction, hence the title. To individuals who hold this ideology, the West and Algeria are essentially placed into compartments of inescapable difference that is constantly explained in terms of superiority and inferiority. Thus, all participants' ideological positions that are addressed in this thesis appertain to compartmentalisation ideology in various, albeit interconnected ways.

Participants' accounts indicate that their views are categorised into pro- and anti-Western poles that underpin the division between the West and Algeria. While their pro-Western ideological positions such as West idealism and nativespeakerism, which happen to be predominant within the community, are tied up to senses of inferiority to the West, anti-Western positions such as westophobia, reverse-(neo)-orientalism, and ethnocentrism are connected to perceived senses of superiority towards the West. Other participants' positions like essentialism, culturalism, and populism can fall within either category depending on the positions that exist alongside them. In addition, several facets of people's identities, such as persona, ethnicity, and religion were established to relate to compartmentalisation ideology, including some of the positions that individuals occupy within it.

The initial aim of the study was to explore language-related ideologies in an Algerian Higher Education setting. However, the collection and analysis of data revealed that there was more to the participants' language ideologies than language itself. The aim then shifted to attempting to examine how participants positioned themselves ideologically within the setting, how their positions were related, and the relationship these positions had with their identity construction.

The development of these aims was bound by an ethnographic study involving 27 main and peripheral participants conducted over the course of three and a half months. The study mainly consisted of fieldwork observations, focus groups, and a variety of interview types. Although I initially intended to conduct the study within the Department of English, the field gradually expanded depending on where the participants were, what they said, and how they behaved. What is particularly interesting about the interviews conducted is that some of them involved the use of repertory grids, which are often overlooked by ethnographic researchers. Not only did their use yield an abundant amount of data, it also assisted in exploring how meaning was constructed by the participants.

In light of the findings of the study, there are implications at three distinct levels, namely for research methodology, English Language Teaching (ELT) practices, and the broader backdrop of society. Since repertory grids proved to be very efficient, their use in this study can be further elaborated upon in future research. As far as ELT practices are concerned, being aware of how individuals' views can position them ideologically and what that may result in vis-à-vis teaching and learning could be effective in constructing a certain level of prudence that may affect the practices positively. In addition, the fact that individuals' positioning within the community outspread to society suggests that this thesis may be of interest not only to Algerian academics and students of English, but also to individuals who either intentionally or unintentionally promote any type of division between the 'West' and the 'Third World' through the discourses they construct and maintain within society. The naturalisation of these discourses can result in objectionable consequences, such as illegal emigration, that may be minimised by raising awareness of the issue, which may lead to their deconstruction.

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List of Abbreviations

BA- Bachelor's degree

ELT- English Language Teaching

IP- Ideological Position

LMD- Licence, Masters, Doctorate

NS- 'Native speaker'

NNS- 'Non-native speaker'

UK- United Kingdom

USA- United States of America

1. INTRODUCTION

With exposure to the English language comes the potential for significant change in the way individuals think and behave. That exposure is often reflected in the ideological positions held by people as well as how they perceive themselves within their communities and beyond. This thesis sets out to examine the ideological positions held by a group of Algerian teachers and students within a Higher Education setting and explores their identity construction in relation to these positions. The study, which was carried out within approximately 3 and a half months of direct data collection, took place in University X, located in the eastern part of Algeria, and involved 16 main and 11 peripheral teacher and student participants. The overarching key finding of the study is the unrecognised compartmentalisation ideology as the umbrella construct under which several people's ideological positions, including nativespeakerism, west idealism, populism, essentialism, culturalism, ethnocentrism, westophobia, and reverse-(neo)-orientalism, operate within the chosen setting. In other words, the study reveals how the everyday discourses of participants position them into pro- and anti-Western ideological categories, some of which shape and are shaped by identity construction. This type of positioning underpins compartmentalisation ideology and form its various facets.

To answer my research questions, which are listed in Section 1.2, I conducted an ethnographic study whereby I sought to unveil how the participants unintentionally position themselves ideologically within their community, how their positions came into being, and the relationship these had with the identities of these individuals against the backdrop of wider society. The ethnographic study was mainly conducted employing participant observations, informal interviews, semi-structured interviews, repertory-grid-based interviews, a pair interview, and focus group sessions, all of which contributed to a thorough understanding of the participants' views and behaviours. These are described in detail in Section 4.2.

To give the study more depth and definition, and to better understand the participants' perspectives and actions, two theoretical frameworks were used to explore and interpret findings in relation to identities and ideologies. The first theory is that of Van Dijk (1998) on ideologies. The second one is based on Norton's (2000) and Clarke's (2008) views on identity. These theories, which I only used as frameworks to approach the participants' behaviours and views and not to explain the findings, are discussed in detail in Sections 2.1 and 3.1. I used social constructionism as a paradigm, which I describe in Section 4.1.1.2, throughout the analysis and interpretation phases to understand the realities represented through what was said

and performed by the participants. In addition, in order to help myself making sense of the data, I draw on the work of Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017) to differentiate between thick- and thin-centred ideological positions, and these will feature as headings of two of my data chapters.

In the following section, I describe how my focus and aims gradually evolved into focusing on participants' views that connect them with compartmentalisation ideology and every other construct that underlies it based on no prior knowledge of its existence in the community.

1.1. "*I bet they don't have mud in the UK[1]*": Development of focus and aims

Being a former student at University X, I could not help but notice how positively stigmatised the thought of 'sounding like a native speaker' was in and outside the Department of English. It was also apparent how this stigmatisation impacted upon such things as grades and attitudes towards students and teachers. My initial aim was to explore how such attitudes related to nativespeakerism – as shall be discussed in Sections 2.2.1.1 and 5.1, which I knew existed long before I began my research but had no knowledge of any existing name or documentation of it. I aimed to examine whether this ideology was the reason behind the attitudes towards 'native-like' pronunciation. Soon after, I shifted interest to models of English which, at the time, seemed to encompass more than just pronunciation, and added the dimension of teaching methodology to the equation. Delving into the existing literature on models of English, nativespeakerism, and teaching methodology made me realise that there could be more to the issue than just nativespeakerism. This broadened my perspective and my interest was expanded to comprise any possible existing language ideology in the setting. As the reading went on, the importance of models of English within the study began to contract.

When I entered the field, my initial aim was to examine participants' language ideologies in relation to their identities. I already had two theoretical frameworks that would help me make sense of the participants' views and practices. The theoretical frameworks of ideology (Van Dijk, 1998) and identity (Norton, 2000; Clarke, 2008), allowed me to decide upon what seemed to be ideological and what related to identity construction. In addition, using social constructionism as a paradigm was particularly advantageous in the way I interpreted instances that appeared to be contradictory at first glance. This ethnographic study allowed me to delve deeper into my participants' ways of thinking and, gradually, certain patterns began to

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[1] The United Kingdom.

emerge. Sewing these patterns together provided me with an overall view of how ideological constructs operated in the field. Realising that those constructs were part of what I decide to label 'compartmentalisation ideology' allowed me to see the bigger picture. Further explanation of what is meant by compartmentalisation ideology and how it operates is provided in Appendix 13.

Even though I was aware of the necessity of flexibility in research, my main focus during the first few weeks of data collection was on language-related ideological discourses. Nevertheless, through observing and interacting with the participants and people within the community, I was able to sense the presence of a phenomenon that I did not defamiliarize myself with the setting enough to see. At some point during the early stages of data collection, I had the opportunity to accompany three teacher participants to the city centre. It was raining and the streets were mud-covered. As we tried to escape mud to reach the pavement, one of them said: "I bet they don't have mud in the UK". This comment led to a discussion between the three teachers about the perceived superiority of the West. It was then that I was able to construct an idea of what could be going on in the setting. I began to think back to the incidents I had with participants that had to do with language, which showed how the attitudes of these participants were caught up in the West-Rest dualism.

Thinking back to what my participants said about the West and focusing on the events that followed that incident, I also observed that the West was not always perceived as superior by the participants. Even though most discourses that spread within the community seemed to uphold an idealised image of the West, which could be seen at the level of many participants' ideological positions, several other discourses appeared to spring from an opposing set of thoughts. It became clear that the ideological discourses were divided into those that reinforced an inferior position towards the West and those that demonised it. It also became more apparent that the identity construction of participants was strongly related to the ideological positions held by them. The more I interacted with people, the more mystified I became about how the dualism worked. I eventually came up with the notion of *compartmentalisation ideology* to make sense of what went on with the opposing sets of ideological positions that the participants seemed to hold about the West and Algeria.

Since the social constructionist paradigm was applied to the entirety of participants' perspectives and actions taking place in the field, my use of the term 'ideology' to describe ideological constructs became too rigid and restricting. Thus, I chose to refer to these as 'ideological positions' given that participants seemed to occupy different positions depending on the type of realities they displayed. While in the field, the aims of my research became more

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well-defined through the collection and preliminary analysis of data. Thus, I was able to delineate them as follows:

- To explore how the participants position themselves ideologically in the setting as part of the wider society.
- To inspect the relationship between the participants' ideological positions.
- To investigate the relationship between participants' ideological positions and their identity construction.
- To explore the factors that led to the participants' ideological positioning.

To fulfil these aims, several research questions were gradually developed.

1.2. Research questions

As described in the previous section, I began my study with a number of questions that mainly appertained to pronunciation, models of English, and their relation to ideologies. However, over the course of time, my interest shifted from the ideologies that conceivably governed the choice of those models to the ideological positions that existed in the studied community. Thereafter, I realised that those ideological positions, in themselves, might be connected with the identity construction of individuals in the setting. Therefore, my research questions gradually transformed into the following:

- How do participants position themselves ideologically in the setting?
- To what extent are the participants' ideological positions interrelated?
- To what extent are the participants' identities related to the ideological positions they hold?
- What are the factors that contributed to the construction of participants' ideological positions?

While I sought to answer the first three questions in my data discussion Chapters (5, 6, and 7), the fourth question is answered as part of the further discussion in the Final Chapter.

1.3. New knowledge

At the substantive level, the study yielded an abundant amount of findings, most of which seem to be strongly related to the unrecognised compartmentalisation ideology to various degrees. In other words, it appears that participants' ideological positions are part of a more encompassing ideology that seems to govern how they choose to perceive the West in relation to their own social communities. Thus, much of the teaching and learning discourses within the

community shape and are shaped by participants' ideological positioning that either idealise or demonise the West. This, in turn, seems to appertain to various compartmentalising views which are predominantly accompanied by senses of superiority or inferiority to the West. The prevalence of compartmentalisation ideology within the setting can also be seen at the level of people's identities, which in turn, affect their perceptions of themselves and the world that surrounds them as well as their social behaviours.

Previous research on ideologies within the EFL setting generally failed to address this ideology and the encompassing nature of it. Although some ideological constructs addressed in this thesis have been dealt with jointly in previous research, the fact that compartmentalisation ideology is the element that brings them together and gives them a more well-defined representation has been almost completely overlooked. Methodology-wise, the use of repertory grids, which is explained in detail in Subsection 4.2.2.1.1.1, alongside other types of data collection tools, is what seems to be of utmost prominence vis-à-vis originality due to its absence in the majority of contemporary ethnographic works.

Concerning the new knowledge presented in this thesis, it is important to describe the socio-historical context wherein the participants' views and perspectives discussed in later chapters occur in order to better understand them and their relevance to the study.

1.4. Algeria: A socio-historical background

This section is intended to provide a general framework of the Algerian sociohistorical background to contextualise the participants' views and practices discussed in Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8. It includes descriptions of the ethnic, religious, linguistic, and educational backgrounds because they relate to several constructs discussed in this thesis including populism, with its focus on the education system, religious identity, ethnic identity, and nativespeakerism.

Being located in the Northern part of Africa with the Mediterranean Sea in the North and the Sahara Desert in the South, Algeria has had quite an interesting history with invasions, which can be seen in the nature of its inhabitants, their cultures, as well as the languages they speak. Although the official language in Algeria is Standard Arabic, which has sustained its status since 1963, the language spoken by the majority of people in daily life is Algerian Arabic, which is a blend of Standard Arabic, Berber[2], Turkish, and French.

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[2] A term used to refer to the indigenous inhabitants of some North African countries including Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia. It also refers to the language spoken by them, which is subcategorised into different varieties that include Chaoui: the Berber dialect spoken by some inhabitants of the region wherein the study was conducted.

Algeria was colonised by France for over a century – from 1930 to 1962. During that period, not only did a considerable number of French people move to Algeria, but French was also taught to Algerians as part of the French scheme presumably to eradicate the Arab-Muslim identity in the country as Algeria was intended to become a French territory at the time. According to Benrabah (2007), although the French language was perceived as the embodiment of invasion and oppression by many Algerians, its acquisition was unavoidable given that it was a way of raising awareness of the necessity of resistance.

After 1962, the Algerian government introduced the Arabisation process in order to substitute French with Standard Arabic. The transition did not occur instantaneously since for many years after the independence, there were two streams in the educational system: an Arabic-based stream, and a bilingual one that mainly relied on French as a medium of instruction except for such courses as Arabic and History. After a while, the medium of instruction in most schools and levels was Arabic, but French was still taught as a foreign language. This arabisation process was fairly discontinued in the early 2000s as the new regime had an encouraging approach towards the French language mainly due to the Algerian-French political and economic relations that met a relatively new turn from that era onwards.

Even after Algeria obtained its independence from France, a good number of Algerians in Algeria still speaks French on daily basis for three main reasons: habit, the belief of a superior social status, and the fact that numerous French words and expressions have become part of the Algerian dialect. In the mid-1990s, there was an attempt to make a gradual transition to English as an official foreign language in the country by providing schools with the option to choose between French and English, but as most people opted for French, the plan was unsuccessful (Benrabah, 1999). Alongside the growing interest of Algerian people in English as a consequence of globalisation, there have also been constant attempts to introduce English to the Algerian society by the Algerian government due in a large part to the political and economic relations between Algeria and the USA and the UK (Belmihoub, 2017).

Nowadays, English is taught to pupils as a foreign language starting from their first year at middle school, although some private nurseries teach English to children at a very young age. The English language accompanies pupils throughout their middle into their secondary education, wherein some of them opt for 'foreign languages' and relatively study English more extensively. Upon obtaining their Baccalaureate degree, pupils who choose English as major at university study it from three years (BA) onwards depending on the degree they choose or can do. Students who graduate are generally expected to become teachers of English at middle, secondary schools, or university depending on their university degree and job opportunities.

Nevertheless, the fact that English is a global language entails that the use of English is no longer restricted to people who major in it. According to Belmihoub (2017), English has a number of uses in Algeria including social status, specialised use, online use, and creativity and innovation. For instance, this can be seen in the numerous social media pages and accounts that use English as a medium of communication, share memes in English, and content written in English. Some Algerian 'influencers' who are based in Algeria speak English almost exclusively or code switch or mix between English and Algerian Arabic, with some occasional mixing of French.

In some regions, Berber is spoken almost exclusively. Nevertheless, there have been movements to officialise Berber in Algeria since it is regarded, by many, to be the original language in North Africa, including in Algeria. Recently, official actions have been taken as to realise the demands of the movement, and many governmental institutions added Amazigh[3] on their building signs alongside Arabic. The official religion in Algeria is Sunni Islam, and there also exist minority religions such as Christianity and Judaism. Even though the majority of people are not entirely conformist, religion plays an important role in some of the values of the Algerian society which can make it somewhat difficult for many people to distinguish between what is religious and what is cultural.

1.4.1. Education in Algeria

Within the past three decades, the Algerian education system has undergone several reforms at the level of primary, middle, and secondary education stages as well as the higher education sector. Amongst the reforms that were introduced in Algeria as part of the innovatory aspirations is the LMD system which was originally under the name B.M.D in November 2004 (Chemami, 2011; Rezig, 2011). LMD is an acronym for Licence[4], Masters, and Doctorate.

This system also includes more profound 'improvements' such as the shift towards a student-centred approach to teaching, the inclusion of a series of formative assessments instead of one sole summative exam, and the development of courses by teachers themselves instead of relying on curricula or syllabi provided to them by higher authorities (Azzi, 2012). As far as English language teaching is concerned, the LMD system was assured to rely on the students' needs and interests (Mami, 2013). This reform reduces the amount of Licence years from four to three. It also changes the nature of the Masters' degree, which was labelled 'Magistrate' in

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[3] Also: Tamazight. A term used interchangeably with Berber. It also refers to the language spoken by Amazigh people.
[4] Equivalent to the BA degree.

its precedent, the "classical system". This change was accompanied by relative ease of accessibility to both the Masters' and Doctorate courses.

This brief description of the socio-historical background of Algeria aims at providing a better understanding of the occurrences discussed in Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8. By the same token, the following section is a factual based autobiography that aims at providing a more exclusive background to the study.

1.5. Autobiographical influences

In this section, I provide a brief account of my journey that led to interest in this research area and the study location. I also describe the Department in which the study was conducted. My choice of the Department as a research location was a result of years of change in perspectives and development in thoughts. Before becoming an English major at University X, I was a pupil in the scientific stream, but my fondness of the English language was part of the reason why I chose English as a major as I always excelled in my English classes as reported by many of my middle and secondary school teachers. My interest in English was not restricted to the language itself, but also in the 'culture' that I had long believed came with it, which initially sprang from my love of Disney and Nickelodeon shows and cartoons.

I studied at the Department for five years, including which were three years of BA and two years of MA. I opted for linguistics/didactics in my third year and studied that for three years. The courses included applied linguistics and sociolinguistics as modules. My MA topic involved British and American linguistic varieties. I conducted a quantitative study in which I aimed at raising students' awareness of the sociolinguistic varieties in the UK and the USA, which included Cockney, American Southern, and 'Standard' American English and RP. I also wanted to investigate the extent to which awareness of these would affect students' oral production. At the time, my consideration of linguistic varieties did not include English spoken by speakers from non-English speaking countries, which was one of the starting points that led to the development of my current research.

Alongside the development of my research aims and focus, my own positioning as a researcher was gradually affected by my interaction with the participants and analysis of the data I collected. Being a former student in the community studied meant that I was part of the type of discourses that went around within the Department of English in particular and the Algerian society in general. It is only through reflection upon my participants' views and behaviours, as well as my own personal trajectory, that I realised that I could not claim a detached non-compartmentalising position.

About four and a half years ago, I was amongst a group of students who were granted a scholarship to do a Ph.D. in the UK. "They might as well do it here in Algeria" was my immediate reaction when I heard that there was another a group of students who also received a scholarship to do theirs in Tunisia. For a long time, I believed that I held a superior position to those who would go to non-Western countries simply because I was to live in a Western country.

This, amongst many other instances, was something that I barely even questioned before conducting the study. Although I partially came to realise that some of the qualities that I idealised about the West did not reflect my experiences following my initial move to a Western country, it was only after collecting and analysing the data that I became aware of how my own perception of the West changed through time and space. I realised that not only was I trying to unveil the phenomenon, but I was also subconsciously raising my own awareness of the issues that I had always taken part of as a former student at the Department.

1.5.1. The Department

The Department of English in which the study was conducted is believed to be a distinctive department at University X, as many people would refer to it as University X's "medicine department" mainly due to the perceived difficulty and complexity of instruction in it. There are two major branches that students can choose from after obtaining their BA degree: didactics/linguistics and literature/civilisation. Before becoming physically part of the University, the Department used to be a separate building which was located a few miles away from University X. The Department had its own food court and administration offices, which seemed to have added an additional level of exclusivity to the students and teachers of English.

Although the Department was relocated inside the University, the exclusivity of its students and teachers has not been entirely lost. Although teachers and students no longer have their proper food hall, and some of the administration offices were moved to another building, a number of facilities can still be found inside the Department, including the teachers' common room, multimedia rooms, the head of the Department's office, lavatories, and a photocopying room for teachers. The teachers' common room is located on the ground floor, the head of Department's office is on the second floor, and classrooms are dispersed on all three floors and the ground floor. Some classes take place in large lecture halls that are near the Department.

On a typical day at the Department of English, classes begin at 8:00 and finish at 15:30 or 17:00. Teachers would often drop by the common room at 8:00 and 15:30/17:00, in-between teaching hours, and/or when they have free hours in the middle of their teaching schedules, but

they can be found anywhere including empty classrooms and corridors. Most of their schedules have two days of teaching per week. Like teachers, students can be found anywhere outside their studying hours, but many of them choose to spend time in the courtyard when it is not too cold outside. When the weather is too cold, they would either stay in empty classrooms, or leave the Department altogether. The Department is most crowded in-between teaching and studying hours, especially at 11:00 and 12:30. During exams, the Department is usually not as crowded, as most exams would take place in lecture halls that are dispersed around the University. This means that many classrooms would be empty, especially the ones on the third floor. Most students would have one exam per day, and the teachers' availability would depend on the number of modules they teach and the groups they are assigned to watch.

In the following section, I provide some of the key terms that have been contextualised to fit within the framework of this study.

1.6. Terminology

In this section, I delimitate my position regarding some contested notions, namely ideological position, compartmentalisation ideology, community, identity, and culture. In addition, given that this thesis introduces new concepts such as compartmentalisation ideology, this section seeks to explain what is meant by this ideology and how it is meant to bridge the gap between the various constructs in this study including ideological positions and identity construction. Correspondingly, I explain my use of the term 'ideological position' instead of 'ideology' to refer to most of the constructs that emerged as part of this study.

Ideological positions

The way in which the term 'ideological position' is used in this thesis abides by Van Dijk's (1998) delimitation of 'ideology' to a great extent as I shall describe in much more detail in Section 2.1. My general depiction of the term is that it is a set of convictions, beliefs, and ideas that are essentially socially shared and cognitively constructed about the nature of worldly occurrences, and which individuals may or may not be aware of possessing although they are constructed and maintained by means of discourse. In addition, I lean towards the idea that there are two different types of ideologies, as delineated by Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017), thin- and thick-centred ones. This idea is discussed in more detail in Section 2.2. Most of the ideological constructs that emerged in this study are given the label of 'position' for two main reasons.

The first reason has to do with the contradictory nature of the term 'ideology' and the different levels of complexity it has according to different scholars, which is addressed in Section 2.1. The second reason is the way social constructionism is used in this study. As shall

be explained in further detail in later chapters, the way different – perhaps even self-contradictory – views displayed by individuals is explained by the different realities that underlie their opinions. Since these realities necessarily entail different ways of seeing the world within diverse social settings, I believe that people take on different ideological 'positions' depending on the type of realities that are displayed by them. Thus, referring to the constructs as ideologies would somewhat neglect their circumstantial nature. Within the framework of this study, the only ideological construct that is directly referred to as 'ideology' is compartmentalisation due to its comprehensiveness.

Compartmentalisation ideology

This ideology, in its entirety, is the key finding and the core of this study as the first portion of the title suggests – 'The West and Us'. Although this term has been used in literature to refer to the mental dissection that immigrant students make about languages and their functions, which is described in Section 2.2.1.1, it is used in this study to refer to a broader and far more encompassing construct. It is considered an ideology based on Van Dijk's (1998) categorisation of the structure of ideologies (Appendix 13). Compartmentalisation ideology, here, refers to the type of compartmentalisation that individuals make between the West and the 'Rest' – Algeria, to be precise – in the sense that the West and Algeria, as part of the 'Rest' of the world, are placed into compartments of inescapable difference by participants. In other words, within the framework of this ideology, participants mechanically categorise qualities into two separate compartments. At first sight, this ideology might appear to be indistinguishable from Hall's (1992) West and 'Rest' dualism ideology. Nevertheless, compartmentalisation ideology is different in that it comprises nuances of difference that are directly ascribed to both senses of superiority and inferiority to the West.

In other words, individuals who hold this ideology think of the West and Algeria as necessarily different at every level possible. This difference is generally either accredited to the superiority of the West, which necessarily entails inferiority of Algeria, or superiority of Algeria which necessitates inferiority of the West. Part of the argument presented in this thesis is the idea that most of the ideological positions described are governed by compartmentalisation ideology including the ones that initially seem to merely appertain to Algerian interests. In addition, although no full chapter is dedicated to this ideology, it is important to assert that, due to its comprehensiveness, all discussions of ideological positions, whether thin or thick-centred, add up to form a more well-defined picture of compartmentalisation ideology. That is, all the occurrences discussed in this thesis relate to compartmentalisation ideology, which is why it

seemed unnecessary to dedicate an entire section to its existence in the community other than a brief one in the final chapter.

Community

The term 'community' is used throughout the thesis to refer to teachers and students in the Department of English at University X. Since the majority of students and teachers at the level of this Department originally come from different towns of the same county, or in less frequent cases nearby counties, much cultural background is shared between them. In addition, most individuals in the community either teach or are taught in the Department of English which adds a layer of inclusiveness to the type of unity that they have, whether they are actively or passively cognisant of that. Clearly, there exist smaller communities within the broader frame of this one community. However, these are only referred to circumstantially depending on their relevance to the overall context of the study. Thus, other than this being a community of speech, wherein individuals more or less speak the same language(s), it is also a community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1999) wherein individuals practise the same type of activities, have similar interests, and, most importantly, share some aspects of their identities.

Identity

Within the context of this study, I deal with identity from a post-structuralist vantage point. Drawing on Norton (2000) and Clarke's (2008) theories on identity (Section 3.1), I see it as a hybrid, dynamic, and multi-dimensional construct that is constructed through space and time by both interaction with the outside world and perception of it. Given the bond between society and cognition in identity formation, the idea that identity and ideology are similar seems to be appealing. Nevertheless, as shall be further discussed in later chapters, my view involves the idea that identity construction depends on individuals' discourses, which shape their understanding of the world as well as their past, current, and future selves.

This understanding allows individuals to negotiate their identities in ways that are specific to them, which also becomes part of who they are. Thus, identity here is seen as a by-product of group membership and personal trajectories. In that sense, local and global types of membership, when combined with participants' discourses and the perception they have about the world and themselves as part of their past, current, and possible future trajectories, are responsible for their identity construction as well as the manner in which it is negotiated. In addition, given their multi-dimensional and fluid nature, the formation of identities is not bound by a specific set of structures. Instead, I see it as a constantly changing construct that has different facets newly forming or changing depending on individuals' discourses,

circumstances and, more importantly, their personal interpretations of these situations which include society, culture, and personal encounters.

Culture

Much of what is discussed in this thesis has more to do with the way culture is perceived by the participants in this study than it does with the way I perceive it. However, it is important to delineate the framework from which I decided to approach the notion of culture because of the role that this delineation had in the way my ethnographic study was conducted. Therefore, regardless of how it is seen by the participants, my perception of it admits high degrees of fluidity and variation. As per Holliday's (1999) delimitation of "small" and "large" cultures, my view of the concept of culture rejects any essentialist or culturalist bias that views culture as a tangible social occurrence which essentially characterises particular nations or ethnicities. It rather calls for a non-essentialist view that sees culture as a fluid construct that varies over space and time.

In my opinion, the concept of culture should not be regarded as synonymous with nationality or ethnicity so as not to fall into the trap of using that label to serve racist or ethnocentric claims. Therefore, I view culture as a fluid construct that should not be essentially tied up to particular nations or ethnic groups, in the sense that people's behaviours should not be explained by the way their cultures are perceived. This does not negate the idea that, at some level, cultures include nuances of what people make of them. My view acknowledges the idea that culture is a way whereby people self-represent and self-affiliate in the same way that it recognises the equality between cultures regardless of their nature. Thus, my view of culture considers social behaviour to be the basis on which general understanding of cultures resides without completely disregarding how individuals perceive themselves in relation to the cultures that they have.

1.7. Thesis structure

To conclude this chapter, the structure of the forthcoming seven chapters is briefly outlined in this section.

Chapter 2 – Ideology: Theoretical outline and broader perspectives. This chapter sets out to provide a general framework of how the concept of ideology is approached in this thesis. At the outset, I begin by providing a detailed theoretical account of the notion of 'ideology' on the whole. I, then, move on to address the major theoretical precursors surrounding the themes that emerged in my study.

Chapter 3 – Identity: Theoretical framework and the wider scholarly milieu. In this chapter, I sought to delineate my theoretical stance to the concept of identity and to contextualise the findings of the current study against the backdrop of previously conducted ones.

Chapter 4 – Research Methodology. This chapter outlines the research methodology used in this study. That is combined with theoretical rationalisations. The chapter is divided into three main sections. In the first section, I explain my research design which includes justifications of my choice of the ethnographic design, reflexivity, the way social constructionism operates in this study, as well as matters that directly relate to the field such as access, field roles, and power relations. The second section covers the collection of data which includes fieldwork observations, interviews, and focus group discussions. The third section deals with the thematic analysis of my data.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 – Data Discussion Chapters. In these chapters, I discuss the data gathered in this study. Although certain constructs might seem to be more interconnected than others, the main rationale behind this division is the nature of the constructs themselves, which is explained in the following paragraphs. All three chapters have a common theme which is the prevalence and comprehensiveness of compartmentalisation ideology in the community. Throughout these chapters, I sought to make clear the idea that participants' views and actions adhering to certain ideological constructs, which position them ideologically, are either directly or indirectly shaped by compartmentalisation ideology. These chapters happen to provide answers to my first three research questions: "how do participants position themselves ideologically in the setting?", "to what extent are the participants' ideological positions interrelated?", and "to what extent are the participants' identities related to the ideological positions they hold?".

Chapter 5 – Thick-centred Ideological Positions. This chapter tackles the two most prevalent themes in the study: nativespeakerism and West idealism[5]. The main reason why I dedicated an entire chapter to these two ideological positions is their predominance amongst the participants in the field. While other constructs need the presence of others to stand out, as shall be explained in Section 2.1, nativespeakerism and West idealism, as thick-centred ideological positions, were the most apparent and the most widespread in the community.

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[5] This term refers to the ideology of the 'idealisation of the West' as described by Hall (1992) and shall be further explained and discussed in Chapters 2 and 5.

Chapter 6 – Thin-centred Ideological Positions. In this chapter, I discuss participants' pro- and anti-Western ideological positions that are somewhat less apparent and less impartial than nativespeakerism and West idealism. Most of these positions are displayed by participants in relation to others and operate at various intertwining levels. While some of them appear to be more interconnected than others, the theme that bonds them all together is their relationship with compartmentalisation ideology.

Chapter 7 – Identity Construction and the Dualism. This chapter tackles the way in which the identity construction of individuals is impacted upon by either their pro-Western or anti-Western ideological positions as per compartmentalisation ideology. While most other ideological positions were discussed in separate chapters, feminism, conservatism, and nationalism are discussed within the chapter of identity construction for two main reasons. The first reason goes back to the idea that, as shall be discussed in Section 3.5, these constructs are mainly dealt with as "sentiments" that may or may not have solid ideological grounds. The second reason is that gender, ethnicity, and nationality are amongst the most obvious facets of identity, in the sense that when asked about their identity, the majority of people answered referring to their gender, nationality, ethnicity, and religion. This reinforces the rationale behind the inclusion of religious identity within this chapter other than the fact that it has a great deal to do with compartmentalisation ideology.

Chapter 8 – Further Discussion, Implications, and Conclusions. The final chapter provides an encompassing discussion of all of the previously deliberated phenomena taking place in the setting. This discussion includes the answer to my final research question: "what are the factors that contributed to the construction of participants' ideological positions?". In addition to that, it comprises the implications of the study and a general conclusion in which I sought to recapitulate the major findings of the study.

2. IDEOLOGY: THEORETICAL OUTLINE AND BROADER PERSPECTIVES

This chapter presents a review of the literature that surrounds the concept of ideology, which is a fundamental subject in this study. The constructs presented in this chapter were developed throughout two phases. The first one was built on the aim to understand the overarching concept of ideology before beginning the collection of data. The second phase was data-driven. Therefore, my theoretical delineation of ideology – as a predominant construct – was mainly developed before the data collection began. The main purpose of that was trying to expound the type of associations that were supposed to be made between what the participants would say and perform in the setting and whether it had any ideological inclinations. After collecting and analysing the data, I went back to the literature to contextualise my findings. Some of these seemed to appertain to already existent constructs such as essentialism and ethnocentrism. Others, like reverse-(neo)-orientalism, did not appear to receive an equally fair share in the existing literature, which allowed me to label them based on how they were displayed by the participants in the study.

Overall, this chapter is divided into two main parts. The first Section (2.1) deals with the theoretical framework I relied on to approach the concept of ideology, which was mainly developed prior to the collection of the data. The second Section (2.2) tackles a detailed account of the ideological constructs that emerged during the data collection and analysis phases. Therefore, the main purpose of Section 2.2 is to provide an overall framework of how the constructs occur outside the context of the current study.

2.1. What is ideology?

In this subsection, I describe my theoretical approach to ideologies. Most of what is presented in this subsection was developed prior to the collection of data. Ideology, as a construct, is one of the most contested concepts in social sciences. This construct traditionally entails negative connotations such as 'false consciousness', 'misguided beliefs', or 'distortions of reality' (Rosen and Wolff, 1996). These are generally adopted by the Marxist approach to ideologies, which reinforces the "them" and "us" distinction by imposing the idea that knowledge is possessed by the knowledgeable and, ultimately, powerful, while ideologies are held by the defective 'other'. My view of this is that ideologies are not entirely negative as per the proper sense of the term. While they might entail negative subtexts, they can be very useful

in comprehending the social practices of different aggregates of people, which, in turn, helps in making sense of the world.

There seem to exist a number of theoretical accounts on the nature of ideology as a concept, amongst which are Hall's (1992) and Van Dijk's (1998) delineations. On the whole, the two theories are different in that Hall (1992) defines discourse as an end in a way similar to Van Dijk's definition of ideology, whereas Van Dijk's (1998) 'discourse' is more of a means to an end, in the sense that it is mainly seen as a means whereby ideologies are constructed and negotiated. Hall (1992), an authority on the concept of ideology, sees discourse as a polylithic decentralised, yet consistent, construct that is unintendedly produced by people in various circumstances. He argues that using the concepts of a certain discourse entails a specific set of associations that fortify that type of discourse even if people would naturally oppose to it. Ideology, on the other hand, is seen by him as a 'distorted representation of reality', but he also gives credit to the 'trueness' of their existence by visiting the issue of power which, he believes, is integrated in all ideologies (ibid.).

According to Van Dijk (2000), ideologies are displayed through discourse. Thus, discourse has a prominent role in the construction, maintenance, and reproduction of ideologies. While Hall's (1992) delimitation of discourse admits a high degree of inclination towards Van Dijk's definition of ideology as described above, it is seen differently by different scholars. Van Dijk (1993; 2000, p.259) believes discourse to have a strong relationship with power. He (ibid.) argues that "discursive (re)productions" shape and are shaped by social meaning. Unlike Van Dijk (1993), whose view of discourse gives it the function of meaning construction, Fairclough (2012) affirms that the role of discourse resides in that it represents social life in various ways.

On the other hand, Clarke (2008) argues that the role of discourse does not simply reside in that it mirrors social life. Similar to Van Dijk (2000, p.18), he asserts: "It is through discourse that the social production of meaning takes place, through discourse that social relations are created and maintained and through discourse that social identities are produced". By so saying, Clarke (2008) gives credit to the fundamental role of discourse in the construction and reproduction of social meaning. Hence, his delineation of discourse moves beyond the idea that it merely "reflects" social life to one that actually helps construct and reconstruct the meaning that is to social life itself. In accordance with Van Dijk (2000) and Clarke's (2008) views, the current study tackles discourse not only as a vehicle that accompanies ideologies, but also as a means through the construction of which ideologies are produced and maintained.

In addition, I use Van Dijk's (1998) theory on ideologies initially because it acknowledges both the cognitive and the social side of the construction and maintenance of

ideologies through discourse which suggests that ideologies can be both macro- and microscopic constructs that can be traced everywhere in society. His theory rests as a reference to many pieces of research that seek to define and delineate the notion of ideology and choosing it from amongst others helped in delineating the theoretical framework from which I dealt with ideologies while collecting and interpreting the data. His multidisciplinary theory of ideology is positioned "in a joint psychological—sociological account of the *social mind in its social (political, cultural) context*" (Van Dijk, 1998, p.6). That is, ideology is seen as a system of ideas that exist in the mindsets of individuals and which shapes and is shaped by the social structures surrounding individual minds. More to the point, he indicates that in order for them to be holistically considered, ideologies need to be exhibited in social practices. In other words, a thorough understanding of how ideologies are constructed, altered, and communicated requires careful attention to the manner in which they are expressed in discourse (ibid.).

He (ibid.) emphasizes the idea that ideologies are both equally cognitively and socially constructed, and they often bear upon power relations by accentuating the need to distinguish between how ideology is discursively shared with the social world and how this latter helps construct the ideology in itself. It, thus, can be seen as a two-way arrow that leads ideology from and back to cognition and society. The nature of ideologies is viewed as a set of specific socially constructed beliefs which are different, yet very much related to attitudes, knowledge and opinions that exist in one's mind. These shared social beliefs can be enacted in society in the form of cultural practices such as rituals, symbols and, most importantly, discourse (ibid.).

Van Dijk (ibid.) also accentuates the necessity to take into account the personal differences, in the sense that each individual possesses a "personal version" of the ideologies they acquire by interacting with members of the society depending on how they have been socialised and the way their ideologies have developed in the first place. These personalised versions of ideologies contribute to the overall image of what is being displayed back to society (ibid.). In order to give recognition to the structure of ideology, he (ibid.) presents a possible categorisation of ideologies. On the whole, these categories are membership, activities, goals, values and norms, position and group relations, and resources (ibid.). An account of how these categories formed the basis of what I considered to be ideological is further detailed in Appendix 13.

Van Dijk (ibid.) also tackles the bond between ideology and social identity. More precisely, the aforementioned categories that form the schema of ideologies are almost exactly what identity comprises. In other words, group identity comprises membership, values and norms, group relations and goals which are categories wherein ideologies as entire entities fall

(ibid.). Therefore, it can be said that parts of people's identities exist in their ideologies which means that the specific categories in which ideologies reside define people's social identities.

In addition, he points out that given that people often occupy various social positions which adds to the multiplicity of their identities, they often "share a mixture of ideologies" (ibid., p.72). At times, this mixture of ideologies stands as an obscuring factor in the coherent display of one's individual ideology depending on the social situation in which they perform their discourse. Nevertheless, he argues that any incoherent display of ideologies by members of a given society does not entail an incoherent ideology because the latter is believed to be an entirely coherent entity.

Although Van Dijk's description of ideology as "coherent" does not necessarily suggest that is seen as monolithic and static, the way I approach the construct in this thesis also employs Kabgani and Clarke's (2017, pp.154-155) description of how ideologies can be entrenched within different and opposing ideas. In other words, the fact that some ideas seem to be contradictory does not negate that they may fall within the same ideology. This argument forms the basis of the notion of compartmentalisation ideology revealed in this study. While some ideological positions associated with the anti-Western and the pro-Western facets of the ideology such as West idealism and westophobia seem to be different, they both feed into compartmentalisation ideology because they support senses of division between the West and Algeria as part of the 'Rest'. Whilst the most perceptible differences lie at the level of superiority and inferiority to the West, the fact that even these senses encourage division seems to display how the opposing stances towards the West are embedded within compartmentalisation ideology.

As I previously mentioned, my categorisation of the various occurrences that emerged in my study was mainly based on Van Dijk's (1998) plausible theory on ideologies. To this end, my decisions concerning what appeared to be ideological and what did not were founded on the idea that ideologies are both socially shared and mentally constructed. In addition, my perception of them also includes the idea that power relations, even if not clearly apparent, form a solid base as to why ideologies exist and co-exist in the first place. Additionally, I employed a mental dissection of the participants' statements with respect to Van Dijk's (1998) classification of ideologies. I constantly made decisions about what could have been classified within the category of values and norms as opposed to membership or goals, for instance. Therefore, my choices were mainly made on the basis of these aforementioned delimitations (See Appendix 13 for examples).

Alongside Van Dijk's (ibid.) theory, the way I approach the concept of ideology in this study also differentiates between "thin-centered" and "thick-centered" ideologies as delineated by Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017, p.6). They define ideology as "a body of normative ideas about the nature of man and society as well as the organization and purposes of society. Simply stated, it is a view of how the world is and should be". This means that ideologies are people's views of the world that surrounds them as well as themselves, which also validates the ubiquitous nature of ideologies. They (ibid.) argue that the main difference between thick-centred and thin-centred ideologies is that the former is "full", meaning that they can exist on their own as fully independent constructs such as liberalism and socialism. On the other hand, thin-centred ideologies "have a restricted morphology, which necessarily appears attached to – and sometimes is even assimilated into – other ideologies" (ibid., p.6).

In the following section, I address the ideological constructs that emerged as part of the current study. Although these constructs are pigeonholed within the thick- and thin-centred ideological categories within the context of this study, their description in the following segment concerns how they have been dealt with outside, yet in relation to, the context of this study. That is, the main purpose of the following section is to provide a certain level of familiarity with the constructs and their various usages and meanings across different linguistic and non-linguistic arenas.

2.2. Ideological constructs

This section covers the different ideological constructs which emerged by means of data collection and analysis. Although their presence was bound by the different occurrences that took place in the field, in the sense that the majority amongst them originally occurred as part of the data collection and analysis processes, they are placed earlier in the thesis due to the importance of initially providing a framework of how those constructs usually operate and what is meant by them in other settings. Although the relationship between all the constructs explored might not be apparent outside the context of the current study, the way in which they are related to one another is linked to compartmentalisation ideology within the particular setting of this study. That is, within the framework of this study, occurrences are unavoidably and automatically translated in terms of superior or inferior division vis-à-vis the West.

Overall, I begin by addressing the link between language and ideologies, which are nativespeakerism and minor similar 'ideologies' related to language (Subsection 2.2.1.1), and the by-product of their intersection due to the fact that this bond was the initial focus of the study. I, then, move on to address other ideological constructs that I decided to group together

based on their nature. These ideologies are the idealisation of the West (2.2.2.1) and neo-orientalism (2.2.2.2), which are classified under the pro-Western category, westophobia (2.2.3), which is regarded as an anti-Western ideology, ideologies that appertain to culture (2.2.4), namely essentialism, ethnocentrism and culturalism, and populism (2.2.5). The description of each construct ends with an encompassing depiction of how they are dealt with within the context of the current study.

In the following subsection, I address the bond between language and ideology as a special reference to the type of ideological positions that are directly tied up to language in this study.

2.2.1. Ideology and language

This subsection sets out to describe the literature that revolves around some language related ideological constructs such as nativespeakerism and the ideology of compartmentalisation, whose use outside the context of this study is restricted to language. A number of ideologies have been recognised in the field of applied linguistics and language teaching (Ricento, 2006; Song, 2010; Shaul, 2014; Cho, 2017; Karakaş, 2017), most of which have to do with the idealisation of 'native-speaker' language and teaching content, as well as the global spread of the English language (Wei, 2016; Cho, 2017). The relationship between language and ideologies was also dealt with more specifically in terms of ideological constructs such as nativespeakerism. The following subsection presents a conceptual review of the literature that surrounds the 'ideological' constructs that have a direct connection with language.

2.2.1.1. Nativespeakerism

This subsection features nativespeakerism and some 'ideologies' associated with it such as "standard English" and "authenticity". Although these 'ideologies' are accepted as separate ideologies in contemporary research, the fact that their nature implies a strong relationship with nativespeakerism led me to consider them as facets of it rather than separate constructs that feed into its overall standards. This concept strongly relates to compartmentation ideology – as the main argument of the current study – because it implies divisions between 'native' and 'non-native speakers' of English. This division, in turn, upholds the superiority of 'native' speakers of English at the expense of the "less proficient" 'non-native' speakers, which is how this section relates to the overarching finding of the study.

Nativespeakerism is defined by Holliday (2006) as the "pervasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that 'native-speaker' teachers represent a 'Western culture' from

which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology" (Holliday, 2005, p.6). The notion of nativespeakerism, which Holliday (2017) describes as "neo-racist", seems to be strongly connected with discrimination, even if indirectly, and it can be held by 'native-speakers' as well as by 'non-native speakers' of English (Holliday, 2006). By adhering to the nativespeakerist philosophy, not only do people, who can be unaware of the underlying political implications of this ideology, perceive 'non-native speakers' as incapable of fully functioning on their own without the intrusion of a 'native speaker', but they also overtly display their bias towards 'non-native' teachers and students of English because according to them, 'native speakers' are superior and only they are competent enough to be allowed to have or deliver adequate knowledge and well organized teaching methodology (ibid.).

Lowe (2017) states that the 'native speaker' narrative continues to exist both in Western and non-Western communities. 'Native speakers' seem to have several traits that would not count unless they were attributed to the quality of birth, which he (ibid.) regards as a mere allegory. More to the point, he (ibid.) concludes that the concept of 'native speakers' is a social construct whose understanding is shared amongst a group of individuals within a given speech community. An instance of this issue is demonstrated in Aboshia's (2007) study on how the identity of a group of academics is shaped by their professional status which they see as inseparable from them being 'native speakers'.

The issue of the idealised 'native speaker' has been brought forward by several researchers, even though most of them did not address it as a form of nativespeakerism (Cook, 2002; Matos, 2002; Piller, 2002; Hu, 2012; Shaul, 2014). For instance, Amin (1997) investigates 'non-native English speaking' teachers' attitudes towards their native-speaker students' perceptions of them. The study has documented that the way in which 'non-native English speaking' teachers are viewed by their students has momentous influence on their identity formation. That is, the fact that native-speaker students usually discredit the capacity of their teachers just for belonging to a non-white minority led to difficulties in displaying their teacher identity regardless of how competent they believed themselves to be. This study, like numerous others, is indicative of the impact that the nativespeakerist ideology has on teachers' identities even though he (ibid.) did not strictly tie it up to the label of nativespeakerism.

Despite the fact that the consensus has been against the use of the 'native' and 'non-native speaker' dualism due to its discriminatory essence, Medgyes (1992) believes in the inevitability of its use. In his review of the dualism, he (ibid.) questions the need for discrediting the division between 'native' and 'non-native' speakers of English. He deems it necessary to

give people who were not born or did not receive education in an English-speaking country labels like 'non-native' speakers because, he argues, the level of accomplishment and competence of 'native speakers' is unreachable. By so saying, he (ibid.) seems to have fallen into the trap of overgeneralisation. The assertiveness of his view seems to entail negligence towards individual choices and capacities, which also seems to be based on a positivist stance.

Opposing to claims such as that of Medgyes' (ibid.) regarding the necessity of asserting labels that uphold the dualism, the term 'new speaker' has been utilised as an alternative to discriminatory labels such as 'non-native' speakers and 'L2 learners', which I deem reasonable, to refer to language users, who learned a language "through immersion, bilingual, or subject-only educational programmes", and who claim rightfulness of owning that language and yet are not perceived by global standards to be amongst the legitimate speakers of it (Smith-Christmas, Ó Murchadha, Hornsby, and Moriarty, 2018, p.4). Amongst the issues discussed in relation to the 'native' and 'non-native' dualism is 'standard English and standardisation' as ideology (Modiano, 1999; Leppihalme, 2000; Lippi-Green, 2012; Holmes, 2013; Milroy and Milroy, 2015; Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015; Karakaş, 2017). Nevertheless, I regard these as indispensable parts of nativespeakerism since their criteria fall within the broader framework of this ideology.

Previous work on nativespeakerism has only been limited to cases involving 'native speaker' teachers or students. In addition, several aspects of this ideology such as appearance and the idealisation of 'native speakers' not only as teachers but as human beings have been widely overlooked. Most importantly, focus has mainly been on this ideology as an end without attempting to examine it as a means to an end. In the particular setting of the current study, nativespeakerism is tackled based on Holliday's (2005) definition of it. Exclusively, however, it is dealt with from the perspective of individuals who have never been taught by 'native speakers' of English. Thus, assumptions of how this ideology came into being when there is no tangible frame of comparison is featured in this thesis.

Nativespeakerism has been tackled in relation to "the ideology of compartmentalisation". It is worth mentioning that the term "compartmentalisation ideology" is used differently this thesis. The following section sketches the use of the term "ideology of compartmentalisation" beyond the context of the current study.

Ideology of 'Compartmentalisation'

In regard to the authenticity aspect of nativespeakerism, which is regarded as a separate ideology by Choi (2016), a special reference is given to how the notion of

"compartmentalisation" as an ideology is addressed in the reviewed literature (Christiansen, Guzmán, and Mora-Pablo, 2018). In the particular context of the current study, compartmentalisation ideology, as explained in Section 1.5 (also see Appendix 13), refers to something greater and far more encompassing. Thus, it is important to specify that compartmentalisation ideology and Christiansen, Guzmán, and Mora-Pablo's (2018) ideology of compartmentalisation are two different constructs that have some minor attributes in common.

Their study reveals that the ideologies that the participants hold affect their identities and hence their social and teaching practices. They (ibid.) state that there are mainly two ideologies present, namely compartmentalisation and nativespeakerism. The participants, who did not have the opportunities to socialise in multi-lingual communities in the US, were not permitted to use English at home, nor were they permitted to use Spanish in the classroom. The results somewhat resemble those Abdi (2011) in that the marginalization of students led to the creation of ideological constructs that were inexistent. This separation in the way the two languages are viewed drove students to develop the ideology of compartmentalisation which "views languages as distinct systems and mixing them as a deficiency on the part of the speaker" (Christiansen, Guzmán, and Mora-Pablo, 2018, p.87). This, I believe, draws on the overall premise of the nativespeakerist ideology.

As previously stated, the compartmentalisation ideology dealt with in this study is much thicker than notions of mere speakerhood. I mainly addressed this view of 'compartmentalisation' from this perspective to highlight the idea that the term was used in other contexts related to the study to refer to other occurrences. Hence, I argue that the type of compartmentalisation addressed in this subsection is another facet of the nativespeakerist ideology that is much less visible than other major ones. Nativespeakerism seems to relate to a broader ideological construction which extends to include not only idealisation of 'native speakers' of English, but of the West on the whole. In the following subsection, I address ideologies that involve eulogization of the West and Western standards.

2.2.2. Pro-Western ideologies

In this subsection, I tackle two major ideologies that pertain to the idealisation of the West: The idealisation of the West, which I refer to as West idealism in later chapters, and (neo)-orientalism, on the basis of which a reverse notion arose from the data. Although the status of these two ideological constructs within the studied community is not equal in terms of independence and frequency, which is made apparent in Chapters 5 and 6, they are grouped

together in this subsection to accentuate the relationship between them which, in turn, emphasises how both of them relate to compartmentalisation ideology within the particular setting of this study.

2.2.2.1. Idealisation of the West

This subsection addresses the idealisation of the West as an ideological construct. It aims at explaining how the notion of Western idealisation operates and seeks to demonstrate how the concept appertains to compartmentalisation ideology. Nevertheless, before discussing the issue of idealisation, it is, first, important to define what the 'West' generally denotes because the notion of the "West" as opposed to the "non-West" emphatically implies a sense of compartmentalisation in its essence. This compartmentalisation, as per the main argument of this study, is defined in terms of the perceived superiority of the West and the inferiority of the non-West.

What is the West?

Hall (1992) delineates the notion of the West by providing a number of attributes that it is believed to possess as opposed to the 'non-West' or the 'Rest'. Primarily, he calls into question the idea that the "West" is a geographical construct by addressing the exclusion of Eastern European and Latin American countries while including Japan, which is located in the far East. He, thus, concludes that the West is more of an ideational construct that has been built on historical grounds than it is geographical. He defines the West as "a society that is developed, industrialized, urbanized, capitalist, secular, and modern" (ibid., p.186), in the sense that any society that does not adhere to the standards of this definition cannot be considered Western regardless of where it is physically existent. Based on this idea, Hall (1992) concedes that the whole notion of West is an ideological construct that strengthens conceptions of dissimilarity and highlights these disparities to bring forth essentialised characteristics that accompany the categories constructed as part of the West and non-West distinction.

Hall (ibid.) argues that the entire notion of the "West" and its "sense of identity" was partially constructed with the help of "the Rest". That is, the idea held about the West by the 'Rest' facilitated the construction and thriving of the ideological implications that it has including its idealisation. In terms of the latter, He (ibid.) states that "stereotyping" is amongst the most salient factors in the creation of both the West-Rest dualism and the idealisation of the West. He provides hints of an essentialist frame of mind that is fuelled by the stereotyping that resulted in the idealisation of the West, which in turn, entails demonisation of the 'Rest'. In this regard, he asserts that "[b]y this strategy, the 'Rest' becomes defined as everything that the

West is not - its mirror image. It is represented as absolutely, essentially, different, *other:* the Other" (ibid., p.216). That is, this 'other', whose profile resembles that of the orientalist 'Orient', is only defined and seen in relation to the idealised West. Its criteria, then, become essentially opposing in nature to those of the West. The notion of the idealised West is discussed in the following segment.

The idealised West

Despite its immensity, the concept of the idealisation of the West has only received a minimal amount of attention. In most cases, it was only dealt with in connection with other widespread concepts such as universality and westernisation. Mehmet (1996), for instance, relates the perceived supremacy of the West to the concept of universality. In this regard, he calls into question the demand of universality between societies and cultures. He backs up his assertion by arguing that this universality is, in fact, a call for adherence to idealised Western 'supreme' values. This idealisation, he argues, is based on a history exclusive to the West which was somehow manipulated to serve the purpose of unquestionability. Moreover, Mehmet (1996) attributes this idealisation to Western arts and sciences by stating that they emphasize the perception of the 'Other' as inferior and incapable of producing anything independently without reproducing Western content. Although his account was intended to resist the idealisation, it seems to imply a certain degree of essentialism towards non-Western artefacts and scientific innovations. An alternative way of putting it without the risk of essentialism would be to see it in relation to westernisation.

The idealisation of the West is very often tackled in connection with westernisation (Von Laue, 1987; Ugbam, Chukwu, and Ogbo, 2014; Glück, 2015; Simić, 2016). In many instances, it seems to be both a cause and a product of the idealisation of the West in the sense that the latter may drive individuals to become westernised while westernisation itself includes ideas of the ideal West that get transferred to the people embracing it. Simić (2016) addresses the idealisation of the West in a Serbian context. He states that this issue led many Serbs to reject their cultures for the sake of gaining belongingness to their idealised versions of the West. These versions include lifestyle and perceptions of freedom and democracy. A fundamental issue with his study is that his approach seems to entail a certain level of rigidity towards ideologies and culture. His description of 'culture' does not seem to be based on his participants' views, but rather on his own perception of a collective Serbian culture as opposed to a Western one. His findings somewhat match those of Ugbam, Chukwu, and Ogbo (2014, p.68) in that their study reveals a clear correlation between the "inferiority complex" of some

"African" participants and Western idealisation. In this respect, they assert that those individuals were "eager to accept anything western while shunning anything African".

As a reaction to the problems caused by westernisation and the type of ideational monopolism that contributes to the promotion and maintenance of the idealisation of the West, the concept of de-westernisation has been called for (Iwabuchi, 2014; Glück, 2015). Glück (2015), for instance, discusses the major drawbacks of westernisation and calls for the concept of de-westernisation as a solution to the Eurocentric knowledge production which has been promoted and sustained by complete reliance on Western knowledge.

Research on the idealisation of the West is surprisingly limited in the field of language education and applied linguistics. Nevertheless, the immensity of the construct cannot and should not go unnoticed. To this end, I propose a concept that refers to the idealisation of the West as an ideological construct that can be deeply rooted within societies around the world including Algeria. The use of the word 'Western' in Mehmet's (1996) "Western idealism" somewhat implies that idealism refers to any idealisation that is seen by the West. In other words, it suggests the idea that it is not the West that is being idealised, but rather other constructs that are idealised by the West itself. I, therefore, choose to call it 'West idealism' to eschew any misinterpretation. Descriptions and instances of this overarching ideology are yet to be discussed in Section 5.2.

Based on Hall's (1992) definition of the idealisation of the West and on Van Dijk's (1998) theoretical delineation (Appendix 13), I have considered this construct to be ideological mainly due to the fact that it seems to be both socially shared and mentally constructed. In regard to this, based on the analysis and thick description of the gathered data, this ideological position seems to fall within all categories delineated by Van Dijk's (1998, pp.69-70) categorisation (Appendix 13).

An ideology that is strictly related to the idealisation of the West is neo-orientalism. While it is true that these constructs overlap, the main difference between them seems to be that orientalism – as well as neo-orientalism – mostly relates to Western envisagement of the 'Orient', as shall be discussed in the following section, and entails idealisation of the West. On the other hand, the ideology of the idealised West, as I shall refer to as West idealism in subsequent chapters, relates to the way it is specifically idealised by the West and especially the 'non-West'.

2.2.2.2. (Neo)-orientalism

This subsection addresses the notion of neo-orientalism as a continuation of the orientalist ideology. Since neither construct emerged from the data, the main aim of this section is not to highlight the concepts themselves, but rather to provide a framework of how a 'reverse' ideological position or ideology can arise as a reaction to the beliefs indorsed by them. In addition, the concept of the 'Orient' as a separate 'world' and any reverse views that come with it entail notions of compartmentalisation that treats the 'Orient' and the 'Occident' in terms of superiority and inferiority, which relates to the overall argument presented in this study.

The essence of neo-orientalism goes back to the orientalist ideology defined by Said (1979) as the Western view that others Eastern societies for being "exotic" and "inferior" as opposed to the 'Centred' West. This ideology upholds the belief that the West is superior to the "Orient", per se, which was generally used to describe the Arab World in the 19th century (Samiei, 2010), hence the term orientalism, which is highly contested. He argues that the contemporary world has moved past the orientalist period to what he refers to as "the post-orientalism era" (ibid., p.1148). Neo-orientalism, as a concept, is defined by him as a more specific evolutionary continuation of orientalism.

Therefore, it can be said that neo-orientalism here is defined as a new form of traditional orientalism that abides by the trend of globalisation. He (ibid.) also argues that neo-orientalism is an ideology that strengthens the "Islam-West" dualism in a subtle, yet more destructive way. This definition of neo-orientalism is regarded by several researchers to be a consequence of the 9/11 events and it strictly relates Islam to terrorism in what can also be regarded as a form of islamophobia (Tuastad, 2003; Koprowski, 2011; Altwaiji, 2014; Kerboua, 2016). Neo-orientalism is, thus, a form of classic orientalism that is restricted to demonising views of the "Orient" that only includes Arab/Muslim countries. Giolfo and Sinatora (2018) argue that regardless of the political implications that lie beneath neo-orientalism, a very important component in the continuance of the ideology is the element of language.

They (ibid.) conclude by surmising an opposite direction to that which espouses orientalist and neo-orientalist claims. This direction is viewed in terms of holisticness and complexity. They state that this direction "would represent a reverse tendency with respect to the Western utilitarian approach to Arabic towards a more holistic study of the language of the Arabs and Islam" (ibid., p.96). Hence, complexity becomes the key element to discarding (neo)-orientalist determinations. Discussions of orientalism and neo-orientalism mainly include descriptions or disapproval of them from perspectives that do not involve those who are truly concerned with them.

In relation to this, a key problem with much of the literature on neo-orientalism is notions of "reverse" ideas and ideologies that include 'oriental' views of classic and new orientalism(s), which I refer to, here, as reverse-(neo)-orientalism based on Giolfo and Sinatora's (2018) description. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that this area is generally visited in relation to neo-orientalist views held by Arabs themselves (Mohamedo, 2015). Within the context of this study, the term stands for the attitudes held by Muslim Arabs/Berbers towards the orientalist and neo-orientalist ideologies, which, in accordance with the characteristics delineated by Van Dijk (1998), can be regarded as a distinct ideological position (See Appendix 13). This is described in more detail in the following subsection. The reverse-(neo)-orientalist ideology upholds the belief that orientalism and neo-orientalism are essentially deeply rooted in Western beliefs which appears to have constructed a type of resistance to all that is Western as well as a form of an anti-Western stance that individuals who hold this ideology occupy.

Reverse-(neo)-orientalism

It is important, however, to clarify the distinction between "orientalism in reverse" and "reverse-(neo)-orientalism". The former stands for the preconceived idea held by the West that Islam argues that Muslim predicaments can only be solved by Muslim scholars, which entails that Islamism is the only way for the Muslim World to encounter advancement. This means that the beliefs of the 'Orient' as being extreme led to extremism from the part of this belief holders themselves (Achcar, 2008), which, I believe, can be regarded as an alternate description of neo-orientalism or a form that is contained in the definition of it. The latter, which is tackled in this thesis, refers to the idea whereby the holders of the ideology look down at the West in the way they believe they are looked down at by the '(neo)-orientalist' West.

Based on the schematic structure of ideologies delineated by Van Dijk (1998), reverse-(neo)-orientalism could fall within all categories (Appendix 13). Therefore, based on the fact that reverse-neo-orientalism fits within Van Dijk's (ibid.) overall categorisation of ideologies and on the occurrences that specifically took place in the field, it may well be argued that it is an ideological construct. This ideology seems to necessitate the presence of other positions such as westophobia which is described in the following subsection.

2.2.3. Westophobia

This subsection looks at how westophobia, or anti-westernism, is dealt with against the backdrop of past and contemporary literature. What is known about westophobia is that it is largely based on an anti-Western state of mind that demonises the West. Within the confines of the current study, the element of a romanticised perception of non-Western standards is added

to the equation. Thus, this ideology relates to the main argument of this study in that it appertains to compartmentalisation ideology in a similar, yet very different, way to that of West idealism and neo-orientalism. In other words, the idealisation of the West is replaced by deprecation, which also involves senses of necessary division apropos the West that translate in terms of superiority of the non-West and inferiority of the West. Relating to the reverse-(neo)-orientalist ideology whereby individuals look down at the West in the same way they believe they are looked at by Western people, ideologies like westophobia thrive to fuel the perceived unjust division between the West and the non-West within the context of this study.

The term westophobia stands for fear and antagonism towards the West (Khan, Baig and Beg, 2018). Although Khan, Baig and Beg stress the idea that this ideology resulted from "policies and actions seen as anti-Islam or directed against Muslims" (ibid., p.51), it can be argued that the term could be looked at from a less specific perspective. On some occasions, the term is also called the anti-West movement, discourse or ideology (Keyder, 1993; Behravesh, 2011; Ali, 2016), and anti-westernism (Zabardast, 2015) which stand for the same concept as westophobia. This construct can be related to orientalism in several interconnected ways. Amongst these ways is that this mindset could be a reaction to the orientalist attitudes held by the West in the sense that it could exist in the form of reverse-(neo)-orientalism as described in the previous section.

On the other hand, Ali (2016) provides another framework as to how the two constructs correlate. The intermediate, in this case, is islamophobia. By the same token, Khan (2016) approaches the concept of westophobia from "clash of civilisations" theoretical framework. According to him, this theory tackles the relationship between the "Christian" West and the Muslim world. Although he did not directly relate this relationship to the different shades of the orientalist ideology, it appears to intermingle with (neo)-orientalism and reverse-(neo)-orientalism to a great extent. Unlike the standard definitions of the term, Khan's adds a critical dimension that has to do with religious identity. He defines westophobia as a term that "encourages the young Muslims to engage in the affirmation of Islamic identity and revival of religious values [that posit] moral precepts of justice, equality, opposition to materialism, greed and egoism and a correct appreciation of family values" (Geaves, 2010; Bonavita, 2011, as cited in Khan, ibid., p.3). It seems that this definition connects the values held by Islam to an ethnocentric and stereotypical projection of what the West is allegedly believed to lack or have.

Although it can be argued that westophobia is a relatively new concept that came as a reaction to Western attitudes and actions towards the Muslim world, he (ibid.) seems to believe that this ideology can be traced back to when the clash between the Islamic and Christian

civilisations began, which somewhat mirrors Ali's (2016) view of the matter. Khan's (2016, p.9) study reveals that "Western media, academia and intellectuals have misrepresented the Islamic history in Europe thereby, establishing a perception that peaceful co-existence between Islam and the Christian West is impossible", which, he argues, forms the main cause of hostility between the two "civilisations". This hostility was further reinforced by the 9/11 events that triggered the Islamophobic ideology within Western communities, which was, in turn, accompanied by a sense of anti-Western values as part of an "ideological division" (ibid., p.9) that separated the two. Apart from the conceptual definitions of the term westophobia, the main difference between Ali's and Khan's perceptions of it is that Ali (2016) sees it as an ideology that was elicited by colonisation, whereas Khan (2016) perceives the main trigger to be the 9/11 attacks that prompted the "anti-Islam" sentiment which, in turn, triggered the anti-West sentiment.

Amongst the various approaches that have been put forward to relate westophobia to Islam and the relationship it has with the West (Keyder, 1993; Zabardast, 2015; Ali, 2016; Khan, 2016, Kesbi, 2017; Khan, Baig and Beg, 2018), only a limited number of studies established the link between this ideology and other constructs such as culture. For instance, although he does eventually relate westophobia to Islam, Behravesh (2011) views the term as a "discourse" that espouses Othering, "enmity" (ibid., p.334), and "demonization" (ibid., p.336), which, he believes, form a constituent part of the Iranian culture. These aspects of the "discourse" are combined with other historically created ideological and cultural features that helped in its maintenance as a construct that is a fundamental part of the "identity construction" of Iranian individuals.

Although it is undeniable that westophobia can relate to Islam in several ways, what seems to be missing is the view of this ideology as an independent construct, which may have to do with stereotypes and other attitudinal elements and ideologies. Most of the studies that seek to address this ideology begin with a pre-established idea that it relates to religion. The current study advocates the idea that this construct can have several causes. It also relates to a great deal of other ideological positions that contribute to the demonising view of the West such as reverse-(neo)-orientalism, nationalism, conservatism, ethnocentrism, and anti-Americanism (Makdisi, 2002; Rubin, 2002; Rubin and Rubin, 2004; Islam, 2005; Grandin, 2006; Guerlain, 2007; Berman 2008; Chiozza, 2009; Hollander, 2009; Blaydes and Drew, 2012).

While the aforementioned ideologies involve nuances of cultural orientations, there are a number of other ideologies that are directly associated with the overall concept of culture. In the following section, I address three main ideologies that appertain to culture.

2.2.4. Ideology and culture

The main aim of this section is to delineate the type of ideologies that exist in relation to culture and how that can be indicative of how compartmentalisation ideology governs such mindsets in certain contexts within the particular setting of the current study. Further, it seeks to address the difference between three constructs that are often used interchangeably based on the reviewed literature, namely, essentialism, culturalism, and ethnocentrism.

2.2.4.1. Essentialism

In this subsection, I address some of the common views that seek to delimitate the nature of essentialism. A growing body of literature has evaluated this mindset. Even though it has been taken to have different meanings in different disciplines such as cultural studies (Grillo, 2003; Holliday, 2011; Piller, 2012), psychology (Medin, 1989), biology (Walsh, 2006), and gender studies (Higgins, 1996; Stone, 2004), the essence of the concept is relatively the same. It is the idea that "[p]eople act as if things (e.g., objects) have essences or underlying natures that make them the thing that they are" (Medin, 1989, pp.1476-1477). That is, the core of essentialism lies in that people are attributed by "essences" that determine their nature as individuals. More specifically, however, cultural essentialism is defined by Grillo (2003, p.158) as "a system of belief grounded in a conception of human beings as 'cultural' (and under certain conditions territorial and national) subjects, i.e. bearers of *a* culture, located within a boundaried world, which defines them and differentiates them from others". This definition goes by the general delimitations of the term, but it adds the idea that individuals are essentialised according to their cultures or nations. Thus, Grillo (ibid., p.167) also believes that essentialism is "strongly bound" to nationalism.

Furthermore, he (ibid., p.167) states that essentialism promotes the categorisation of entire populations on the basis of ethnicity, nationality, culture, religion, and stereotypes. This view of labelling, especially at the level of culture and stereotypes, is shared by Holliday (2011, p.5) whose opinion of essentialism is a cultural one although he does not refer to it as 'cultural essentialism' per se. He states that, from an essentialist point of view, people's identities are defined by the stereotypes held about the cultures to which they belong, in the sense that individuals become the stereotypes that are held about their cultures.

Although culturalism, which is discussed in the following section, and cultural essentialism overlap in many instances, attempts to define the essentialist ideology often fail to provide a precise distinction between the two constructs. For instance, Matthes (2016, p.335) defines essentialism in terms of cultural membership, which he believes to be the main

problematic factor about it, in the sense that it creates the illusion that cultures are "homogeneous, static, and monolithic". This issue is what many scholars regard as the problematic element of culturalism as shall be seen later in this chapter.

While most views on essentialism delimitate what it does and its impact, only a few researchers straightforwardly delineate its nature. In regard to this, Mahalingam (2003) directly addresses the ideological aspect of essentialism. In order to do so, he introduces three paradigms of essentialism as "heuristic bias" from a psychological point of view and discusses their opposition to the social constructivist standpoint that deals with essentialism as a means of establishing various degrees of power. Even though the three paradigms vary considerably, it takes the three of them to make sense of essentialism. Namely, these are "adoption", which deals with essentialism as an inherent quality, "transformation", which relates to group membership and the factors that modify them, and "brain-transplant", which relates to possible alternations of social identity between different groups (ibid., p.735).

Social constructivism, on the other hand, sees essentialism as "a mechanism for preserving social, political, and economic power" (West, 1993, as cited in Mahalingam, 2003, p.735), which denies essentialism of the quality of being a "heuristic bias". Mahalingam's (ibid.) contribution lies in that he bridged the gap between the two opposing views of essentialism and made sense of their differences to construct an ideational view of it. While the three paradigms highlight the idea that essentialism is a type of "bias" that can change over space and time, which deprives essentialism of any purpose that it might have, adding the social constructivist dimension to it, which gives it a motive, results in a more holistic view of how it functions as an ideology. The central problem with his (ibid.) outline, other than it being somewhat too exclusive, is that the paradigms have not been dealt with in depth. Based on his description, the paradigms can so easily be misinterpreted.

A more encompassing view of essentialism was discussed by Phillips (2010) who examines four implications of essentialism. First, she states that essentialism associates the attributes of a certain group to all members of the group. This attribution generally includes the use of "all" to describe categories such as "women" or "Africans" (ibid., p.50). The second implication is based on the first one in that the categories set become natural attributes of every member of the group and are used to explain social and cultural behaviour. The third version promotes an amalgamated and homogeneous view of groups as similarly discussed by Grillo (2003) and Matthes (2016). Last but not least, the fourth view is grounded in the third. As per this attribution, the homogenous categories are controlled by the anticipations set by group belongingness.

Based on these delimitations of essentialism, it can be said that being culturally and socially essentialist assumes that certain aspects of human actions or behaviours are essentially occurring as part of their inherent culture and society in the sense that any behaviour is explained by the cultures to which individuals are believed to belong. The perspective from which I approach essentialism in this study is almost purely ideological based on Matthes' (2016) view of the matter, as well as that of Phillips (2010) since I believe that most ideological constructions have many layers that may or may not evolve over time depending on discourse. Cultural essentialism is often used interchangeably with other constructs such as culturalism. The difference between both is characterised in the following section.

2.2.4.2. Culturalism

Of most other ideological and non-ideological constructs, culturalism has been the most versatile since it has been used to refer to different constructs in different contexts. In addition to that, distinctive terms, such as 'cultural fundamentalism', 'culturism', and 'cultural essentialism' have been used to refer to the same construct. Given the fact that, as per their definitions, essentialism and culturalism have a number of characteristics in common, several scholars use them either interchangeably or define them in similar terms (Eriksen and Stjernfelt, 2009; Chemla and Keller, 2017).

Chin (2017) disapproves of the concept by asserting that following the culturalist 'approach' denies individuals of their rights to be regarded as complex and unique. These characteristics are seen to be replaced by cultural attributes that delimitate who individuals are. Thus, culturalism, here, is defined by way of Othering. Nevertheless, in some other contexts, it is defined in terms of homogeneity in a way which is almost completely devoid of Othering. For example, Lanselle (2017) defines the concept with regard to how Chinese individuals can be culturalist about their own communities in their idealisation of the US. Regarding this matter, she (ibid., pp.52-53) argues that the Chinese attempts to "des-alienate" failed by the stereotypes they attributed to their own 'culture' and the wholistic view that they held about the United States (US).

Alternatively, Amin (2009) criticises this view for providing a homogenous view of culture that makes it seem as though cultural patterns are unchangeable, which I believe is possible depending on the definition of culture itself. To others, culturalism is used somewhat synonymously with anti-racism (Eriksen and Nielsen, 2013) which means that it is perceived as a mechanism or approach that embraces cultural differences as opposed to the claims made

by racists. A similar view was described by Hałas (2016) who describes culturalism as a perspective that highly acknowledges social occurrences.

Another view of culturalism was described by Johnson (1983, as cited in Lewis, 2002, p.24) who states that the analysis of cultural production can be indicative of the social behaviour of a group of people. That is, according to him, culturalism is not concerned with how people are seen, nor does it deal with the notion of culture itself, but rather with how cultural behaviours and patterns are brought to light by the analysis of cultural practices. Nevertheless, Lewis (2002) goes on to criticise this conception for aspects that include denying the element of cultural complexity. As a response, he proposes the notion of "transculturalism" which he believes solves the problems caused by culturalism. Along similar lines, Clarke (2008, p.22) calls for a more "dynamic" approach to culture that detaches individuals and societies from the cultural determinism that is commonly believed to dominate them, while still acknowledging the connections they fundamentally have with cultural creations.

While culturalism is considered to be an idea (Eriksen and Stjernfelt, 2009), an approach (Chin, 2017), or a mechanism by some, others see it as an ideological construct (Dirlik, 1987; Sartori, 2008). Sartori (2008, p.39) defines culturalism as an ideological discourse that accounts for culture as a form of "human underdetermination", which completely opposes Lewis's (2002) description of the notion. In other words, this delineation of the concept indicates that it questions the essence of cultures and places it in a position where it would be difficult to assume that it is true because it can be merely dependent on what is said about it rather than what it actually is. In addition, he states that this ideology can co-exist with and be tied to other ideological constructs such as nationalism and ethnocentrism which he believes share various characteristics at different degrees.

Dirlik (1987, p.43), on the other hand, sees it as a "hegemonic ideology" that undervalues culture and the elements associated with it. It is regarded as a tool that works for blurring the hegemonic relations that exploit power within and between societies, in the sense that it separates societies by creating the illusion of cultural difference so that culture remains the only thing that groups or separates people without any acknowledgement of the social relations and practices that actually take place within societies. In addition, he believes that "culturalism as hegemonic practice" is upheld and legitimised by academic intellectuals, which made it move beyond mere social prejudice to an ideological practice that is socially dynamic.

He (ibid., p.17) asserts that traditions become a "way of identifying the Other" because traditions have come to indicate the past that is opposite to the novelty held by the West which, again, promotes the dualism between the West and the non-West. A very similar view was

discussed by Stolcke (1995) to refer to cultural fundamentalism. Another delineation of the culturalist ideology was discussed by Moore (2003) who refers to it as culturism. He asserts that this view of culture treats alternative practices as deficient instead of seeing them as different. Although this definition can be interpreted as a form of ethnocentrism, it also seems to uphold the idea that culturalism claims that certain cultures are better than others in regard to the deficiency that lies in the differences between them.

Given the multiplicity of views and approaches to this construct, culturalism is defined in the context of the current study as a thin-centred ideological position that upholds the belief that some cultures are superior to others whether be that the individuals' own or others. Although it can be based on Othering, in many instances, as discussed by Dirlik (1987) and Chin (2017), which associates it with the ethnocentric ideology to a great extent, it can also be rooted in self-Othering practices and beliefs. The way I see culturalism is that it focuses on cultures and not on the individuals themselves, which is somewhat similar to the way Sartori (2008) and Moore (2003) see it. That is the element that distinguishes it from constructs like essentialism and ethnocentrism, though I also argue that culturalism can coexist with these ideologies as well as other ideologies that have somewhat similar grounds such as West idealism depending on the context and motives.

As a reaction to the actions underpinned by culturalism, cultural relativism is often advocated by scholars (Dixon, 1977; Zaharlick, 1992; Binder, 1999; Monaghan and Just, 2000; Tilley, 2007; Caduff, 2011; Holliday, 2011; Folorunso, 2015). This construct seems to have been mainly founded on the idea that cultures are equal. Nevertheless, this did not prevent it from being a highly contested one. The fact that it upholds the idea that people's behaviours can be explained by their cultural background makes it fall within the essentialism trap. That is, from a cultural relativist perspective, who people are becomes restricted to the ideas held about the cultures to which they are believed to 'belong'.

As per this mindset, the perception of human beings is determined by the cultures to which they are believed to 'belong' and vice versa. Since cultures are generally related to a specific set of languages, their perceptions towards different matters differ which would make it wrong to assume that some cultures or cultural behaviours are superior to others (Moschonas, 2004; Pishghadam, Jajarmi and Shayesteh, 2016; Patrão, 2018). This idea is often discussed in relation to linguistic relativism (Ellingsworth, 1992; Monaghan and Just, 2000; Pishghadam, Jajarmi and Shayesteh, 2016). Since this mindset claims to espouse a holistic view to culture, it is also examined in relation to human rights (Donnelly, 1984; Washburn, 1987; Binder, 1999; Brown, 2008; Glacier, 2013; Billet, 2016). As far this 'overarching ideology' (Matthews, 1970;

Wrong, 1997; Forsyth, O'boyle, and McDaniel, 2008) is concerned, these opinions seem to neglect a very important point discussed by Holliday (2011) who states that cultural relativism promotes neo-essentialism by establishing the belief that cultural differences should be respected, which gives room for neo-essentialists to categorise people on the basis of their cultures. This, in turn, fortifies views of Othering, which could indicate that culturalism and cultural relativism are two sides of the same coin.

A construct that is often used interchangeably with culturalism is ethnocentrism. In the following subsection, I describe some of the multiple approaches to this ideology.

2.2.4.3. Ethnocentrism

Unlike culturalism and essentialism, ethnocentrism has a relatively standard definition that makes it more easily recognisable. Nevertheless, there are existing theories on the nature of it which are somewhat conflicting. It is generally defined as the belief of one's group superiority which results in deeming the cultural behaviours of other groups wrong according to the standards set by one's own cultural group (Billiet, Eisinga, and Scheepers, 1996; Shaules, 2007; Capucao, 2010; Bizumic, 2015).

Tajfel (1981) delineates two "mental mechanisms" that are theoretically responsible for the construction of ethnocentrism. These mechanisms are "social identification", which stands for the perception of one's social or cultural group's characteristics as possessing positive attributes, and "social contra-identification", which means perceiving the criteria of other cultural groups as being negative or deficient. These attributes, in my opinion, can lead up to one another depending on the social context of individuals. That is, it can be possible that the sense of superiority set by the conviction that the individual's cultural aspects and behaviours are 'right' leads to perceiving all other cultural aspects as wrong and vice versa. Nevertheless, what seems to be lacking is the element of history in the construction of social connection, which seems to be overlooked in Tajfel's (1981) theory.

While some researchers regard ethnocentrism as an "attitude" (Capucao, 2010), others see it as a form of prejudice (Cunningham, Nezlek, and Banaji, 2004). Capucao (2010) proposes another theoretical delineation that endeavours to explain ethnocentrism. Bobo and Smith (1994, as cited in Capucao, ibid., p.167) states that this theory, which is called the "realistic group conflict theory", describes ethnocentrism as an occurrence that is strengthened by competitions within the same social group, in the sense that these competitions increase "in-group favouritism, in-group solidarity and in-group pride" (ibid., p.167), which, in turn, strengthen senses of bias and antagonism towards outer ethnic groups. Based on this theory,

Coenders (2001) suggests three distinct theoretical approaches that, he claims, outline different explanations of the ethnocentric mindset.

These theories redefine the "realistic group theory" in terms of threat, personal interest, and a combination of both. What seems to be unsettling about the 'spin-off' theories and the original theory is that they make it appear as though the "out-group" is essentially a particular cultural group, which is not necessarily the case. The focus of these theories seems to be "out-groups", which entails that "in-group" ethnocentric actions are necessarily triggered by a particular or a cluster of known groups. Clearly, these theories do make sense in particular contexts, but, arguably, they cannot be generally applied to the entirety of ethnocentric phenomena.

Despite it not being a theory, religion has also been regarded as one of the most salient aspects in the creation and maintenance of the ethnocentric mindset (Capucao, 2010, Bizumic, 2015). Bizumic (2015) argues that religion and ethnocentrism intersect in several stations. These stations include the fact that ethnocentrism can often be justified by religious beliefs including justification and group unity. Based on the data collected and analysed in this study, I agree with the idea that religion can, in many instances, be the reason why some beliefs are ethnocentric. Nonetheless, these beliefs should become ideological in order for them to intersect with religion in the way they do. Religion, thus, becomes a Trojan horse that feeds into some of the already-existent ideological opinions, which are ethnocentric in this case, and this takes more than just "beliefs" to be fulfilled.

As far as the current study is concerned, I believe that ethnocentrism is greater than what would be considered an "attitude" and more specific than what would be regarded as a "prejudice". Instead, it can be argued that ethnocentrism is an ideology that dictates the rightness or wrongness of other cultures' social behaviours based on one's own convictions of what is culturally right or wrong. This relates to Shaules's (2007) definition of the concept. As Sumner (2008, p.13) puts it: "[e]ach group thinks its own folkways the only right ones, and if it observes that other groups have other folkways, these excite its scorn". Despite this account being relatively 'old', as it was originally stated in the year 1909, it is quite stimulating how this description still applies to individuals of the contemporary society. Perhaps the reasons and details of such ideology differ between now and then, but the outcomes are more or less the same.

Although the next section does not seem to be particularly related to the set of ideological constructs represented earlier in this chapter, its relevance to the particular

framework of the study is prominent because its presence, too, is bound by nuances of superiority and inferiority to the West as dictated by compartmentalisation ideology.

2.2.5. Populism

In this section, I present different views that revolve around the ideological nature of the populist mindset. Populism is defined by Albertazzi and McDonnell (2008, p.3) as "an ideology which pits a virtuous and homogeneous people against a set of elites and dangerous 'others' who are together depicted as depriving (or attempting to deprive) the sovereign people of their rights, values, prosperity, identity and voice". Although this definition, amongst similar ones (Mudde, 2017; Ostiguy, 2017) is the most common description of populism, other scholars argue for different levels of diversity. For example, while Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017) view the diversity in terms of time, space, and nature, Zeemann's (2019) view of the multiplicity of this construct functions both at the level of individuals and the context that encloses them. These two views are explained in this section. While Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017) use the diversity of this phenomenon to prove that it is ideological, Zeemann (2019) debates otherwise. He argues that the diversity itself proves populism non-ideological since different movements can occur for different political reasons which prohibits them from all appertaining to the same ideology. By so saying, Zeemann (ibid.) seems to neglect the heterogenous nature of ideologies. Although his central argument is to argue for a more diversified approach to the individuals concerned with populism, his approach to the notion of ideology seems to be a somewhat rigid one.

Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017) consider populism to be a "thin-centered" ideology due to its inability to exist in isolation from other ideological constructs. In my opinion, however, the thin-centredness of any ideology depends on the context wherein it occurs. They define it from an ideational point of view as:

> [A] thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic camps, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite', and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people. (ibid., p.6)

The elite, here, are seen in terms of power mainly at the level of politics, economy, and media (ibid., p.12), while the 'people' are defined in relation to nations.

In line with this delineation, they address how populism operates differently in different regions such as North America, Europe, and the Middle East, which I think is meant to include North Africa. As of this last region, populism is believed to relate to the Arab spring only

partially since, as described earlier, it 'has' to exist alongside other thin-centred and thick-centred ideologies that help it subsist. This view of the diversity of populism matches that of Anselmi (2017) who delimits populism differently according to the context wherein it occurs. Not only are his classifications diverse at the level of nations, but they also provide a wider perspective of how populism differs with regard to constructs such as media and culture.

Based on Mudde and Kaltwasser's (2017) definition of ideology and the types they delineated, I believe it can be argued that populism is an ideology. Nevertheless, Zeemann's (2019) view of the matter cannot be completely discarded. My perspective is a combination of Mudde and Kaltwasser's (2017) and Zeemann's (2019) definition. That is, while Mudde and Kaltwasser's (2017) account is persuasive as to why populism is a thin-centred ideology that almost necessarily operates alongside other ideologies, they still provide a view that homogenises the people and elites, which is what Zeemann (2019) argues against. To this end, I argue that, in the case of my current study, the two accounts are not contradictory; they are rather complementary. My view of populism, thus, is that it is an a thin-centred ideology that involves heterogenous sets of people and elites in the sense that these do not necessarily belong to the same nation. Populism, amongst numerous other ideologies, is often discussed in relation to identity (Betz, 2003; Kuzio, 2012; Marchlewska, Cichocka, Panayiotou, Castellanos, and Batayneh, 2018). In the following subsection, I address the relationship between identity and ideology.

Summary

In this chapter, I have delineated the theoretical framework I relied on to approach the concept of ideology, which is that of Van Dijk (1998). I see ideology as a versatile construct that is both socially and cognitively produced and maintained through constructed discourses that shape and are shaped by the way individuals see and make sense of the world around them. I have also particularly referred to Mudde and Kaltwasser's (2017) differentiation between thick- and thin-centred ideologies as it is a key distinction within the context of this study. The second Section (2.2) of this chapter is data driven. I have addressed how the various notions that underlie the concept of ideology are discussed within similar contexts, for the purpose of providing a backdrop to participants' views and activities that proved to feed into compartmentalisation ideology, which is specific to the context of this study. Moreover, I sought to delineate the nature of some constructs that have not been fully previously tackled in the literature, namely compartmentalisation ideology, West idealism, and reverse-(neo)-orientalism, by applying Van Dijk's (1998) categorisation of ideologies (See Appendix 13).

As per Van Dijk's (ibid.) description of the bond between ideology and identity, it can be said that ideologies and identities are intertwined. Identities can be shaped by ideologies, and when certain aspects of identities are represented, ideologies can be maintained. This mutual influence is discussed by numerous scholars including (McAdams, 1985; Varghese et.al, 2005; Petric´, 2009; Song, 2010; Kumaravadivelu, 2012; Wei, 2016). Therefore, understanding the relationship between both constructs can be useful in explaining social phenomena. That is, learning about people's identities may be informative about their ideologies because it "allows us to specify rather precisely exactly how identities emerge through and in language. It requires careful attention to the details of discourse" (Varghese et.al, 2005, p.37). This view relates to Clarke's (2008) argument about the interdependent relationship between social identities and discourse, which I regard as indispensably connected with ideologies. In the following chapter, I review the literature related to identity construction.

3. IDENTITY: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND THE WIDER SCHOLARLY MILIEU

This chapter explores the literature that surrounds identity as a key subject in the study. The chapter is structured in the following way: I begin by presenting my theoretical framework by reviewing the theories that I combined to have an encompassing view of identity (Section 3.1). I, then, move on to address how the aspects that emerged from the data have been approached by scholars outside the context of the current study. Sections 3.2 and 3.3 briefly tackle ethnic and religious identities respectively. The fourth Section (3.4) approaches the way identity was scrutinised in the EFL context with particular reference to the way it has been dealt with in the Algerian setting. In Section 3.5, I review the literature related to nationalism (3.5.1), feminism (3.5.2), and socio-cultural conservatism (3.5.3), which are approached as ideological sentiments that appertain to identity construction within the context of this study.

3.1. What is identity?

In this section, I address how the notion of identity is seen from a post-structuralist perspective. Numerous authors have attempted to define identity, yet there is still no accepted general definition of the term. According to Kumaravadivelu (2012), the position of identity changed between modernism and post-modernism. While modernism restricted the identity of individuals to their social surroundings, Post-modernism frees it from social, cultural, and historical restraints independently, and acknowledges the role of the individual's ability to constantly alter and add to their identities, which are seen as a flexible, formable, re-formable, and ever-changing fragmented constructs. He (ibid.) further discusses the effect of globalization on identity and how the former can be seen as a threat to local cultures and self-identities. However, he acknowledges the role of individuals' minds in being able to filter what can be integrated within one's self-identity.

Norton (2013) believes that identity is a fragment construct that changes over time in accordance with the social surroundings of the individual. She defines identity from a post-structuralist perspective as:

> […] the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future. It is the importance of the future that is central to the lives of many language learners, and is integral to an understanding of both identity and investment. (Norton, 2000, as cited in Norton, ibid., p.4)

By saying so, Norton (2013) highlights the importance of subjectivity in actuality and in future decisions and aspirations. Understanding and thinking about the future of an individual is a constituent part of their identity. Therefore, being part of a given space in time is not enough to construct or reshape identity, but it is the thought of the individual's own relationship to the world that constitutes and shapes it. Moreover, she highlights the necessity to address the issue of power in social relations building on such things as ethnicity, class, gender, and sexual orientations.

Block's (2006) post-structuralist definition of identity does not differ much from that of Norton's (2000, 2013). He defines it as:

> [A] socially constructed, a self-conscious, ongoing narrative an individual performs, interprets and projects in dress, bodily movements, actions and language. All this occurs in the company of others […] with whom the individual; shares beliefs and motives and activities and practices. (Block, 2006, p.39)

Block (ibid.) also adds the dimension of time to his definition. His definition is similar to that of Norton's in that they both acknowledge the role of the relationship with the social world in the shaping of identity. In addition, they both regard the future of individuals as equally salient as their past and present in identity construction. Nevertheless, the two definitions are slightly different in that Norton (2000, 2013) emphasizes the way individuals think about their future and their relationship with the outside world while Block (2006) only highlights how these two affect the individual's identity.

In order to equalise the roles of society and individual cognition in the process of identity construction, Clarke (2008) proposes an encompassing theory that recognises identity as a three-dimensional construct. This theory apportions identity into three interweaving complementary categories, namely positional, figurative, and authored. Positional identities have to do with the discursive construction of identities, meaning that their formation is controlled, albeit not entirely determined, by the type of discursive interactions that take place within society. That is, the social positions of individuals, which generally depend on their social status compared to others, are constrained by the constructed discourses that underpin them in any particular context.

Figurative identities have to do with the social accounts that shape individuals' imaginations of who they are. They are related to the "roles" that individuals undertake in various social situations depending on how those roles are typically defined by social narratives and practices. The third dimension is authored identities which have to do with the internal

discourses that people individually construct based on how they make sense of social discourses. They can be seen as internal 'monologues' that relate to Norton's (2000) delineation of past, present, and imagined future selves, which is related to the society's perspectives with more emphasis on the "becoming" of individuals as per their individual imaginations of who they are (ibid., p.27).

When applied to the context of the current study, Clarke's (2008) theory can be understood in relation to compartmentalisation ideology. For instance, a participant who typically occupies a pro-Western ideological position, is socially positioned as superior within their society, yet inferior to the West, by other individuals who adhere to the same ideological position. Their positional identity is formed by the discourses that are socially constructed as per the pro-Western position which they occupy. Hence, pro-Western discourses that construct the idea that the West is superior to their society shape their positional identity as a person who is inferior to Western societies, but relatively superior to their Algerian counterparts who have less criteria in common with the West. Being a teacher of English makes them fit more within those criteria.

Their figurative identity is how they make sense of who they are by actively envisaging how Western they can be and by apprehending how non-Algerian they are. This type of envisagement is reinforced by the narratives that commonly circulate within society in general, and the Department of English in particular and it feeds into their idealisation of the West and Western attributes. These attributes contribute to their imagination of themself as a user of English and an adherent to Western 'properties'. Their authored identity is constructed through their internal discourses that have to do with how they make sense of what circulates in society in relation to themself. These discourses involve constant negotiations of who they were, are, and who they actively strive to become in relation to the West. As these three dimensions exist in harmony, the way their figurative identity is constructed necessitates a certain type of discursively constructed social position that they undertake within society, and it also requires several levels of internal discourses to take place before these are communicated and reflected back to society.

Norton's (2013) and Block's (2006) idea of the course between the past, present, and future is shared by a number of other scholars including Giddens (1991) who believes that identity is developed through constant swaying between the past and the future. On this matter, he asserts: "The self forms a trajectory of development from the past to the anticipated future" (ibid., p.75). By so saying, he (ibid.) acknowledges the role of personal trajectories in the construction of identities, which he believes have come to be "multiple" in the "modern" world.

Nevertheless, a major issue with his characterisation of multiplicity is that he restricts it to modernity. According to him, multiplicity, which is grounded in self-identity, was not an existing phenomenon in the "pre-modern" era. Nevertheless, most scholars who argue for the multiplicity of identity see it as an ever-existent construct that is not constrained by time and space.

3.1.1. Identity as a multiple construct

This subsection addresses some of the most prominent views on the multiplicity of identity. There has been a general consensus regarding the polyvalent nature of identity (Davies and Harré, 1990; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Duszak, 2002; Giampapa, 2003; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004; Omoniyi, 2006; Norton, 2010). For instance, Omoniyi (2006) believes that the identity of individuals is bound by their roles in society in the sense that people can possess multiple identities depending on the role which they occupy in society. That is, their identity repertoires extend to comprise where they position themselves within their communities.

Along similar lines, in their account on the multiplicity of the "self", Davies and Harré (1990) outline a process through which they believe individuals go in order to construct a sense of self. This process includes "positioning" within "storylines" (ibid., p.47). That is, individuals take on different positions that allow them to make sense of who they are according to their own storylines. Their identities are based on their understanding of the various positions which shift according to the storylines they are involved in. In relation to Davies and Harré (ibid.) storyline formation, Tang (1997) argues that identity is developed through continuous comparison with other individuals, but she somewhat overlooks the aspect of power. Even though Davies and Harré (1990) partially acknowledge the role of society and power relations in identity construction and multiplicity, their approach seems to overlook the subconscious element in the construction of multiple identities as they mainly focus on how individuals make sense of the storylines that allow them to take on different positions.

A more inclusive approach would be that of Duszak's (2002) who tackles multiplicity in terms of membership. She asserts that the insider-outsider group positions that individuals undertake provide them with the ability to possess multiple identities, which can be seen in their discursive constructions. Moreover, although she recognises the role of exclusive membership in identity formation, she asserts that "multiple group membership" is a common occurrence within societies (ibid., p.2). That is, since individuals can establish belongingness to multiple groups, the multiplicity of their identities cannot be seen from an either-or perspective, but

rather from a wholistic vantage point that allows them to display or negotiate given aspects of their multiple-group identities depending on the context within which they participate.

Duszak's (2002) idea of multiplicity in relation to in/out-group identities relates to Tajfel's (1978) Social Identity Theory. This theory gives insight into how individuals develop their personal and professional identities by reflecting on who they are in society both at the local and transnational level and how they are perceived by other individuals. As per this theory, individuals' categorisations tend to be negatively biased towards the out-groups. Although this can be true in many instances, different contexts entail different types of bias. For instance, within the context of this study, many participants who have multiple group identities in relation to the West and Algeria seem to have a positive prejudice vis-à-vis the West. The type of categorisation seen in Tajfel's (1978) theory is often exhibited in terms of religious as well as ethnic identity.

3.2. Identity and ethnicity

In this section, I provide a brief overview of the literature that surrounds ethnic identity. Despite the avowed difficulty to delimitate it, ethnic identity has been recognised as individuals' shared sense of being in relation to their membership within a given cultural or social community (Malešević, 2006; Spencer, 2014). The concept of ethnic identity has been tackled somewhat differently in different disciplines including sociology (William, 1999), psychology (Phinney, 1991; Amado and Borsato, 2010), linguistics, (Joseph, 2004; Ngom, 2004; De Fina, 2007, Song, 2010; Hall-Lew and Yaeger-Dror, 2014) and anthropology (Van Boeschoten, 2006; Malešević, 2006). What is generally held in common among all four disciplines is the idea that individuals' sense of ethnic identity is a dynamic, multifaceted construct.

Spencer (2014) sought to outline ethnic identity by distinguishing ethnicity and race. He asserts that race, which he believes to be disputable, is related to people's physical attributes whereas ethnicity has to do with the social meaning brought to their collective cultural identity. He further draws the distinction between 'ethnic group' and 'ethnic category' by stating that the latter is defined by means of sharing cultural attributes and origins while the former necessitates engagement in the common beliefs and interests of the ethnic category. Thus, it can be understood that ethnic identity has to do with the way individuals make sense of themselves in relation to specific social and cultural groups and situations based on a shared origin.

Along similar lines, Malešević (2006), who studies ethnic identity in relation to affiliation with ethnic ancestry, divides ethnic identity into internal and external. He states that

"internally ethnic identities" (ibid, p.43) are maintained through individuals' cognitive representation of their membership within a given ethnic group. Externally ethnic identities, on the other hand, are mimicked in people's social behaviours which depend on their sense of belonging to that group. These behaviours include their cultural practices and their use of language. This view about language is supported by Joseph (2004) and De Fina (2007).

A more context-specific view on the relationship between language and ethnic identity is that of Ennaji (2010) who tackles the relationship between the Arabisation process and the ethnic identity of individuals in Maghreb countries. He asserts that Berber people's ethnic identities correlate with the attitudes held about the language they speak as well as their use of that language. Hence, Berber people's perceived sense of marginalisation due to Arabisation is portrayed in their use of Berber in order to insert their Berber identities. This type of portrayal relates to Maleševic's (2006, p.44) "ritualistic-affective based identity".

In this regard, Maleševic (2006) differentiates between three types of ethnic identity: "ritualistic-affective based identity", "cognitive ethnic identity", and "identity of rebellion" (ibid., p.44). These three types exist along a scale that moves from extreme attachment to and support of ethnic practices and beliefs, as per the first type, towards what he also labels a "non-ethnic identity" whereby individuals have a lesser sense of affiliation with and interest in the ethnic group. Although Maleševic (ibid.) does seemingly acknowledge the fluid nature of ethnic identity, the fact that he restricts identity to three types that have clear boundaries somewhat negates their claimed fluidity.

The issue of ethnic identity has often been addressed in relation to individuals' religious affiliations (Joseph, 2004; Ngom, 2004; Spencer, 2014). The bond between identity and religion is tackled in the following section.

3.3. Identity and religion

In this section, I briefly review the literature that surrounds the relationship between identity and religion. This relationship has been tackled from various perspectives such as politics (Islam, 1981; Khan, 1999; Baker, 2015) and language (López-Morillas, 1995; Nurlaelawati, 2010; Alaei and Ghamari, 2013). The link is often tackled in relation to group unity (D'Alisera, 2001; Ysseldyk, Matheson, and Anisman 2010; Oppong, 2013). On the deconstruction of religious identity, Seul (1999) addresses the issue of identity construction by stating that the commitment imposed by affiliation to religious groups inflicts a type of pressure that dramatically increases the difficulty of deconstructing religious identity.

Although the link between religion and identity has received enough attention by researchers, religious identity, as a singular construct, is still somewhat under-researched especially in the field of language learning in relation to perceptions of culture. Only a few researchers tackle religious identity in accordance with ELT including Foye (2014), who addresses this in terms of acceptance of religious content, and Benham and Mozaheb (2013) who discuss the relationship between identity and religion as displayed in EFL textbooks. However, dealing with religious identity apropos perceptions of culture in the ELT/ EFL context and the impact that that might have on language learning has received even less attention by researchers.

An example of the available literature on the matter would be Behtash, Hashemi, and Farokhipour (2017) who deliberate the impact of foreign language perceptions, which are constructed as part of the religious identities of learners, on the learning aptitudes of the English language. They conclude that the "deep religious background" of learners has a colossal effect on their attitudes towards the English language which, in turn, is said to tremendously affects their learning quality and quantity because of the cultural elements that come with the language. Their study gives more acknowledgement to the link between religious identity and EFL than most of its precedents. It does, nevertheless, somewhat fail to provide an account of how religious identity is displayed by learners within the context studied. The way in which religious identity is tackled in the current study resembles that of Behtash, Hashemi, and Farokhipour's (2017) in that it addresses the bond similarly. However, it puts more emphasis on how religious identity is displayed. As far as EFL is concerned, a number of studies have been conducted as to examine how the concept of identity is contextualised within the frame of EFL and L2 learning. The following section addresses the literature related to identity within the EFL/L2 context.

3.4. Identity in the EFL context

A growing body of literature has investigated L2 and EFL users' identity within the past few decades (Norton, 1997; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2001; Pavlenko, 2002; Piller, 2002; Varghese et.al, 2005; Lamb, 2011; Menard-Warwick, 2011; Ushioda, 2011). In this subsection, I focus on the type of dualism that has been addressed in relation to L2 and EFL users of English in terms of identity construction. In addition, I briefly address how identity has been tackled within the Algerian EFL context.

EFL teacher and student identity has been investigated in several ways in relation to the dualism entailed by their "non-nativeness" (Huang, 2014; Zhang and Zhang, 2015; Aneja,

2016; Kohn and Hoffstaedter, 2017; Matsumoto, 2018). Tabakowska (2002), for instance, sheds light on the relationship between identity and the discourses that maintain the 'them and us' binary division (p.450). Although she mainly deals with the dualism in terms of a rather superficial language-and-translation approach, the perspective from which the two are deemed related can be applied to wider contexts. Along similar lines, Nayar (2002) sought to tackle the 'NS-NNS' dichotomy in terms of multiple-contrastive-identity construction. Nonetheless, what seems to have ended up being emphasised in his study is what would later be labelled "nativespeakerism" (Holliday, 2006) and not the construction of contrastive identities per se. The main argument, however, is that the construction of contrastive identities is fortified by the NS-NNS dualism through several means including the internet.

The dualism is also tacked in non-academic settings. In his analysis, Liddicoat (2016) asserts that power relations are an enormous part of interaction between individuals who belong to the English-speaking West and those who do not. Liddicoat's (ibid.) study aimed at investigating the occurrence of power relations between 'native speakers' and 'non-native speakers' in a non-academic online context. Notably, he highlights the relationship between identities and the pseudonyms of individuals in online settings and concludes that the choice of usernames can be viewed as a representation of certain facets of people's identities. Although the way he (ibid.) approaches ideologies and identities seems to be based on a rather positivistic position, the findings still suggest interrelation between people's identities and their perceptions of power relations, which can be backed up by their ideological tendencies.

Despite the multiple ways in which identity is dealt with in relation to the dichotomy within and outside academic settings, research has generally failed to address L2 or EFL identity in relation to the wider scope of society. The "them and us" dualism is addressed in relation to language, teaching, and learning. However, the fact that those identities can be part of a wider social milieu has received much less attention by researchers. A more particular EFL setting wherein studies have been carried out in relation to identity is the Algerian educational context. In the following subsection, I address a number of studies that have been conducted in relation to language and identity in the Algerian context.

3.4.1. Language, identity, and the Algerian context

The concept of identity has been tackled in relation to language from various perspectives within the Algerian setting. Benrabah (1999) delimitates three phases that he believes the status of languages in Algeria went through after obtaining independence from the French occupation. He groups them into three phases, amongst which is the Arabisation process

that was meant to recuperate the 'Algerian identity' (Benrabah, 2007), but resulted in enormous conflicts that can be defined at the level of ideology and identity (Benrabah, 2004).

In regard to this, Chemami (2011) examines the status of languages in Algeria and proposes a solution to the type of inequality observed between languages by suggesting the implementation of a plurilingual policy that sets aside any opposition between the existing languages. This policy, he asserts, dedicates English and French to "modernity" and the Arabic language to "tradition" (ibid, p.232). He also argues that the implementation of such policy would impact positively on the reconception of the "Algerian identity".

Given that the data collected as part of this study also features the existence of various views about the status of English in Algeria, I believe that a plurilingual policy could be a suitable option to eschew the issue of disunification amongst Algerian people. Nevertheless, by stating that English and French should be reserved for "modernity" while Arabic should be dedicated to "tradition", not only does Chemami (2011) completely neglect the Amazigh language in its entirety, but he also compartmentalises these languages as part of his view of what is 'modern' and what is not, which again is all bound by his own definition of them. In addition to that, he tackles the 'Algerian identity' as a unified object that can only be defined or redefined by means of language, which opposes the perspective from which this study looks at identity.

On the other hand, the bond between identity and ideology apropos language is addressed by El Aissati (2001) who provides a more thorough account of identity vis-a-vis the status of languages in Algeria and Morocco. In relation to the movement of revitalisation of the Amazigh language that took place in both countries, which calls for the standardisation and officialisation of Berber, he (ibid.) sought to explain how both the ethnic and linguistic identities of Amazigh individuals in the concerned communities are restricted by perceptions that are fed into by the movement itself.

Apropos of the link between ideology and identity, there exist a number of constructs that are commonly dealt with as ideologies that relate to identity. In this study, these constructs are referred to as ideological sentiments (as shall be described in the following section).

3.5. Identity and ideological sentiments

This section reviews the literature related to three constructs that have been widely tackled in connection with identity construction and have also been undertaken as ideological constructs, namely nationalism, feminism and socio-cultural conservatism. The relevance of these constructs to the overall scope of the study lies in that they emerged as key themes that

relate to compartmentation ideology. While initial examination showed that they could be regarded as purely ideological, deeper delving revealed that their relationship with identity is much more prevalent within the overall framework of compartmentalisation ideology.

3.5.1. Nationalism and national identity

In this subsection, I address the literature that surrounds the concept of nationalism with more focus on the way it is tackled in relation to identity within the EFL setting. Nationalism is often addressed as an ideology (Grosby, 2005; Malešević, 2006; Özkirimli, 2010; Smith, 2010; Conversi, 2015; Razafimandimbimanana, 2015). Smith (2010), for example, defines it as an ideology that endorses the belief that the interests of a particular nation are the primary priority of its people. Since nations are defined in terms of culture, which Gellner (2006, p.53) does not entirely agree with given his opinion on the blurriness of "cultural boundaries", the nations' traditional 'cultures' are also often revived and valued as part of the nationalist framework (Smith, 2010).

Regarding this issue, Schneider (2017) argues that the multiplicity of nations entails multiplicity in nationalisms which indicates that nationalism is context specific. Townsend (1992, as cited in Schneider 2017, p.14) addresses three schools that seek to explain nationalism. The first school sees nationalism as a doctrine, the second one tackles it from a political point of view as it is seen as a movement, whereas the third school views nationalism as a "sentiment". A proponent of this last school is Gellner (2006, p.7) who views nations and nationalism in relation to "loyalties and solidarities".

Much work on the relationship between nationalism and national identity has been carried out (Dennell, 1996; Tezcür, 2009; White and Frew 2011; Zuengler, 2011), to name a few. However, due to space limitations, only a brief account is presented in regard to some studies that have been conducted on the matter within the EFL/L2 setting. In his analysis of the relationship between the participants' multilingual identities and their sense of nationalism within an Indonesian setting, Zacharias (2012) concludes that national identity is often seen as a hindering factor in the 'advancement' and agency of 'non-native speaker' status and identity. This, he argues, led many participants to eschew any form of production of the English language in public spaces because doing so would negatively correlate with their sense of nationalism.

On the other hand, this kind of division could also be seen at the level of other participants' intentional display of user-of-English identity in public for reasons that include a sense of superiority towards non-users of English. This display is also believed to weaken the participants' sense of nationalism. Nevertheless, the majority of participants, including both

categories, are believed to relate their user-of-English identities to their 'non-nativespeakerhood'. Although Zacharias' (ibid.) study provides valuable insight into how nationalism correlates with individuals' identities in different ways, his use of 'culture' and 'identities' in certain instances can be seen as a rigid one. For instance, this can be seen in the way he restricts the English language to one unidentified 'culture' that participants were supposed to learn.

By the same token, a more recent study on the subject (Turnbull, 2017) demonstrates that Japanese national identity is believed to be threatened by the supremacy of the English language, which led to the risk of deterioration of the status of the English language in academic settings. Nonetheless, he suggests that a positive connection should be established between both constructs through discourse in order for English to maintain its status within the Japanese society. Similar to Zacharia (2012), by constantly referring to it as Japanese "identity", Turnbull (2017), somewhat conveys the impression that he approaches identity as a monolithic construct, which, in turn, insinuates a positivist tendency towards the matter.

A more comprehensive view of the relationship between nationalism and identity is that of Gu's (2010). His study on the relationship between the national identity of participants, as dictated by nationalist tendencies, and their learning experiences vis-à-vis the English language proposes that the learning experiences of participants were reinforced by their sense of nationalism. This view seems to oppose to Zacharia's (2012) and Turnbull's (2017) findings on the matter as it mainly recognises the multiple nature of identities and how their multiplicity contributes to the overall understanding of how nationalist senses are strengthened by exposure to the English language.

What seems to be noteworthy about most of the studies reviewed is that while some scholars refer to nationalism as an ideology, they seem to approach it as a sentiment as per Schneider's (2017) description. In relation to the reviewed literature, I have come to define nationalism in the context of this study as an inherent, albeit circumstantial, "sentiment" which goes by the third school addressed by Schneider (ibid.) and has to do with the identity of individuals and the relationship that has with the way they perceive the West.

Nationalist identity has been dealt with in relation to feminist identity (Kandiyoti, 1991; Rouhana, 2015) mainly in terms of the opposition between both constructs. In the following subsection, I present a brief review of the literature that surrounds the concept of feminism and feminist identity.

3.5.2. Feminism and feminist identity

As broad and diverse as it can be, feminism has a core idea that groups together all its variants: equal rights between men and women (Alcoff, 1988; Rowland and Klein, 1996; Hooks, 1997; Mendus, 2005). Historically speaking, feminism has gone through three main waves (St. Pierre, 2000; Walters, 2005; Maclaran, 2012; Anderson, 2015). The first wave was mainly concerned with the right of women to be politically involved in decision making (Ross, 2010). The second wave demanded more than the right to vote in elections, it expanded the demands to reach such things as education, work, reproduction rights, sexuality, and family order (Walters, 2005; McNeil, 2007). Lastly, third wave feminism, which is considered to be an ideology by some, was established as a reaction to the "breakdowns" constructed by the second wave. It built on ethnic and religious diversity as in populist movements to establish gender equality (Kinser, 2004; Mann and Huffman, 2005; Lotz, 2007; Snyder-Hall, 2010).

In addition, there have been a number of different delineations of a fourth wave although it has not been methodologically documented. This wave is defined differently by different scholars (Munro, 2013; Maclaran, 2015) who all outline it in relation to the internet. Although most of the aforementioned scholars relate feminism waves to specific eras, Walters (2005) demonstrates that the waves can exist in different periods of time depending on the regions wherein they take place. As freeing as Walter's (2005) view might be time-wise, it still insinuates that some countries are ahead of others in terms of priorities and demands, which seems to be somewhat essentialist.

Regardless of the various aspirations that these waves and types suggest, Hooks (1997) sought to provide an encompassing delineation of the feminist mindset. He defines it as "the struggle to end sexist oppression. […] Most importantly, feminism is neither a lifestyle nor a ready-made identity or role one can step into" (ibid, p.26). Based on this definition, it appears that feminism can be looked at without necessarily relating it to any specific wave or kind. Even though it clearly states that feminism is not a form of 'identity' that can be worn, it does, in a way, insinuate that feminism has to do with identity. It also seems to stand by descriptions of the third wave in that it is unexclusive of other ethnicities and classes.

As far as identity is concerned, a number of studies tackle feminism in relation to the connotations it brings as a label (Toller, Suter, and Trautman, 2004; Evans and Bobel, 2007; Hoskin, Jenson, and Blair, 2017). For Evans and Bobel (2007), the rejection of the idea of being associated with the feminist identity despite the participants being feminist is a form of resistance towards the oppression of feminists in former times. Along similar lines, Burn,

Aboud, and Moyles (2000) affirm that "covert" feminism was much more embraced by participants not only due to female oppression, but also to feminist oppression.

Toller, Suter, and Trautman (2004), on the other hand, tackle the rejection of the label in terms of perceived femininity and masculinity. They assert that while men reject the association with feminist identity because they perceive it as a threat to their masculinity, women do so for the opposite reason. Their rejection goes back to them not wanting to be recognised as individuals who possess masculine attributes. Regardless of their seemingly positivist inclinations, the way they describe participants seems to imply high senses of judgement of how they themselves perceive masculinity and femininity.

A more recent view on the matter is that of Hoskin, Jenson, and Blair (2017), who sought to establish the relationship between perceptions of feminism and the 'adoption' of feminist identity. The study reveals that self-association with the feminist identity positively correlates with perceptions of intersectionality. Although they (ibid.) deal with the self-association with identity from the participants' perspective, the fact that they regard them as feminist or not solely depending on what they say seems to defy Hooks' (1997) view of the matter.

While these views about the association with feminist identity mainly deal with the issue on a cause-and-consequence foundation regardless of how different they are, Dixon (2014, p.34) sought to shed light on a contemporary solution to rejections of the feminist label. She argues that "hashtag feminism" is a modern-day solution for feminist oppression, in the sense that feminists make use of social media platforms to express their feminist identities without any restrictions despite the backlash they receive in the form of comments and direct messages.

Contrary to these studies, within the context of the current study, most participants who self-affiliated as feminist were by no means ashamed of so being. This is tackled in more detail in Section 7.2.3. The 'type' of feminism dealt with in this study draws on Hooks' (1997) delimitation for it seems to exist within the community as an 'image' and a fragment of thoughts that call for liberty and equality without any actual recognised agendas or theoretical grounds. I deal with feminism, here, as an ideological sentiment that has to do with the identity of individuals in relation to the division set by compartmentalisation ideology.

Another construct that emerged from this study as an ideological sentiment is socio-cultural conservatism, which is addressed in the following subsection.

3.5.3. Socio-cultural conservatism and identity

In this subsection, I look into the literature that surrounds the concept of conservatism. Primarily, it is important to clarify that this section does not address political conservatism, but

rather what I prefer to call 'socio-cultural' conservatism, which is combination of social and cultural conservatisms, although I believe that it has some political implications under specific circumstances. Conservatism "assumes first and foremost a monoculture- a single discursive and methodological community that speaks the same language and more important, takes as its concerns the same issues from the same perspectives" (Lincoln and Cannella, 2004, p.8). Even though this view appears to be somewhat restrictive, it does seem to provide an overview of how the term is generally used even in relation to other categories such as culture and society. Social conservatism is defined as the belief that traditional values are society's only way to sustain its strength. It rejects change and calls for the maintenance of stability (Heywood, 2017). It is also defined by Altemeyer (1988, as cited in Terrizzi, Shook and McDanie 2013, p.100) as "any sociocultural value system that encourages strict adherence to social norms and emphasizes social exclusivity". In other words, this mindset encourages unity through the conservation and individuality of social norms.

On the other hand, there has not been a straightforward definition of cultural conservatism since it has been tackled differently across different disciplines (Malka et al., 2014; Malka, Lekes and Soto, 2017; Finkel and Barkai's, 2018). Nevertheless, it is generally seen as the belief that social and cultural heritage should be preserved through rejection of change and novelty. Both forms of conservatism overlap in terms of religion, culture, and social relations in the sense that they both call for the preservation of cultural homogeneity, the hereditariness of social relations, and religious principles within the community or nation.

In addition to it having relatively different meanings in various disciplines, it was approached differently by different researchers. For instance, Farhady, et al. (2010) discusses conservatism in relation to religiosity in an Iranian context. He concludes that the conservativeness in foreign language policy mainly goes back to how threatening English is believed to be in regard to what he referred to as the Islamic culture, which is a term that I argue against given that the two notions can operate distinctly in numerable contexts, and the Persian language Khubchandani (2008, as cited in Farhady, et al., ibid, p.11). Along similar lines, Malka et al. (2011, p.764) state that religiosity has become a perceptible aspect in the political side of cultural conservatism in terms of ethical issues such as "abortion and homosexual rights".

Even though conservatism has been frequently mentioned alongside identity, only a limited amount of research has been conducted as to investigate the relationship between them. Khoshsabk and Southcott (2019) sought to examine the connection between identity formation and the participants' social media experiences. Among the findings of the study is socio-cultural conservatism, which they (ibid.) do not delineate in any way. The study reveals that socio-

cultural conservatism was present among the participants in a multitude of forms. For instance, the online identities of some participants were found to be 'deliberately' formed away from the socio-cultural conservatism imposed upon them by society. Another form is that some participants' conservatist tendencies were established to prevent them from expressing certain facets of their identities, which they (ibid.) deem necessary in online identity formation.

A study that appears to be more relevant to the scope of the current research was conducted in an attempt to outline the boarders between political and social conservatism (Yilmaz, 2008). The findings of the study reveal that social conservatism, which was dealt with in relation to culture, was the most prominent type of conservatism in the Turkish community studied. This type was associated with religious mechanisms that were deeply rooted within the community and was related to the identity of individuals. Not only were the findings similar to the ones that emerged in this study in relation to social conservatism, which is what I refer to as 'socio-cultural' here, but there was also a great resemblance at the level of populism, which I tackle from an ideological point of view.

Although many researchers refer to social and cultural 'conservatisms' interchangeably, my own understanding of both, as per the definitions provided at the beginning of the section, includes qualities of societal elements and cultural delimitations. In my opinion, according to the framework of the current study, conservatism is more of a sentiment than it is an ideology, although it still can be ideological in many instances. I agree with Finkel and Barkai (2018) in that this ideological sentiment relates to individuals' identities which is believed by the participants to be preserved by the preservation of their social and cultural standards. That is, it often appears to people that their identities would 'survive' by conservatism and not by any type of perceived mutations that may occur out of exposure to the West. This point is much elaborated upon in Chapter 7. In addition, not only is the nature of conservatism often overlooked in contemporary research within the EFL context, but the nature of the connection it has with identity has also not been adequately delineated.

Summary

Similar to the previous chapter, the aim of this chapter has been twofold: to provide a framework from which to approach identity construction in the setting, and to contextualise the constructs that emerged from the study. Regarding the first point, my theoretical framework draws on Norton's (2000) and Clarke's (2008) delineations of identity. I sought to explain that I see it as a multiple concept that is constructed through constant comprehension of the past and present as well as envisagement of the future in relation to the discourses that individuals

engage in, how they make sense of those discourses, and how they perceive themselves within the communities wherein the discourses are constructed.

The following chapter presents a description of the research methodology used in this study.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter sets out to delineate the process of the research methodology I used in this study in order to investigate participants' ideological positions and their identity construction within the studied community. The chapter is organised as follows: In the first Section (4.1), I introduce my research design and provide a rationale for my use of ethnographic research. I also explain how I gained access to field, my ethical procedures, the roles I had to undertake, and I describe my participants and gatekeepers. The second Section (4.2) tackles the collection of data which was done through the employment of multiple methods and tools including fieldwork observations, interviews, and focus groups within the course of three and half months with 16 main and 11 peripheral participants. The third Section (4.3) is dedicated to the way the data was analysed. Within each section, I draw on theory to back up my choices.

4.1. Research design

In the first Subsection (4.1.1), I provide a brief overview of what the ethnographic study involved in terms of its post-structuralist nature. The second Subsection (4.1.2) tackles how I used that design in practice beginning by how I accessed the field and ending by how I physically left it. In this section, I have tried to make my position evident in many instances. Therefore, I did not feel the need to include a separate subsection that deals with my position per se.

4.1.1. Why ethnography?

This subsection aims at justifying my choice of the ethnographic research design. While a constituent part of it is based on what scholars said that made me want to utilize it, I have also included elements of my own experience that reinforced my choice, hence my position. In addition, I sought to provide an account of some focal points of ethnographic research alongside a description of how relevant those are to my research.

4.1.1.1. Post-structuralist ethnography

A salient feature of ethnographic work is its flexibility and the non-objectification of both the researcher and the researched as opposed to the positivist and the naturalist approaches (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). They (ibid.) state that post-structuralists view social phenomena, including social behaviours and people's opinions, as constantly changing and fluid. Principles of realism have been rejected since many researchers are no longer interested in whether or not what is said or observed by the participants is true, but rather on how the meaning of that is constructed. Therefore, meaning cannot be taken as a true or false static

entity, but what the researcher and the researched make of it. On this matter, it has been argued that "different regimes of truths are established in different contexts, reflecting the play of diverse sources of power and resistance (Foucault, as cited in Hammersley and Atkinson, ibid., p.13). In my opinion, that somewhat accentuates the idea that truth is relative to the context in which it occurs, all in accordance with the political relationships of power. What is true in one context may not be true in another, and the issue of whether or not what is said is 'completely' true remains of particularly less importance in this approach.

Since my aim was to explore an issue related to the multiple realities people display as part of the ideological positions that they seem to occupy, ethnography, with its post-structuralist impulse, seemed like the most reasonable option to conduct the research (Holstein and Gubrium, 2008). This account of the post structuralist approach helped, to a great extent, in shaping my view about what I wanted to do and which approach to use in my research. Knowing the angle from which I needed to approach my research as a researcher with a significant socio-historical background, which should be acknowledged as part of my research orientations, is the main motive behind my choice. Before getting practically started with the data collection, the post-structuralist view somewhat seemed to mirror what I intended to do and how I viewed myself in relation to my research. It was helpful in that it provided me with a delineated framework of how I wanted to approach my fieldwork and my data.

Nevertheless, when it came to the concrete field, in many instances, although I knew that I was doing ethnographic research, many of the actions that I took did not feel mechanical or theory-led in any way. In a sense, I somewhat allowed myself to "go with the flow"; a flow of little judgement and more sensibility. With the course of time, participants' views and behaviours began to connect and make sense in my head. It became easier for me to detect occurrences that seemed to be relevant to my research and to add on things that could have been interesting. Importantly, it truly occurred to me that I, myself, was not looking for the truth because the relativity of it makes it almost impossible to reach. I looked at occurrences as though they were parts of multiple alternate universes, all of which led up not to the absolute truth, but to an understanding of how these fragments of different realities are set in a way that makes them work together in harmony to help people interact and socially survive.

This questioning of truth and interpretations is also seen in terms of researcher reflexivity as reported by Hertz (1997). A key criterion of post-structuralist ethnography is reflexivity, which I shall describe in more detail in section 4.1.1.4. The relationship between the researcher's own subjectivities and their relationship with the knowledge obtained from their research is of fundamental importance in post-structuralist ethnographic research

(Chaudhry, 1997; England, 1994; Mann, 2016). The researcher cannot claim a detached position from the people and the phenomena they research because their own trajectories become part of the way in which they conduct and analyse their data.

Berger (2013) asserts that research should be done in a way that guarantees the understanding of the researcher's self in relation to the knowledge they obtain, in the sense that the way their research is carried out and analysed is affected by their positioning within the community they study. While Berger mainly regards this type of positioning as a link between knowledge and the researcher's self, Takeda (2012) believes it to be a source of data in itself. He (ibid., p.286) argues that the analysis of the researcher's own positions and feelings within their research, which is permitted by their reflexive practice, can be regarded as data.

In the same way that the researcher's personal trajectories are believed to have an impact upon the way they see their data as part of their reflexive practice, reflexivity can be seen in the impact of the researcher's social identities on the relationships they construct in the field, which may, in turn, affect them as well as their participants (Mosselson, 2010). She (ibid.) argues that acknowledging the impact of the research on the researcher is as important, ethical, and helpful in the analysis and interpretation of data as the recognition of the influence that the researcher has on their research.

Ethnography has been criticized by positivist researchers for subjectivity, over precision, and lack of rigour (Pole and Morrison, 2003). Nevertheless, they (ibid.) state that subjectivity and flexibility are part of being human, which is why my experience with ethnographic research is probably the main reason why I carried on using it. It is due to my full conviction that the absolute truth cannot be reached because that is human nature. This goes back to my ontology and epistemology which are described in the following subsection. Participants in my study expressed different stances and opinions in different situations and whether it be conscious or subconscious, those representations of truth depended on how people made sense of them under diverse conditions. Since the social and personal lives of people are subjective, I believe that acknowledging the individuals' right to project multiple realities under whichever circumstances would only do them justice, which is a constituent aspect of the social constructionist paradigm.

4.1.1.2. Social constructionism

This subsection addresses the social constructionist paradigm which I used to tackle participants' views and behaviours in the current study. Social constructionism is concerned with how reality is viewed by individuals which can differ depending on the social situation

within which the person participates. This idea seems to have called for the consideration of multiple realities as opposed to the positivist ultimate objective truth (Burr, 2015). Therefore, my ontology acknowledges the presence of multiple realities that rely on what individuals say or choose to say under different circumstances and depending on their state of mind within a given social situation. My epistemology is that the different realities displayed by people need to be interpreted for underlying meaning to be unveiled.

Berger and Luckmann's (1991) view on the construction of social meaning indicates that social actions and situations trigger individuals' interpretations of their surroundings which leads them to construct realties and display them back to society. Those realities, in turn, become the trigger that allows for the construction of social meaning at a given space in time. In the same vein, Burr (2015, p.4) asserts that "[i]t is through the daily interactions between people in the course of social life that our versions of knowledge become fabricated". That is, the anti-essentialist nature of social constructionism necessitates the avoidance of perceiving social phenomena as ultimate and fixed. Individuals develop an understanding of social phenomena depending on how they make sense of the social situations wherein they participate, which then, translates into their social practices. Alongside language, these social practices are integrated within discourse, which plays a salient role in the construction of social realities (Holstein and Gubrium, 2008; Burr, 2015).

Burr (2003) states that social constructionism seeks to uncover the realities that underlie the apparent judgments which are based on plain and rigid observation of what takes place in the world. Furthermore, she asserts that what is observed needs to be thoroughly interrogated and not taken for granted because it is merely a representation of what underpins the observation and it does by no means indicate the nature of it. It is also believed by social constructionists that human activity is what mainly constructs reality, in the sense that the world is constructed rather than discovered because individuals constantly seek to make meaning of what takes place in the world.

Hence, reality is believed not to be existent before it is socially constructed within communities. It is the meaning that individuals bring to the world that makes it the way it is; a combination of various realities made by individuals is what constructs the way in which the world is perceived. According to Galbin (2014), social constructionism designates that truth is never achievable and that the ideas that individuals convey are mere representations of momentary realities that are displayed in accordance with the socio-historical background of individuals as well as their current social contexts. In light of this, it can be understood that

individuals construct multiple realities based on their own understanding of what is observed and negotiated in the world.

What individuals say should not be presumed to be true because it is about the meaning they make of the world and not about the world itself. This is one of the main reasons why I chose to refer to participants' views and actions as ideological positions and not ideologies per se as explained in Section 1.5. Therefore, it could be inferred that the unreachable truth is a set of divergent realities created by individuals themselves in accordance with their socio-historical circumstances which, in turn, shape the perspectives from which they observe and participate in the world.

Opting for ethnography also necessitated taking a step back and looking at the familiar through the lens of a stranger. In the following subsection, I describe how de-familiarising myself with a formerly known setting was a key element in the ethnographic study I conducted.

4.1.1.3. 'Making the familiar strange'

An important aspect of ethnographic research is the act of seeking to "make the familiar strange" (Pole and Morrison, 2003, p.200). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) assert that researchers need to de-familiarise themselves with the daily routines that they have once taken for granted. They state that "[t]he ethnographer needs to be intellectually poised between familiarity and strangeness" (ibid., p.89), in the sense that an adequate amount of familiarity and strangeness should be employed by the researcher when taking up different field roles. Since ethnographic research is empirical in nature, its theoretical framework is obtained through the evidence gained from the collected data. It provides the researcher with a holistic coverage of a range of linguistic and ethnographic orientations such as the macro and the micro-occurrences, the present and the future, the varied and the routine, and so forth. Hence, the role of the researcher resides in that they interpret the social occurrences based on their understanding of the observation in accordance with the larger picture in which social behaviours take place.

When in the field, I sought to constantly de-familiarise myself with the setting. I believe that my vision towards participants' views and actions became sharper and more capturing with time. Therefore, I was able to observe matters that I would not have detected if it were not for the approach I followed. In addition, my understanding of incidents was also bound by the social surroundings of my main, as well as my peripheral, participants. In other words, the broader social milieu of the participants was amongst the elements that my interpretation of

their views was based upon. Alongside that element was my reflexivity as a researcher. In the following subsection, I briefly describe how reflexive I believe I was in the field.

4.1.1.4. Reflexivity

Reflexivity, here, is defined as "a conscious process of thought and articulation centred on the dynamics of subjectivities in relation to the interviewer, the interviewee(s), and the research focus and methodology" (Mann, 2016, p.15). Overall, based on this definition, reflexivity seems to be a subjective act of development in the researcher's psyche that goes back to their past experiences and extends to reach their future self. It is about what the researcher brings to the research that makes it one unique piece, and about what the researcher takes from the research and the participants that makes them who they are.

I believe that I have been reflexive in a variety of ways. My own understanding of participants' views and actions and the way I chose to deal with distinct situations was part of my reflexive practice. In the way Mann (ibid.) states that the researcher reflexivity can be decisive of their methodology choice, I believe that most of the choices I made in field were partially based on my reflexivity as a researcher, which will be made clear in my data chapters.

More precisely, my reflexive practice was manifested at two intertwining levels. The first one is methodological, which relates to the operational decisions I had to make throughout the data collection phase. The second one is more related to my post-structural positioning as it is reflected in how my personal trajectories affected the way I conducted the study, and how my research impacted me as a researcher who is a former student in the Department.

As far as my methodological reflexivity is concerned, although I was theoretically aware of the necessity of being reflexive, my experience in the field made its exertion particularly challenging. During the first weeks of my data collection, and especially prior to the 'mud' incident, which I described in section 1.1, I was somewhat rigid in the way I approached my data. I mainly focused on participants' utterances that had to do with language teaching and learning, and language production. At some point during that phase, I almost made the mistake of discarding some participants' formal and informal interviews because they did not seem to fall within the scope of my study, which, later, turned out to be salient to the development and depth of my research.

I gradually came to understand that the language ideologies I was looking to unveil were in fact related to a greater set of ideological positioning that went beyond language, and language teaching and learning. I realised that the fact that I was a former student in the Department assisted me in seeing the bigger picture because the relationship I had with some

of my participants and gatekeepers made my methodological decisions go in certain directions that would not have been the same if it were not for the relationships that I had with them. The 'mud' incident in itself, for instance, mainly occurred because I decided to accompany that group of teachers to the city centre on that rainy day, which would not have been possible if I did not have a previously established relationship with them.

The fact that I constantly made decisions about whom to approach and when to approach them was very beneficial in the development of my research aims and questions. In addition, although I believe I was actively reflexive throughout my entire data collection period and even after that, I kept a diary as advised by Mann (2016) to keep my reflections tangible and because they are said to help bridge the gap between theory and practice, which seems to have eased the challenging transitions for me. Eventually, my own understanding of the setting and what the participants said and how they behaved was no longer limited to the set of structurally related characteristics I had in mind.

In the same way that my study was affected by my trajectories as a researcher, I believe that I was impacted upon by my interaction with the participants and my findings. As I mentioned in section 1.5, given my sociohistorical background, I had long been a West idealist and nativespeakerist myself. This could be seen in the way I judged many teachers and students based on their proximity to 'native-like' production. Having always had an 'accent' that leaned towards the American 'way' of speaking, I had always been flattered when people mentioned that I sounded like a 'native speaker'. However, there was this one instance when all that was ever said to me no longer mattered when I was told the same thing by an American person and then, years later, by several British people.

Not only was I flattered because I was told I could be mistaken for an American person, but also because I was told that by 'native speakers' themselves. To me, at the time, the fact that the language was supposedly 'theirs' meant that *they* had the right to judge me and that their judgements were 'right' as opposed to so-called 'non-native-speaker' teachers in Algeria. When I was granted a scholarship to the UK, one of the reasons why I wanted to do a pre-sessional course was that I was going to be taught by 'native speakers', which meant that my level would get so much better and that I would receive 'real' and 'authentic' English from 'authentic', 'highly intellectual' people. I had always fantasized about their 'advanced' level of teaching and the fact that I was granted that opportunity made me feel superior to my Algerian counterparts.

Nevertheless, the idea that these teachers were 'native speakers' of English was not the only reason why I felt superior. I was also looking forward to studying and living in a Western

country since, like many of my participants, I held a romanticised image of the West, which had to do with a variety of imagined criteria such as living conditions, education, shopping, the nature of Western people themselves, and so forth. Living in the UK for a given period of time gradually changed my perspective on life in Western countries. Most importantly, my experience as a researcher made me question that side of me and reflect upon the various instances that I idealised the West just for being the West. The more I interacted with my participants and analysed their views and behaviours, the more I reflected back on my own trajectory as an Algerian person.

Possibly, if it were not for my research in that community, I would not have questioned the beliefs that I once had. While many of my participants presumably acquired such beliefs from such sources as 'limited exposure' as I shall discuss in section 8.2.1, the fact that I left that bubble to actually experience living in a 'Western' country had a significant impact on the way I perceive phenomena around me. Perhaps if I had not left Algeria at all and decided to do my doctorate in my university of origin, I would not have been able to partially leave that bubble to begin with, which is how my personal trajectory affected the way I conducted the study. The rest was left to my interaction with my participants, their accounts, and the discourses I discovered, all of which shaped the way I perceived myself and the world around me.

As far as the actual fieldwork is concerned, some of the challenges I faced had to do with access, identifying gatekeepers, choosing participants, as well as establishing and maintaining power relations within the field. In the following section, I describe how my research design was enacted starting with access to the field and ending with my physical departure.

4.1.2. Access and the fieldwork

One problem that seems to arise by the reference to ethnographic research is access. While I was aware of the various challenges that generally befall researchers as discussed by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), physical access was not particularly an issue in my case. Although I was very welcomed by all teachers and students with whom I had contact concerning my research and who already knew me as a former "exceptional student" as many of them called me, during the first weeks of observation, I still sensed a certain degree of resistance. My physical access was almost completely granted. It was my mental access, however, that I struggled with given that I already knew many of my participants for a fairly long period of time – over five years – and I have even been reasonably close to some of them. The barrier lies in that some of them made me feel intrusive when I asked questions about some of the

statements or actions that they used to take for granted while performing their daily routines at the University and even outside.

To the best of my knowledge, what happened to me is beyond the insider-outsider distinction as per Acker (2000) conclusion on how the distinction between insider and outsider cannot be entirely made. I was an insider and an outsider at the same time on two different dimensions. With teachers, I was an insider because most of them already knew who I was. I made my way through their small groups and I was treated as a future colleague by many of them. I was able to accompany them almost everywhere including the city centre and the shopping areas. In these two areas so much unexpectedly happened. Correspondingly, I was an outsider to teachers especially in the first few weeks of my entrance to the field. The fact that I was a former student of theirs was not an absolute facilitator. In fact, it also had an obstructive side that was particularly challenging to surpass.

I was merely seen as a former student and a future colleague, but it was difficult for me to invoke my identity as a researcher. Most teachers found it intrusive and odd to be scrutinised in the most natural utterances they made. Eventually, I came to realise that I was too eager to be a researcher that I almost forgot how to be a student or a future teacher. I practically almost failed to recall how important it would have been to be a participant-as-researcher first instead of being a researcher-as-participant. That is, I needed to learn how to become part of the community and to allow myself to be immersed in my participants' daily-life routines before beginning to explore the issues I was there to explore. Throughout the first weeks, I had to shift from being the former into being the latter which to me are nothing alike at that stage and even their outcomes would have been very dissimilar. When I was a researcher-as-participant, my thirst for data led me to step out of the former-student-future-colleague zone so soon which almost led to a disaster. Soon enough, I shifted roles; I learned how to subtly invoke my identity as a researcher until people got used to the researcher-as-participant being around. Only then did it seem to be unimportant whether I was a participant-as-researcher or researcher-as-participant because I managed to be an insider to a decent extent.

As far as students are concerned, I was initially an outsider even to the ones I taught in the past. However, becoming a partial insider was not as difficult as I thought it would be. Bringing up topics that I might have had in common with some students was enough for me to gain their interest and I was only left with gaining their trust, which I obtained by trying to make what they said relatable and, most importantly, with the help of student gatekeepers. I was also approached by many students and I jumped at many opportunities that would not have possibly happened if it were not for the students who approached me because I "live and study in the

UK" or because I was first of my class for five years in a row which were two cards I had to play often in order to gain access to the students' realm.

I had to bear in mind that once the permission to get physical access is obtained, one of the things that the researcher needs to pay good attention to is their relationship with individuals in the community (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). While some past or newly established relationships were very facilitative in the field, in the sense that they helped me in meeting or choosing some participants, they, themselves, could be of great obstruction. They (ibid.) explain how many types of obstruction can occur in relation to gatekeepers. The role of gatekeepers in my case was not obstructive at all. It was facilitative in the sense that it gave me the opportunity to be part of the teachers' and the students' realms almost effortlessly.

4.1.2.1. Gatekeepers

My own perception of gatekeepers was affected by what took place in the field. The most apparent gatekeeper was the head of the Department. I had gained physical access to the Department long before the collection of data began. The head of the Department granted me that by signing the introduction letter and verbally confirming that I could access anywhere I wanted in the Department. Another gatekeeper was a teacher who had a particularly higher status in the Department. She was respected by everyone and almost everyone looked up to her. In order for people to like me there, I had to make sure that I was liked by her. A third gatekeeper was a teacher with many networks in the Department. Accompanying her to places somewhat provided me with a sense of belonging within the teacher community. This teacher also introduced me to many teachers who started working at the Department after I left and whom I ended up having very interesting conversations with.

I believe that gatekeepers come in categories and degrees. There were gatekeepers without whom the whole collection of data would not have seen light such as the head of the Department, but, also, there are optional gatekeepers: the facilitators. I did not know many students especially that there were only two classes left from when I was still a student there. Therefore, I needed an insider student to get me into their community. I met a student that I taught Oral Expression a few years back and with whom I kept in touch via Facebook. Although we did not talk on Facebook Messenger ever since I left the Department, we exchanged likes, reactions, and comments from time to time. This was my student gatekeeper.

She would engage me in conversations within groups of students and introduce me to her classmates and friends and that was partially how I re-built my student network in the Department. Approaching students by myself would have been a lot more difficult without her

presence. Another 'optional' gatekeeper was "Ammi[6] Brahim". He was mainly there as the security agent of the Department. However, his role was far more important than mere security. He was the one I would go to in order to know which classrooms were empty and which ones I would be able to use. He knew who amongst teachers was absent and which rooms were empty. Therefore, he facilitated the search for me and he saved me the trouble of queuing up for the administration desk or to even go there at all. All in all, the most salient role with gatekeepers was that they facilitated the process of building relationships and networks in the field which was of great help to me in terms of choosing the participants.

4.1.2.2. Participants

Overall, the study involved 16 main teacher and student participants and 11 peripheral ones. The main participant teachers, with whom I conducted several formal interview sessions and whose real names were codified, were Houssam, Nora, Hisham, Omar, Maissa, Aisha, Byaso, Ahlam and Lynda. The main student participants were Faya, Salah, Maya, Samy, Shay, Bee, and Aya. On the other hand, the peripheral teacher participants were Kamel, Houda, Lamia, Rania, Kinda, and Leila, and the peripheral student participants were Selma, Chaima, Amir, Fatima, and Arwa.

In the early stages of data collection, my selection of participants was mainly based on my observations, in the sense that I targeted individuals who seemed to fall within the broad category of people who had language ideologies. As the study gradually progressed, and more occurrences became apparent, the focus was not restricted to that category, but it included people who unknowingly held what seemed to be ideological positions that endorsed a type of division between the West and Algeria in terms of inferiority and superiority, which I, later on, named compartmentalisation ideology.

The selection of participants was an extremely challenging thing to do in the field. At times, one single utterance was enough for me to choose a participant, but at other times, the selection was much more complicated. For instance, gatekeepers would get in the way by suggesting participants who did not seem to be particularly interesting. Although my research would not have been the same without some of the self-selections I encountered, some others were not as useful. Nevertheless, I was able to navigate my way through those with the least amount of discomfiture possible for the ultimate sake of avoiding the risks of misinforming selection (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

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[6] Translates to Uncle.

Some participants who did seem to be very interesting, on the other hand, were busy most of the time which made interviewing them almost impossible. All I was able to do, then, was to informally talk to them whenever they seemed to be available whether that be in the corridors, as they changed classrooms, in the teachers' common room or even outside. The issue of busyness was mainly created because each teacher only had two days of teaching per week. No teacher, no matter how close I might have been to them, would come to the Department specifically to meet me; they all had plans outside their workdays.

In order to create rapport with the participants, a certain degree of personal disclosure may sometimes be needed (Mann, 2016). In accordance with his opinion on how limited personal disclosure should be, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) bring up the issue of the "appropriate extent" of exposure. Despite the fact that it is necessary for the ethnographer to allow themselves to reveal some parts of their identity to the participants in order to gain their trust, it is always important to eschew reaching the stage at which the rapport becomes "too personal". Personal disclosure was not always a necessity in my case. It all depended on the participants, and in most cases, I chose what and what not to disclose depending on the person that I was talking to and on the topic raised in the discussion. What seemed to be of more interest to me is the fact that many of my participants opened up whether at a personal or a professional level which somewhat indicated their trust and acceptance. This had a tremendous impact on my relationship with them, which was also bound by certain degrees of power.

4.1.2.3. Power relations and status

In this subsection, I address my power relations with the participants. Power relations seem to be fairly dependent upon both the researcher, the participants, as well as the context wherein the interaction takes place (Scheurich, 1997). On the other hand, Ritchie and Rigano (2001) argue that associating field relations to empowerment implies rigidity. Thus, it is rather argued that field relations ought to be dealt with as flexible and fluid because the positions the researcher adopts continuously change throughout the course of research. Most power relations were a situational matter in my case.

The same participants changed their power status according to the situations we were in. Many teachers perceived me as a former student. My status in informal situations was lower than theirs even if they tried not to make that clear. They constantly said that I was a future colleague of theirs, but they patronised me in many instances, which somewhat made me feel uncomfortable. Nevertheless, my status changed significantly when I interviewed them formally. It seemed as though they were concretely able to see me taking up the role of the

researcher. The roles were reversed, somehow, and their status became lower than mine which made me think that it might have been because they thought I knew better than they did in my subject area and therefore, their dominant role could not be into play at those given moments.

With other participants, the power status was constant throughout the entire data collection period. Some gatekeepers had the power to keep me at a lower status. Regardless of the situation, they would constantly be the dominant ones which was clearly displayed in the language they used. Their friendliness seemed to carry with it a sense of favour-acknowledgement in the sense that it is true that they were very friendly, yet they were aware of the fact that not much could have been done without them. Thus, they claimed a permanent higher status. As for students, it appears that they always assumed I knew more and to them, knowledge seemed to be power. The majority amongst them took almost everything that I said for granted and they would not challenge anything I said in the slightest manner. Teachers, however, tended to take opportunities to challenge what I said, seemingly intending to convey the message that they, too, knew a lot and that not everything that I said had to make sense because they were 'the teachers' and I was the 'former student' at the end of the day. Therefore, my relationship with them as well as my role were bound by my past, present, as well as future status in the Department.

4.1.2.4. Field roles

In addition to field relations, my roles in the field are discussed in this subsection. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), what seems to be particularly challenging is identification of behavioural patterns which seemed to be a nearly impossible thing to do at the beginning. People acted differently around different people. One teacher could be three or four different teachers based on where they were and who they communicated with which could be their students, their close colleagues, their distant colleagues, or strangers. That also applied to students. It later occurred to me that these different roles that the teachers and students undertook were in themselves patterns. After that, everything began to make sense.

The role of fighting familiarity – as suggested by Hammersley and Atkinson (ibid.) – can be tricky because the researcher needs, at the very early stages of the research, to fight any preconceptions they might have about what occurs in the field and what participants do or say. To me, rather than being a role, it was more like something I had to do, which became easier with time. I entered the field thinking that I knew exactly what I could find. However, taking a step back and looking at things from a stranger's point of view made me realise that I was completely wrong; I knew nothing. I used to be so absorbed in that community that I was unable

to see what was actually going on and fighting my familiarity with the setting helped me see things from a completely different perspective.

In relation to overtness and covertness, the "participant role" of the researcher differs from one setting to another according to the aspirations of the researcher, and it sometimes changes alongside the development of the research (ibid.). As far as this study is concerned, I was completely overt. Nevertheless, I was aware that some people did not know who I was even though I wore the "researcher" badge. I would sneak between the students in the corridors or randomly just sit near a group of them to 'eavesdrop'. At times, I would smoothly interrupt their conversations to ask questions about things they said or comments they made and those were moment that I invoked my identity as a researcher and sometimes even dropped my 'UK' and 'former student' cards. Surprisingly, in most instances, the students did not seem to be intimidated and some of them would even ask me about my journey in the UK, my studies, and many other things.

As previously described, Hammersley and Atkinson (ibid., p.90) advise researchers to eschew "feeling 'at home'". That is, the role of the researcher is to "make the familiar strange" (Pole and Morrison, 2003, p.200) and if the researcher allows their personal trajectories and pre-conceptions of the fieldwork to interfere with how unfamiliar they strive to make it, their sense of analysing will eventually vanish. What seems to be strange is that I would not have been able to "feel at home" even if I wanted to. Even though many of my former teachers were there and they treated me like I belonged there, new teachers became part of the community which made me feel less at home. In addition, the great majority of students were new to me. I only knew a few of them which gave me a feeling of strangeness. At times, it felt like that was not home anymore. Luckily, that probably helped with "making the familiar strange" because what used to be familiar to me was no longer that familiar. The degree of familiarity naturally lessened which made making it strange less difficult than it would have been especially in the early stages, when I was still novice, I believe. Some of the relationships I built and the roles I had in the field made it somewhat difficult to leave the field.

4.1.2.5. Leaving the field

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) state that the difficulty of leaving the field corelates with the positive and successful relationships with the participants. That is, the better the relationships, the more difficult it is to leave the field. In most cases, terminating the work in the field does not mean a complete shutdown of all the relationships that have been established in it, it rather typically necessitates the ethnographer to bid farewell to the participants and to

agree with them on keeping contact for further collaborations such as follow-up interviews or to discuss the findings that concern them or, perhaps, even to keep them as friends or acquaintances (ibid.).

Not only can leaving the field be emotionally difficult for the researcher, but it can also be odd and maybe even equally emotionally hard for the participants themselves. "Informants must adjust to the fact that someone they have come to see as a friend is going to turn back into a stranger, at least to some degree" (ibid., p.95). Although this might be true to a great extent, I believe that it highly depends on the length of the period that the ethnographer spends in the field. In my case, even though I had a good relationship with everyone in the Department, it was not as emotionally difficult for me to leave as I thought it would be. My last week of fieldwork was full of goodbye kisses and handshakes. Although I felt genuinely sad with every goodbye, the feeling of sadness vanished the moment I left the Department in most instances. I believe that there were two reasons behind that. The first one is that I had more important things to worry about such as my research, my family and friends, and my flight back to the UK.

The second reason is that I knew that I would keep in touch with most of them as I always have. Of course, there are exceptions. There are some participants that I got attached to as friends and who became part of my life; bidding them farewell was almost as difficult as bidding farewell to my close friends. I got used to being part of my participants' daily routines and activities and so did they. Most of them expressed how strange it would be for them to carry on their daily practices without me being around. Others said they got used to me and that they would "miss" me. Some others asked to keep in touch and asked me not to forget them. At some point, I got so used to the Department that I felt that the research could go on forever. Eventually, especially during the last days of the fieldwork, the feeling of un-belongingness vanished, and I was only left with a critical eye that scrutinizes the strangest of things that turned out to be familiar all along. In the following section, I describe the process that my collection of data went through.

4.2. Data collection

I collected my data over a period of three and a half months. To do that, I used fieldwork observations, interviews, and focus groups. The fieldwork observation was conducted almost throughout the entire period of my stay in Algeria. I carried out a total number of 16 interviews, 9 of which are standard semi-structured interviews with teachers. The others were 7 student interviews that went on two stages; the first part included the use of repertory grids while the second one included semi-structured interviews. My selection of students for individual

interviews was based on a focus group I conducted which comprised 8 students. In this section, I sought to describe how exactly the data collection was carried out for the sake of identifying and examining participants' views and behaviours within the community. *Figure 1* provides an overall summary of my data collection process:
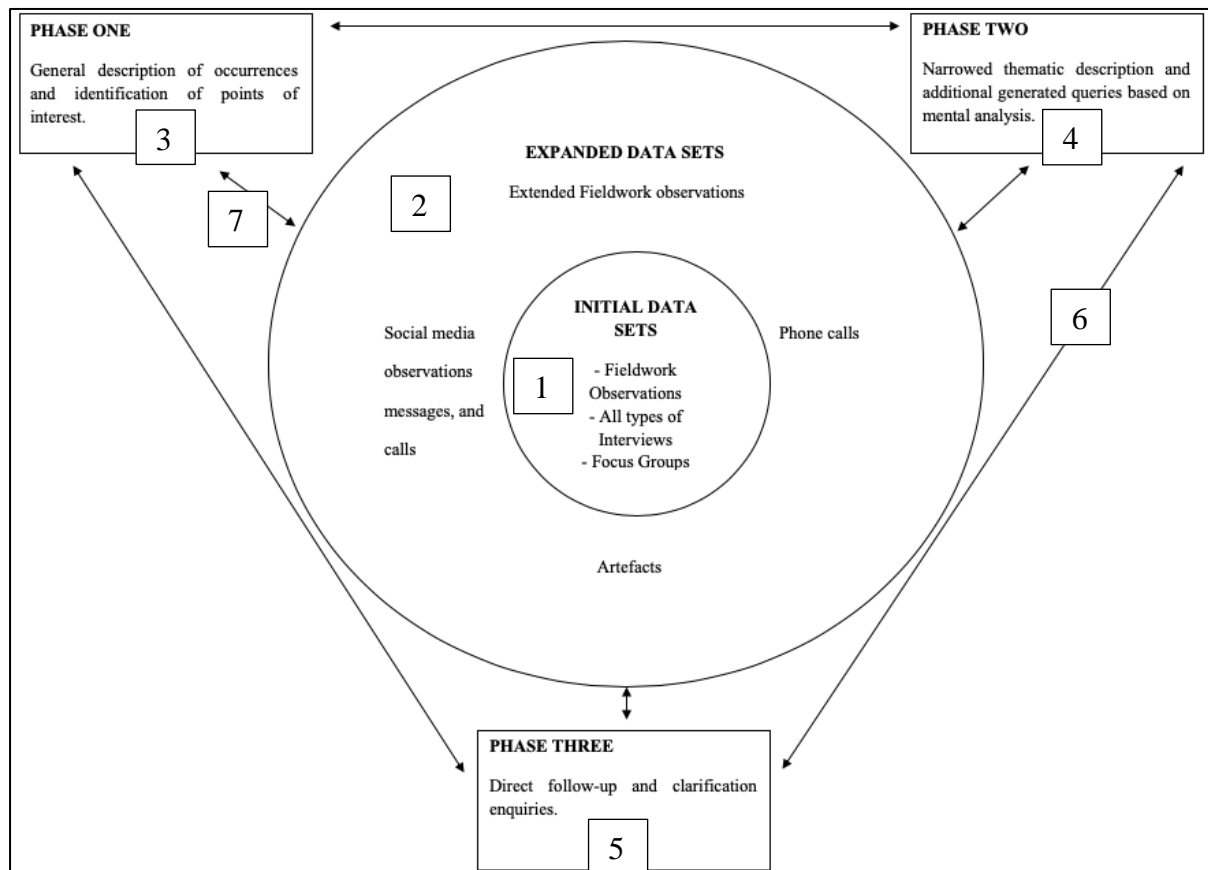
Figure 1: Data collection process

My data collection process consisted of initial (1) as well as expanded (2) data collection sets (*Figure 1*). The use of these means of data collection went through three iterative phases (6). In the first phase (3), I would identify and describe what seemed to be of relevance to the aims of my study through both the initial and expanded means (7). Trying to understand participants' views and behaviours led me to construct a thematic description of what I believed was going on (4). I would go back to the data collected through (1 and 2) to try to make connections. I would, then, ask participants for further explanation or clarification (5) and delve deeper into their everyday conversations or discussions with other people (7). My analysis would go back to phase one (3) where I would try to make sense of the new emergent data and so forth.

Overall, this section describes how the fieldwork observations, interviews, and focus groups were conducted in this study. I, first, portray my fieldwork observations (4.2.1) since they are the method I used most extensively. Then, I move on to describe how my interviews were carried out, which comprises the various types of interviews I used to collect data including a detailed description of my use repertory grids. The third section depicts my use of different focus group sessions. In the final subsection, I describe the ethical procedures I followed to collect data.

4.2.1. Fieldwork observations

In this section, I provide a detailed description of the different components of my fieldwork observations, namely the field, observations, oral accounts, and material artefacts, in relation to the theoretical backdrop on the matter.

4.2.1.1. The field

A salient aspect of my data collection was the field itself, which gradually expanded to reach more than just the Department of English and the University, because it had a significant role in broadening my perspective towards participants' views and behaviours within the chosen community. Although Pole and Morrison (2003) state that the focus of ethnography should be on a specific location, I found it difficult not to be where I should be since where I should be is where the participants are. Starfield (2010) specified that the researcher should continuously engage in observational activities in the field and aim to describe and interpret the communal performances of the participants and the meanings they bring to them. This view predominantly featured my observations in the field.

When I first entered the field, I assumed that I should try to observe all that could possibly be observed inside the Department and in the courtyard almost on every weekday from 9:30 to 15:30. Nonetheless, my observations were eventually not limited by time and space. I came to realise that I had to go to different places inside and outside the University to be able to see participants and possibly even talk to them. The typical fieldwork I had to do was to sit in the teachers' common room either by myself or with other teachers, to attend classes with teachers, to sit in the courtyard next to groups of students, and to just stand in the corridors or communal areas. In these places, a lot was observable, from things that people uttered to the things they wore.

Moving from the Department to the University, then to the surrounding area of the University, going to the city in itself, to outside the city by bus and then to other cities, I tried to make use of all that could possibly occur in my way. Expanding my fieldwork approximately

began when I went to a stationery store located near the University during the first week of my fieldwork. In this stationery store, teachers would leave handouts and books to be photocopied by students. Therefore, many students would go there for all sorts of purposes, either to buy snacks, stationery, to make photocopies, or to print out lessons. I went there coincidently, and I came across a student that I had seen in one of my classroom observations and I was able to observe occurrences. Then, I started going to the stationery store more often in hope to find something observable, which did happen.

Furthermore, some teachers would ask me to accompany them to local stores in the city and I mainly did because I wanted to reinforce my relationship with them. However, at some point, it occurred to me that I was subconsciously classifying some of what they said as data. Not only did accompanying them downtown strengthen my relationships with them, but it also showered me with some significant data that I would not have obtained otherwise. The comments they made about all types of different matters, the languages they used, and the conversations they had with me and with one another all counted as valuable data and helped me understand how social meaning was constructed.

An additional field station was the buses that travel between the city where the University was located and where I lived. As some of my participants live in my hometown too, we would either commute or travel back home together. We would talk about all different topics including ones that have to do with education, the education system, politics, living conditions and so forth. Much of what was said counted as valuable data to me and all I did was get their verbal consent to use it. At times, I would give up the comfort of driving a car in hope to obtain some data on the bus. Most of these trips between the two cities were not planned, but they were predictable.

I conducted two of my interviews in my parents' house and in the participants' parents' houses. Their houses were located in two different cities; one of them was my hometown and where I lived, and the other one was not so distant from the city wherein the University was located. When I went to these participants' houses, I did more than interviewing. I could not help but observe how the way the participants organised their rooms conformed with what they said in the interviews and in informal discussions that we had. From the clothes they chose to wear at home to their bedroom décor, a lot was observable. I asked for permission to include descriptions of those and there were only a few things that one of the participants did not want me to include.

Social media observations were also an additional observation station in my research. Because I know that so much of a person's identity and thoughts can be displayed through their

posts on social media, I decided to obtain consent to go through some of my participants' Facebook posts and stories, as well as Instagram pictures and stories. I chose these two platforms because they were the only ones I could get access to and these are the ones that participants used the most. Not only did the matters I observed on Facebook and Instagram help me in getting more understanding of the participants' identities, which were translated in the form of fieldnotes, but they also gave me ideas for questions in the focus group and individual interviews.

4.2.1.1.1. Fieldwork identity

As described earlier in this chapter, an important aspect of my fieldwork observation was the constant emphasis on my overt identity as a researcher. Given that my observation was overt, "participant as observer" is what I believe should be particularly referred to here. Pole and Morrison (2003) note that in this type of observation, all participants know about the identity of the researcher. This form of participation "[t]akes the form of 'shadowing' a person or group through normal life, witnessing first hand and in intimate detail the culture/events of interest" (ibid, p.23). I was specially invited to follow some of my participants around and in most instances, I did not ask for it unless I was inviting them for pastry or lunch which cannot be entirely regarded as following them. However, in a way, I ended up being with some of them more often than others which can practically be a form of unintentional shadowing.

The fieldwork identity of the researcher has several aspects including the idea of what informants know about the research and how many of them do. To me, there were certain aspects of my research that I felt the need to keep from participants. Although most of my participants knew what my research was generally about, there were certain aspects that I decided not to share with them. These aspects would possibly alter their opinions or make them feel obligated to change some of their answers to fit within the scope of my research even if subconsciously. That was definitely an issue that I deliberately eschewed. Nevertheless, this facet of my fieldwork identity was not an issue when I conducted general observations that did not involve talking to people in the field.

4.2.1.2. Observations

In this subsection, I present a description of how observations were conducted in this study which was formally done within the course of three and half months. Even though I was aware of steps delineated by Pole and Morrison (2003), when it came to practice, the borders between each of these steps seemed to be blurred at times. In most instances, I would just observe; I would sit wherever, and things would randomly occur before my eyes. The only

difference is that at the beginning, it took me more energy to focus and spot what appeared to be relevant to my research, but, gradually, my sense of identification became stronger and it took me less energy to spot what needed to be spotted.

"Observation sessions certainly have to be long enough to observe the social processes that are the subject of the study" (Darlington and Scott, 2002, p.79). However, it is advised that each session should not be too long in order for the inquirer not to lose concentration and attentiveness. Personally, I would prefer not to refer to my observations as "sessions". Sessions would have a beginning and an end at some point of the day, but mine were continuous. I had spent days in the Department and outside it, observing most of what could possibly be observed and, at times, even when I thought my day of observation was over, something would occur and reopen my observing eyes.

The importance of observations lies in the fact that things are better understood when they are experienced (Patton, 2002, p.262). Before I entered the field, I had a preconstructed idea of how things would be in the Department based on my own experience as a former student there. I, then, came to realise that if I relied entirely or even partially on my prejudgments about the Department, I would not have collected the amount of data that I have, nor would I be able to shape my understanding of how things worked there. Newly emerging data was also something that would not have seen light if I allowed my predispositions about the Department to interfere in the way I tried to look at it. Therefore, as I stepped back and viewed things from a stranger's vantage point, I was able to see things that I would not have been able to see otherwise.

Observations provide the researcher with the opportunity to observe the naturally and spontaneously occurring behaviours of the participants. That is, when being observed, individuals cannot always be aware of what they do if it is part of their routines. On the contrary, informants tend to be aware of what they say during interviews. This view on the participants' awareness of the researcher might be more relevant to me than that of Darlington and Scott (2002) who state that participants may be more aware of their behaviours when they know that they are under scrutiny. As I previously mentioned, observations were very useful in allowing me to get a glimpse of what was going on with the least amount of attention possible. In many instances, participants were too busy going through their daily routines to pay attention to my presence. In addition, my presence did not seem to keep them from expressing their opinions or talking, bragging, or even complaining about incidents that they had been through or seen. Some of them would even share their seemingly most personal topics with other teachers or make personal calls while I was around. However, some of their most supposedly spontaneous

utterances contradicted what they said during individual interviews which connects to multiple realities, power relations, and peer pressure. A very important part of my observations was the taking of fieldnotes.

4.2.1.2.1. Fieldnotes

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) discuss selectivity and flexibility as two of the most important criteria of fieldnotes. Based on my experience with fieldnotes, I believe that selectivity is not something that one does, it is rather something that one has. In most instances, knowing what was relevant to my research and what was irrelevant gradually became an activity that my brain would do without much conscious thinking. Knowing my aims and what I was looking for somehow became part of my system. Hence, selecting what would count as fieldnotes and what would not became more of an automatic behaviour with time.

On the other hand, the repetitiveness of certain social behaviours led me to widen the scope of what I was observing. Part of the flexibility of the research process lies in that some "features that previously seemed insignificant may come to take a new meaning" (ibid., p.145). I was flexible in the sense that I was not rigid in the way I looked at things. I welcomed all possible deviations from what I was in the field to observe, and I did deviate, which changed both my topic, from language ideologies to the entire notion of compartmentalisation ideology, and my way of thinking.

Important decisions on what fieldnotes are, as well as when and how they are to be taken should constantly be made in the field. Darlington and Scott (2002) and Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) assert that recording usually takes place right after an occurrence is observed or soon enough to recall exactly what was done or said. When there was too much going on, it was not possible for me to take notes until later in the day. At times like those, I would quickly grab my phone and take very brief notes to remind myself of what went on.

After all was sorted out, I would take my notebook out and try to recall what was said and done. Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that "raw field notes should be identified separately from the researcher's own reflections and conceptual material, which themselves may range from brief impressions to more formal analytic notes" (Darlington and Scott, 2002, p.80). That was something to consider. There were moments when I asked myself if what I wrote actually happened or if it were my personal reflection on it. I later decided to write them on separate parts of the notebook. That way, I assured that I would not confuse fieldnotes with any other type of notes.

However, if a lot was going on or much was being said, I would stop and listen carefully then write down later instead of trying to write down everything at once without being able to listen to all that was being said which brought me to Hammersley and Atkinson's (2007) point on preferring quality over quantity in note taking. Consequently, I tried to be organised and careful about the quality of notes I was taking especially when my conversations with people or their oral accounts were lengthy.

4.2.1.3. Oral accounts

Amongst the most significant parts of observations are oral accounts. This type of accounts is considered to be a very rich source of naturally occurring data because, in most instances, participants are not entirely prudent about what they say, and their accounts can make very interesting data for the researcher as long as their interpretation of the uncalled-for accounts is done in the right way (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). These accounts occurred very frequently. I would either be chatting with people, sitting in the teachers' common room, standing in the corridors and people approached me raising the most interesting topics or making the most valuable comments. The moment those people left, I would bring out my notebook and begin taking notes. Sometimes, I would succeed in taking note of their exact words, but at other times, it was more difficult especially when they had spoken at length.

Oral accounts also happened outside of the Department, sometimes even outside the University. I would accompany teachers and students to different locations and they would tell accounts of things that they see, instances they recall, occurrences they imagine, statements other people make. They would also give their opinions on different matters, all of which counted as valuable data. At times, data could be found in the most unexpected places at the most expected times. Just when I think my collection for the day is over, I would bump into someone whose accounts reopen the door to the flow of data. In addition to their importance independently, those accounts formed the basis of many topics that I tackled in formal and informal interviews and opened the gate to numerous continual questions about their nature and the different themes they may have led up to.

A very important issue that Hammersley and Atkinson point out to is "solicited accounts" in the field which can, sometimes, be undesirable by the participants who may receive that as being obtrusive or intimidating. This is where "unsolicited" oral accounts and observations come in handy (ibid., pp.102-103). Although I thought I was aware of this issue, it was difficult for me not to ask questions in the heat of the moment. Part of this was because of my enthusiasm. With the course of time, as I became less of a novice researcher, I learned to

ask questions more or less in the right way at the right time. In addition to oral accounts, artefacts were a very rich source of data.

4.2.1.4. Material artefacts

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) do not tackle artefacts from the same vantage point as that of Mann's (2016). Mann (ibid.) tackles the different types of photographs, documents, and artefacts and how they can be used as part of and in conjunction with interviews, whereas Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) view them as "material objects" that needs to be analysed. For instance, the way that participants choose to organize their houses and the artefact they keep as decorations might generate a significant amount of data about who they are as individuals. As I previously mentioned, I have been to two of my participants' houses for individual interviews and I can truly tell that I lean more towards the way Hammersley and Atkinson (ibid.) view artefacts because I was able to know more about my participants based on their bedroom decorations.

I observed the occurrences in their real time without having to interrupt the participants or arrange meetings with them. In addition, conducting them was very useful in selecting participants and choosing interview question. In the following section, I describe the way I used interviews in this study.

4.2.2. Interviews

In the same way that observations are a useful data collection means in ethnographic research, interviews are regarded as a helpful tool that provides researchers with the perspective of the participants themselves. "The data from the interviews provide an alternative perspective to that recorded by the researcher" (Copland and Creese, 2015, p.30). Although my observations were very useful in providing me with an understanding of how people operated in naturally occurring settings, they also performed as a vessel through which I could approach people for individual interviews.

Interviews are believed to be advantageous in a multitude of ways including the fact that they provide in-depth data, they provide the researcher with a thorough understanding of how the informants think, and they delimitate the scope of interpretation since the accuracy of data and consent can be checked with the informants (Pole and Morrison, 2003). Mann (2016) discusses the common types of qualitative interviews. Since some of the types he mentions seem to be irrelevant to my research aspiration, I only name the few relevant ones which I used as part of my larger ethnographic study. In the following subsection, I describe the way I conducted formal interviews in this study.

4.2.2.1. Formal interviews

The first type of interviews I used is semi-structured interviewing which I continuously refer to here as formal interviewing. This type of interviews was planned with teachers and students. All of my formal interviews were tape-recorded. I used my phone and a back-up phone in case my phone failed to record.

Teacher formal interviews

A total number of 16 formal interviews was conducted. We would decide on a date and time via phone, Facebook Messenger, or face-to-face in most instances. I had already discussed ethical issues with them – as shall be described in Subsection 4.5. After we meet, we would look for a quiet place to conduct the interview. Many teacher formal interviews took place in the teachers' common room. Other formal interviews took place in empty classrooms whether in the Department or in other departments that had empty rooms given that most rooms were not available by the time I began interviewing teachers. We would choose a corner and let the interview begin. There was one interview session that took place in a restaurant about fifteen minutes away from the University. I had printed pieces of paper on which I typed the most interesting questions and questions that I thought I needed to be asked (See Appendix 6 for example). These pieces of paper differed from one person to another. They were different because they had questions that related to things I observed and wanted to ask formal questions about, or to things that have been raised before and I wanted to know about in more detail.

There were nine teacher interviews each lasting between 2 and a half hours to 3 and a half hours in total. These interviews were divided into sessions. Each individual interview would last between 45 minutes to 1 hour and 30 minutes and the number of interview sessions depended on the total number of questions and follow up questions and also on time as recommended by several scholars including Pole and Morrison (2003). Some interviews were conducted in three separate sessions while others were conducted in two sessions except for one interview which took four sessions to be finished. The amount of structure within interviews was dependent on the responses of teachers. At times, they would answer questions that were already on the list, so there would be no need to refer to them, and if I did, it would be to confirm or gain a better understanding of what they said. I had a notebook in which I wrote questions related to the participants as they were answering. I would ask follow-up questions almost immediately after they finished answering a question.

The order of questions also depended on how teachers answered them. It was teacher-led just like the type of questions asked and the way they were asked. In addition, some

questions seemed to be irrelevant to what the teachers were saying and so I had to omit some mid-interview. The languages used in these interviews were English, Arabic and some occasional French. I could not help but notice that the use of Arabic was only done occasionally in subsequent interview sessions especially during the last few minutes of the interviews, which I assume had to do with the familiarity of teachers, how they perceived me, and how unreserved they possibly felt after getting to talk to me more. As for others, English was used all the way to the end of the interviews with occasional code switching. There was also a case in which a teacher spoke Arabic right at the beginning and that was how he chose to carry on.

Interviews did not run smoothly at all times. There were times when teachers would just not show up or be late for over 30 minutes. I somewhat learned to accept that, especially as there were plenty of other things to do like observing or talking to other people or informants. I would even use times like that to write down fieldnotes. Hence, moments like those were not an absolute waste of time except one time when the Department was closed because of a snowstorm and the teacher with whom I arranged a meeting did not show up without informing me about the meeting cancellation beforehand.

Student formal interviews

For students, it was different; there was a total number of 7 participants. Two amongst these students participated in a pair interview. All interviews were conducted in two sessions: one that involved the use of repertory grids (Subsection 4.2.2.1.1.1), and another one that came after which included a more typical type of semi-structured questions. I had already selected students based on focus group data – which is described in Section 4.2.3. I used Repertory Grids to guide the discussion in student formal interviews. Some of these interviews took place outside the Department. Two participants came to my parents' house to be interviewed in the first interview session, and on the second one, I went to their houses. Visiting their houses yielded more data than just those generated in the interviews as previously described in Subsection 4.2.1.1.

The rest of the interviews were conducted in empty classrooms in the Department except for one. I interviewed most students in the consultations and deliberations period which gave me more choices of where I wanted to interview them. Usually, I would interview them in classrooms situated on the third floor because most teachers would feel too drained to do paper consultations on the third floor. At the end, I was left with one student who was out of time by the time of their second interview. Therefore, we opted for a Facebook Messenger video call interview instead. I used my laptop to make the call, and both my phones to record.

The language used varied from one interview to another. Two of these interviews were almost entirely in Algerian Arabic with occasional switching to English. These interviews happened to be the ones that took place in houses. Perhaps, that is related to how comfortable the participants were. The rest of the interviews were conducted in English with occasional switching to Algerian Arabic. The use of the pair interview proved to be very beneficial. The fact that the students were friends in real life helped in making the session relaxing and vivid. At the beginning, I worried that their questions and answers would affect those of one another. However, it turned out to be the exact opposite except for some instances. There was a very interesting discussion about the questions and the answers between the two students. The atmosphere was amusing for both of them. They said it was like "a game" they were playing together. They expressed their ideas so freely and they related to instances they both knew about. Interestingly, many of their opinions differed significantly which added to the enthusiasm of the interview on the whole. The participants' enthusiasm was partly heightened due to the use of repertory grids as an interview tool.

4.2.2.1.1. Interview tools

Mann (2016) emphasizes the importance of using photographs, diagrams and illustrations, and videos as tools in qualitative interviews. He states that they help elicit viewpoints especially at the early stages of the interviews, they can be useful in recalling memories and experiences, and most importantly, they help establish a rapport with participants. A more specific tool that is often overlooked by researchers is repertory grids. He (ibid.) states that this type of data collection tools has been employed in a number of studies in workplace and educational settings. He argues that they can be used "as a tool for seeing how the interviewee construes and interprets his or her experience of a chosen focus (topic)" (ibid, p.107). That is, they represent the subjective way of looking at things and of constructing knowledge from the participants' points of view. In the following subsection, I describe the way I integrated repertory grids in my formal interviews with students.

4.2.2.1.1.1. Repertory grids

Mann (2016, pp.110-113) illustrates how "rep-grids" are used in qualitative interviews by giving reference to Ceren Oztabay's vignette. In her vignette, Ceren Oztabay (cited in Mann, 2016) seems to have established a new idea on how repertory grids are used in interviews. That is, she gradually managed to dispose of common beliefs about their nature such as the belief that they are strictly structured. Instead, her view was based on the idea that this tool allowed for new constructions to emerge. In her own terms, "[a]t heart, repertory- grid interviews

support a constructivist view of meaning-making between the two parties involved […] the interviewer and the interviewee, co-constructing an interesting piece of meaning bound by a particular place, time, and interaction" (ibid, p.113).

I only used repertory grids with student participants because they seemed to be time-demanding and teachers were too busy to go through with them. In addition, my choice of the themes established in the repertory grid was mainly based on data generated from the focus group and from my observations of and interactions with students. My first interview using a repertory grid was somewhat difficult because it seemed to be "too complex" for the student. It was only in the middle of that interview that I figured out a way to simplify it. The rep-grid-based interview was mainly unstructured. I only had some themes written on the grid to highlight topics that were previously brought up by the students themselves. Before getting into explaining how my own repertory grid worked, I would like to first present the simplified version that I used with students. The following table demonstrates the simplified version of the repertory grid, and it is followed by an explanation of how it works.

Pole 1	Banana	Orange	Apple	Water Melon	Fig	Pole 5
Sour		1				Sweet/ Not Sour
Sweet					2	Bitter/ Not Sweet
Juicy		2				Dry/ Not Juicy
Squishy	5					Hard
Good	4		5		3	Bad
Healthy				1		Not Healthy

Table 1: Simplified repertory grid

The table above represents how repertory grids work. I gave this grid to students and provided them with guidelines. The most important instructions were: "ask the question and then answer it yourself" and "try to think aloud". The numbers on this table are just random examples of what different students answered. The first row from the top of the grid represents different fruits while the first and last columns represent qualities. The first column from the

left represents Pole 1 qualities and the last column is Pole 5 qualities. Each of these qualities is the extreme. For example, for the second row, (1) would be 'very sour' and (5) would be 'not sour at all' or 'sweet'. The students would answer by column. They would go from left to right answering a whole column then the one that comes after except for some instances where they jumped between different cells to relate constructs.

Now, the interesting part is that students asked the questions by themselves. For instance, one would ask the question: "How do I like my bananas? Hard or Squishy?" and answer with number (5) saying that they like them very hard. Another one would ask the same question but would choose (2.5) instead because they do not like their bananas too squishy nor too hard. A third student would ask a totally different question: "Why don't I like bananas?" in the same row and the answer would be: "because they're squishy and they taste bad" which also answers the sixth row from the top. The same thing applies to other rows and columns in the grid.

Having explained the concept of the grid by first explaining this simple grid, I would move on to explain the actual grid which was entirely designed by me (Appendix 1). The purpose of the repertory grid was not to restrict myself or the students to a set of choices and numbers, but rather to introduce constructs that I wanted to know more about and let the students do the talking. Most of the time, my role was to ask prompts or follow-up questions. Other than that, I would just nod along and smile. The participants would write a number and explain why they chose that particular number. They also provided examples of matters that made them think the way they did. Most interestingly, the participants would think aloud. At times, they would write a number and then change it to another number by themselves because while explaining, they would realise that that was not the number that best described what or how they thought.

The numbers were simply there to help the participants think. They were of very little importance to me and my analysis. However, at times, the students would describe something as though they would put extreme numbers (1 or 5), but then they would write 4, 4.5, 1.5 or 2. My role was to ask them why they did not write 5 or 1 instead since their description of it made it look as though they were going to write down a 5 or a 1 – extremely important or not important at all, for example. The students would always say more whenever asked that question. They would explain why they chose to put some numbers instead of others and they would provide the exceptions to the reasons they chose a less extreme number. The questions they asked were equally important to the answers they provided since the questions themselves differed from one student to another. For instance, some of the questions the participants asked concerning

the cell that relates accent to 'theirs' and 'ours' (the top corner on the left side of the grid) as a pole were "do I prefer their accent or ours?", "which accent do I want to have? ours or theirs?", "which accent is better? ours or theirs?", "what should the ultimate accent for users of English be? ours or theirs?", and so forth. These questions in themselves say a lot about how the participants think and their orientations. To me, the questions they asked were as valuable as their answers and the examples they gave.

The use of repertory grids forms a fundamental part of my research. I was able to see how my participants made meaning of the constructs provided to them. Their social construction of meaning and thought was also tangible because the participants spoke their thoughts out. The numbers helped them put their thoughts into words and they related different constructs to different issues inside and outside the grid. They narrated stories of incidents that happened to them, some of which were very personal and sensitive. One of these students said she felt she was taking an online quiz and that she almost forgot she had only known me for "a couple of months". Alongside their construction of meaning, I was also able to construct my own. The more they spoke and made the rep-grid personal, the more I related to them.

Mann (2016, p.132) indicates that flexibility and "going with the flow" are very important when conducting qualitative interviews. He states that this is mainly used in revealing aspects of identity. Even if some of the topics that the informants alluded to appeared to be irrelevant, it was always a necessity to be flexible in my questions and probes for the ultimate sake of understanding or at least revealing a side of the participants' identities which would not be seen otherwise. This somewhat relates to Ceren Oztabay's previously mentioned point about allowing the participant to lead the flow of the interview, which led to very desirable consequences.

My research would not have come to where it is if I had not been flexible about the way I approached participants' views and behaviours. Whether be it individual interviews, informal interviews, focus groups, or observations, I tried not to be rigid in the way I dealt with methods. No matter how irrelevant what the participants said appeared to be, I would always let them finish talking. I would even prompt them or ask follow-up questions. Even in terms of observation, there were times when I listened to people having conversations that seemed at first to be uninteresting, but then I began to establish patterns and see how issues were related.

While formal interviews were a very rich source of data, Mann (ibid.) questions the naturalness of qualitative interviews as compared to conversations whose main criterion is spontaneity and natural occurrence. Regardless of that, some of my participants seemed to be very spontaneous even during formal interviews. Their spontaneity seemed to be related to

relaxation. The more relaxed they said or appeared to be, the more spontaneous they would act. In addition, the naturalness of findings does not necessarily have to do with whether or not the participants are being interviewed. For instance, some participants were more natural during individual interviews than they were during classroom observations. Nevertheless, not only was the use of informal interviews necessary, but it was also unavoidable given the nature of my research and the unavailability of participants.

4.2.2.2. Informal interviews

In this section, I provide a description of how informal interviews, as a second combined type, were conducted in this study. This type is very important in the sense that it, arguably, is the most natural one. Mann (ibid., p.99) states that this type "puts emphasis on informality, reciprocity, interviewer disclosure, and more equal roles in terms of turn taking". That is, the interview does not take the question-answer format. Thus, I had the opportunity to converse as I usually did in normal conversations. My initial thought on this type of interview was that it might put additional pressure on the researcher in the sense that the conversation might constantly drift away from what the researcher intends to consider as valuable data; so, it could be time-consuming.

In actuality, the type of data I thought would be irrelevant turned out to be one of the most interesting parts of my entire research. I tried to make the most out of my normal conversations with participants. I would often sit or stand wherever the participants were and talk to them about various topics. There were many types of topics and ideas around and I tried to make my questions as subtle as possible especially after learning that direct questions in informal situations can be intimidating to participants. The type of topics raised varied between comments that the participants made about some occurrences, things that the participants recalled, stories they decided to share with me, gossip, their opinions about situations and people and so forth. Sometimes, I would even ask them questions about matters they were unclear about in previous chats or about things they posted either on Instagram or Facebook. The best aspect about this type of interview was not the naturalness of them as many would say. It rather was that they were not limited by time and space. At times, they would even take place right after formal interviews. In addition to observations and interviews, I used a focus group discussion. These are addressed in the following subsection.

4.2.3. Focus groups

I initially aimed at using multiple focus groups. Nevertheless, the number of participants who were willing to participate was enough for one single focus group. Therefore, I conducted

several sessions with one group composed of 8 students, 7 of which were later selected for individual interviews. Not only was that useful in generating questions for individual repertory-grid-based interviews with students, but it also provided me with rich and in-depth data. In the following section, I provide a description of how the focus group sessions were conducted.

Although, sometimes, the term 'focus group' is used to refer to group interviews, they can be distinguished from one another in that focus groups are focused in the activities which are provided to the participants such as diagrams, videos, photographs and charts. In addition to that, it is stated that "the core purpose of focus groups is to collect and analyse data that are primarily concerned with the interaction among members of the group" (Pole and Morrison, 2003, p.40). The advantages of focus groups include recognising group norms within a specific social context as well as understanding how group interaction may affect personal beliefs and convictions Kitzinger (1994, as cited in Pole and Morrison, ibid., p.40).

At first, my use of focus groups was for operational purposes. I wanted them to act as the gate that would lead me into understanding how some student participants acted within a given social context which is more or less monitored. My main focus was intended to be on how people interacted within that social context and on selecting participants for my individual interviews. However, the focus group yielded much more data than I expected. It provided me with a thorough understanding of how the beliefs of my participants were constructed, shared, and communicated as part of a community and how personal beliefs affected and were affected by group beliefs.

I do agree with Mann's (2016) view on how focus groups are mainly conducted not to get to the bottom of the participants' beliefs, but to pursue what arises from the interaction that takes place when a certain issue is discussed among participants. Focus groups gave me the opportunity to look at the social context wherein the ideas seemed to develop and how these ideas were generated. Conducting the focus group gave me the chance to understand how meaning was constructed between individuals. I was able to examine the different reactions of students to the issues I raised and to those raised by the participants themselves.

My choice of the focus group was almost entirely based on my observations and informal interviews with students. I selected students who seemed to fit within some criteria that I set at the beginning but altered throughout the fieldwork. Two of the most important criteria were the interest of students towards the English language and their ability to converse in groups composed of other students. Other criteria were based on things that those particular students said that sounded appealing to me which related to the overall framework of the study.

After selecting the participants for my focus groups came persuading them into taking part. Most teachers would either volunteer or agree almost immediately, but students asked many questions before agreeing to participate. At first, there were too many students that I thought I would be conducting different focus groups, but later on, some of them withdrew and others did not get back to me. Therefore, I ended up deciding on one group of students to participate in several sessions. After the students agreed to participate, I had to wait until after their exams to set dates for these sessions. Because many students abruptly withdrew without providing a reason or informing me beforehand, conducting the focus group was rescheduled and reconstituted several times.

When it was finally time for the actual focus group, there, luckily, were many empty classrooms especially at the level of the third floor. "Uncle Brahim" helped us find a room and we just had to arrange the seats until the rest of the group could come upstairs. I decided to arrange the seats in a circular shape. The students gave me back my copy of the consent form and we began the discussion after I informed them about the guidelines of the focus group. The guidelines included the following:

- You need to actively participate in the discussions guided by the researcher.
- You are completely free to leave whenever you like.
- You should be honest even if you think your answer will not be liked by others because no answer is incorrect or awkward.
- Feel free to add any comment or disapprove of something that someone says.
- Only the participants (in the focus group) and the researcher will know about what you say.
- After the data is recorded, everything that you say will be made anonymous.

After we agreed on the guidelines, the discussion started. I began by asking the participants some general questions to get them into the mood of talking. I went through them one by one. Although some of them seemed to feel shy and uneasy, they gradually talked more comfortably when they realised how everyone else were speaking confidently and how no one seemed to be judging anyone. The students discussed several subjects and numerous themes escalated. They would agree on some points and disagree on others. One of the questions I asked was if they thought of someone in particular as they talked about the "ideal teacher". As each of them was describing, the others would try to guess who the teacher was, and they often succeeded, which made the interview more enjoyable for all of us. I believe that was the point when they all felt connected.

Even though it is commonly believed that secondary data such as maps, textbooks, quantitative surveys and photographs are passive and not generated, but collected because the researcher does not interact with them in order to obtain meaning, they can be generated in the way that they communicate the meaning that people bring to them by creating or by possessing them (Pole and Morrison, 2003). My approach to focus groups was eclectic in terms of tools. I used combination of tools in order to obtain a full picture of what happened within that specific social context. Amongst the tools I used in the focus group discussion was photographs.

4.2.3.1. Photographs

After discussing various issues and topics, I showed the participants a picture with four passports in it. The passports were in four different colours: green, black, blue, and red. The issue of passports was raised more than once in the informal interviews and conversations I had with students, so I decided to raise it in the focus group. The next tool I used was photographs. I had already prepared photographs of people which I selected from Google. They all appeared to be teachers. In order to prevent any type of 'bias', I grouped those 'teachers' into two different categories: females and males. All males looked like they were in their thirties, and they all dressed formally. As for females, all of them looked like they were in their mid-thirties and they also dressed formally.

What seemed to be apparently different amongst 'teachers' in each category was the fact that they appeared to have different ethnic backgrounds. For females, there were people with the following characteristics:

- Dark intermediate skin, dark brown eyes, and headscarf (hijab[7]) (referred to as teacher number 1)
- Light intermediate skin, dark brown monolid[8] eyes, and black straight hair (2)
- Medium brown skin, dark brown eyes, wavy hair (3)
- Dark brown skin, dark brown eyes, curly hair (4)
- Light skin, green eyes, and honey blonde straight hair (5)

As for the males' category, the people in the photographs had the following features:

- Light skin and blue eyes (1)
- Dark intermediate skin and brown eyes (2)
- Light intermediate skin, dark brown monolid eyes (3)

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[7] The headscarf used to cover hair and/or other body parts generally worn by some Muslim females.
[8] A term used to refer to eyes that do not have a creased eyelid.

- Dark brown skin and dark brown eyes (4)
- Light intermediate skin and dark brown monolid eyes (5)

Before showing these photographs to teachers, I asked them who they thought was "more like a teacher of English" based on their first impressions. After the students saw the pictures, I asked them to pick the numbers that accompanied the teachers they opted for. Then, each one of them picked a teacher and explained the reason behind their choice. The students would comment on one another's choices and even relate what they said to one another's opinions.

4.2.3.2. Maps

Another tool that I used in the focus group was maps. My use of this tool helped in understanding how individuals perceived the world. I was amazed by how one single map could be construed in so many different ways by different people and that was the meaning that each person brought to it. Participants brought those maps and photographs alive. They added their deepest and most personal thoughts and feelings to them and they turned them into pieces that were unique to them.

I had printed copies of a blank world map I obtained from Google. I handed the maps to students and asked them to write or draw whatever it was that they were able to think of based on the discussions we had. The students drew and wrote different things on the maps and then I asked them to share their thoughts and to explain why they decided to write what they wrote. Some of them did not even write anything on the map. They drew lines and circles around some countries, and they explained what those lines meant. Others provided very detailed accounts on the maps with drawings and writing. Their maps were self-explanatory to some extent. The most interesting part was that the students related the issues and topics raised in the focus group to their personal experiences and thoughts which resulted in very interesting world maps that were exclusive to each and every one of them.

In addition to maps and photographs, I read aloud different statement to students. Most of those statements have been said by actual people in the community before like "students in Algeria, as opposed to Western students, are not critical thinkers". The aims behind those statements were to be able to closely observe the students' reactions towards them, to see how entrenched those thoughts were and whether students ever thought of them at all, and to engage the participants in discussions. Using those statements yielded more data than I had expected. Not only did the students engage in all sorts of conversations and discussions, but some of them debated against each other concerning some points. At some point, I felt unseen; the students were so engaged in their debates that it seemed that they forgot I was present. They even almost

digressed from the statements in first place and they engaged in different topics related to the ones I originally raised in the statements.

After we finished the last session, one of the students came to me and said: "I don't care, I want us to become friends." Another one asked me to call him whenever I wanted to do a focus group or "anything like that". They were content, and they thanked me for providing them with such an opportunity. One of the participants said that all of the studies that she had taken part in before were boring and uninteresting. She said: "The so-called researchers did not even let us talk like you did. They were basically spoon-feeding the answers to us and they wanted to lead us into saying what they wanted us to say". Another student agreed and said: "I didn't even see them until the day of the experiment. The teachers introduce them to us and they start experimenting on us as if we were some lab-rats". Some of the students left and I stayed with about five of them. I thought it would be a good idea to have lunch with them and be the one who pays because I felt that they earned it. I did not intend to patronise them, but I had to say how good they were and how pleased and proud they made me feel.

The collection of data was often accompanied by a mental analysis of what took place in the field. That was followed by an in-depth analysis of the transcribed data. In the following section, I describe the process through which the data analysis was carried out.

4.3. Data analysis

It is often asserted that data analysis does not have to be a separate part of the research that only takes place after 'all' the data is collected (Bryman and Burgess, 2002; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Nieuwenhuis, 2007). Instead, the analysis of data can be done throughout the entire research process from the initial phase of it to the actual final stages of writing. In fact, the initial analysis can be, and is usually, done throughout the data collection phase in order to help the researcher decide on what steps to take next. In addition, according to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), it is important to look at the social actions of the individuals involved in the study. Not only do those seem to be important in providing a frame of reference to coding and theorizing, but they are also extremely useful in providing a background that helps with the interpretation of data.

Due to the effect of the naturalistic approach, they (ibid.) argue, researchers tend to collect as much data as possible without feeling the need to pause, analyse, and seek to collect other data. This can be unreasonable since in most cases, they end up missing out on some details that could have been very important for the research (ibid.). Having had that in mind, analysis was an essential part of my data collection process. Even though the analysis that

existed along that phase was mainly done mentally, it certainly did not only begin when I started transcribing the data. Due to the continuous mental analysis that I did throughout the collection of data, I had the opportunity to explore more, ask more, and understand better. When it came to a more documented type of analysis, my approach was a thematic one.

4.3.1. Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is a commonly used method of analysis by qualitative researchers. It is defined by Braun and Clarke (2006, p.6) as "a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data." I opted for thematic analysis on the basis of the advantages that they stated. These advantages include flexibility, relative ease, and accessibility to novice researchers. In addition, it is stated that it grants researchers the opportunity to compare and contrast the different emergent categories and it "[a]llows for social as well as psychological interpretations of data" (ibid, p.37).

My analysis was mainly based on thick description, as recommended by Holliday (2007). This also appears to relate to what Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) describe as social actions and behaviours. I relied on the bigger picture in which different sets of data were generated. Therefore, my analysis was context-dependant. In addition to that, I constantly made the connection with the premises of social constructionism to analyse the various incidents while always trying to make the link between the different data sets. Although I agree with Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) in that analysis is an ongoing process, I still tried to adhere to the steps designed by Braun and Clarke (2006) when conducting the thematic analysis of my data. As I previously mentioned, analysis was a constituent part of my data collection phase. However, in order to create themes, my analysis had to move from being mental and somewhat superficial to being tangible and much more thorough.

The core of thematic analysis seems to be the use of codes which are also referred to as indexes (Mason, 2002). Coding is defined by Gibbs (2007) as the process of associating similar data passages within the same categories. He states that "coding means recognizing that not only are there different examples of things in the text but that there are different types of things referred to" (ibid., p.39). In other words, coding involves more than just a categorisation of participants' views and behaviours that seem to be similar. It includes labelling various types of occurrences that have different examples within them. In addition, it is stated that the purpose of analysis overall is not merely to create and interpret codes individually, it is also about bringing the codes together when analysing for various purposes including comparison. Gibbs (ibid.) delineate three types of coding: descriptive coding, categorisation, and analytic coding.

The first two types are self-explanatory, whereas analytic coding relies on interpretation and reading between the lines to a great extent.

Although it is believed to be amongst the most prominent analysing techniques by many researchers (Bryman and Burgess, 2002; Mason, 2002; Bazeley, 2013), Saldaña (2013) gives credit to various other analysis methods to be acknowledged. However, in this study, I have chosen to use coding as the base of my analysis on the whole. Bryman and Burgess (2002, p.218) assert that coding "is seen as a key process since it serves to organize the copious notes, transcripts or documents that have been collected and it also represents the first step in the conceptualization of the data". This statement seems to indicate that the coding process involves the identification and organisation of concepts that emerge from the data. In the following subsection, I describe the steps I followed to analyse the data.

4.3.2. Data analysis steps

I mainly based my thematic analysis on Braun and Clarke's (2006) delineation. Although the familiarisation with data took place long before it was transcribed, a certain degree of re-reading and initial coding was necessary. While Hammersley and Atkinson's (2007) steps seem to be more related to theorising than they are to creating data-derived themes, Braun and Clarke (2006) delineate the phases that thematic analysis can undergo. These steps can be summed up into familiarisation, initial coding, and definition of themes. The first step has to do with being familiarised with the data by transcription and overall reading. I believe that this step can be accomplished by further reference to Bazeley's (2013) description of the initial stages of data analysis which include reading, exploration of context, and reflection upon research journals and texts.

My familiarisation with my data did not only take place during and after the transcription stage. I believe that I was constantly familiarising myself with what went on in the field mostly by keeping a research diary. Whilst transcribing the data, I created mental patterns and connections between the various statements made by the participants which can be regarded as a form of familiarisation. Having transcribed the data, I moved on to analysing every transcript.

At this stage, I examined the data for the sake of spotting unexpected and predicted occurrences as well as inconsistent ones. The comments made on these incidents were later transformed into patterns which, in turn, were classified as categories as labelled by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007). The next step set by Braun and Clarke (2006) is the generation of codes. My analysis at this stage mainly consisted of a combination of descriptive, interpretative and analytic coding (Gibbs, 2007) depending on the type of data yielded. In this

phase, I coded the sets of data that seemed to be of interest and relevance to the aims of my research. This step was probably the lengthiest and most time-demanding of all other steps in the process of my thematic analysis of data. The establishment of codes was a focal point in the analysis of data. After patterns were categorised, I sought to explain or at least elucidate the meaning that categories conveyed. I also tried to establish the relationship between the different codes. I grouped these codes into separate themes. At times, some codified items had to change themes because, at that stage, the examination was done more closely than it had been in the first and second stages.

I organised codes into broader themes. All mutually relevant coded data were assembled within specific potential themes. Some codes were grouped together into comprehensive themes, whereas others were named and transformed into subthemes. The combination of the third and fourth steps – namely, reviewing and defining the themes – allowed me to continuously review the relevance and connection that different codes had with the themes that made or encompassed them. The themes were, then, named accordingly. This step was followed by revising the inclusion of various codes within the themes that encompassed them.

4.3.2.1. Generating themes

My data analysis initially began as part of a mid-field mental examination of occurrences, in the sense that I was constantly doing a mental analysis of the participants' views and behaviours. Therefore, I was able to partially dissect what seemed to be relevant to the overall frame of the research right at the beginning. After going through the process of translation and transcription, and having read the abundant amounts of data gathered that seemed to be of more relevance several times, I went through the process of coding. Within that process, I would thoroughly read each interview, fieldnote, or discussion individually. On the side of each text (as displayed in Appendix 3), I would describe and interpret the data in relation to other sets. As the glue that held the data together was apparent to me during the data collection phase, it was somewhat less difficult to identify what was of major relevance to the overall frame of the study.

As part of the data reduction, which only ended with the final draft of this thesis, there were other constructs such as cultural relativism and anti-Americanism that did seem to appertain to compartmentalisation ideology, but whose relevance became much less prevailing throughout the analysis and writing up. Upon further reading of data and my own interpretations, and with the help of the mind-map I constructed (See Appendix 4 for preliminary mind-map), I was able to construct the final themes that ultimately made it to the

thesis. The creation of a thematic map was very useful in making me see the bigger picture of how the themes were related. In the final stage, I related the themes produced to the reviewed literature and research questions.

While some constructs already had names in the literature, others – namely, compartmentalisation ideology, West idealism, and reverse-(neo)-orientalism – did not seem to be fully recognised. Therefore, I based my labelling of these terms on my data-driven-judgements as well as names that similar constructs had in the literature (Appendix 13). Although participants' views that seemed to feed into such constructs as West idealism, populism, essentialism, culturalism, westophobia, reverse-(neo)-orientalism, nationalism, conservatism, and feminism only emerged as part of the data collection, having had an initial idea about the setting allowed me to construct a pre-conceived impression about nativespeakerism per se. Nevertheless, the collection and analysis of data still allowed me to discover new aspects of the nativespeakerist ideology that I had no prior knowledge about. Thus, it is only fair to say that my idea of nativespeakerism was not predetermined.

The amounts of data gathered as well as the dominance and immensity of them within the studied community helped me in deciding what could be considered a thick- or a thin-centred ideological position, which, in turn, assisted in the construction of the thematic map, and, ultimately, the structure of the data chapters in this thesis. Given that I constantly had to make sense of data as part of the interpretation process, applying social constructionism was a key factor in the analysis phase.

4.3.3. Making sense of the data

In order to analyse the data, I was required to view them from different lenses that helped me make sense of the many instances in which participants seemed to be paradoxical. Their inconsistencies appeared to be based on different conditions which dictated the type of realities that they displayed either consciously or subconsciously. For example, an individual can be West idealist based on some occurrences and westophobic based on others within the same or different social settings depending on the circumstances under which their statements were produced. As per my social constructionist position, the realities displayed seemed to fall within three main categories, which I have decided to label: the stipulation reality, the right reality, and the deep-rooted reality.

The stipulation reality seems to be based on the participants' social image and peer pressure, whereas the other two give the impression of being related to what the participants actually think or believe. These are basic, meaning that most participants naturally possess

them. The deep-rooted reality seems to principally be communally constructed and it is related to what participants subconsciously acquired out of constant ordinary exposure without thorough deliberation. The right realities are concerned with what the participants knowingly believe to be right. In some instances, these categories intertwine since, at times, the occurrences appear to fall within more than one category which was very challenging to make sense of.

Having analysed the data, the writing up was an equally challenging phase. In the following subsection, I delineate my labelling of data in the discussion chapters.

4.3.4. Labelling the data

Table 2 describes how I labelled my data in Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8.

Type	In-text Labelling
Teachers' formal interviews	(Anonymised name of participant (name), teacher, formal interview)
Students' formal interviews (repertory-grid-based and semi-structured)	(Name, student, individual interview)
Students' pair interview	(Name, student, pair interview)
Focus group	(Name, student, focus group)
Overheard conversations	(Name, status, overheard conversation)
Informal interviews, conversations, discussions	(Name, status, informal conversation)
Observations/ Fieldnotes	(Excerpt from journal)
Group discussions	(Name, status, group discussion)
Social media informal interviews	(Name, status, Facebook Messenger chat (call)/ Instagram chat)
Social media observations	(Name, status, Facebook/ Instagram observation)

Table 2: In-text labelling

4.4. Trustworthiness

This section aims at justifying why and how the interpretation of data presented in this thesis was chosen among other possible interpretations through ensuring its accuracy and representability of the data collected. Many scholars call for the redefinition of positivist terms

such as reliability and validity to fit within the premises of qualitative research (Golafshani, 2003; Cho and Trent, 2006)

Therefore, the term trustworthiness has been used to avoid the confusion caused by such terms as validity and reliability in qualitative enquiries. Rallis and Rossman (2009, p.269) propose a scheme to ensure trustworthiness in qualitative research. Their strategy includes: "being there", "triangulation", "member checks", "peer debriefer", and "using your community of practice". An account of how this framework was used in this study is described as follows:

"Being there": My physical data collection took place within a period of three and a half months of observations and interactions with participants that usually went from 8:00 to 15:30-17:00. Much of that included accompanying participants to a variety of spaces within and outside the Department, as described in Section 4.2.1. I virtually continued to interact with participants after physically leaving the field via social media, which also involved observations of their social media profiles and timelines. I believe that this period was long enough for me to develop understanding of the participants' views and behaviours.

"Triangulation": My collection of data involved multiple methods including formal and informal interviews, observations, focus group sessions, as well as brief and long conversations with participants and people within the setting. In order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the participants' views and behaviours, the use of multiple methods along with the context wherein they occurred was necessary. Therefore, not only did I use these methods jointly to address individual occurrences, but I also projected them to the social discourses that usually took place within the community studied, which allowed for 'thick description' to take place.

"Member checks": In order to obtain elaborations, possible corrections, and extensions on my initial analysis of the data, I took some developing themes as well as interview transcripts and fieldnotes back to some participants to review and provide feedback on.

"Peer debriefer": During and after the collection of data, virtual and physical meetings were held with my supervisor in which we discussed the findings. In addition, I regularly sent my data analysis to my supervisor who provided comments on the emerging themes and the way I approached them. Another "critical friend" that I had was a fellow researcher whose study involved individuals who shared a similar socio-historical background.

"Using your community of practice": On several occasions, I presented some findings at seminars and conferences within my own community of practice and I received critical comments from fellow researchers and students that helped me develop understanding of my themes and participants.

4.5. Ethical procedures

A very important issue that I was particularly aware of during data collection was ethics. In this subsection, I describe my ethical procedures within the framework of this study. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) discuss the ethical issues that arise as part of the overall ethnographic research. These issues are informed consent, privacy, harm, exploitation, and last but not least consequences for future research. My ethical procedures were part of the overall course of research. I made my presence as a researcher completely overt by wearing a badge and introducing myself as a researcher. Almost every teacher in the Department knew what I was there for. On the other hand, most students had no idea who I was especially in the early stages. Therefore, I had to take every occasion to introduce myself and tell them what I was doing there. I had already talked to some teachers about participating in September 2018 before I went back for data collection and had their verbal consent. After I selected other participants, I verbally asked them if they wanted to take part in my research. Some of them asked to know more about the research and then decide if they wanted to participate. So, I printed out the participant information sheets and handed them to some of them. After they agreed to participate, I gave them two copies of the consent form with my signature on them and they would return one to me.

Although informed consent, privacy, and the like were clearly stated in the participant information sheet, I felt obligated to verbally discuss them with some participants. However, I agree with Mann (2016) in that some details cannot be shared. In many instances, participants would ask to know more about the study other that what was provided in the participant information sheet for reasons unknown to me. What I had to do was restate what was written and say that the title was "self-explanatory". As explained earlier in this chapter, I did not want to give out any more details. In addition, I can also relate to his point about privacy. I had to constantly check with the participants if they were okay with me anonymously sharing what they said and discussing it. Some of them did that themselves; whenever they said something that they thought might lead them to trouble, they would ask me to confirm the anonymity and confidentiality of what I was doing.

A very important issue that Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) point out to is that of ethical regulations. They assert that while something can be unethical by the broad sense of ethics that are indorsed and applied by ethical regulators, which often take a stance that leans towards "ethical absolutism", it may seem to be completely ethical to the researcher because different cases and contexts may call for different treatments which takes us to "ethical

situationism" and "ethical relativism". While the former states that different contexts may necessitate different ethical considerations, the latter views ethics as highly dependent on the cultures and settings in which they occur. That is, what may be unethical in one place can be ethical in another.

Based on my experience with participants, that seems to be true to a great extent. Some teachers thought that the idea of having to get their written consent was "too much" because they believed that most of what they said was neither risky nor private. Thus, getting their verbal consent would have been enough to get them onboard. However, I had to do it for my own ethical purposes. Moreover, some of them would express astonishment towards the fact that I would ask them for verbal consent to include parts of what they spontaneously said during discussions whether with me or with other people. Some teachers would even straightforwardly say how surprised they were that I was applying ethics "in Algeria" which, I believe, is a constituent layer of "ethical relativism".

An example of ethical regulations that cannot always be feasible is giving the participants the chance to withdraw at any given time in the research. Hammersley and Atkinson (ibid.) find that extremely unfair for the researcher. Clearly, this, too, is context-dependent. It certainly sounds bothersome in theory, but in reality, it is far beyond that. I did feel a great level of injustice in the way some students suddenly decided to withdraw from focus groups, but their withdrawal was beyond me.

All in all, what Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p.228) sought to make clear is that "while ethical considerations are important, they cannot be satisfactorily resolved by appeal to absolute rules, and that the effective pursuit of research should be the ethnographer's main concern". Eventually, I worked by this principle to some extent because there were times when I was not certain of the extent to which what I was doing was ethical like in the case of overheard conversations.

Summary

In this chapter, I have provided a description of my research design, the various methods used to collect data in this study, and the way the generated data was analysed for the main purpose of examining participants' views and behaviours that would position them ideologically and the relationship that some of them seemed to have with their identity construction, all of which led to the construction of the major argument of this study: the comprehensiveness of compartmentalisation ideology.

In light of that, the coming chapters present the discussion of themes that emerged as part of this study. Since the overall structuring of sections is data-led, apportioning the different chapters was based on the data analysis described in Section 4.3 which happens to match with my research questions. The structure of data chapters was, thus, informed by my production of themes. The analysis yielded different themes such as West idealism, populism, participants' senses of alienation, and so forth.

As I was writing up the study, it was clear that some themes had more criteria in common than others. For instance, nativespeakerism and West idealism, which both happened to be pro-Western, were much more frequently occurring and prevalent in the field. I had to make a decision between dividing my themes into pro- and anti-Western or thin and thick-centred. Therefore, given the frequency of participants' views in different positions, the thick- and thin-centred categorisation seems to provide a natural balance between chapters. Although the relationship that these positions have, being part of compartmentalisation ideology, with the identity construction of individuals will be apparent, the fact that it had many aspects that could be dealt with individually necessitated a separate chapter. The following diagram (*Figure 2*) summarises the findings presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. However, as explained above, it does not entirely represent how the chapters are structured.
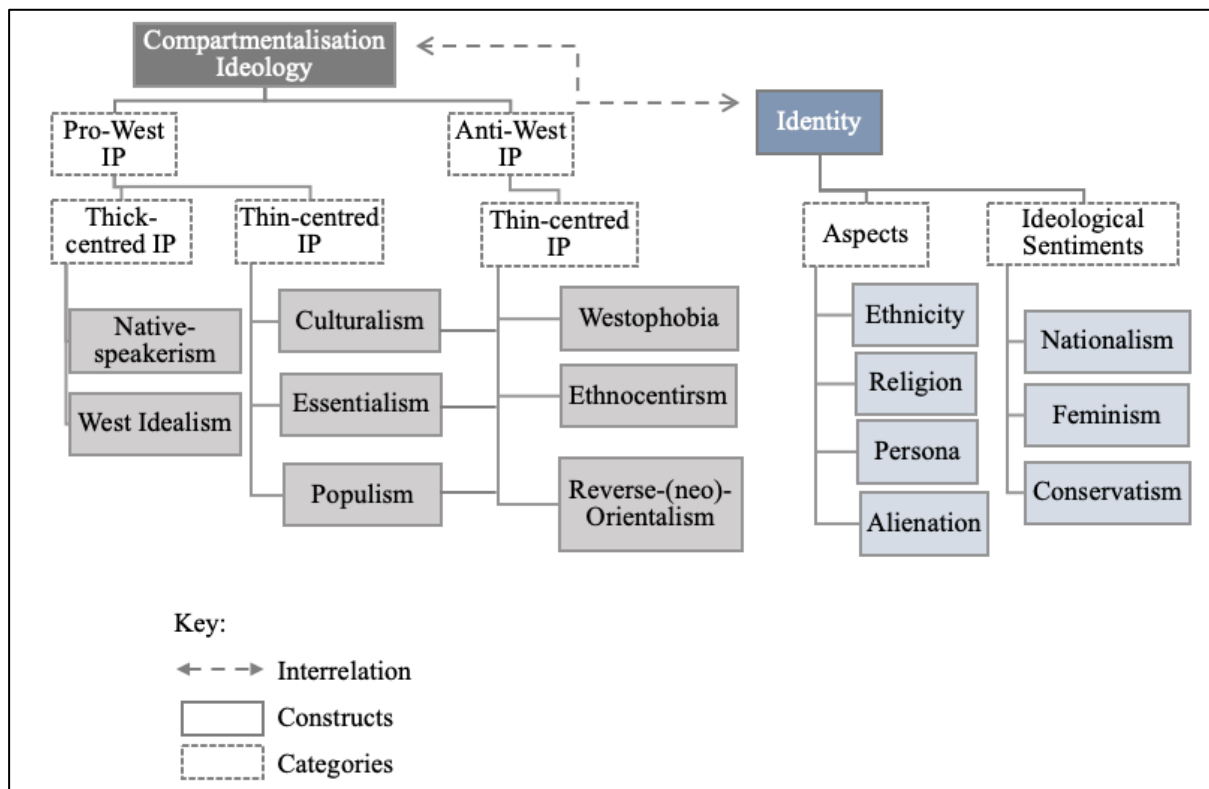
Figure 2: Diagram illustrating the major findings of the study

Participants' compartmentalisation ideology is divided into pro- and anti-Western categories, within which several of their ideological positions, which can be thick- or thin-centred, reside. The dashed boxes represent the categories under which these positions as well as different facets of participants' identities are classified, whereas the solid-lined boxes represent more distinct constructs such as the participants' ideological positions and their identity aspects.

As far the grey side of the diagram is concerned, nativespeakerism and West idealism are placed under the thick-centred category of pro-Western constructs. On the other hand, culturalism, essentialism, and populism, as thin-centred positions, are connected by lines to both the pro- as well as anti-Western categories to indicate that, within the context of the current study, these positions can be both pro- or anti-Western depending on the discourses that underpin them. Westophobia, ethnocentrism, and reverse-(neo)-orientalism seem to be purely anti-Western thin-centred positions in this context.

The blue side of the diagram relates to the identity construction of individuals. The dashed arrow characterises the interrelation between compartmentalisation ideology and identity and all that they both encompass, which can also be seen in the dashed-box categorisation of identity constructs (aspects and ideological sentiments). Within the context of this study, these aspects and sentiments stand out as the ones most related to compartmentalisation ideology and the division it infers.

The following chapter presents a discussion of two of the major themes generated by the collection and analysis of data, which both have a great deal to do with compartmentalisation ideology. More precisely, these themes are nativespeakerism and West idealism, which I describe as thick-centred ideological positions.

5.   THICK-CENTRED IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONS

In this chapter, I discuss two major themes that emerged from the study: nativespeakerism and West idealism. Within the context of the current study, many participants' discourses seem to feed into the division they make between the West and Algeria, as part of the 'Rest', which is the predominant feature of compartmentalisation ideology. This can be seen in their idealisation of 'native speakers', and 'the West' in general, which is accompanied by a sense of inferiority towards them. Many participants tend to idealise 'native speakers' at many levels including language, appearance, and the content created by them. These same aspects are generally idealised about the West within the same community, which seems to designate an interconnectedness between the different participants' accounts that feed into their native-speakerist and West idealist positions. This latter can also be seen in the way individuals idealise Western living conditions, morals, as well as thinking, to name but a few, which they associate with advancement.

Even though the two constructs discussed in this chapter are related to the way participants unknowingly position themselves within other ideologies by means of compartmentalisation ideology, I deliberately placed them in one separate chapter because, unlike other ideological constructs, they are thick-centred. Although they are still part of compartmentalisation ideology, the participants' positioning within them seems to exist independently from other ideological positions. In addition, not only did I regard them as thick-centred because of their immensity, but also because of their particularly frequent reoccurrence and predominance in the field. Thus, the thick-centredness of these ideological positions is specific to the context of this study.

I begin by addressing nativespeakerism in this chapter mainly because it directly appertains to language, which is one of the earliest foci of this study. In other words, as I previously mentioned, while nativespeakerism and West idealism were equally prevalent in the field, the former was an ideology that I assumed existed before entering the field since I was a former student in the same Department of English, which led me to conduct the study in the first place. In spite of that, I ended up exploring several new sides of nativespeakerism, which can be indicative of how this ideological position is metaphorically a 'cabbage' within which some layers are more visible than others. The following section discusses the participants' nativespeakerist ideological position.

5.1. Nativespeakerism

Participants' idealisation of 'native speakers' of English is linked to their idealisation of the West in general. In this section, I discuss participants' views that indicate the relationship between their nativespeakerist accounts and the overall frame of compartmentalisation ideology through their inconspicuous idealisation of 'native speakers' as Western individuals.

Before being able to unveil the way in which participants make sense of the world and themselves by constantly thinking back and forth about the allegedly necessary differences they have with the West, my understanding of nativespeakerism was somewhat superficial. I mainly focused on the participants' nativespeakerist inclinations that merely involved the superiority of 'native speakers' in terms of language command. Nevertheless, delving deeper into their views about a variety of topics and incidents, I was able to reveal certain sides of nativespeakerism that appear to be overlooked by other researchers. These sides appertain to compartmentalisation ideology in a variety of ways and they exist at different layers. While some of these are more easily recognisable, others require deeper delving. Amongst the ways whereby participants display their nativespeakerist alignment is appearance.

5.1.1. *"The face of el-gawrya[9]"*: Appearance

Many participants within the studied community compartmentalise the physical attributes of people in accordance with their image of what 'native speakers', who happen to be Western, should look like. The features that participants attribute to 'native speakers' generally abide by the standards held about Western people in general. Since Western physical attributes are often idealised by individuals within the community, this facet of nativespeakerism can indicate how it relates to the wider frame of compartmentalisation ideology, specifically to its pro-Western side. As per this state of mind, many individuals within the studied community assume that 'native speakers' necessarily look different from them *because* they are Western. Thus, their envisagement of 'native speakers' excludes anything that does not 'look Western' or, in some cases, African American.

This can be seen in a variety of participants' accounts. For example, as mentioned in the previous chapter, I used photographs to generate data in the focus groups. When the students were asked to choose a teacher to be taught by, many of them opted for ones who seemingly held traits that associated them with 'native speakers' of English. Some of these traits are light-coloured eyes and fair skin. For instance, although Samy, Maya, and Selma stated that they

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[9] Or "Gawri" for males - Plural: Gwerr. A term that is often used in the Algerian dialect to refer to Western or European females.

would not judge teachers based on the way they looked earlier in the same focus group session, Maya and Selma agreed that teacher Number (5) – as described in Section 4.2.3.1 – whom they opted for "looks British or American or something" and that "[s]he fits as an English teacher and she's charismatic" (Selma, student, focus group).

Samy, on the other hand, chose teacher Number 2. His argument was:

> She looks Japanese and I chose her simply because I find Japanglish funny […] I know we would have a lot of fun when she teaches us because their English is cute.

> (Samy, student, focus group)

Even though Samy chose a different teacher than the one chosen by Maya and Selma, his choice too seems to be based on stereotypes because he assumed that the teacher chosen was Japanese and not a 'native speaker' of English. Moreover, he presumed that her English was funny and different from what 'native speakers' would usually produce.

Along similar lines, Bee justified her choice of teachers 4 and 5 by saying:

> The skin colours are totally different, but they are both native speakers. Besides, the first one looks powerful and the second one is pretty and confident.

> (Bee, student, focus group)

Bee's choice seems to be directly related to nativespeakerism since her first thought was that they looked like 'native speakers' of English. Apparently, similar to other participants, Bee's view of 'native speakers' was that they looked a certain way that made them different from 'non-native speakers'. That way is what 'Western' people were expected to look like. Even though my question had nothing to do with 'native speakers' in any way, most participants said that they chose the "native speaker" teacher over the others which seems to indicate that they perceived 'native speaker' teachers as necessarily preferable.

Similarly, Shay expressed a view that seemed to appertain to some stereotypical views that she had about the English-speaking West. Her choice of the teacher who "looks like an African American" (Shay, student, focus group), was explained by:

> She looks like an intellectual it looks like she worked so hard on herself to earn the title of teacher unlike the ones who chose number 5. I think this one is better because she wouldn't be giving the lecture if she didn't deserve it. She earned it as we say. I was going to say the 5th one, but the fifth one wouldn't necessarily earn it, but the 4th one definitely worked hard for it and she's a native speaker too.

Earlier on in the focus group discussion, Shay mentioned that skin colour was a "myth". However, here, she justified her choice by stating that the teacher looked 'African American' and that it seemed to her as though she worked hard for it rather than being granted a position for being white, unlike teacher 5. Her opinion seems to be based on a deep-rooted reality while what she said earlier might be a combination of what she thought was right and what she thought would make her look "decent" in the eyes of people, me and the participants in this context. Part of this opinion can be explained in relation to essentialism.

This view of what 'native speakers' of English should look like was also shared by some teachers. Aisha, for instance, envisioned 'native speakers' as blond people with blue eyes while Ahlam imagined them as people with brown hair and blue eyes. As the subject of my supervisor was brought up, I asked how he was imagined. Aisha's response was:

> I don't know [...] I imagine him like very white, his hair is blond, and his eyes are blue, but I can be wrong, but when you said his name is Kevin I directly imagined him like that and I imagine him wearing glasses, vision glasses […].

(Aisha, teacher, group discussion)

Ahlam and Aisha's brief discussion on how they imagined my supervisor seems to reveal two important issues. The first one is that both their visualisations excluded skin or eye colours other than what is typically envisioned by other participants. The second issue is that they raised the point of what British people "normally" look like, which has to do with nativespeakerism and seems to relate to the students' surprise when told that all of the people in the pictures were British.

Favoured 'Western' physical features

The way in which this mindset relates to compartmentalisation ideology is that the features attributed to 'native speaker' teachers are often idealised by people within the community. In another instance, Aisha was narrating a personal story when she said:

> [I]t's not like he's gawri […] why is so full of himself?

(Aisha, teacher, informal conversation)

This implies that any degree of arrogance displayed by Western people could be justifiable due to their Western-ness. This view is common within the community where people generally associate the features of their imagined Western people with beauty and attraction. All things considered, it can be understood that Aisha had a specific mental image of what 'native

speakers' looked like. This image matched that of her perception of Western people whom she generally perceived as more physically attractive.

Along similar lines, when commenting on her view about the "African American" teacher, Shay stated:

> […] Western Black guys are way more attractive than Algerian Saharan people […] The West finds its ways to make people attractive, I guess.

<div align="right">(Shay, student, group discussion)</div>

While most other participants compartmentalised at the level of features including skin, hair, and eye colour, Shay's dissection implied an additional level of Western superiority. That is, what she said seems to imply the idea that even though they held features in common, Western people were still more "attractive", possibly for just being Western. Shay's opinion about Western superiority in terms of appearance, amongst numerous others, appears to explain how many aspects of nativespeakerism go back to compartmentalisation ideology. That is, not only do individuals choose teachers for looking like their imagined 'native speakers', which inserts a high sense of division and inferiority to the West, but many of them also perceive Western people as essentially more physically appealing.

As a person who lived in the UK, I was asked a number of times what it was like to see "beautiful people everywhere" (Samy, student, informal conversation). On another occasion, when talking about his future ambitions, Samy said:

> It would be nice to wake up to the face of el-gawrya than to an average Algerian face, to be honest.

<div align="right">(Samy, student, group discussion)</div>

To that Selma responded that she was always flattered when people said that she resembled Western people because of her blue eyes, fair skin and hair colour:

> […] Sometimes I kept my mouth shut like I was mute because they will know I wasn't a native speaker. It would be perfect if I was mistaken for that too.

<div align="right">(Selma, student, group discussion)</div>

This opinion about the superiority of Western physical features is spread within the community to a large extent. Based on these accounts, compartmentalisation, here, happens at two interrelated levels: the way 'native speakers' are believed to look as opposed to 'non-native

speakers', and their superiority over 'non-native speakers' in terms of appearance, which means that appearance determines their performance as users of English.

The way participants idealise the imagined appearance of English-speaking Western people and the fact that their envisagement affects the way they perceive teachers seems to be a constituent part of nativespeakerism that appears to have its roots in compartmentalisation ideology. Another facet is participants' idealisation of 'native speaker' teaching methodology. The following sections discusses how discourses of teaching methodology fuel ideas of division between the English-speaking West and Algeria.

5.1.2. *"The creators of methodologies"*: Teaching methodology

Participants' accounts about methodology often involve allegiance towards the English-speaking West, which, in turn, seems to feed into their constructed division between the West and Algeria as per compartmentalisation ideology. For instance, many of them adhered to the idea that 'native speaker' teachers were "better" at teaching because they "know their methodologies" (Omar, teacher, informal conversation). The premise of this statement seems to be that:

> The English-speaking Westerners are the creators of methodologies and they should know them better.

> (Omar, teacher, formal interview)

Based on other interactions I had with Omar, the use of "their" in his statements seems to indicate a certain degree of perception of Western superiority. That is, in his opinion, not only were their methods better because they were created by 'native speakers' of English, but also because only "they", as part of the West and as opposed to "we", created methods.

A view that resembles that of Omar's is Maya's when she said:

> Theirs. Why? Because they have methodologies. We can relate this to research they are hard workers their research is valid so the teaching methodologies that they come up with should work and if they don't, they learn from them. Even their level of education is advanced but here they just study to get a degree and that's it; not like them.

> (Maya, student, individual interview)

In this extract, Maya's description of Western methodologies and content in relation to the narrower frame of 'native speakers' of English may indicate that this facet of nativespeakerism is, in fact, just a glimpse of the pervasive compartmentalisation ideology within the context of this study. This seems to relate to a statement she previously made, which directly feeds into

compartmentalisation ideology based on her idealised image of the West, which might be a form of nativespeakerism except that she was not directly referring to teachers and students per se, but to the teaching methodology as a product of research methodology.

In a similar vein, despite the fact that Faya mentioned that she used a very effective method to teach her middle school pupils, she said that she would completely opt for the teaching methodologies 'of' the English-speaking West. By so saying, Faya conveyed the idea that regardless of the competence of 'non-native speaker' teachers, having a first language that was not English made them inferior to 'native speaker' teachers at all times, which is almost identical to Medgyes's (1998) view about 'non-native speaker' teachers as described earlier in this thesis. On another occasion, Faya described Western teaching methodology as "perfect" and justified that by saying:

> Westerners work hard to teach their people, not like us.

(Faya, group discussion)

Thus, Faya seemed to associate the content and methodology created by 'native speakers' with the West in general. What also seems to feed into Faya's nativespeakerist ideological position is when she described how methodology develops through time:

> It develops. Once Mr [Z] had a conference with a British teacher. She was explaining a lesson on how to write a research paper. We already know how to write it, but she gave extra information. So, I think it develops.

(Faya, student, individual interview)

Here, Faya appeared to associate the development of methodology to the British 'native speaker' teacher, which supports her nativespeakerist inclinations.

A similar view to that of Faya's on the incompetence of 'non-native speaker' teachers is that of Shay when she stated:

> Teachers can't just jump from the area of being a non-native speaker to the area of becoming a native speaker. That can never happen.

(Shay, student, individual interview)

This particular view of Shay's depicts how compartmentalisation ideology is rooted in nativespeakerism. She expressed that view based on a compartmentalised opinion of 'native' and 'non-native' speakers adding to that her perception of what was perceived as superior and

what was not. This idea was expressed on several other occasions wherein Shay described her stance towards the duality vis-à-vis the West and Algeria.

This issue could be further observed at the level Houssam's statement concerning 'native speaker' teachers:

> […] Like teaching methods, teaching methodology, culture, the community environment there is advanced compared to ours […] the scientific level […].

> (Houssam, teacher, formal interview)

Here, it appears that teaching methods were directly related to 'native speaker' teachers, which is a form of nativespeakerism. Houssam also subconsciously revealed that he thought of Western cultures, amongst other constructs, as "more advanced" than his own culture. This clearly falls within the category of culturalism – which is tackled in Section 6.3. Generally speaking, however, all of these being mentioned together and then compared to what he called "ours" seems to feed into compartmentalisation ideology. These previous facets of nativespeakerism connect to the idealisation of 'native speakers' as part of the Western 'world', which relates to compartmentalisation ideology in that Western people were generally expected to be better creators of teaching methodology. The fact that 'native speakers' of English happen to be Western seems to reinforce that expectation.

Similar to this facet of nativespeakerism, the idealisation of 'native speakers' themselves as Western individuals was a prominent indicator of compartmentalisation ideology among participants within the community. This is discussed in the following subsection.

5.1.3. "*Because they are perfect*": The ideal 'native speaker'

Participants assume that 'native speakers', as individuals, are essentially superior to 'non-native speakers' in terms of behaviour, performance, critical thinking, and even intelligence. Many of them also appear to deem 'non-native speakers' unable to achieve idealness because they lack the element of 'native-speakerhood'. This aspect of nativespeakerism seems to be very widespread among individuals in the community. Since 'native speakers' of English are part of the West, this type of idealisation extends to reach not only 'native speakers' of English, but also Western people in general, which feeds into the overall frame of compartmentalisation ideology.

As previously mentioned, the use of maps yielded an abundant amount of data which included the idealisation of 'native speakers'. Selma explained the drawing she made on the map by saying:

The best Englishes are situated here and here [pointing at the United States and the UK] and when I was drawing it I noticed that the best Englishes are situated in the north and the south and it's also where the English, I mean the best countries are. That means they are the best countries for English and the best countries just like that.

(Selma, student, focus group)

Selma's first superlative appears to relate to the 'ideal' 'native speakers' while the second one has to do with her idealisation of the broader sense of 'native speakers', which is them being Western. The relationship between both was elaborated by her when she stated that it was no coincidence that the "best countries" spoke the "best Englishes". This point is explained in Section 6.1 in relation to the populist position.

Another view that clearly indicates an idealisation of 'native speakers' was expressed by Omar who stated:

Yes, native speakers will have the right to judge you, Sarah, because they are perfect and their English is perfect, but when you were here, I don't think people really had the right to.

(Omar, teacher, informal conversation)

Although it was probably clear what Omar meant by "their English is perfect", it was still ambiguous what he intended to say by "they are perfect". It appears that this is one of the instances wherein being nativespeakerist directly intertwines with being West idealist. That is, not only did he seem to believe that 'native speakers' of English were ideal in terms of language, but he also perceived them as better human beings.

An instance that corroborates the possibility of Omar idealising 'native speakers' and their language can be seen at a more social level:

[…] Lynda said to him that the students she talked about were so much better because they regarded themselves as their own role models and not native speakers […] Omar laughed and said: "you can't be your own role model if everything about you is flawed". Everyone laughed in agreement except for Lynda who seemed to have taken that personally […] To that Omar responded: "it's their language, their fun in the classroom, their enthusiasm about studying and learning […] Do your students have that? They are stuck to the old ages of sitting passively in the classroom and mentally translating.

(Excerpt from journal)

Although Omar appeared to say that jokingly as a form of teasing to Lynda, who seemed to be irritated about the whole discussion and whose views in this instance will be further discussed in coming chapters, there seemed to be a significant level of intended truth in what he said.

Saying that Algerian students were, what roughly translated to, "flawed" appears to signify that 'native speakers' were not because they were the ones to be taken as role models due to their 'idealness' in his opinion. Further, when Lynda asked how exactly her students were flawed, Omar's answer involved not only idealisation of the language produced by them, but also idealisation of their behaviour overall. In other words, even though Omar had never taught 'native speaker' students, he still assumed that they would be "fun" and "enthusiastic" in the classroom as opposed to Algerian counterparts whom he perceived as passive and unwilling to study enthusiastically.

Dissimilar to the common views about the impossibility of 'non-native speakers' to reach the competency level of 'native speakers', which is discussed later in this section, Bayso expressed a view that idealised the English-speaking West by not validating the impossibility. When I asked him about his view of what ideal students were, his answer included:

> […] If we stop here, we're talking about a brilliant student, but ideal student or learner needs to have a native-like accent and a native-like mindset. I mean, of course, I mean they should be like a native speaker that's ideal, that's perfect. If they don't have that, they're nowhere near ideal. They can be great or brilliant as I said, but if they don't have that, they're not ideal. Because that's what makes them ideal, to be distinguished for a native speaker is to be ideal, and if you don't have all three or four then you're not ideal.

(Bayso, teacher, formal interview)

Based on several conversations I had with him, Bayso appeared to idealise everything about 'native speaker' students including their "attitude", "knowledge", "capacity", and "intelligence". According to him, what made a student of English ideal was to be like someone who was actually ideal. His view was different from that of many other participants in two main aspects. The first one is that, as I mentioned earlier, he still considered the possibility for 'non-native speakers' to be ideal, unlike the others who indicated that idealness was restricted to 'native speakers', although that was a rare possibility according to him. The second point of difference is that the qualities that he provided as to why I was regarded as ideal student by him were limited to language. Other teachers' views included qualities such as discipline and respect.

Bayso also believed in the existence of critical thinking in Algeria. However, he seemed to deem the number of people who were able to think critically insufficient. Regarding this issue, he said:

> […] Here, too, we have people like that. We have people who think critically like you and me (laughs), but there's only a few of us and we can't make this country great like the US and the UK unless the majority of us are like that.

> (Bayso, teacher, formal interview)

Again, this seems to relate to his nativespeakerist positioning. It is, however, highly dependent over Bayso's own definition of ideal, competitiveness, and criticality. Doing thick description of the several instances wherein I interacted with Bayso somewhat revealed that, like many other participants, his very own beliefs of what was 'wrong' and what was 'right', which are highly relative, went back to his idealisation of the English-speaking West in particular and the West in general. That is, he seemed to judge incidents as 'good' or not on the basis of his perception of what Western people did or thought. A broader sense of how critical thinking was perceived can be seen in relation to the idealised West in Subsection 5.2.4.

The 'inability' of 'non-native speakers' to be ideal

Contrary to Bayso who seemed to believe that idealness was not restricted to 'native speakers', other participants appeared to assume that it was. I asked the students about their favourite teachers in the Department in relation to their definition of 'ideal' teachers. Some of them described theirs, who happened to be the same teacher, saying, "[h]e's like a native speaker" (Maya and Samy, students, focus group). This seems to reinforce some of the views they made about how ideal they believed 'native speaker' teachers to be in terms of competence, knowledge, and language. Also, earlier, Maya described the same teacher as a "dictionary"; then, she said he was like a 'native speaker'. Therefore, it could be that she perceived 'native speakers' as dictionaries. When I asked them what they meant by that, Maya responded:

> Accent, vocabulary, everything […].

> (Maya, students, focus group)

While Samy stated:

> He has an unlimited glossary like sometimes he speaks and very spontaneously he gives us new words that we never heard before […].

Again, the fact that they related accent and vocabulary to their favourite teacher which they compared to 'native speakers' appears to indicate that they idealised them.

Although the participants were asked to talk about their favourite teachers anonymously, they ended up guessing who every teacher was. Since I happened to recognise who some of those teachers were, I took the opportunity to ask the participants about them on other occasions. I asked them individually about whether language was the only criterion that made them choose their favourite teachers and some of their answers included:

Of course not […] He also has an unlimited knowledge.

(Samy, student, informal conversation)

He carried on talking about his "drawbacks" and said:

[…] but he is kinda too strict […] like a person with his knowledge should better know that fun is the way to students hearts before their brains […] that's what makes native speakers love studying, it's their teachers […] because they have all the characteristics that make them want to study […].

(Samy, student, informal conversation)

Although Samy's initial description of his favourite teacher was entirely positive, he gradually came to construct a new meaning that he associated with inferiority to 'native speaker' teachers. What he said seems to imply the idea that although his favourite teacher's language was 'native-like', he was still perceived as inferior to his imagined ideal 'native speaker' teacher.

Along similar lines, although she stated that he was "perfect" during the focus group discussion, when asked about the possible "downsides" of him, Maya stated:

[…] Sometimes he's very harsh with us. I know he wants us to learn, but that's the problem with our culture […] they think that being fierce will get people to work harder, but that only makes them hate working […] That's why we remained last.

(Maya, student, individual interview)

Even though Maya did not directly refer to 'native speakers' or the West per se, her statement indicates a great degree of idolisation of them. That is, the fact that she immediately drew on her opinion about culture indicates that "remained last" here refers 'non-Western' who happen to be 'non-native speakers'. Even though Maya was very defensive of her 'culture' in many instances and even stated that her "culture [was] the best", the fact that she related culture to

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'remaining behind' can be explained by dint of the realities that she constantly displayed when trying to construct meaning. Thus, it appears that she subconsciously believed in something because of being so immersed in an ideology or a certain way of thinking that is socially shared and constructed that she was unable to think of how what she said in some instances contradicted what she said in others.

In conclusion, participants' views about 'native speakers' of English often involve a sense of inferiority not only in terms of language, but also in terms of appearance, performance, intelligence, and critical thinking. This sense of inferiority relates to the fact that 'native speakers' happen to be 'Western'. Thus, they mechanically attribute the existence of such qualities to the English-speaking West, which appertains to compartmentalisation ideology. Their idealisation of 'native speakers' is accompanied by a much broader perspective on idealisation: that of the West, which seems to indicate that nativespeakerism, in the context of this study, is attributed to the pro-Western position of compartmentalisation ideology. Much of what was observed and discussed vis-à-vis nativespeakerism was shadowed by various nuances of West idealism. In the following section, a detailed account of how this ideology is portrayed through participants' discourses is provided.

5.2. West idealism

Many individuals tend to perceive the West as necessarily superior to Algeria, as part of the 'Rest' of the world, in almost every aspect possible including health, education, research, and even the usual aspects of life such as fun, lifestyle and routines. In this section, I discuss how participants' accounts about the superiority of the West situate them within the West idealist position. Their most typical discourses about a variety of subjects related to Algeria are eventually related to how inferior they are believed to be compared to the West. The intensity and prevalence of participants' accounts that eulogise the West indicate how deeply engraved this ideological position is. This appears to uphold the bigger frame of reference, which is compartmentalisation ideology.

Participants' accounts related to education and research in Algeria are often followed by comparison with the West. The following subsection addresses participants views about education, research, and job opportunities that indicate their positioning within West idealism.

5.2.1. "*Theirs is too high and ours is too low*": Research and education

Many participants seem to have a sense of subordination to the West at the level of research and education. Their idealisation of the West appears to have created a barrier that they

believe only Western people can surpass. This subordination is also manifested in different ways including the assumption that "superior" education is an inherent quality of Western societies, that the educational systems of Western countries are incompatible with the Algerian "low level" of education, and that only Western education can guarantee job opportunities.

An example of participants' idealisation of Western students would be Salah's reference to the distinction between the way he believed Western students acted as opposed to their Algerian counterparts:

> They challenge their teachers in a more civilized way while we challenge our teachers in a more brutal and savage way.

(Salah, student, pair interview)

This appears to be based on a stereotypical view of the West and an overgeneralised opinion about his own community as indicated by Hall (1992). Using adjectives like "brutal" and "savage" as opposed to "civilized" can be indicative of the intensity of his opinions and it seems to underpin his idealisation of the West which is opposed to a sense of inferiority that he appears to have.

Similar to nativespeakerism, West idealism appears to have a number of layers to it. In some cases, the participants' deepest thoughts were communicated through reference to entirely different issues. This includes Hisham who took many opportunities to eulogise several aspects of Western societies. An example of that would be when he stated:

> […] Maybe they would even outscore French or English or American people and that was a normal thing, but now that has become impossible as I said unless it's a genius that we're talking about and those are rare cases.

(Hisham, teacher, formal interview)

Although Hisham was initially talking about the education system in Algeria (which I tackle in Section 6.1), his statement insinuated a sense of inferiority to the West, which seems to relate to his West idealist inclinations.

His reference to the West while comparing the present state of the education system in Algeria to the past designates high degrees of compartmentalisation. Moreover, the fact that he referred to individual 'exceptional' students who would be able to outscore Western students as "geniuses" might be indicative of his idealisation of the West. This goes back to the idea that he compared Algerian "geniuses" to Western ordinary people. It appears that his assessment of

the situation included that the West was better, which goes back to orientalist views as addressed by Hall (1992).

In some cases, the sense of inferiority was only subtly referred to and the participants did not even seem to realise that it was represented through what they said. Nevertheless, in other instances, participants unreservedly expressed their subordinance to the West. This can be seen in the way Aya addressed the issue of perceived differences between Algeria and Western countries:

> It's a huge degradation in everything.

> (Aya, student, focus group)

Along similar lines, Bayso said:

> Competition is what's making them this great! They compete against each other and against other countries. Not like our countries. In Third World countries, people only try to live by what they have, they don't compete and that's why they're the last.

> (Bayso, teacher, formal interview)

Based on these statements, together with others, both Aya and Bayso, expressed views that placed them within the West idealist position.

In addition, they seemed to be consciously representing a sense of subordination to the West. What seems to be even more stimulating is that both of them stated on other occasions that they felt that they belonged to the West, particularly, the English-speaking West, which seems to relate to the issue of identity (as shall be discussed in Section 7.1.1). Moreover, the point that Bayso referred to concerning competitiveness seems to be a stereotype that is commonly shared amongst some individuals in the Department.

'High-quality' education as a 'Western' social construct

Many participants linked the perceived superiority of Western education to their idealised image of Western societies. For instance, Bee and Salah agreed on the idea that:

> In Western societies or in European societies, they depend too much on education. They entrust the future of the country on well-educated generations.

> (Bee, student, pair interview)

Not only did Bee refer to the ideal present of the West, but she also anticipated an ideal future based on their 'ideal' education system. That also related to what she said a moment later:

> Theirs is too high and ours is too low because of the space, because of the circumstances, the society, and everything.

<div align="right">(Bee, student, pair interview)</div>

Salah, too, related education to society:

> […] It reflects the results of the generations being taught that's why they are more educated than us and more knowledgeable than us because their level of education is higher than us, because they give it more importance, so it reflects on society and on what the society gives.

<div align="right">(Salah, student, pair interview)</div>

He seemed to denote that superiority in education entailed superiority at the level of society. At the same time, he expressed a sense of inferiority to the 'ideal' Wester societies regarding education by stating that they were "more educated" and "more knowledgeable".

The fact that he related education to society seems to signify that he even looked down upon his own society. Nonetheless, even though they both seemed to hold a West idealist position based on what was said, the basis on which this position was grounded does not appear to be similar. While Salah seemed to rely on what he perceived as evidence, which seems to be mainly driven from his relative judgements on certain aspects such as university-ranking and online articles, Bee's view appears to almost be entirely based on prejudgements attributed to socialisation and social media platforms. These factors are referred to in more detail (Sections 8.2.1 and 8.2.2). Another form of idealisation can be seen in the way individuals expressed their perceived inability to reach Western levels of education.

The 'incompatibility' between Western and Algerian systems

Several participants expressed their idealisation of Western teaching content mainly through explaining how it would perfectly work because it had been specifically "designed by expects" (Samy, student, individual interview). Others, on the other hand, regarded that as an impossibility. For instance, Selma's idealisation seemed to imply an enormous sense of inferiority to the West:

> I mean the level of education in the USA and UK is very high and the level in Africa is very low, they won't get along, our level and their level, so the content will be too advanced, and it will not fit. So, it will not be the best for the students' needs […].

<div align="right">(Selma, student, focus group)</div>

It seems that "high" and "ideal" were not synonymous according to Selma, unlike many other participants. She appeared to be compartmentalising based on the idea that the level in "Africa", as opposed to the West, was essentially low. This idea suggests that even though Western content was ideal, applying it to "less advanced" countries would not be a wise decision since the level of the content would be "too high" for "Third World students" (Selma, student, informal conversation). Clearly, this West idealist claim intersects with both the essentialist and nativespeakerist mindsets.

Within the confines of inferiority and idealisation, Bee's statement concerning the West in relation to research also implied division. Although she explained that she completely opted for "their" research, she did not write down the number 5. When I asked her why, her answer was:

> I guess because we cannot reach that level to study or research as them. We can't do research like they do.

(Bee, student, pair interview)

This seems to signify that her idealisation of the West was bound by a sense of inferiority. Not only did she idealise the West by venerating the research they conducted, but she also appeared to hold a subordinate view about herself as part of her larger community. Referring to the West as "too" ideal in other instances can explain what she meant. What was possibly meant by her statement is that West was unreachable. This idea seems to have contributed to the construction of her sense of inferiority. These senses of inferiority appear to resemble Ugbam, Chuku, and Ogbo's (2014) descriptions of the inferiority complex they believe was held by their participants as described in Section 2.2.1.1.

Job opportunities in the West

Another apparent aspect of the idealisation of the West is that of job opportunities, which seems to be tied up to education in some instances. Maya expressed her view about the role of education in finding a proper job in Algeria as compared to the West by stating:

> In Western countries, the level of education takes you places. You can easily find a job, but in our culture it's very difficult.

(Maya, student, individual interview)

While some participants did not seem to share this belief, like Shay who stated that "the higher your educational level, the better your living conditions" (Shay, student, Facebook Messenger chat), others seemed to do, like Samy who said:

I want to go to a Western country and live there, not just study there because
I can guarantee a job if my level of education is high and even if it's not. I
will get a better job than the job I would get if I did a Ph.D. here in Algeria.

<div align="right">(Samy, student, individual interview)</div>

Samy also expressed a similar view in the focus group. While Shay's view on job opportunities seemed to be more realistic, as per a right reality that she displayed, Maya and Samy seemed to have based their views almost entirely on their senses of inferiority towards the West. It seems that according to them, part of the supremacy of the West is the job opportunities that they have whether or not their educational degrees are high. I believe that the rapport they made between education and job opportunities is related to how habitual compartmentalising has become to them in relation to the idealised West. This idealisation seems to have led them to consider the smallest occurrences in their society as subordinate to those occurring in the West. Some of the participants' accounts concerning such occurrences involved not only research, education, and job opportunities, but also living conditions. In the following subsection, I discuss some of the most prominent ways in which participants idealised the West apropos living conditions.

5.2.2. *"We have assassinated ideologies"*: Living conditions

Living conditions are amongst the aspects that participants seem to habitually idealise about the West or consider to be a foreseeable part of their ideal Western 'world'. In most instances, the participants spoke highly of the living conditions of the West and regraded them as the 'ultimate' living-condition-goals. These goals are generally seen in relation to teaching and studying environments as well as the condition and quality of roads between the West and Algeria. Participants' accounts about living conditions in Algeria often involved comparison with their perceived ideal Western ones, which can be indicative of the presence of compartmentalisation ideology in the division made between the West and Algeria.

For Bee, things were slightly different:

I didn't put 5 because it's not really that perfect living conditions. […] That
is too ideal. I think it won't make you stronger, whereas a mixture of hardship
and comfortable living conditions make you stronger.

<div align="right">(Bee, student, pair interview)</div>

Being "too" ideal did not seem to be a decent option for Bee. Even though she said that she did not prefer living conditions that were "too" perfect, which did not seem to be of interest to her, she still referred to Western living conditions as "ideal". This seems to position her within West idealism since regardless of whether or not that was a preference of hers, she still considered

Western living conditions to be ideal. However, this did not seem to conform with what she continuously said during the interview, the focus group, as well as my informal conversations we had. Most of what she constantly said indicated that she did prefer the "too-ideal" part of Western qualities, which appears to be a deep-rooted reality. However, saying this in this particular instance seems to be related to a right reality. Nevertheless, both realities seem to feed into her West idealist position. As previously mentioned, perceptions of living conditions included the quality of teaching and studying environment.

Western 'superior' teaching/studying conditions

Most views about the West seemed to be based on hypothetical imaginations of it. The foundations of these presumptions are discussed later in Section 8.2. For instance, in her division about education in relation to living conditions, Maya stated:

> Theirs are better with no hesitation. […] The materials, they are developed, everything. Daily life is easier, their classrooms are better. They study like no more than 20, but here we are more than 40 per class. The data-shows are so available at all times, but here we only have two and you need to book them a week or more earlier.

(Maya, student, individual interview)

Thus, similar to many other participants, she directly related living conditions to development. Although Maya had never been to a Western country before, she seemed to hold this idea based on what I call 'limited exposure' – as shall be discussed in Section 8.2. Similar to this view of hers concerning studying conditions, Maya constantly complained about living conditions in general, and related that to her envisagement of the West. This envisagement included aspects such as commuting to university or work, shopping, restaurants, as well as the quality of streets and buildings. Maya's idealised imagination of the West seems to have led her to mechanically associate most of what is Western with a superior status, which appears to feed into compartmentalisation ideology.

A more specific view that appeared to largely relate to the idealised living conditions of the West was that of Ahlam's. After spending almost five minutes complaining about transportation in Algeria, she added:

> If I lived in the UK or in Germany, I wouldn't be complaining about this right now. Their living conditions give value to teachers, but ours only make us hate teaching and commuting. Their teachers have cars, proper houses, properties, but what do we have? Exam papers to correct? Broken doors? [...].

(Ahlam, teacher, informal conversation)

Ahlam's opinion about the living conditions of teachers in the West, which is corroborated by a number of other instances wherein she expressed views that idealised the West, appeared to almost be entirely based on prejudgements. It seems that her idealisation of the West gave her a supposition on the basis of which she began to imagine how things worked in the West and how living conditions differed from those which her community had. Although it might be true that the living conditions that she had experienced were undesirable to her, which is personal and relative to a great extent, the immediate link she made with Western countries is almost directly associated with West idealism.

Although Algerian living conditions, as an idea, were perceived as inferior to Western ones by many participants, most of them did not clearly indicate how they perceived them. Contrarily, Nora provided a detailed account of the ones she experienced:

> […] She turned to me and said "[…] we have assassinated ideologies". […] "we have no ideologies. Our ideologies have been assassinated […] Killed by the teaching conditions". She carried on explaining […] "We and our ideologies are all effected by all sorts of conditions like social, political, and everything […] In addition to that, there are the living conditions outside the Department. The teachers' dorms seem to be an infernal place to live […] She, then, asked me about the teaching and living conditions provided to us by the university conditions in the UK […] She has already been abroad [to several European countries], and she thinks that their teaching and living conditions are there to help them form ideologies and transmit them.

(Excerpt from journal)

Nora seemed to believe that living conditions affected her ability to construct and teach ideologies which is probably the reason why she said that her ideologies, as part of her community's ideologies, had been "assassinated".

The comments she made concerning the living conditions provided to her by the government seemed to indicate great displeasure. On the other hand, she clearly appeared to think highly of the living conditions of the West. She also seemed to believe that Western people were able to hold ideologies due to their 'superior' living conditions. What seemed to be more appealing, however, was that her perception of Western living conditions and those of her community appeared to be based on actual experience unlike several other participants whose views seemed to be based on mere assumptions that related to their limited exposure. Thereupon, I realised that the 'no-ideology' way of thinking could, in itself, be considered an ideology that was related to several other ideologies that support West idealism.

Weather conditions and their outcomes between the West and Algeria

Another issue that Nora raised, which seemed to also affect teaching overall, was that of weather conditions, which appear to broadly relate to living conditions:

> Thursday, it snowed, so I didn't go out, but there, you go out and you enjoy the snow because here, you know what's going to happen […] But to me, I don't see these as obstacles; I can work my way through them, but usually there's no one to carry the torch after me.

(Nora, teacher, formal interview)

The point Nora made here seems to feed into compartmentalisation ideology in general and to West idealism in particular. Her idea about how people in the West "enjoy" the snow as opposed to Algerian people apparently due to "traffic accidents and unconsented snowball playing" (Nora, teacher, informal follow-up conversation) seemed to be related to her deep-rooted idealisation of the West since, as per her accounts, she had never been to a Western country during winter. Therefore, it was unlikely that she actually experienced snow in the West.

In addition to this, Nora stated that she would still want to "enjoy the snow" in Algeria except that her community individuals were unlikely to help her. This might mean that she wanted to change the status quo, but since she believed that people did not think in the same way that she did, no one would help her, and she would not be able to perform on her own. This relates to a point she made about what she thought of her colleagues in the Department which seems to appertain to her identity formation and maintenance. Nora was not the first one to raise the issue of the impact of weather conditions on life routines. This point was raised several times by several individuals within the community including a student who raised a very similar issue on the snow even though, when asked, she said that she had never been to a Western country before, which appeared to validate the categorisation of the two occurrences into West idealism.

Ahlam's comment as we walked in the city centre with two other teachers one day was what particularly drew my attention to the whole notion of West idealism. The following extract describes the incident:

> We were walking down the street and there was mud on the road which was sparked all over our shoes. Aisha mentioned that walking in the mud annoyed her and that we had to reach another pavement; to that, Ahlam responded: "I bet they don't have mud in the UK" Aisha and Rania nodded along in agreement. Then a whole discussion about how the West is better quickly escalated.

It came to realise that in many of my previous encounters with these teachers, the West was brought up in opposition to Algeria, which led me to focus on this type of account in future encounters. Ahlam had never visited the UK before, yet she was able to associate the undesirability of the dirt-covered roads with her perception of what streets looked like in the UK, which happens to be Western country.

A similar point was made by Arwa:

> […] She added that she 'cannot enjoy the rain' because she is in Algeria. "I can't have the luxury to walk in the rain because my clothes will get muddy. I'm in Africa not in the UK or Europe or America" […] "[…] I think that this is why people do illegal immigration. It is because they realize that they cannot enjoy the simple pleasures that people normally enjoy without having to go abroad".

Although the point Arwa made did not seem to directly relate to living conditions, it seemed to be associated with another point she made about how difficult "commuting to uni" could be "because of the weather" (Arwa, student, informal conversation).

I believe that her compartmentalising idealisation of the West somewhat shaped her view of her country. In addition, while many other participants appeared to be in denial of the fact that Algeria was part of Africa possibly due to their relative sense of superiority towards other African countries, Arwa associated herself with the "flawed" Africa in contrast to the 'ideal' West. Similar to other participants, Arwa assumed that there was no mud in Western countries based on her 'limited exposure'. This issue is tackled in the concluding chapter.

In the same way that the West was seen as ideal in terms of tangible matters such as living conditions, beliefs about its moral superiority were also prevalent within the community.

5.2.3. "*That's why we remained last*": The West with the moral high ground

Participants appear to idealise Western morality and ethics as opposed to what they believe exists in non-Western countries including Algeria. As previously discussed, in many instances, the participants constantly assumed difference from the West. These differences were, in most cases, negative. Within the framework of the participant's West idealist position, the traits attributed to the West were always positive, including morality and ethics which were also related to research validity and the perceived "naivety" of Western people. This was displayed through multiple encounters with the participants.

An instance in which the West was set as a frame of reference to what was regarded as a higher moral ground was when Nora expressed her distress about the perceived judgmental nature of her community individuals:

> […] I'm not going to do that because people will say this and that, but in Western countries […] I mean I'm not going to say they're perfect but they're ideal in some […] I mean they do the things that they like without thinking about what people think.

<div align="right">(Nora, teacher, formal interview)</div>

Similar to Simić's (2016) findings, which were referred to in Section 2.2.2.1, in this community, West idealists' views of the West seemed to be completely constrained by an idealised image of it.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, this image seemed to be amongst the reasons behind their deprecation of their own community, and often even 'culture'. Although Nora stated that they were "not perfect", which seemed to be a more realistic statement, she carried on saying that they were ideal for when it came to not being judgemental, which is an undesirable act that people from her community were believed to perform. Additionally, by stating that she did not care what people thought of her unlike other Algerian people, she seemed to associate herself with one aspect of the Western society or so she believed.

Another instance of ascribing morality to the West is when Bee tackled the "human" side of Western teaching:

> Well, teaching there is too ideal because there in the educational system the first thing is that they treasure humanity and the human beings before anything else and that's what made their educational system more successful and their teaching. in here, there's no value. they don't treasure the human being the student they don't treat the student well there's no good rapport. There's no valid content an educational system which is full of invalid content and paradoxes a chaotic educational setting. That's why everything there is so ideal it's too sad here […] I mean, we cannot even compare.

<div align="right">(Bee, student, pair interview)</div>

In this excerpt, Bee explicitly referred to the West as ideal. What she seemed to be denoting as part of her compartmentalising viewpoint is humanitarianism. However, her expression about humanitarianism appeared to be abstruse. It delivered the impression that either the idea that the West humanised students was based on its perceived idealness or that the humanitarian side of the West was part of being ideal. Based on other data that were generated out of interaction with Bee, it seems that this view was attributed to both possibilities. Her view, which was

formed on the basis of West idealism, entailed an immediate association between humanitarianism and the West. Bee also seemed to view the validity of Western content and research through the lens of West idealism.

Western ethics and research validity

By the same token, Maya referred to the validity of research, as part of work ethics, by drawing a line between Western and local research:

> Their research is valid not like ours. Like, you find someone who does research but it's not valid and it's not like you can't trust it.

<div align="right">(Maya, student, individual interview)</div>

This compartmentalisation in terms of research seems to be shared amongst many people in the Department since several teachers and students whom I interacted with expressed this thought. What seems to be more interesting is that their argument was essentially the same: students who went to the Department to do research were neither serious about it, nor were they ethical. So, it can be said that compartmentalisation at the level of research was commonly shared at the level of this community based on mutual experiences. However, their ideas about the West seemed to result from different sets of experience.

Maya carried on saying:

> It's important that the research is theirs so that I can trust it, honestly. If I find a research that was done by an Algerian person or who did it in Algeria, I will not trust it. I will not even read it.

<div align="right">(Maya, student, individual interview)</div>

Again, her statement seemed to feed into West idealism. Simultaneously, it appeared to reinforce a deprecatory impression of her society based on the image she had of the West. In an informal conversation I had with her, Maya mentioned that I was being ethical because my studies took place in the UK which was also reinforced in my individual interview with her when she said:

> The period of time that I spend somewhere affects the quality of research like you if you stayed here. I bet that your research will not be as good as when you are doing it there.

<div align="right">(Maya, student, individual interview)</div>

Her statement, here, appears to be all inclusive. It encompasses validity, quality, and ethics. Although she did not directly refer to ethics, it could be inferred from my previous conversations with her.

Her perception of subordination to the West was expressed in another instance. As discussed earlier in this chapter (Section 5.1.3), Maya commented on the way she believed teachers typically treated students using a somewhat common expression: "That's why we remained last" (Maya, student, individual interview). Although this view does not strictly relate to her perception of Western ethics, it still emphasises how she perceives Western moral qualities in the way she believes students are treated. Corroborating Hall's (1992) view of the relationship between the West-Rest dualism and stereotyping, Maya seemed to be displaying a deep-rooted reality that directly connected to the stereotypes she had long held.

The issue of ethics in the course of the Western moral high ground could also be deduced from Houssam's portrayal of the "ideal situation", which is attributed to the 'ethical' West as compared to the 'unprincipled' Algerian research. The following is an extract from my diary that describes an incident I had with Houssam:

> After one week of the first incident, I handed [Houssam] the participant information sheet and the consent form. Again, he said to me: "Why are you applying ethics in Algeria? You don't have to". Then, he added: "I had one like this for my research, but no one seems to take those seriously here. You don't have to; you're in Algeria". Then, he looked at my title, pointed at the word 'ideal', and said: "you are here, but we are still here" and he pointed at the word 'behind'. [...] Aisha interrupted saying that maybe things are done differently in the UK. She [said] that in the UK, people tend to apply the rules and care about the ethics of things unlike "Third World countries".

> (Excerpt from journal)

Having said that applying ethics in Algeria was unnecessary, Houssam appeared to overgeneralise the way he perceived his community in contrast to the West.

Another point that related to ethics was made by Bee who stated:

> I think everything in the West is too progressed in everything […] Ethics in education are too high and valued. I wish that we follow their educational system and use their content so that we progress.

> (Bee, student, focus group)

Not only does her statement clearly indicate a sense of inferiority to the idealised West, but it also suggests that she eulogised the West for being ethical. Her view of high ethical standards seemed to be restricted to the West. However, what she appeared to think of her community

was that it lacked ethics for when it came to education which seemed to conform another idea that she made concerning research and ethics. On that matter, she said that she was "suffering" with the lack of ethics. That seems to indicate that she disproved of what she believed was going on in her community. At the same time, it backs up her opinion about how restricted ethics were to certain societies. Thus, she seemed to make a distinction between the West and her community in terms of ethics with the West being ethical and her society being the opposite of that.

Validity seems to be a common view amongst the participants, and it appears to highly relate to the moral high ground that the West is believed to conquer. Bayso, for instance, appeared to hold such a conviction:

> […] [B]ecause Westerners know what they are doing. If they do something, they do it right and that is something that we can't question the validity of it.

> (Bayso, teacher, formal interview)

By so saying, and based on other statements that he made that eulogise the West, he appeared to clearly hold a West idealist view of almost every aspect that it encompassed including research and teaching methodologies. According to him, every Western product was valid due to the 'fact' that "Westerners" were "perfect and knowledgeable" about whatever it was that they did.

The perceived 'naivety' of the West

Not only was the West considered to be more humane and ethical, but it was also perceived as 'naïve' by some participants like Houda who lived in a Western country for over a year:

> I honestly find it hard to live with these people. […] I spent the whole summer in my house. […] Even when you decide to socialize again, people will make you regret it because they are leery. They never tell you what they're really doing or what they think unlike Western people. They're so simple so naïve. […] You can be yourself around them. Distress

> (Houda, teacher, informal conversation)

Houda seemed to have experienced reverse culture shock[10] based on several conversations I had with her. Her view, here, seems to eulogise the 'naivety' of the West and deplore her

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[10] As opposed to culture shock (See Macionis and Gerber, 2010), reverse culture shock is a term used to refer to a number of negative psychological attributes (such as distress, rejection of one's own culture, and withdrawal) that some individuals experience when they return to their countries after spending a period of time abroad (See Woesler, 2009).

society, to which she felt that she no longer belonged. This addresses the issue of identity, which I tackle in Chapter 7. Houda's view on naivety and other associated matters that reinforced her idealisation of the West seemed to have affected her relationships with members of her community. Based on a number of conversations I had with other participants about Houda's "reverse culture shock", I assume that the way she felt about people in her community was reciprocal to some extent.

A similar view was expressed by Faya who expressed her idea about the West saying:

> Theirs is the best. I'll start by the attitude, behaviour. They are idiots. […] my cousin went recently to France to finish his studies there. He told me that French people are innocent, they have a pure intention when they teach, you can never see racism. That's why I prefer their level of education because they are strict, their level is equal whereas our level is dying.

<div align="right">(Faya, student, individual interview)</div>

Unlike Houda who appeared to have based her view on actual experience, Faya's view seem to have been built upon someone else's experience. Regardless of that, Faya's opinion, too, seemed to feed into the idealisation of the West. Nevertheless, Faya's view does not seem to conform by the stereotypes most participants have about French people. By calling them "idiots", she was referring to their naivety.

In the same vein, Maya also seemed to believe that the West encouraged people's success while her community on the whole did not. In this regard, she stated:

> Yes, they can go far, and they have support, but here they destroy their hopes like for example, Soolking. When he was here, no one cared about him. They didn't even give him time. They didn't encourage him but when he went abroad to France, they encouraged him, and he became really famous. So, here it's not time bound, they always put you down, but there you can begin from zero and go to 1000 with time.

<div align="right">(Maya, student, individual interview)</div>

As seen here, it can be argued that compartmentalisation occurs at the level of progress. This relates to a point she made about critical thinking concerning the supremacy of the West which is tackled in the following subsection. It is either 'they could not progress because they were already at the top', or 'they could progress because their societies allowed and encouraged that'. She seemed to hold the belief that lack of support was the reason why people were not successful in Algeria.

A similar view that deplores the Algerian morality vis-à-vis the 'ideal' West was that of Bee when she expressed her view about how people in Algeria dealt with the success of one another:

> If we take this Algerian from Biskra[11], if he didn't go abroad, he wouldn't be that successful because in here the circumstances, the culture is too broad, the attitudes of people towards the success of other people and towards research itself, the behaviours, the viewpoints of society; they all affect the success of people.

(Bee, student, pair interview)

Bee's opinion seems to imply disapproval of the attitudes and behaviours she believed people from her own community held and performed. She appeared to accept as true the idea that those attitudes and behaviours were amongst the reasons why people in Algeria were not successful as opposed to 'ideal' Western people. It seems that her view was built upon the grounds of West idealism which, in turn, dictates the way she perceived her community. Therefore, the "flaws" she observed in her community were in a way explained by the perceived supremacy of the West. This supremacy is also predominantly perceived at the level of critical thinking.

5.2.4. *"They have critical thinking; we have a thinking that is critical"*

Many participants within the community tend to idealise the West in terms of critical thinking, which is part of the reason why most of them believe the West to be ideal. Most participants who hold this ideological position tend to contrast the perceived critical thinking of the 'ideal' West with the lack of both criticality and thinking of the 'flawed' non-West, which connects with the pro-Western facet of compartmentalisation ideology. As described earlier in Subsection 5.1.3, some participants' discourses regarding their 'non-native-speakerhood', which relate to their nativespeakerist positioning, have to do with their perceived inability to be critical thinkers as opposed to Western individuals. Part of the relationship between West idealism and nativespeakerism lies in the idea critical thinking is restricted to 'native speakers' of English because they are Western, which seems to feed into West idealism, and eventually to compartmentalisation ideology.

Salah sought to put the type deprecation held about Algeria into words by stating:

> They have critical thinking; we have a thinking that is critical. They can criticize the method of teaching, the content of teaching, but we are more biased into criticizing the teacher himself.

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[11] A city in the eastern part of Algeria

Salah's comment seemed to rest on a romanticised image of the West and a disapproving image of the self as part of the broader community. It appears that his statement appertained to an overgeneralising view of both his community and the West. By saying that his community's way of thinking was critical because of their failure to address the "real issues", he highlighted an important point. Not only did he criticise the perceived lack of critical thinking in his community, but he also deplored people's mindsets and ability to focus on what was believed to be of more importance.

Parts of Salah's compartmentalising views, which seem to be attributed to West idealism, seem to be generalised over occurrences that were possibly experienced before. On the issue of critical thinking, he said:

> […] It's like we're more biased by challenging the teacher than actually learning from the teacher while they challenge the teacher, so they can learn from the teacher.

(Salah, pair interview)

This appears to also relate to the perceived Western moral superiority described in the previous subsection. Salah meant that it was possible for critical thinking to appear in his community, but not for the 'right' reasons. Based on his West idealist positioning, the 'right' way was to be a critical thinker for the sole purpose of learning and not for any other sake. At the beginning, he clearly stated that the thinking of his community individuals was "critical" and that there was lack of critical thinking in his society. He, then, introduced the possibility of the existence of critical thinking for the 'wrong' reasons. By so saying, Salah seemed to be subconsciously foreshadowing his next point on how critical thinking was culture-specific.

Along similar lines, Rania wanted to demonstrate the failure of the LMD system, which will be referred to in the following chapter in regard to 'backwardness' – Subsection 6.1.2, by referring to the way in which she believed it rendered the quality of thinking amongst the Algerian university youth:

> […] Students are becoming more and more stupid. They don't think critically and if they pretend to do, they do it to sound clever. You only hear them say 'we want polycopies', or 'can you dictate?'. In Western countries, they rely on themselves to develop their critical thinking. They don't ask for polycopies, and that's why they are advanced, and we are still behind.

(Rania, teacher, informal conversation)

Rania seemed to relate critical thinking to the autonomy of students.

Given that she had never been to a Western country before, her idea about the autonomy and critical thinking of the West as compared to her community seemed to be biased by her West idealist positioning. Additionally, referring to her community students as "stupider" might imply the idea that her perception of them was that they had always been like that, but they were only becoming more inferior to 'more advanced' Western students who were perceived as autonomous critical thinkers. Apparently, Rania, here, placed and equal blame on the students for their lack of critical thinking and the system that created the deficiency.

Perceived teachers' role in the 'lack' of critical thinking

What seems to be particularly stimulating is that the definition of critical thinking differed from one individual to another. While some participants defined critical thinking upon the basis of autonomy or criticality, others seemed to relate it to freedom of speech and creativity. Shay's definition of critical thinking seems to appertain to the latter:

> […] They have types of exams where you would write essays and you would just speak your mind out and some answers can be correct or incorrect while our teachers don't accept critical thinking. […] They worship critical thinking because being critical means you're going to change something in the world but not being critical means that you'll remain in the same place.

<div align="right">(Shay, student, individual interview)</div>

This seems to corroborate a point she made in the focus group concerning critical thinking. She appeared to be placing the blame on teachers for not allowing students to become critical and opposed that to the West, which seems to position her within West idealism. Unlike most other student participants, although she had previously referred to her own community as "non-critical thinkers", she stated that teachers did not give students the opportunity to think critically including herself. This seems to relate to a point she made concerning her alienated self which will be referred to in Section 7.1.1.

Shay's idealisation of the West also allowed her to construct imaginary scenarios of how things worked in the West and how critical thinking operated in Western schools by dint of teachers:

> […] Sometimes teachers give lessons and then in the exams they give questions that they have never tackled in the class, so they require them to think, to not only rely on memorizing, but here this way students will never be critical thinkers; they will only answer to things that they have revised, memorized, read, or seen a couple of hundred times.

Again, Shay seemed to compartmentalise based on an ideal image of the West. Although she had never been taught by a Western teacher before, she still assumed that their exam questions were thought-provoking and that they promoted critical thinking. Her statement also insinuated an attribution of lack of critical thinking to teachers. Based on what she said in the individual interview, she seemed to think that teachers did not allow critical thinking to happen. However, based on this statement, she appeared to mean that teachers did not do anything to promote critical thinking.

On this particular issue, she also stated:

> […] Most teachers would hate you. Like here, when you do that they hate you because they think that you want to make them look bad and they are too tired to argue with you, so they just shut you down and they hate you but in Western countries they praise you and they make you realize that what you are doing is good even if it may make them look bad they challenge you to develop it.

(Shay, student, focus group)

Shay, again, seemed to compare her real-life teachers to some imaginary ideal Western teachers. Apart from compartmentalising, what she thought about the way teaching worked in Algeria is very interesting. I assume that it was based on her own experience due to a number of conversations we had on participation, exams and tests. Based on these statements, she appeared to believe that teachers did not even allow critical thinking to happen, let alone promote it or teach it to students.

Another statement was made by Maya who said:

> Instead of developing our critical thinking, they are burying it; they are making it worse, not like developed countries.

(Maya, student, focus group)

I believe it is important to understand how these students 'learned' about how matters worked in 'developed' countries despite the fact that most of them had never been overseas. This could probably be due to the deep-rooted West idealism that seems to be socially constructed and which most people adhere to without them even realising.

The students expressed that they did not even know what critical thinking meant and still said that the West promoted critical thinking and that Western students were critical thinkers while their community did not endorse that in any way. Although Samy explicitly stated that he was unaware of what critical thinking was by saying: "like me, myself, I don't

know if I'm critical or not" in the focus group discussion, he still asserted that it was the teachers' fault that the students were unable to think critically. This, among other instances, seems to feed into a West idealist position that is holistically represented as a deep-rooted reality in most instances.

When Samy expressed his view about not knowing what critical thinking meant, Maya and Selma immediately agreed. Another example concerning this issue is when Maya came to construct an understanding of what could be going on:

> I think we have the critical thinking, but don't know if that is critical thinking,
> but for them they have critical thinking.

> (Maya, student, individual interview)

Even though Maya expressed her lack of awareness towards critical thinking co-ordinately with the focus group discussion, she still assumed that Western people were critical thinkers. In other words, how did she know if Western people were critical thinkers if she did not even know what critical thinking was? The answer to this question might be that her West idealist thoughts governed her compartmentalisation process.

Critical thinking as a context-specific construct

Salah expressed his view of how critical he believed non-Western thinking to be. After that, he mentioned that the non-West could think critically, but not for the right reasons. On another occasion, he stated:

> There's no culture that doesn't support critical thinking. […] Americans are
> biased by having critical thoughts about their politics, and us, we don't have
> that option [...] Here, people read Quran and reflect on real life to see the
> miracles of Quran, and how many things that have been said more than 1400
> years ago scientifically make sense now […].

> (Salah, student, pair interview)

It seems that Salah came to partially deconstruct a reality that was engraved in his mind by gradually constructing one that appeared to be right to him. He seemed to have shifted from a mindset that eulogised the West to one that provided a more realistic consideration of how critical thinking operated. Nevertheless, what he said still appeared to fall under the category of overgeneralisation and essentialism, which is tackled in Section 6.2, because he assumed that Americans were essentially critical about their political system while Algerians, who were more critical concerning religion, were not.

In reaction to Salah's statement, Bee said:

> I think that some societies are critical thinkers and others are not simply because critical thinking […] either exists or it doesn't. There's no in-between. Even your point about religion, the best religious scholars are not Arabs, take Yusuf Estes who is American, or Ahmad Deedat is south African. These are not Arabs and they are genius and they have critical thinking […]

(Bee, student, pair interview)

What Bee said here seems to validate what she said in the focus group concerning the idea that critical thinking was origin-dependent. Although Bee seemed to be conscious about her lack of awareness of what critical thinking was, she still stated that Western societies had critical thinking while her society, possibly as Arab and Amazigh, did not, which seems to spring from a self-deprecatory set of thoughts.

This West idealist opinion of hers seems to be based on her prejudgements and prejudices given that she admitted to not fully knowing what critical thinking meant and how it could be achieved, and she clearly blamed her teachers and the system for it in a group discussion we informally had after the focus group session. While teachers denunciated students for their perceived lack of critical thinking due to their supposed absence of autonomy, students put the blame on teachers for allegedly not teaching them what it was and for not developing it. These opposing beliefs feed into the pro-Western side of compartmentalisation ideology since, regardless of its origin, the perceived lack of critical thinking is placed in opposition to its existence in the West.

Discussion Summary

This section further discusses the key issues raised in the chapter. In this chapter, I have discussed how participants position themselves within nativespeakerism and West idealism, which partially answers my first and second research questions: *"how do participants position themselves ideologically in the setting?"* and *"to what extent are the participants' ideological positions interrelated"*. These thick-centred ideological positions are part of the overarching compartmentalisation ideology and they have been the most prominent and widespread ones in the field. In most instances, participants' views and attitudes that displayed their presence did not indicate a requirement for additional conjunctions with other ideological positions. They appeared in the field independently, yet their presence seems to have affected other ideological positions in the field.

Dissimilar to popular studies on nativespeakerism that generally deal with it in isolation (Aboshiha, 2007; Choi, 2016), the participants' nativespeakerist discourses in the study indicate that some facets of the ideology are entrenched within a more encompassing form of dualism,

which is labelled compartmentalisation ideology within the context of this study. This dualism is seen as a Trojan horse that reinforces people's predisposed ideas about the difference between the West and Algeria, as part of the 'Rest'. That is, when projected to a wider set of discourses that take place within the community, participants' accounts that seem to uphold an exclusive nativespeakerist position display that the idealisation of 'native speakers' is a form of compartmentalisation that is reinforced by the fact that English happens to be the first language of some Western people.

As discussed above, some participants' views about the physical attributes of Western people are not restricted to their quality of being 'native speakers'. The way this generally relates to the nativespeakerist mindset is that people discriminate against 'non-native-speaker-looking' teachers and students. Thus, people's physical attributes become a hindering factor in their employment or acceptance. Since the participants in this study have never been taught by an English-speaking Western teacher, it can only be assumed that their actions would be similar to those who have, based on conversations I had with them, some of which were discussed earlier in this chapter. In addition, in the particular setting of this study, the discourses that are generally constructed within the community seem to support the idea that 'Western physical attributes' are more appealing, which is also seen in the way many individuals within the broader frame of society and even on social media use the expression "neddiha ghir gawrya" or "neddih ghir romi/gawri" which roughly translate to "I'll only consider marriage if it's a Westerner".

Participants' discourses that uphold this belief seem to go back to how they perceive 'native speakers' in the first place. These perceptions are fortified by the fact that these 'native speakers' happen to be Western. Thus, not only are they preferred physically because they are Western, but the participants' expectations of what they normally look like reject any ideas of them looking otherwise because that would clash with their quality of being 'native speakers'. In addition to physical attributes, the teaching methodologies 'created' by 'native speakers' are preferred within the community. Teaching methodology is a salient aspect of the nativespeakerist ideology conforming with the literature on the subject.

The way some participants position themselves in relation to teaching and research methodology extends to how they are positioned within compartmentalisation ideology and not just nativespeakerism. Their idealisation of 'native speaker' methodology seems to occur at two intertwining levels. The first level has to do with the idea that they perceive the language as the possession of 'native speakers'. According to them, any teaching of the English language is best done if the teacher is a 'native speaker' because they know the language and therefore have

a good command of the teaching of that language. The second level exceeds nativespeakerism although it is based on it. As part of the division made between the West and the 'Rest', participants tend to believe that Western content, including methodology, is superior to non-Western content. Thus, they trust English-speaking-Western methodology not only because it is allegedly produced by 'native speakers', but also because they trust and admire anything produced in the West as opposed to their own.

In a somewhat xenocentric[12] take on the way their products are perceived, their perception of who they are in relation to the English-speaking West also implies various nuances of division. Many participants perceive 'native speakers' as ideal not only in terms of language, but also at the level of critical thinking, knowledge, intelligence, and manners. One of the reasons why these perceptions include, albeit go beyond, nativespeakerism is that the same participants would not associate similar attributes to 'native speakers' of Arabic who study the Arabic language, for instance. Thus, their idealisation and high expectations of 'native speakers' of English involves more than the variable of language. Again, 'native speakers' of English are seen as Western. Therefore, their idealisation of them is not restricted to their quality of being 'native speakers', but it extends to reach their quality of being Western. The fact that they compartmentalise qualities such as intelligence and manners within their pro-Western state of mind seems to affect the way most of them perceive themselves as individuals who necessarily lack most qualities that English-speaking Western people possess.

The pro-Western side of compartmentalisation ideology also includes West idealism as a thick-centred ideological position occupied by several individuals within the community. Participants who position themselves within this category perceive the West as superior at many levels. Against the backdrop of wider society, people often perceive anything that comes from the West as necessarily superior in terms of quality, including Western individuals themselves. For instance, "caba[13]" cosmetic products are overpriced compared to manufacturer products that are legally imported. The term caba is often used as an adjective to indicate that products are of better quality because they are the same products sold in Western countries.

Within the particular setting of the study, participants idealise the West at numerous levels. This includes education, living conditions, ethics, and critical thinking, to name but a

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[12] A term used to refer to the glorification of – and expression of membership to – other societies and cultures over one's own (See Merton, 1972).

[13] A term borrowed from the French word "cabas" which means suitcase. It refers to products that come straight from Western countries (usually from Europe). People buy them from retail stores in limited quantities. These products do not go through customs duty and do not have exportation tags because they are carried in travel suitcases.

few. What is noteworthy about their idealisation is that it entails a sense of inferiority towards the West. Participants tend to think of themselves and their society as inferior to the West, and any sense of superiority over members of their society necessarily includes association with their perceptions of Western attributes.

Participants who hold this position envisage Western living conditions as "divine", as per Shay's description of them. Their envisagement and expectations seem to go back to the discourses that are constantly constructed within their community. Their brains appear to have gradually become wired to perceive all that appertains to the West as superior, which means perceiving what they have as inferior. Participants associate development with 'good' living conditions, which is also applied to the teaching and learning environment. Some of them tend to condemn their perceived 'non-developed' education system on the basis of their imagination of how advanced the system is in the West. This type of imagination is amongst the factors that make them undervalue the quality of life in their country due to constant comparison with the West. The enjoyment of small details such as the rain or the snow is believed to be a luxury that only Western people or people who live in the West can enjoy.

Participants who hold this position also tend to believe that Western individuals are more humanitarian, ethical, and morally just. Associating terms such as "good attitude" and "human" with the West, as opposed to "brutal" and "savage" with the 'Rest', can be proof of how compartmentalisation ideology works at this level. The use of terms similar to the latter is most often accompanied by the pronoun "we", which suggests that inferiority is both perceived at the individual and the social levels. The West is also perceived to encourage success, which is what many individuals seem to use as a justification as to why they are less successful in their society.

Participants also justify their perceived lack of critical thinking with the idea that they were not taught how to be critical thinkers in school or by society. This belief, like others, is constantly compared to the West. Western individuals are believed to be critical thinkers who were taught how to be so from a young age. Notably, most participants who hold this belief do not seem to have any idea what critical thinking is, yet they believe they lack it for not being Western. While some of them associate it with self-sufficiency and criticality, others perceive it in terms of freedom of speech and ingenuity. When asked what they thought critical thinking was, most of them did not seem to have a clear idea, but they all agreed that the West had it and they did not. Teachers seem to be convinced that most of their students lack critical thinking, and students blame teachers for their perceived absence of criticality.

West idealism and nativespeakerism intertwine in a variety of ways. Nativespeakerism can be seen as a more specific form of West idealism in the context of this study. People have more things to idealise about the West when they have language to eulogise. That is, the English language is seen as a sign of power and prestige, and the closer people are to the English-speaking West in terms of language production, the more developed and civilised they believe they are, which somewhat fortifies their sense of superiority towards individuals in their community. Since civilisation is associated with the West, the English language becomes another key to the modern world door-lock not only because it has become a global language, but also because it makes them have more in common with the West.

Other forms of compartmentalisation can be seen at the level of participants discourses that position them within less independent ideological positions which almost always necessarily occur in conjunction with others. In the following chapter, I address populism, essentialism, culturalism, ethnocentrism, westophobia, and reverse-(neo)-orientalism as thin-centred ideological positions that fall within the pro-Western, anti-Western side of compartmentalisation ideology, or both.

6.   THIN-CENTRED IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONS

In this chapter, I discuss participants' accounts that underpin the division between the West and Algeria, as part of the 'Rest', which happen to be less independent than, yet as equally salient as, West idealism and nativespeakerism. In other words, the focus of this chapter is on how participants position themselves ideologically through common co-dependent discourses that eventually feed into the pro- and anti-Western sides of compartmentalisation ideology. Typically, albeit not unavoidably, participants' anti-Western ideological positions such as ethnocentrism, westophobia, and reverse-(neo)-orientalism, within the context of this study, occur conjointly even with West idealism and nativespeakerism. Other participants' positions, such as populism, culturalism, and essentialism, vary between pro- and anti-Western instances.

In this chapter, I begin by addressing how individuals position themselves within populism, culturalism, and essentialism as these serve as a transitional link in this thesis between the pro-Western ideological positions discussed in the previous chapter and the almost entirely anti-Western ideological positions within the context of the current study. Most of the constructs discussed in this chapter imply nuances of division at several levels, specifically between the West and Algeria. However, the way wherein accounts that indicate the presence of populism relate to the overall framework of compartmentalisation ideology is somehow less evident. The following section discusses the presence of populism among participants as both a pro- and anti-Western ideological position.

6.1. Populism

Participants' beliefs about what is politically existent in terms of the elite-people dualism feeds into compartmentalisation ideology at two distinct levels. The first dimension has to do with the type of 'politicisation' that participants believe exist at the level of the Algerian education system as opposed to their perception of the 'ethical' idealised West, which relates to their West idealist positioning. The second dimension, on the other hand, appertains to the demonisation of the West as the perceived power whose entire international actions are politicised. The following subsection discusses participants' views that feed into the first dimension.

"*The deep-rooted tree*": The perceived politicisation of the education system

Participants' beliefs about the politicisation of the education system in Algeria, which feed into their seemingly populist discourses, are often accompanied by a reverse idealised image of Western education systems. Many participants, including Hisham, Nora, Ahlam,

Salah, Faya, and Omar expressed views that built towards the idea of how politicised the education system was in Algeria based on their perception that education was purposefully politicised for elites to remain in higher positions that separate them from the people. This type of politicisation is brought up in opposition to the 'ideal' West, which is how this populist narrative feeds into compartmentalisation ideology. The following accounts on the politicisation of the education system describe how the populist discourse thrives through the community without it necessarily being perceptibly populist, in the sense that most discourses about the politicisation of the education system eventually seem to support populist beliefs that strengthen the division between the West and the 'Third World'.

An example of that would be Hisham's story about a Korean series called "deep rooted tree", by which he sought to convey a message that he deemed too "dangerous" to say explicitly:

> […] They used to follow the Chinese system, but that system of reading and writing did not have letters it was very difficult. […] Only rich people, the elite as I said earlier, would learn it. […] So, they wrote a notice to the citizens of the country and advised them against drinking that water because it was deadly. After a while, more than the third of the population died. […] [t]he majority of the population could not read what was written because of they could not read. This gave him [the king] the idea to work on the Hangul which substituted the entire difficult Chinese system with only 26 letters […] Of course, those who were in power opposed him: the aristocrats, the rich. […] They wanted the whole population to be illiterate except for them so that they would do whatever they wanted. They caused him problems and they even wanted to murder him […].

(Hisham, teacher, formal interview)

The aim behind this story was inconspicuous projection. Thus, I was expected to project this story, which allegedly took place in Korea over a thousand years ago, on the current state of 'Third World countries' including Algeria.

The fact that he could relate what he believed happened in Algeria to that story somewhat indicates how deeply rooted populism was in his mind. Although there is a possibility that this type of series is what made him perceive the world the way he did, the idea that this was an ideological view and not a mere projection of what occurred in the series can be traced back to two different reasons. The first one is that the same idea was socially shared amongst many individuals in the community, which suggests that it was both socially and cognitively constructed. This idea of socio-cognitive construction is the premise of Van Dijk's (1998) theory on ideologies. The second reason is the fact that this could fall within several of the categories delineated by Van Dijk's (1998, pp.69-70) including membership, goals, and group

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relations. Further examination led Hisham to explain what he meant by the story more explicitly. At some point in the interview, he mentioned that "they" wanted to make "things worse".

When I asked him who "they" were and why they wanted to do that, his answer was:

> […] The elite […] I mean decision makers in the Third World countries; it is in their favour that their people are ignorant and are not well educated. So, when you pass a given law or something, no one will challenge you, no one will understand. […] For example, my friend told me that in the textbook of some grade in middle or primary school, they talked to the pupils about Zerda[14]. If their parents are cultivated and intellectual, they would know that those are acts of disbelief in our religion and they are 1000% forbidden in our religion. So, why are you teaching your pupils that instead of teaching them about real spiritually religious things like forgiveness and love and kindness […] Why Zerda? When people are ignorant, they will not understand and they will just follow that's why politics care about quantity […].

(Hisham, teacher, formal interview)

What Hisham said in this excerpt pinpoints three important issues. First, he referred to education, again, to highlight a politically based issue, which is part of his populist positioning. He seemed to hold the belief that the aim behind teaching such things as "Zerda" lies in the monopolisation of knowledge, which is performed by, what he called, the "elite" of the society. This view appears to feed into the oligarchy narrative, which somewhat explains the "deep-rooted tree" story that he had previously told. In addition, part of Hisham's religious identity was put on display to signal a certain type of stance towards what he believed occurred in the education system in relation to his cultural and religious beliefs. This is discussed in more detail in Section 7.1.2. The third issue could be seen at the level of his indirect comparison of his country, amongst others, to the West by restricting the type of oligarchy he believed to exist in 'Third World' countries.

A similar view about the politicisation of the education system was expressed by Nora who, while trying to explain why Western education was "perfect", she stated:

> It's so political. You don't have the right amount of teachers or enough teachers and then you open a department just to say that you have a department in that place or that place and then you let the students suffer. […] I studied in [City X]. There were a lot of good teachers, but it wasn't enough. It's political. You have two or 3 teachers and you open a department, and, in

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[14] A traditional feast that involves primitive rituals that many people believe to be a spiritual act. It involves performances like walking on fire or removing one's eye and putting it on a plate, or to slaughter cows so to feel spiritually closer to some group of people.

the paper, you write, I will have that professor from this university and it's a lie […].

<div align="right">(Nora, teacher, formal interview)</div>

What Nora seemed to believe existed was that universities inaugurated departments for the sake of having a higher ranking, which was considered to be a purely political act. She seemed to have overgeneralised an occurrence that she once encountered in the department wherein her education took place to the rest of the Algerian universities in order to support some of her West idealist claims whether that be conscious or subconscious. When I asked her what she meant by "political", she stated: "let's just say they want us to stay here and they want to stay there" (Nora, teacher, Instagram chat), which seems to go on the same line as Hisham's narrative.

In other instances, Nora's accounts about the politicisation of the education system involved comparison with the West. On one occasion, she stated:

> […] [N]ot like in Western countries […] They only hire competent teachers because they want their children to be put in trustworthy hands […].

<div align="right">(Nora, teacher, informal conversation)</div>

Similar to most other teachers who hold this position, Nora associated her perceived politicisation of the system with an ideal image of the West. Nora gradually constructed new realties that clashed with her deeply rooted idealisation of the West based on her actual experience with Western countries, which gave me the impression that that would lead to the deconstruction of that position. Nevertheless, the deep-rootedness of this latter would not simply allow for an unchallenging deconstruction. Nora constantly displayed views that seemed to feed into her pro-Western position even after actively constructing new realities that opposed to that position.

In the same way that participants' accounts about the education system indicate their populist positioning, their accounts in regard to how the education system allegedly moved backwards instead of forwards as opposed to the West also supports populism.

"*Backwardness*": The 'deterioration' of the Algerian education system

Participants' seemingly populist views were also often described in terms of perceived "backwardness" of the Algerian education system, which is seen in opposition to the perceived 'forwardness' of the Western one. In this context, the term "backwardness" was borrowed from Bee, a student participant, to relate to certain beliefs held by individuals regarding backwardness in terms of development at the level of such sectors as education. The way in

which different views about backwardness in Algeria are held seems to be linked to compartmentalisation ideology. In other words, participants' views about the oligarchical backwardness is reinforced by the idea that the West is essentially moving forward. Thus, this aspect of populism implies degrees of division based on the sense of inferiority to the West due to the fact that this type of alleged 'backwardness' is fundamentally opposed to Western 'forwardness'.

Bee, the participant from whom I borrowed the term "backwardness", expressed a similar view regarding the "Third World" and "Second World" countries classification. In order to insert her stance regarding the use of both terms, she said:

> We're suffering from backwardness especially at the level of education.

(Bee, student, focus group)

Realistically, Bee did not witness the old generation of the education system due to her relatively young age, but she seemed to confidently talk about it. It seems that those thoughts have been successfully transmitted to her by, perhaps, older people like teachers or family members. Regardless of where she obtained them, they appear to be socially shared to some extent and they were further reinforced by the West-Rest dualism. On a WhatsApp call that I had with her, Bee brought up the subject of backwardness again to refer to the issue of employment in Algeria. What is equally interesting is that she connected that to Western job opportunities which she believed were significantly better compared to present times, but "only a bit better" compared to the past.

This point could be related to Hisham's opinion about the Baccalaureate exam between the past and the present as seen from the 'West-Rest' perspective, which was previously described. Other participants, such as Aisha, expressed similar opinions about the Algerian education system as opposed to the Western one. On one occasion, she said:

> They are moving forwards, but we're going in the opposite direction.

(Aisha, teacher, informal conversation)

On another occasion, she stated:

> My mind is always fixated on the idea that the past is so much better than now. I am afraid of the future if we go by the same pace.

(Aisha, teacher, informal conversation)

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The first extract indicates a sense of idealisation of the West as well as a view of backwardness of the education system in Algeria. The second one reinforces the idea that her view of backwardness was a strong one especially that she brought it up several times to refer to numerous other issues such as the morals and standards of the Algerian society. Nevertheless, while Hisham addressed this issue from a "deep-rooted tree" point of view, Aisha seemed to put an equal blame on the new generations themselves for the backwardness that she believed occurred.

Populism was often seen in the way individuals believed that their interests were disregarded by the interests of the ruling elites in the country who wanted to preserve the power over the people by lowering their level of awareness and knowledge. That was held in opposition to Western countries that were essentially more advanced because of their ever-evolving systems. Alternatively, some participants held a transnational populist position. Conforming with Zeemann's (2019) account on how the 'elites' and the 'people' do not necessarily have to belong to the same nations, in the following subsection, I discuss some views that have to do with a sense of oligarchical demonisation of the West.

"Powerful language […] powerful countries. Coincidence? I think not."

Some participants' seemingly populist opinions served to extinguish the notion of the ideal West through seeking to expose the perceived malicious intent of Western countries. An example would be Maissa's opinion about the global status of the English language:

> […] But, it's English that has this because of the power that the united states and maybe even Great Britain has. If Russia was the strongest country in the world like the united states, Russian would be the first language in the world, it would be the lingua franca, but the united states has the political power, the economic power, the military power. So, it's the first language. It's political, it's not a coincidence.

(Maissa, teacher, formal interview)

Maissa stated that English was considered to be the world's lingua franca because the USA was the strongest country in the world and that the situation would be different if some other country were the strongest. This kind of belief relates to what other participants said about the relationship between the global status of the English language and the status of the US.

This looks like a common narrative within the teacher-student community in the Department. In another instance, Maissa mentioned that the power that the English language had was "a result of political and economic power". After that, she carried on saying that she did not agree with the common belief that "power came from English itself". That is a point

that I have discussed with some students at the Department as well as a few teachers. Most of them were uncertain about which way the effect arrow went.

In this case, she seemed to stick to the "conspiracy theory" that she talked about concerning the idea that the global status of the English language was a product of a dangerous "conspiracy" that was set between "first world" countries, which I believe was meant to indicate cultural imperialism.

A similar opinion was expressed by Selma who said:

> I just mapped the first and Third World countries and they are separated by a line as you see here. It's like a North and a South and the middle and the line divides them. Like the Third World is between two first worlds. The best Englishes are situated here and here [pointing at the United States and the UK] and when I was drawing it, I noticed that the best Englishes are situated in the North and the South and it's also where the English, I mean the best countries, are. That means they are the best countries for English and the best countries just like that. I am talking about the UK and the USA because English spread […]

> (Selma, student, focus group)

Selma appeared to make a connection between what she considered to be "best Englishes" and what she perceived as "best countries".

Her first superlative appears to relate to the nativespeakerist mindset while the second one can be associated with West idealism. The relationship between both was further reinforced by her saying that it was no coincidence that the best countries spoke the best English. This seems to relate to the point made by Maissa and other teachers except that the connection that Maissa made was part of a narrative while Selma's was more of an individual conclusion that she came to.

On another occasion, Selma said:

> Have you noticed that the powerful language in this world is also the language that is spoken by the powerful countries? Coincidence? I think not.

> (Selma, group discussion)

Again, this idea of the link between power and language, to which the participants in the group chat agreed, seems to be communicated and maintained through the medium of discourse. The participants in the group chat corroborated that view by agreeing that that was how the West was "taking over the world" (Samy, student, group discussion), and that the "power",

"knowledge", and "control" were not restricted to English-speaking countries, but rather to the whole 'First World' because they had "mutual interests".

It appears that referring to "Pinky and the Brain" (Selma, student, group discussion) was a way of metaphorically addressing the 'evilness' in the West that was allegedly seeking control over the 'Rest' of the world, since most of what was stated before had to do with the idea that 'Third World' countries minded their own business whereas the West had an "unnatural appetite and hunger for power" (Salah, student, pair interview). Nevertheless, these views about the West were not very common in the students' community. The student participants who showed dislike towards the West were the same ones who idealised almost every aspect of it in most other instances, which seems to indicate that this dislike was part of both the right and the stipulation realities amongst the students in instances like those.

This view was also common among an aggregate of individuals within the wider teacher community. For instance, Maissa's "elites" were not Algerian, but rather Western. This was made clear in one of my interview sessions with her based on a conversation we had on the bus. On the issue of qualitative research, she said:

> They don't want the developing countries to develop and that's why they introduced qualitative research. They want us to stay behind […].

> (Maissa, teacher, formal interview)

In another instance, she mentioned that qualitative research was a "drop in the sea" of the ideologies that the West "released" in order to remain the "most powerful" (Maissa, informal conversation).

Regardless of the fact that what she said appertained to the westophobic mindset, which is discussed later in this chapter (Section 6.5), she appeared to hold the belief that the West introduced and promoted certain ideologies to keep control over the world. In addition, even though she constantly sought to deliver the idea that Western countries were not "as powerful as they seemed to be", she, subconsciously, asserted that they were perceived by her as "the most powerful". This seems to designate that there was a certain reality that leaned towards the type of beliefs held by West idealists, which is socially constructed and shared. However, she still did not specify what she believed them to be powerful in terms of. These inclinations towards West idealism as a thick-centred ideological position can also be seen in the way many participants held essentialist views of the West. The following section discusses essentialism both as a pro- and anti-Western ideological position within the community.

6.2. The *"individualistic"* West: Essentialism

Participants tend to believe that the West naturally possesses characteristics that make its individuals who they are, which seems to affect their dissection of the West and Algeria. These characteristics include superiority in terms of ethics and level of education, as per the participants' pro-Western positioning within compartmentalisation ideology, which seem to relate to their West idealist tendencies. By contrast, some participants seem to hold the idea that Western people are individualistic, which is seen in relation to their perceived 'selfishness', materialistic nature, and the idea that they essentially drink alcohol and have sexual relations out of wedlock.

These views contribute to their positioning within essentialism as a thin-centred ideological position, which fortifies the perceived division between the West and Algeria, as part of the 'Third World'. Many participants expressed essentialist views that either appertain to their idealisation of the West, their fear or dislike of the West, or their view about societies and cultures in general. The participants' essentialist positioning seems to feed into compartmentalisation ideology since the essentialism of certain Western or non-Western attributes is tied up to a reverse version of those attributes which would either be positive or negative depending on whether the West is seen as superior or inferior. Thus, participants who seem to occupy the essentialist position generally essentialise the West or their own 'cultures' and society depending on how they perceive themselves in opposition to the West.

Within the context of this study, essentialism almost never occurred in isolation in the community. Many participants including Faya, Houssam, Kinda, Lamia, Nora, and Aisha expressed essentialist views that related to several other ideological positions discussed in this thesis. For instance, when trying to explain the hypothetical impact of being taught by a teacher from the English-speaking West, she said:

> […] For example, my teacher teaches me English and he is from the USA or the UK or Australia and he graduated from university from the same place he came from […] I would like to know more about his cultural with his high level of education.

> (Faya, student, individual interview)

By stating that she would like to learn about the hypothetical teacher's "high" level of education, it appears that Faya assumed that the English-speaking Western level was essentially high in education which is a prominent form of essentialism. In several other instances, Faya

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displayed essentialist views about the West being more educated, cultivated, and even more ethical.

Further on the issue of ethics, which was previously described in relation to West idealism in Section 5.2, I asked Houssam for his opinion about how ethical he supposed I was. To that, he responded:

> […] It also depends like if I'm in a foreign country, I would probably ask for it because the privacy of individuals are really engraved in their culture; they are part of the reasons why participants ask for the consent form.

(Houssam, teacher, formal interview)

A very similar response was provided by Hisham and can be explained in the same way. Houssam explained that going through ethical procedures depended on the area studied, meaning that they were a situational process.

The first thing that it depended on in his opinion was the field wherein ethics were applied, which is an idea that many other teachers communicated before. Regardless of that, the second issue is that ethical procedures were space-bound, which indicates that at the same time, he held an essentialist position. That is, he stated what seemed to be that ethics and privacy were essentially part of some cultures and that some cultures were essentially ethical. Therefore, theoretically, by being part of that culture, he would ask for the consent form not because of his own privacy but because he belonged to a given culture. This is an example of Phillips' (2010) first essentialism implications (previously described in Subsection 2.2.4.1).

Anti-Western essentialist beliefs

Whereas many participants seemed to be essentialist in favour of the West, which can be seen in their West idealist positioning, others leaned more towards the anti-Western side. Being essentialist about language appears to also entail essentialism about speakers of the language and vice versa. When the issue of homosexuality was brought up, Salah commented:

> [I]t's like English made me more selfish just like native speakers. I don't care about homosexuals; I just don't want to be part of them.

(Salah, student, focus group)

Similar to several other participants, Salah seemed to hold the view that English changed his stance towards homosexuality. However, he showed awareness of how it was the culture that affected his way of thinking and not the language per se. The fact that Salah mentioned that English made him selfish like 'native speakers' seems to denote that he viewed 'native

speakers' as such. What made his claim essentialist, however, is that, during the pair interview with Bee, Salah claimed that if a person wanted to live in a Western country, they would have to learn how to be selfish because "everyone there is" which appears to back up the essentialist claim he made in the focus group.

Salah further displayed his essentialist positioning by saying:

> You can't find one American person who thinks minimalistically […] because his culture dictates a materialist identity that he can't get rid of. So, culture dictates how we view living conditions. It dictates how we live them.

(Salah, student, pair interview)

By so saying, Salah seemed to hold the belief that Americans were essentially materialistic as per their "culture". In addition, by saying that culture on the whole prescribed how people perceived living conditions, it appears that his essentialist view was generalised to aggregates of individuals in relation to their cultures and that is not restricted to minimalism and materialism, but, apparently, to other types of mindsets.

Similar to Salah's opinion about the "selfish" nature of Western people, Lynda asserted:

> If you think that those people love you then you're wrong. They only care about themselves and you don't expect them to care about you. You know why? Because they're selfish. They may pretend to care about you, but they don't. They're all selfish from grandfather to grandson.

(Lynda, teacher, informal conversation)

Lynda's view of the West in general and the UK in particular seems to be essentialist. She appeared to assume that all Western people were selfish, which feeds into her westophobic claims – as described in Section 6.5 – since selfishness is not the only trait that Lynda associated with Western nations and cultures.

Lynda's point somewhat resembles what Bayso said about how "individualistic" the West was. The main difference between what Bayso and what Lynda said is that Bayso said that to back up his point about how ideal the West was in his opinion, whereas Lynda described that in a negative sense. These cross-references between essentialism and other thick and thin-centred ideological positions such as nativespeakerism, West idealism, and westophobia can be proof of the thin-centredness of this ideological position.

A very common essentialist view amongst participants associates Western people with drinking and sexual intercourse. Kinda, for instance, tried to 'warn' me against acculturation

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and assimilation which she believed many people went through when they lived in Western countries. In regard to this, she said:

> You should be careful who you befriend […] And you can't find a single person there who doesn't drink or do forbidden physical relations. If you spend too much time with them, you will become like them […].

<div align="right">(Kinda, teacher, informal conversation)</div>

Kinda's 'piece of advice' appears to have sprung from an essentialist view she had about the West. Although this view mainly appertained to her westophobic and ethnocentric positions, it seems to be founded on an essentialist one, in the sense that Kinda appeared to believe that Western people essentially performed certain activities that were undesirable to her. Based on this, as well as other encounters that involved Kinda, it appears that her essentialist position moved beyond Phillips' (2010) first three implications to reach the fourth one as she appeared to have had the idea that Western people essentially had sexual relations out of wedlock *because* they were "Westerners".

Another ideological position that exists in conjunction with essentialism is culturalism. Other than the fact that these two terms are often used interchangeably as described in Subsection 2.2.4.2 (Eriksen and Stjernfelt, 2009; Chemla and Keller, 2017), and the fact that I tackle both concepts as different, data suggests that they are connected in a number of ways especially due to their thin-centred nature in the context of this study. In the following section, I discuss participants' accounts that position them within the culturalist mindset.

6.3. *"Some cultures are so much better than others"*: Culturalism

Many participants within the community tend to perceive some cultures as superior to others, which seems to position them within culturalism. Individuals who occupy this position classify cultures into two main categories: Western and non-Western. While most of them admitted to the diversity of cultures, the idea that some of them were better than others was upheld, which forms the basis of compartmentalisation ideology since the word 'better' implies superiority of a given construct over another.

Participants seem to occupy the culturalist position in a variety of ways and degrees, most of which fundamentally support the perceived division between the West and Algeria as per compartmentalisation ideology. There were many instances in which participants displayed aspects of culturalism at distinct levels. This section particularly focuses on culturalism appertaining to compartmentalisation ideology. While most of the aspects displayed, which included education and art, are mainly related to the idealisation of the West, others seem to be

based on a sense of detestation or fear of the change that the West might bring to the 'conservative' non-West which practically relates to essentialism, ethnocentrism, and to conservatism.

A pro-Western culturalist view was expressed when the participants in the focus group discussed the idea that "Algeria is different from Western countries". While some of them related the notion of difference to advancement, others directly associated the difference with culture. On this matter, Aya said:

> It's a huge degradation in everything.
>
> (Aya, student, focus group)

Although Aya's statement mainly appertained to West idealism as discussed earlier Subsection 5.2.1, it was followed by other comments that included how culture was amongst the constructs that underwent "degradation".

In reaction to what Aya said, Shay added: "Even in terms of culture" (Shay, student, focus group). Agreeing to Aya's comment about degradation and then relating that to culture seems to indicate that Shay's view about her own culture was that it was inferior to Western cultures which is a clear facet of the culturalist position. To that, Aya responded:

> Yes. Like attitude can be included in the small-c culture […] Like their attitude can be better towards many things. A simple example is how they perceive love and affection. In here, it's like basically nothing; they are ashamed of it, but there, they share love and affection.
>
> (Aya, student, focus group)

Aya's statement appears to underpin Shay's culturalist view. She provided an example of how the Western 'culture' was better than her own.

The example she gave had to do with attitude, in the sense that the way individuals in her culture purportedly approached such things as love and affection was different from the way they were approached in Western cultures. What makes her statement culturalist is the fact that she mentioned attitude as part of small-c[15] culture and also the fact that she viewed difference in terms of degradation, which also indicates how she perceived the West as superior. Similarly, Salah indicated:

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[15] A term used to refer to daily-life cultural norm, patterns, behaviours, and so forth. It is differentiated from big-c culture, which refers to art, music, literature, etc.

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> […] But I have noticed something. It's that people don't tell the difference between culture and religion like if you noticed Muslim British people are just amazing […] Muslim Germans. […] I mean Muslim Western people are great because they have a different culture, I think it's true some cultures are so much better than others and we cannot deny that.

<div align="right">(Salah, student, focus group)</div>

Salah's statement, here, clearly denotes a view of the superiority of some cultures over others.

Although his view seems to appertain to culturalism, he raised an important point that could be associated with reverse-(neo)-orientalism which is tackled later in this chapter – Section 6.6. Further, Salah seemed to be supportive of the ideas spread by orientalists in that he argued that people were right to hold negative attitudes towards Muslim people and countries, but not for the right reasons because, according to him, religion was not the reason why people were the way they were. It was rather their 'cultures' that produced and affected their attitudes and behaviours. Other interactions with Salah seem to indicate how intrenched culturalism was in the way he dealt with his daily-life occurrences, which somewhat went on the same line as most other participants who held this position.

Even though Nora defended cultural diversity, at various points, she showed inclination towards culturalism. One of these instances was when she sought to describe the 'flaws' in her society and why they were "unable to move forward":

> […] [B]ut what we are missing is the culture […] The culture of everything. There is no respect. There is no culture of transport culture of road […] I'm not criticizing us, but we need to acknowledge things in order to be able to change.

<div align="right">(Nora, teacher, formal interview)</div>

What Nora stated almost certainly appears to be a side of culturalism. By stating that society lacked culture, she seemed to be criticising the 'Algerian' culture in general. It appears that to her, that was more like a type of constructive criticism. However, what she said also seems to be a form of generalisation because she assumed that people in her society did not have a "culture", which implies that their culture was so 'flawed' that it could not be regarded as one. Based on the many interactions I had with Nora, it appears that she was constantly ricocheting between the right and the deep-rooted realities. Her experience overseas appears to have helped her construct a type of right reality, while the deep-rooted reality was subconsciously displayed every so often to signal its existence in the usual 'unmonitored' thoughts that Nora had.

Concerning the culturalist views that some individuals appeared to hold, Houssam indicated that he disproved of any type of inequity between cultures. He also reported what some individuals at the level of the Department had communicated with him:

> They see them as I would say the best cultures for example with big quote marks of course. They see them as the most ideal cultures in the world in which life is going to be more easier, in which they will have much more opportunities to have a job there and etcetera, but in addition to that, look I had interacted with many of them and they told me that it is not about like a job or probably because it is the best culture, but they are the best cultures in terms in a way that people there they have a different mindset […] So, it is not only about like it is different from my culture, but it is better than my culture.

<div align="right">(Houssam, teacher, formal interview)</div>

On the basis of what he said here, Houssam appears to believe in the existence of culturalism amongst the students mainly in the Department of English. What Houssam stated appears to corroborate what was communicated to me by students as well as teachers during the data collection period. Students constantly expressed the thought that some cultures were better than others whether the superiority was limited to Western cultures or to theirs, which made me think that this belief might as well be socially shared and not limited to the occurrences that took place in the Department of English, which again would be expressed by means of discourse. Culturalism can also be seen at the level of various opinions about research, critical thinking, and education.

The 'cultures' of education

Many participants seem to believe in a strong correlation between culture and education. For example, Maya related the issue of research advancement to culture when she stated:

> I think some cultures are better in research because they are more honest by nature or cultures that are hardworking by nature, so it depends on the culture […].

<div align="right">(Maya, student, individual interview)</div>

Even though this was specific to research, it appears to appertain to the culturalist ideological position due to the meaning it implied. This meaning appears to be that some cultures were superior to others in some such aspects as honesty, handwork and, evidently, research which seems to be a forgone conclusion in Maya's opinion. This point relates to the views previously discussed in Subsection 5.2.3 concerning the high morality of the West. In addition, Maya

seemed to believe that Western cultures were superior to other cultures not only in terms of research and most of what that could carry, but also regarding other aspects such as critical thinking, teaching methodology, and education which all feed into her culturalist view. As a matter of fact, Maya's opinion seems to be based on her West idealist position.

Regarding critical thinking, Maya stated that:

> Some cultures are better in thinking critically […] They have more critical thinking.

<div align="right">(Maya, student, individual interview)</div>

This, too, seems to be a form of culturalism besides research and teaching methodologies. This can be referred to as circumstantial culturalism which, I argue, is a form of culturalism that relates to various aspects which altogether seem to form a wide-ranging form of culturalism. This view on critical thinking was shared by Bee who asserted:

> If there is no good culture, there is no critical thinking. Even if we intend to and in most instances, we don't even know where it is.

<div align="right">(Bee, student, pair interview)</div>

Making the division between cultures as "good" and "bad" seems to, certainly, be a form of culturalism. Bee seemed to make a correlation between culture and critical thinking in the sense that individuals whose cultures were deemed superior were critical thinkers, and critical thinking *made* cultures "good". In addition, although Bee seemed to be aware of her lack of awareness of what critical thinking was, she still stated that Western cultures had critical thinking while her culture did not which seems to feed into her West idealist position to a great extent.

Another point made by Bee has to do with education. On this matter, she said:

> There are some cultures that value the educational level and cultures that don't. Like the West, they do and that's why they are better and so advanced.

<div align="right">(Bee, student, pair interview)</div>

Again, Bee seemed to be relating the advancement of the educational level in the West with the perceived superiority of Western cultures. This appears to be highly culturalist because she clearly indicated that Western cultures were "better", which corroborates most of what she said concerning the West as opposed to her country, Algeria.

Maya's point of view on education was very analogous to that of Bee's in that she stated:

> Some cultures are better than other cultures in terms of education. […] In some cultures, the level of education is valued, it is appreciated but in other cultures there are more important things than the level of education […].

<div align="right">(Maya, student, individual interview)</div>

As previously mentioned, Maya's separate divisions of superiority were combined to create a culturalist way of thinking. Her own perception of how educated the West was seems to have led her to think that there was a relationship between their cultures and level of education. In addition, many participants, including Maya, seemed to deal with cultures and countries as one entity. In addition to education, participants seemed to find another way whereby to idealise the West.

Perceptions of Western arts

Culturalism could be seen in the way individuals perceived different segments of their cultures in relation to 'superior' cultures in terms of art, music, literature, and cinema. Maya, for instance, was very clear about how she perceived that by saying:

> […] Their art, music, everything […] These things express their identity, but here the art and writings are mainly to imitate the West and other places, and when they do something original it's just to be different not to express identity […].

<div align="right">(Maya, individual interview)</div>

Maya had previously related culture to art and music which might indicate that she viewed culture in relation to those aspects. Her musical preferences, however, appeared to affect the way she looked at cultures. In other words, the fact that she preferred a specific music genre and she considered music and art to be components of culture seems to create a culturalist view which was most likely backed up by her West idealist positioning.

When I visited Maya's house for my interview with her, my observation notes included the following:

> I could not help but notice the A4 sheets of paper that she hung on one of her bedroom walls. While some of these were prints of motivational quotes in English, others were music lyrics or poster-like pictures. Amongst the songs I recognised was one that had a picture Elsa from the movie Frozen with the expression "let it go" written in bold. There were plenty of other song lyrics and movie quotes that I was unable to recognise. When I asked if those were her favourite songs, she said that not all of them were and that she had kept them there for inspiration for the hope that one day she would "visit their culture".

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These pictures can be regarded as artefacts that substantially signified certain aspects of her identity construction in relation to her culturalist inclination.

This seems to corroborate what was discussed concerning the relationship she appeared to subconsciously make between her favourite type of music and where it came from. It is equally salient to consider what Maya had to say about those song lyrics per se, which also seems to uphold the culturalist position that she appeared to hold. In addition, like many other participants, culture, according to her, was a place to visit, which seems to fuel culturalist positions within the community since the idealisation of countries entails idealisation of the 'cultures' that existed within them.

Apparently, Maya was not the only student whose orientations seemed to have affected their view about cultures. Amir, for instance, described his music preferences by referring to the cultures that he believed the musical genres belonged to:

> After [Amir] finished, I asked him about his preferences and why he only played Western music. He answered: "I hate Algerian music, it's so barbaric and it makes no sense[…]" […] "They have the best music, music that you lose your senses when you listen to […] And they're good at making music" […] Then, he added, "their culture reflects on their music because they have a good culture […].

(Excerpt from journal)

In another instance, Amir complained about his literature module program:

> I am here to study about Émile Zola and Dostoevsky and Shakespeare. Why are they teaching us about Chinua Achebe? I don't want to learn about that culture. I'm already living in a place where things are falling apart.

(Amir, student, informal conversation)

Amir's reference to Algerian music as "barbaric" and senseless seems to be further echoed by his perception of the Algerian culture in general as opposed to the Western 'one'. In addition, relating his own culture to his perception of African cultures and seeing that in opposition to the West seems to fortify the West-Rest dualism to a large extent. One explanation of his culturalist claims is that since he referred to Western 'cultures' as "good", he had a culturalist view that was fuelled by his preference of certain music and literature types that happened to be Western. Another possible explanation is that it is his culturalist view that shaped the taste he had in music and literature. In other words, it is possible that the fact that he thought that the

Algerian culture was inferior to Western cultures led him to prefer Western music and literature. Being thin-centred positions within the particular setting of this study, culturalism and ethnocentrism overlap in a number of ways.

Pro-Algerian culturalist views

Part of participants' right realities were displayed in the way they asserted how superior their culture was to other cultures including Western ones. Although Maya constantly displayed inclination towards Western cultures as per her culturalist mindset, she asserted:

> In term of culture, I think ours is better because as I said the family relations, the traditions, everything […].

> (Maya, student, individual interview)

It appears, here, that Maya deliberately brought up the issue of family relations and traditions, a view that is controversial amongst the participants themselves, in order to insert a certain aspect of her identity. As the issue of identity will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7, what is particularly interesting about her statement is that it appears to display a right reality, in the sense that she had described various accounts that positioned her within culturalism. That categorisation leaned towards a West idealist view. However, what she said, here, is also culturist, and it intersects with ethnocentrism to a large extent, but it seems to be based on an idea that she wanted to deliver rather than one that was deeply rooted.

Shay's culturalist views were often expressed in a variety of ways. Some of these seem to be backed up by her belief of things that were inacceptable in her culture and which she thought were needed:

> [T]o speak about sex education. Our culture does not accept such subjects and I think they are important to be taught but they just don't have that credibility […].

> (Shay, student, individual interview)

Sex education, homosexuality, and sex were referred to in different ways during the data collection period. While some participants, mainly teachers, saw that as threatening to their culture, some others, including Shay, thought that it was important for them to be taught. What was particularly important is that most of these instances seemed to specifically relate to ethnocentrism (Section 6.4), and can be also based on culturalism depending on the person.

In Shay's case, thick description revealed that her perception of her own culture as opposed to the Western one was only based on a culturalist and ethnocentric view when she displayed a stipulation reality. This involved instances where Shay said:

> […] I don't approve it. I want to change it. I want to a rebel. I want to live my own way of life and theirs. I want my way of life or be like theirs but not like them.

<div align="right">(Shay, individual interview)</div>

This seems to relate to her identity and where she affiliated herself, which is tackled in detail in Subsection 7.1.1. Nevertheless, since she related ways of life to culture already, it appears that that could feed into the subtle culturist point she occasionally displayed.

In the same way that cultures are seen as superior or inferior to one another based on predisposed beliefs about which countries are generally "better" or "worse" as per participants' culturalist positioning, another ideological position that involves participants' perceptions of culture is ethnocentrism which is commonly used interchangeably with culturalism and essentialism. In the following section, I discuss participants' views that display their sense of superiority towards the West in terms of culture, which seems to position them within the ethnocentric mindset.

6.4. *"Errors in their cultures"*: *Ethnocentrism*

A number of participants condemn aspects of Western 'cultures' based on an idealised view of their own. While participants' essentialist and culturalist opinions ricochet between superiority and inferiority to the West, their ethnocentric positions seem to almost be entirely based on a sense of superiority towards the West, although it is still based on division. This division is also manifested in terms of the stereotypes held about Western 'cultures' and the rejection of perceived change. The way in which these views connect to compartmentalisation ideology can be seen in the division made between the West and Algeria in terms of culture especially since that difference is strengthened by means of perceived superiority to the West.

A view that doomed what was perceived as Western for not appertaining to one's own culture was expressed by Aisha who stated:

> […] I don't know like they hold hands with their boyfriends and they walk in front of us. In the past we didn't even have boyfriends that was forbidden even within ourselves. Now, they are so insolent, and they do it as if it's a normal thing why? Because of the films they watch, because those films normalized these things for them.

Perceiving the act of "holding hands with boyfriends" as strange to society is not necessarily ethnocentric. However, deeming it wrong for belonging to the Western society is what makes fall within the ethnocentric category. Aisha's negative opinion of what happened seems to be based on her ethnic beliefs of what was right and what was wrong. Moreover, this idea seems to highly appertain to the fear of acculturation which is occurrent in several instances in this study as shall be further discussed in this section.

By the same token, Maissa seemed to perceive Western cultures in general as flawed. Regarding the relationship between education and cultures, which was discussed in relation to participants' culturalist beliefs in the previous section, she stated:

> Their methods are defective because they reflect the errors in their cultures […] They make them to suit whatever purposes they want them to and they use them as Trojan horses to introduce unacceptable things in their cultures to make us see them as natural and normal gradually […].

> (Maissa, teacher, post-interview discussion)

Regardless of the idea that this statement seems to relate to populism to some extent, it links her opinion about "defective" cultures to the ethnocentric mindset, which again highlights the thin-centredness of this ideological position and the interconnectedness it has with other positions.

More specifically, referring to certain cultural aspects of the West as "unacceptable" and directly relating that to education denotes that the idea that she expressed earlier was relevant to views that condemn Western intentions as shall be discussed later in this chapter, which falls within the category of ethnocentrism because the demonisation happens at the level of 'entitled' judgements. Nevertheless, unlike other participants who expressed similar views, Maissa chose to refer to Western cultural aspects using somewhat stronger terms such as "bizarre" in the following extract:

> […] That's how we make our country better not by bringing foreigners with their cultures to lead us into their bizarre ways of thinking.

> (Maissa, teacher, formal interview)

It appears that Maissa considered Western "ways of thinking" as bizarre based on her satisfaction with what can be regarded as the "Algerian-as-non-Western" way of thinking, which also positions her within ethnocentrism. Another way in which participants positioned

themselves within ethnocentrism is by disliking their own seemingly essentialist perceptions of Western cultures.

Deprecated stereotypes about Western 'cultures'

Although Bee showed culturalist views that mainly leaned towards the pro-Western side of compartmentalisation ideology, another reality was exhibited when she described her commitment to some "Algerian" traditions. In regard to this, she stated:

> […] When the person reaches 21 years old, he starts looking for an apartment whereas us even if the person is 40 years old, 50, he stays with his parents and it has nothing to do with dependence it's about familial stuff that I really adore we have some really good stuff.

(Bee, student, pair interview)

What Bee said, here, seems to be ethnocentric because what she believed to be "good" according to her 'culture' defined what was believed to be "bad" in other cultures. Moreover, this view appears to relate to a set of essentialised stereotypes that she had about the West. The essentialist belief that Western individuals leave their family-homes by the age of 21 seemed to support her ethnocentric tendencies on the matter. The fact that she personally liked "familial" relationships as she described in several other instances, which relates to Maya's pro-Algerian culturalist view, and the stereotype she had about the West somewhat led her to circumstantially hold an ethnocentric position.

Another ethnocentric view that seems to have been mainly constructed by essentialist stereotypical beliefs about the West is that of Faya's. On the subject of "fun", she said:

> Different cultures have fun in different ways and as I said, I choose the way we have fun in our culture, in our weddings. I will never drink or go to clubs like Westerns […].

(Faya, student, individual interview)

In another interview, Faya stated:

> […] [B]ut for Westerns it's different. They need to be drunken to have fun. We, we don't need that; we're good like this […].

(Faya, student, individual interview)

It appears that Faya's essentialist view about the West reinforced her ethnocentric belief. That is, Faya seemed to believe that Western people essentially had fun in the way that she described

which, to her, was undesirable based on her own definition of what fun should be, which happens to be typical to her own 'culture'.

The relationship between the stereotypical perceptions about Western teachers and the ethnocentric beliefs that are constructed by participants can be further seen at the level of Maissa's response concerning the hypothetical situation given to her by the end of the interview. Her account included:

> […] [B]ut we think they are too liberated and most of them lose the prestige of being teachers because they become too friendly with students. That's not in our culture.

<div align="right">(Maissa, teacher, formal interview)</div>

By criticising being "too friendly" for not being an aspect of her culture, Maissa raised two important points. The first one has to do with the stereotypical belief that she, amongst many others, hold about the Western teachers being overly friendly with their students.

Based on my observations and the fact that I used to be part of the community before, it appears that this view was communally shared amongst participants. The second point is that she seemed to have judged that as wrong based on her perception of what was right as per her own culture, which is a clear aspect of ethnocentrism. In another instance, Maissa mentioned that respecting teachers, which she said was part of her religious values, was not "something that Westerns could do" (Maissa, teacher, group discussion). Here, Maissa appeared to have justified her ethnocentric opinion by means of religious restrictions, which was not even applicable to the occurrences regarding which she was ethnocentric. This seems to relate to Capucao (2010) and Bizumic's (2015) descriptions of religion as a Trojan horse. Whereas religious justifications did not appear to be a common incident within the community, which came to my surprise as a researcher, participants' fear of acculturation seemed to direct much of their ethnocentric positioning.

Declining what would purportedly bring difference

Being a thin-centred ideological position, ethnocentrism often occurred in conjunction with other ideological stances such as westophobia. For instance, when I gave Hisham the case scenario in which he would only be able to choose one teacher to work at the level of the institution wherein he would be the head, he unhesitantly answered that he would choose the 'native speaker' teacher. This issue was discussed in the Section 5.1. However, he followed up his answer by saying:

> […] I should set boundaries to what he should teach and what he should not.
> Of course. If I have a system, I would bring a native speaker, and I'll set the
> boundaries for the cultures they bring to us.

<div align="right">(Hisham, teacher, formal interview)</div>

This was not the first time that Hisham brought up the issue of cultural restrictions. On many other occasions outside the formal setting, he mentioned that "culture is dangerous" and that only the very "cautious" should be allowed to teach it.

These instances seem to corroborate the idea of how his purported cultural relativist stance had hints of ethnocentrism and essentialism to a great extent. Although this fell within the area of cultural relativism, Hisham seemed to dislike the idea of students adopting aspects that are deemed "inappropriate" in the Berber 'culture', which seems to position him within ethnocentrism. Overall, Hisham seemed to be torn between a right reality, which was displayed in instances of ethnocentrism that dictated how things should be in order to preserve his own "cultural heritage", which can be seen in relation to his Amazigh identity, and a deep-rooted reality that formed his idealisation of the West. Since 'right' and 'wrong' are completely relative constructs, right realities differed amongst people.

Along similar lines, following on Houssam's choice of "the native speaker" to teach at the level of his hypothetical institution, he added:

> […] [B]ut I would use precaution and what I mean by that I may give him
> heads up about the things we teach and the things we don't teach there should
> be. […] I don't like barriers to be blurred; I like barriers to be clear. […] A
> couple of months ago, I had a video conferencing with a teacher from Ohio,
> […] then I asked her to focus on a topic which is language and perception.
> […] So, she sent me the slides beforehand and I asked her to remove some
> things. I would accept them for myself, but not my students. It's all about
> gender thing and things like that and then I said to myself if she was a teacher
> in this department there are some things that should be resolved in here. She
> should omit some things. I would foreground [sic] things like that.

<div align="right">(Houssam, teacher, formal interview)</div>

The fact that he said that he would accept those "things" for himself but not for his students can have three denotations.

The first one is that he was ethnocentric in the way he thought that those topics were wrong just because they were supposedly unacceptable in his culture and that was probably why he said, "I would accept". So, here, "accept" could imply that something new or strange was to be accepted. The second denotation is more related to cultural relativism. He might have been aware of that, and therefore he did not want that type of knowledge to be shared with his

students especially through him. Again, as the existence of cultural relativism often entails such things as ethnocentrism, this goes back to the first denotation.

This takes me to what Hisham said about refusing to talk about "those things" in the classroom so that students would not think they were acceptable just because they were being openly talked about in the classroom, which is the third point and it can be regarded as another form of ethnocentrism. All in all, the three denotations fall within the area of ethnocentrism. Even though this statement relates to the fear of acculturation, and was principally connected with his possible need to display a cultural relativist stance because he said that he would accept certain cultural differences so long as they did not affect given aspects of his cultural identity, what he said here seems to position him within ethnocentrism.

Although Houssam constantly sought to claim a cultural relativist position, his avoidance to use the term "sex" can be explained by his ethnocentric tendencies. When I asked for examples about the topics he would not introduce to his students, his answer was:

> […] Okay, good. For example, things related to gender, for example, the gender thing, for example, right, okay? These are things I would not be expecting [sic] in my community.

<div align="right">(Houssam, teacher, formal interview)</div>

It seems that his belief that openly talking about such topics, especially to a former student or a female colleague, was disrespectful urged him not to openly talk about it. Even though I did give him "the permission" to be on "free mode" as he chose to call it, he still preferred to talk about that discreetly which gave me the impression that his urge to be 'respectful' was more powerful than him. In addition, even when he did not directly use the words he eschewed using, he still seemed to be very hesitant and uncomfortable. Thus, even the idea of speaking openly about such matters and using words that directly referred to what he avoided talking about was considered to be wrong according to him because of his belief that talking about such matters was a taboo.

As previously mentioned, this thin-centred ideological position has roots in and is influenced by other participants' anti-Western positions such as westophobia which is discussed in the following section.

6.5. "*Westernisation […] will destroy our people*": Westophobia

A number of participants express their fear of and resentment towards the West or the changes that exposure to Western cultures is believed to inflict upon people in their society. Some participants' Westophobic positioning is also displayed in their negative preconceptions

of Western intentions. In this section, I discuss how participants position themselves within westophobia, as a thin-centred ideological position, through the discourses they construct in the setting.

Participants show westophobic views either as dominant realities relating to other thin-centred ideological positions such as essentialism, ethnocentrism, and reverse-(neo)-orientalism, or as circumstantial realities that have to do with their states of mind. While some participants hold ideologies and sentiments of doubt and hatred towards the West, others' feelings do not appear to be unswerving feelings of rejection and resentment. Instead, they seem to ricochet between views of admiration and dislike that the participants grew up surrounded by. These views are often displayed in the form of westophobic judgements about the "imperfect" West depending on the type of meaning that that entails.

Fear as a motive for rejection

Maissa's westophobic views were particularly displayed when she had to think about how "threatened" her culture was believed to be. When I asked her if she thought people in her society thought in the same way that she did concerning the West, her answer included:

> [B]ut I think that our society is moving in the direction of westernisation and it will destroy our people, our traditions, our customs, our modesty […].

> (Maissa, teacher, formal interview)

This view seems to be westophobic to a great extent. Although not common amongst the participants, it was displayed in several conversations I had with students and teachers. Maissa's fear of acculturation due to exposure to Western cultural aspects seems to have created a sense of fear towards the West in general. Whenever the term 'West' was brought up, she would directly associate that with some 'wicked' and 'immoral' acts that would "destroy" her 'culture' and the values of her society, as per her ethnocentric position.

Her views seem to have sprung from culturalist and ethnocentric tendencies towards the matter. The fuel of these ideological positions seems to be her belief that the sole purpose of the West was to "take over" the entire world. Another view expressed by Maissa that positions her within westophobia is when she stated:

> You should be careful of losing your identity because everyone who goes abroad ends up losing their identity. We have one identity and we should protect it from them no matter what. That's what France and the UK and other countries tried to do when they colonised countries, but now it's more dangerous because people don't realise that they are colonised. They want to demolish our identity.

A similar type of statement was made by Maissa in the formal interview. This is discussed in relevance to her identity later in Section 7.2.1. According to her, Western values were a threat to the perceived 'monolithic' identity of Algerian people, which can be considered to be a form of westophobia since she was clearly referring to the West and not to other non-Western countries. This appears to correlate with her reverse-(neo)-orientalist inclinations, as well as conservatism on the whole. In addition, by stating that Algerians had "one identity", she seems to perceive identity as a monolithic and static construct. What she said concerning changing when traveling abroad somewhat supports another idea that she had previously expressed on the matter.

Similar to Maissa, Kinda expressed a view that seemed to relate to the westophobic mindset. When she described her opinion about studying abroad, she said:

> I am against our students studying in their countries because that has cons more than it has pros […] People go there Algerian and they come back Western.

(Kinda, teacher, informal conversation)

Her fear of the West seems to be governed by her fear of acculturation. Like Maissa, she appeared to perceive identity as a solid construct that must not change with the change of the environment in which the person occurred. The following extract comprises a description of what she said she meant by students becoming Western:

> When I asked what she meant by Western, she said "their behaviour, their clothing, their thinking". […] She also said "[…] they start to think that everything is permissible. That is why I never watch their films or listen to their songs and I will never go to their countries even for vacation. I can go to Dubai, Thailand, Maldives, Malaysia or countries that will not change me or my daughter, or I can stay in my country, there are a lot of wonderful places that no one talks about" […].

(Extract from journal)

Kinda's view seems to resemble that of Maissa in spite of her not clearly stating how her identity could possibly be changed. In other words, she said that she would rather go to other countries that would not "change" her, which resembled what Maissa said about the West knowing how to promote their values and principles. The fact that she expressed complete rejection of the West and Western products including films and music seems to designate the extent to which being acculturated terrorised her. In addition, by referring to her own daughter, she displayed a

side of her westophobic inclination that could be justified by her perception of 'protection' from the West, which she believed to be dangerous. This fear was often related to people's scepticism towards the West.

Condemning Western intents

A number of participants' westophobic views were related to preconceived negative ideas they had about the West. The following extract illustrates a point that Maissa made about the West and Algerian people who went there:

> You shouldn't follow everything they say. We don't know the exact reasons why they decided to move away from quantitative research, but maybe it's because they wanted to obscure reality. That is what they do. They like to show to the world that they are perfect and that everything that they do has to be followed. That is wrong. Many of the things they come up with serve them in particular and are wrong; wrong in principle and wrong to us. […] [T]hey try to impose their ideas on us by making them less direct and more attractive. The problem is that they are good at sugar-coating things. They make things that are horrible look great and make people want to follow them […].

> (Excerpt from journal)

Clearly, Maissa had negative attitudes towards the West. Although she seemed to acknowledge the idea that they were believed to be "perfect", she explained that 'idealness' in terms of falseness.

That is, she appeared to believe that Western countries were truly 'flawed', but they seemed to be ideal because they knew how to "obscure" their 'flaws'. She continued saying that they could be wrong in principle, in the sense that they were wrong to everyone including themselves, and they could be wrong to the 'non-West' meaning that they were wrong according to non-Western principles. While the first option almost completely demonised the West for being '*The West*', the second option seems to relate to her ethnocentric positioning. This whole discussion with Maissa escalated when I answered her question about the type of research I was doing. When I said that I was doing qualitative research, she said that I was brainwashed, which relates to the point she made in the formal interview about people's loss of identities upon living in the West.

By the same token, Lynda's perception of the West seemed to spring from a reverse-(neo)-orientalist perspective, which is tackled later in this chapter (Section 6.6). Referring to "Western countries", she said:

> None of what they say about democracy is true." […] "They can't be trusted no matter what". […] "Their principles are inconsistent because they are

hypocrites and they only care about their common benefits. The governments are corrupted, but they cover one another's corruptions for their common benefits. Add to that the ethical dishonesty; they're lowkey racist, they lie, they pretend […] and I wonder why our people love them so much.

(Except from journal)

A very similar statement was made by Aisha who, in several instances, displayed a type of reality that showed her resentment towards the West. Although Lynda did not specifically say which countries she was describing, it could be understood from my previous discussions with her that she referred to "colonisers" as well as the USA. By colonisers, she meant the countries that were involved in the colonisation period. That being said, it appears that her feelings of resentment towards the West mainly resulted from her dislike of the past of Western countries.

Lynda's views were very similar to those of Maissa. The resemblance between their opinions about the West can be traced back to the type of relationship that they had. In my interview with her, Maissa said that her views were shared by a number of friends and her brother. Lynda and Kinda, whose views were similar to hers, happened to be within her friends' circle. This highlights the power of discourse in the construction of such ideological positions. I believe that the type of beliefs they had about the West were fuelled by their discourse in the same way that West idealism was powered by the sharing of thoughts that continuously fed into it.

Some of the discourses within the community seem to involve various degrees of a reverse-(neo)-orientalist position. Some of the westophobic views discussed in this section as well as the previous one (6.4) were associated with a reverse sense of neo-orientalism. As far as this study is concerned, occupying a reverse-(neo)-orientalist position appears to be one of the main reasons why individuals expressed westophobic views. In the following section, I discuss the views that uphold opposition to the perceived common (neo)-orientalist views towards Muslims and Arabs held by the participants, which underpins the position of reverse-(neo)-orientalism.

6.6. "*We are not the threat here, they are*": Reverse-(neo)-orientalism

Some of the negative views held by participants about the West go back to how negatively they believe they are perceived by Western people. This section discusses participants' accounts about the perceived moral inferiority of the West based on how they believe they are perceived. Participants, who happen to be Muslim, and some of whom self-

affiliate as fully or partially Arab expressed varying views on the way they believed they were perceived and portrayed by the West. This position appertains to compartmentalisation ideology through the divisions set by participants towards the West. These divisions are predominantly portrayed in the belief of Western inferiority that the participants involved had as opposed to the sense of inferiority that was believed to be coerced upon them by the West.

For instance, Maissa expressed some of her westophobic views in Reverse-neo-orientalist terms saying:

> The problem is that the USA are pretending to be friendly with Saudi Arabia, but they are the most racist and the most Islamophobic nation in the world. It's because of them that the world hates Islam. It's because of their media that everyone sees us as terrorists […].

(Maissa, teacher, formal interview)

Maissa principally stated that the USA, as part of the West, was responsible for the type of attitudes that they, themselves, had about Muslims. A common narrative amongst Algerian people is that Saudi Arabia worked by the commands of the USA which seemed to be believed by some participants in the Department including Maissa and Lynda, who unreservedly expressed that in several instances, which somewhat explains where Maissa's opinion originated or how it was strengthened.

A similar view about how the West was believed to have created and maintained islamophobia was expressed by a peripheral participant who said:

> The same people who say that they are Islamophobic are the people who massacre Muslims every day. We are not the threat here, they are.

(Fatima, student, informal conversation)

As per Giolfo and Sinatora's (2018) delineation of neo-orientalism, these perceptions of islamophobia are regarded as reactions to neo-orientalist stances. Although she was ranked amongst the best students in her cohort as per her annual average, Fatima expressed her unwillingness to "accept" any scholarship offered to her by the government.

When I asked her why, she said that students of English were usually sent to Western countries which she believed were responsible for the type of fear and hatred that the world held towards Muslims. She carried on saying that she would not risk going to a place where everyone would hate her especially for the hijab that she wore. What Fatima said indicates that her fear of the West resulted from the neo-orientalist discourses of being feared by the West. In other words, the fact that Fatima perceived the West as islamophobic led to the creation of a

westophobic opinion, which in turn, resulted in the construction of her reverse-(neo)-orientalist position.

Fatima expressed views similar to this one on a number of other occasions. An example of these would be when she asked how I could "survive the UK". Similar questions were asked by other participants such as Maissa and Kinda. These two participants, amongst some others, were generally affiliated with anti-Western positions because of the frequency of criticising or condemning anything that remotely had anything to do with the West.

By the same token, Bee said:

> You can't wear niqab[16] in some European countries; people will see you as a
> terrorist.

<div align="right">(Bee, student, pair interview)</div>

In my first encounter with Bee, she asked whether I was ever discriminated against for being a hijabi[17]. While most people asked about culture shock, reverse-culture shock, or the difference between the UK and Algeria, Bee directly asked if I was treated differently because of my veil. This seems to go back to some already-existent reverse-(neo)-orientalist ideas about how Muslim hijabis were treated which was corroborated when she said that niqab could not be worn in some Western countries because of the negative connotations it had. While part of Bee's deep-rooted reality was constantly displayed in the way she seemed to idealise the West, some of her expressions appertaining to a right reality included demonisation of it due to the way Muslims were believed to be treated in the West. Nevertheless, while West idealism seems to have occurred effortlessly, reverse-(neo)-orientalism appears to have required constant deliberation.

Within the same context, Salah added:

> In some European countries, which are known for freedom, they discriminate
> against hijab and they abuse women verbally and sometimes they even throw
> stuff at them that's regardless of the looks because everybody does that.

<div align="right">(Salah, student, pair interview)</div>

Similar to other common reverse-(neo)-orientalist views, Salah expressed his discontentment with what he believed existed in Western countries without any specification of the countries he referred to. In another instance, Salah said:

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[16] A type of face covering worn by some Muslim women.

[17] A term that refers to a female who wears hijab: head covering typically worn by Muslim women.

> I thank God I am not a woman.

<p align="right">(Salah, group discussion)</p>

He carried on explaining that if he ever got the chance to go to the UK like I did, he would be able to practise his religion whenever and wherever, as opposed to women who "scream Islam" wherever they go. The fact that Salah did not specify which "European countries" he referred to can be related to the type of statements he made about the UK. He seemed to perceive the UK to be amongst the countries wherein islamophobia existed. Clearly, that appears to contradict his native-speaker and West idealist beliefs. Nevertheless, while it was already established how his West idealist beliefs were part of a deep-rooted reality, it can be said that the type of reality associated with his reverse-(neo)-orientalist views was linked to what he actively thought was true.

Contrarily to common reverse-neo-orientalist beliefs which relate to the westophobic ideological position, Salah expressed a reverse-(neo)-orientalist view that appeared to be highly culturalist as part of the pro-Western deep-rooted reality that he often represented. On the issue of islamophobia, he said:

> People are islamophobic because of the culture and not because of the religion and they really need to understand that because it's unfair to us Muslims.

<p align="right">(Salah, student, focus group)</p>

Even though Salah appeared to hold negative attitudes towards how he believed Muslims were perceived by the West, he did not completely disprove of the idea. Instead, he blamed the culture for the type of beliefs he believed were held by Western people. While other participants developed westophobic opinions and feelings towards the West as a result of reverse-(neo)-orientalist views that they had, Salah rarely showed any disproval of the beliefs that he thought were held by the West. Instead, he disagreed with the idea that Islam was held accountable for things that were caused by culture which indicates that he, himself, might have had the same type of beliefs that he believed were held by the West.

Discussion Summary

This section aims at recapitulating and expanding upon the major issues discussed in the chapter. In this chapter, I have discussed how participants position themselves within the most common thin-centred ideological constructs that feed into compartmentalisation ideology in the particular context of this study. I began by addressing positions whose division is based either on the idealisation or the demonisation of the West, namely populism, essentialism, and

<p align="center">171</p>

culturalism. Then, I moved on to discuss positions that are almost entirely anti-Western in nature.

The participants position themselves within the pro- and anti-Western categories of compartmentalisation ideology in a variety of ways, amongst which is populism. This position could be seen at two distinct, albeit complementary, levels. In both populist positions, the participants place the West and Algeria, as part of the 'Rest' of the world, into two compartments based on their senses of superiority or inferiority. While the first one sees Algeria as corrupted with oligarchy as opposed to the 'democratic', 'ethical', and 'advanced' West, which involves high degrees of West idealism, the second one demonises the West for dominating the world in different ways such as language, which opposes to the naivety of the 'morally ethical' Algeria.

As for the first mindset, a number of participants believe that education is purposefully manipulated for elites to remain in power. Populism can be seen in participants' views about an assumed politicisation of the education system, which is believed to be the source of the failure of the system especially with the latest generations. This type of belief is often placed against the 'advanced', 'morally just' West. Participants who hold this position tend to think that part of the advancement of the West goes back to the high level of education, which, in turn, is the product of elites who do not seek to monopolise knowledge to exert power.

The education system in Algeria is also believed to move backward instead of forward as opposed to the West. Like other ideological positions, populism can be seen at the level of the discourses that circulate around society on the whole. "X was taught by the French" is an expression that is often used to indicate that people who studied under the French regime in Algeria are better, and it is often used to describe the alleged backwardness that the education system has undergone. In addition, "li qra, qra bekri", which roughly, albeit not literally, translates to "school was better in the past", is a commentary on the deterioration of the education system in Algeria that is often used in various contexts including when individuals work hard on their studies. This backwardness is most often contrasted with the 'forwardness' of the 'superior' West.

Populism is also seen in the way participants talk about the English language and the advancement of West. While the majority of participants expressed views that feed into the first position, some others seem to have based their populist views on an anti-Western stance. In the same way that individuals who hold the first populist position perceive the Algerian elites as 'monopolizers' of knowledge, participants who occupy this position tend to believe that 'developed' countries, which are the 'elites' in that narrative, do not want the non-West to

develop. This development is associated with the global spread of the English language and is believed to have been done purposefully to maintain power over the 'Rest' of the world. Despite the fact that these forms of populism go in different directions, they both seem to feed into the dualism set by compartmentalisation ideology. In both positions, the beliefs shape and are shaped by the participants' preconceived ideas of the superiority or depravity of the West, which is why this ideological position is considered to be thin-centred within the context of this study.

In relation to the first populist position, participants often hold essentialist views about the superiority of Western education systems. It is often assumed that the education systems in Western countries are essentially superior in terms of quality. As a thin-centred ideological position, essentialism can be regarded as an omnipresent construct, in the sense that it occurs alongside most ideological positions within the setting, which thrive in its presence. Participants position themselves within essentialism in two opposing ways. While some of their essentialist discourses feed into their idealisation of the West, others seem to underpin the anti-Western position.

Essentialist discourses that contribute to the maintenance of the pro-Western position include the idea that Western research is essentially ethical. Some participants were surprised that an ethical procedure was followed to collect data in the field. While some said they were "proud" and expressed their desire to apply such 'Western' procedures in the Department because that would bring them closer to the West, others felt that it was unnecessary to conduct them in settings other than Western ones. Despite the different reactions that the ethical procedure received, they all seemed to spring from a compartmentalising view that leans towards the superiority of the West.

As part of wider society, it appears that some participants have come to accept the idea that they belong into 'the Third World'. Their discourses habitually include 'the Third World' to describe a variety of behaviours and occurrences that they believe essentially take place in society. Consequently, many of their actions are frequently justified by the 'fact' that they are in a 'Third World country'. In other words, some individuals tend to believe that certain properties exist or lack in their society as opposed to the West. This seems to feed into a variety of other pro-Western ideological positions such as nativespeakerism and West idealism. Participants tend to believe that they essentially lack critical thinking and that Western people are essentially more intelligent and critical.

Participants also position themselves within an anti-Western essentialist position. As part of the different realities constructed by individuals in the community, participants hold

somewhat ethnocentric views about how Western people 'essentially' drink alcohol and have sexual relations out of wedlock. These beliefs seem to be spread among a large portion of society. While many people perceive them as wrong, others accept them mainly because they are "Western". An account that is usually disseminated within society, which is often criticised, is the idea that Algerian males would hesitate to marry Algerian females who have had relationships in the past, but would eagerly marry Western females regardless of their past relationships and despite the essentialist beliefs that are often held about them. Notwithstanding the trueness or falseness of this claim, many individuals believe it exists, which somewhat indicates that the construction of most positions including ethnocentrism and culturalism is relative.

In addition to the discourses that generally maintain the participants' essentialist positions, many individuals' accounts exhibit their culturalist positioning. Not only do individuals refer to cultures as though they are places they can visit, but they also see them as superior or inferior to one another. Expressions like "good culture", "ideal culture", and "bad culture" are not uncommon within the setting. Participants who hold the pro-Western culturalist position perceive 'Western culture(s)' as civilised and sophisticated. Non-Western cultures', including their own, are associated with terms such as "degradation" and "unsophisticatedness".

Although several participants perceive Western individuals as "cold", "selfish", and "numb", as per their essentialist positions, the deep-rootedness of their pro-Western positions led them to associate some of those qualities with the non-West. For instance, some participants argue that Algerian people are ashamed of expressing love and affection because that is not part of their 'culture'. In relation to the West idealist position, some participants also believe that their 'culture' does not indorse critical thinking and treasure education while Western ones do. Even brief mentions of critical thinking or education almost constantly lead up to statements of the West and Western superiority. It seems as though those are inseparable from the West in the minds of many individuals within the community.

In addition to critical thinking, Western arts such as music and literature are generally perceived as superior. Many participants associate them with "coolness", "trendiness", and "modernity". Within the backdrop of wider society, exclusively listening to Western music usually either makes individuals "cool" or "arrogant" in the eyes of people. Expressions like "X tayeh khshin" and "X y/telaab fiha", which approximately translate to "X is pretentious" and "X is showing off" respectively, are occasionally used to describe individuals who only listen to Western music or read Western books. While these might seem like denunciations,

they subtly show that Western arts are perceived as superior, which is why people are considered "arrogant" by merely listening to Western music.

Participants' discourses that seem to feed into the culturalist anti-Western position often relate to ethnocentrism. Being a thin-centred ideological position within the context of this study, ethnocentrism usually occurs in conjunction with essentialism and westophobia. Part of the realities that participants display has to do with their sense of superiority towards other cultures including Western ones. Many of them judge the rightness or wrongness of cultural actions based on their cultural repertoires. This seems to have led many teachers to express the desire to filter what the students learn as part of the culture package that allegedly comes alongside the English language. As some parts of the package are perceived as threatening to the 'Algerian identity', many teachers prefer to leave them out of their syllabi.

Ethnocentrism can also be seen in the participants' seemingly essentialist claims about alcohol and sexual relations, for example, which extends to the way they perceive 'Western ways of having fun'. Many participants who hold this position expressed their pride of the fact that they could have all the fun they wanted without having to "get drunk". Because some of the most common assumptions about the 'Western way' of having fun include being drunk, participants perceive themselves as superior. In addition, since some participants generally assume that being Western necessitates performing certain actions that are frowned upon or not allowed in the Algerian society, their sense of superiority becomes elevated for not doing them. Some participants' ethnocentric views also seem to spring from a right reality that they construct as a reaction to some partial awareness of their sense of inferiority towards the West.

These ethnocentric tendencies seem to often feed into a westophobic position that a particular group of individuals within the community holds. As an anti-Western thin-centred ideological position, westophobia usually occurs alongside ethnocentrism, essentialism, conservatism, and reverse-(neo)-orientalism. As opposed to other positions, westophobia does not appear to be a common construct amongst individuals within the community. It mainly goes back to the fact that westernisation is perceived as a threat to the Algerian society, culture, and tradition, which are seen as monolithic components of the 'Algerian identity'.

As far as this study is concerned, westophobia often occurs as part of a deep-rooted reality amongst certain participants or as a right reality that participants display mostly when they feel threatened. Not only do individuals who occupy this position fear westernisation, but some of them seem to hold resentment towards the West despite the fact that they usually acknowledge the idea that they perceive it as superior. However, the majority of those who do explains the superiority in terms of viciousness of the West, in the sense that they see that as

the Western way of deceiving the 'Rest'. A common factor that appears to be associated with this position is the way individuals generally perceive identity as a rigid construct, which is why their fear of acculturation seems to govern the way some of them perceive the West. Thus, it can be said that their resentment towards the West is actually another way of expressing their fear of westernisation as the threat that it is believed to be to their identities, cultures, and traditions.

As previously mentioned, some participants' dislike of the West also seems to be a reaction to the way they believe they are perceived by Western people. Thus, their westophobic accounts often intermingle with a reverse-neo-orientalist position that they seem to hold. Individuals who hold this position perceive their superiority towards the West as a necessity. Their perceptions of how Muslim individuals, especially hijabis or niqabis[18], are oppressed in Western countries seem to have contributed to the construction of this position. A question that I was frequently asked was how often I was discriminated against. Questions similar to this one imply that a common assumption about the West is that Muslim people are discriminated against, which seems to have led some people to construct a shield of rejection to Western attributes.

While much of what was discussed in this chapter only subtly displays how the identity of individuals can be related to the set of ideological positions they occupy, the following chapter directly addresses this issue. In the next chapter, I discuss views that have to do with how the identity construction of individuals can be affected by some of the positions that underlie compartmentalisation ideology.

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[18] A term that is usually used to refer to females who wear niqab: a face veil.

7. IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AND THE DUALISM

This chapter sets out to discuss how the discourses that underpin compartmentalisation ideology contribute to the construction and maintenance of many aspects of participants' identities. The discussion provided in this chapter answers the third research question: "to what extent are the participants' identities related to the ideological positions they hold?". The relationship lies in that certain participants' identities seem to be constructed through constant personal and social comparison and contrast with Western attributes, in the sense that the participants' positions dictated by their senses of superiority or inferiority towards the West affect how they perceive themselves in the past and present as well as how they envisage their future.

In order to address the relationship between people's ideological discourses and the construction of certain aspects of their identities, I discuss how individuals perceive themselves in relation to their society and the West, which can be seen in a sense of alienation that they believe they possess within their communities to highlight their sense of belonging to the West (7.1.1). That can also be seen in the way they juxtapose their religious (7.1.2) and ethnic (7.1.4) selves to emphasise superior qualities of the West. I also discuss how their accounts about their local and transnational personas shape and are shaped by the division set by compartmentalisation ideology (7.1.3). I, then, move on to discuss how participants' conservatist, nationalist, and seemingly feminist discourses feed into the West-Rest dualism.

7.1. Identity aspects and perceptions of the West

Different aspects of participants' identities shape and are shaped by their idealised views of the West. These aspects, which include alienation, religion, persona, and ethnicity, were often juxtaposed with perceived Western attributes. This juxtaposition seems to be a gate through which the division set by compartmentalisation ideology passed. In the following subsection, I discuss participants' views that relate to their senses of alienation based on a pro-Western position that makes them perceive belonging to the West as a privilege.

7.1.1. "*I'm an alien*": Alienation

A number of participants express a sense of alienation within their society because they associate themselves with perceived superior qualities of the West, which seems to dictate how they recognise themselves and the world around them. These qualities are generally positive, and they appear to feed into their West idealist position. Thus, by expressing senses of alienation, the participants separate themselves from the 'flawed' 'non-Western Algeria' and

self-associate with the 'ideal' West instead. An instance of that would be Shay's description of who she believed herself to be:

- […] I would say that I'm an alien to the place I'm in and within the people I am hanging out with the people who surround me, they come from earth and I'm an alien. That's me technically. We don't have the same way of thinking. I enjoy being around people from where I am most of the time only if I meet other aliens.

- What do you mean by alien?

- Someone who's different.

- Yes, how do you define yourself in terms of difference?

- I could have my own preferences; like, I just like things that other people here don't like. I do things differently. I think differently even among my siblings, we don't think alike although we come from the same womb.

(Shay, student, excerpt from individual interview)

As per Giampapa's (2003) view, feelings of alienation have a great deal to do with identity construction.

What Shay said seems to relate to what was earlier communicated by her about not affiliating with the culture that surrounded her. Therefore, stating that she was an "alien to the place" she was in, and based on what she said concerning the West and affiliating herself with their culture somehow indicates that her idealisation and limited exposure to the West seems to have constructed this feeling of alienation in her. Therefore, the fact that she associated herself with the West seems to have given her a sense of reassurance.

In addition, her own definition of fun differed from most people's in her community. According to her, she would enjoy herself more if accompanied by a Western individual. This can be related to her Instagram posts. The type of content she posted and the comments she made on other people's posts leaned more towards the Western side. Clearly, there is no definition of Western type of content. Nevertheless, based on the way she captioned her Instagram posts and stories, it seems that she purposefully chose to display that side of her. At this point, I wondered if her idealisation of the West possibly had more impact on her than socialisation or if it was socialisation that led her to the idealise the West, which, then led her to be affected in the way that she was or claimed to be depending on the reality that she displayed.

Later on, in the same interview, Shay unintentionally answered my question:

> At around the age of 11, I used to secretly watch TV like MBC4 where that showed series of Westerns. Also, MBC3, it's for kids but they broadcast shows in English and I just enjoyed the kind of life that they had. I watched a few episodes of Friends although they didn't leave their apartment, but I thought they could have so much fun because they could meet their friends because I can't meet mine, I was young, I wasn't allowed to have friends. I was alien within my family and my only escape was TV before we had internet and a few years later we got the internet, and I also used to watch Hannah Montana and I felt that Miley represents me because she had to hide her identity from her friends, her classmates, but at the same time she found an escape in singing and it's the same thing to me; I found my escape through watching TV and I hid that.

<div align="right">(Shay, student, individual interview)</div>

Before receiving this response of hers, I assumed that her idealisation and exposure outpaced her socialisation, but as it turned out, exposure was actually part of her socialisation process.

Her feeling of alienation seems to have been a constituent part of her life and it probably got strengthened with time since she mentioned that she did not only feel alienated within her community, but she also did within her own family which seems to speak volume about how early her idealisation of the West began. Importantly, that idealisation began out of limited exposure which appears to corroborate what was revealed in previous chapters.

In addition to that, it seems that many participants' idealisation of the West partially began by the limited exposure to Western 'cultures' and that was mainly done through the MBC group channels that broadcasted content in the English language since that preceded their exposure to what the internet offered. She also seemed to change her definition of "fun" throughout the years. In previous instances, she mentioned that having fun "the Western way" was much more preferable by her than having fun the "Algerian way". However, her definition included aspects like working out and doing activities that she was not allowed to do due to familial restrictions, which is part of a deep-rooted reality that she often displayed.

However, in this extract, she mentioned that she liked the way friends from the Friends show had fun because they had one another and she was not allowed to have friends. It appears that her definition of fun changed in a way, but it remained the same in another. The way in which it remained the same is that it was always related to the idealised West. In other words, her definition of fun included inclination towards West idealism both in the past and in current times. Going back to identity, Shay mentioned that her identity was hidden because she was not allowed to develop it in the way that she wanted. This highlights the idea that her identity was indeed constructed as part of the socialisation process that comprised limited exposure to Western content and cultures.

A similar view was expressed by Salah who stated:

> I don't feel like myself when I'm around them. Even when I sit with family around the table, I feel different. We have different interests me and my society. We have different thinking systems because we speak different languages and we don't listen to the same music, we don't have the same political views. They talk about Algerian politics; I think those are too silly. I talk about American politics; they think I'm pretentious. I talk about American movies; they think I'm pretentious. Their movies are horrible. Music, horrible. I'm different and I know it and you know it and they know it very well. Sometimes I find people like me, but mainly on the internet, people who are American most of the time, or here in the department when we are affected by the same conditions more or less. I lost the ability to socialise outside in the streets or in the coffeeshops. […] I would survive in the US or somewhere like that but not here.

> (Salah, student, individual interview)

Salah's perception of himself seems to involve adherence to Western qualities which he believed were an inevitable occurrence given the type of exposure that he underwent.

Using Shay's words to describe his state of mind, I assume that he felt like "an alien" within the society that he claimed shared no interest with him. In his account, Salah mentioned that one of the reasons why he felt estranged was the English language. In accordance with that, he seems to have missed the idea that he would possibly feel as estranged in the US as he was in Algeria because he was a bilingual speaker of English and Algerian Arabic. Nevertheless, he still stated that he would be able to socialise in the US which seems to indicate that language was not as much of a barrier as he thought it was. In addition to language, Salah addressed the issue of "interests". His enjoyment of a different type of music, political topics, and films seems to be more than *just* a preference. To some extent, it appears that Salah's idealisation of all that is Western, possibly as part of a deep-rooted reality, was responsible for the negative attitudes that he held about his own society as juxtaposed to the West. Put plainly, he affiliated himself with the West, particularly the US, due to his idealisation of it.

A similar point about the sense of belongingness to the West was expressed by Samy who related that to his religious identity:

> I don't belong here. […] I'm different. […] People there are tolerant. I can practise my religion freely and no one will look at me like I'm a terrorist like in most countries in the world. I can be a good Muslim, a true Muslim away from the hypocrisy of those who pretend to be Muslims here in this culture […].

> (Samy, student, individual interview)

By stating that he did not feel that he belonged in Algeria because he felt different, he inserted an aspect of his identity that proclaimed allegiance to the West. Although he did not directly state how exactly he was "different", the reasons he provided afterwards, which included openness and freedom to practise "true religion", seem to provide an explanation to why he felt alienated.

Samy stated that a Western country would be the ideal location for him to live because of reasons that include religion. His expression of his religious identity was done by referring to how he believed Muslims at the level of his community were. Therefore, he stated that living in a Western country would provide him with the ideal opportunity to live amongst people who respected his religion while being away from people who destroyed it in the name of culture. His disproof of the religious side to his 'culture' and the tolerance he believed existed in some Western countries seem to have given him more reasons to feel alienated amongst his own community. Samy's religious identity, amongst other aspects, was displayed in several other instances in relation to the West. The following subsection discusses religious identity as a side whereby individuals unknowingly assert their divisionary accounts about the West and Algeria.

7.1.2. "*Free in a halal way*": Juxtaposition of religious identity

Participants' religious identities and their idealisation of the West are mutually reinforcing. In this section I discuss how religion is used to reinforce participants' idealised view of the West. I, then, move on to address views where in the West and Islam are perceived as naturally opposing. Since participants perceive religion as virtuous, the fact that it holds some criteria in common with perceived Western values seems to have reinforced their existing idealisation of the West.

An instance would be what Hisham said about the positive aspects he perceived about the West:

> As the prophet PBUH says: "cleanliness is part of faith", so if you really believe then you should be clean, and you should promote cleaning and cleanliness, but if you don't have a background, a strong one, about religion, then you won't know although it's stated in many instances. So, for me, being exposed to their culture reinforces my Muslim identity. I'm talking about Western cultures in general.

> (Hisham, teacher, formal interview)

By so saying, Hisham seems to have chosen to display his religious identity in relation to what Western people were known for in his opinion, which feeds into his West idealist position. Saying that the exposure to Western cultures "reinforced" his religious identity can be regarded

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as a sign of appreciation of the West in relation to his own religious identity. Based on many encounters that I had with him, Hisham's religious identity seemed to be a salient part of his overall identity. I believe that he took many opportunities to display that identity and how important it was for him to embrace his religion and to protect his religious heritage. Moreover, the juxtaposition also implies a sense of superiority to Algerian people whom he believes to be unknowledgeable about their religion.

A similar instance concerning his religious identity also occurred in another interview session when he talked about the Western identity:

> [B]ut the Western way of thinking affects you. Like loving what you do, working hard […] All these things are existent in my religion, but my exposure to Western cultures reinforced that and I became more aware of them.

> (Hisham, teacher, formal interview)

Hisham's juxtaposition of the Western 'culture' to religious principles and standards seems to be indicative of the extent to which his perception of the West had had an impact on his religious identity overall. While many other participants referred to the point of hard-working as a positive attribute of Western cultures, which they believe to be non-existent in their own, other participants like Hisham made the link between their religious background and the commonly shared ideas about the West.

Overall, Hisham's religious identity seems to have been affected by his image of the West in the same way that the latter was impacted upon by his idealised view of his religion. This view is shared by a number of other participants including Aisha who referred to the perceived commonalities in terms of "cleanliness and punctuality" (informal conversation), and Nora whose perceived commonalities included "kindness to animals", "keeping promises" (informal conversation), and "respecting other religions and cultures" (group discussion). By contrast, some participants expressed views that indicated their perceptions of religion and Western standards as opposing in nature.

The perceived contrast between religion and the West

Bayso's religious identity was brought in opposition to some of the "good" qualities about the West in several instances. This somewhat falls on the same line as Behtash, Hashemi and Farokhipour's (2017) description on how religious identity affected people's attitudes towards language. For example, on the issue of competitiveness, he mentioned that he was affected by American and British individualism and that it shaped who he became since he was

convinced that individualism and competitiveness were the key to success. When I asked him where he situated himself in relation to the values of the West in regard to the matter, his response was:

> I'm still a Muslim. I love my religion. I respect their religion, but I love mine as Allah said: "Thou have thy religion and I have mine" [a verse from Quran], but I am very competitive, I don't think that I would become this competitive if it weren't for the cultures I was introduced to through the watching of films and series. I was valedictorian many times, and that wasn't until I became competitive.

(Bayso, teacher, formal interview)

It appears that according to the films he watched, competitiveness was a common trait between the American and the British 'cultures' which can be regarded as his own image of the UK and the USA.

This image, however, was brought into opposition to the type of beliefs he had about his religion. Although I did not bring up religion anywhere in my question to him, nor did I talk about it previously in and outside the context of the interview, the fact that asking him about his values triggered the representation of his religious identity somewhat indicates that he mentally associated religion with values which appear to have been interrogated by my question regarding competitiveness and individualism. It seems that they would not have been triggered if it were not for the contrast that he internally constructed between his religious identity and the type of values that he believed existed in the West.

A somewhat similar juxtaposition of religious identity and the West could be seen in Shay's statement. Her answer to the question that she herself asked about whether she wanted her way of living to be similar to that of the West or Algeria was:

> I would say I don't like how people in our country live; I don't approve it. I want to change it. I want to a rebel. I want to live my own way of life and theirs. I want my way of life or be like theirs but not like them, so I would say 3 or 4 […] at the same time I want to be free in a halal way. There are a lot of halal things that I can do but still can't because of culture. I would still want to keep my roots and the same time have fun, so I would say 3 or 4. It's 4 without the drinking and having sex.

(Shay, student, individual interview)

Regardless of Shay's seemingly essentialist claims which were previously described in Section 6.2, this seems to relate to her identity and where she affiliated herself in terms of culture and religion. In other words, Shay's juxtaposition of her preferences of lifestyle to religion and

culture appears to indicate that her idealisation of the West was limited by the essentialist beliefs that she had about them, which opposed to her religious beliefs except that she did not think of them as negative, but rather as things that she did not see herself performing according to a right reality she displayed.

"To be free in a halal way" signalled her religious identity, yet at the same time shed light on her perception of her culture as one that prohibited freedom. In addition, similar to other participants, Shay seemed to be able to draw the distinction between cultural and religious beliefs which explained her positive attitude towards her religion and negative attitude towards the culture that was believed to govern her society. Shay had previously mentioned that her life would not have been the same if it were not for the religious education she received at school. Therefore, the fact that she clearly stated how important it was for any nation to introduce religious education seemed to indicate how important it was in constructing some parts of her identity, her religious identity, per se.

Nevertheless, it appears that Shay actively inserted a type of stipulation reality that was somewhat prudent towards religion, per se. In many of her Instagram stories, she shared content that almost completely went against the "not drinking and having sex" part of the interview. Thus, it appears that part of that stipulation reality was inserted based on the image she wanted to display, or her persona. Regarding persona, many participants chose to reflect certain images of themselves to the Algerian society and to the West as well based on their pro-Western positioning within compartmentalisation ideology. This is discussed in the following section.

7.1.3. "*How they see us*": The persona

A number of participants choose to speak English in public to portray a higher position in society since English is the first language of speakers in some Western countries. Their pro-Western positioning can also be seen in the way they express their need to be positively estimated by the West. The following subsection tackles how participants insert a superior status by affiliating with the West through the use of the English language.

"*How Algerians see us*": English as a mark of superior difference

The image that people choose to display of themselves seems to be a constituent part of who they are. In-depth analysis revealed that individuals generally spoke English in public to insert a type of higher status that seems to have sprung from their division between the West and Algeria, which is the core of compartmentalisation ideology. Thus, based on the arguments they gave, by intentionally positioning themselves as users of English in places where people normally speak Algerian Arabic, they unknowingly placed themselves within the pro-Western

category of compartmentalisation ideology. Although the use of French to insert the same type of persona is also common, the fact that participants are either students or teachers of English explains why they are more inclined towards using English.

The following incident was recorded as part of a conversation I had with a number of peripheral participants in the stationery store near the University:

> One of the students [Chaima] whose group I have observed was speaking English in the stationery store: "I lose my pens like I lose my pins", she said. I had already observed how she used Arabic in group works and when she spoke to her classmates inside the classroom […].

(Excerpt from journal)

I asked Chaima along with other friends of hers and their responses varied. Although the students expressed different justifications as to why they spoke English in the stationery store, it appears that most of their justifications fall within the same category whether that was conscious or subconscious. This category is their persona as users of English. Although the students could have spoken English for a variety of reasons such as habit or just the idea that they wanted to practise English, asking them provided me with a narrower perspective towards why they spoke English outside and not inside the Department of English.

In addition, the possibility of it being a habit and practice for some of these students could also be disregarded by the fact that they rarely used English to communicate in the classroom except when they spoke to the teacher. Therefore, it can be said that the use of English in public space went back to the identities that the students intentionally displayed. Based on other interactions I had with Chaima, it appears that her idealisation of the West in general, and the English-speaking West in particular, had a salient role in the way she chose to display that aspect of her identity. According to her, the West was:

> Powerful, smart, and advanced […].

(Chaima, student, informal conversation)

The fact that she chose to use English in public when she could have used Arabic to convey the same message can go back to the way she perceived the West as superior. Thus, it seems that by speaking English, she believed that she would display a superior persona to the public.

The same type of incident occurred when Rania, Aisha, and Ahlam used English on the bus. Their communication in the teachers' common room was a mixture of English and Arabic;

however, in the streets, when no one else seemed to be listening, they communicated purely in Arabic. The following is an extract from my journal on the bus occurrence:

> That day on the bus, [Rania] spoke no word in Arabic. Although she seemed to consciously avoid speaking about certain things or using certain words, apparently due to lexical shortage, all of what she said was in the English language. [Aisha] and [Ahlam] code-switched and mixed […].

(Excerpt from journal)

These occurrences seem to denote that these individuals somewhat negotiated their identities as users of English whether consciously or subconsciously. That appears to uphold the idea that identity was hybrid. Its hybridity, however, seems to be bound by the circumstances under which it occurred. In most instances, both Rania and Ahlam unknowingly positioned themselves as West idealists, while Aisha ricocheted between a right and a deep-rooted reality that idealised the West, which could indicate that they chose to use English as a way of expressing their belongingness to the Western English-using community, which they perceive as essentially superior.

Similarly, I went to the city centre with Arwa and her use of the English language was noticeable. When I asked her if she did deliberately speak English, she responded:

> We are English students and English runs in my blood. So, I don't mean to speak English outside because as I said, it runs in my blood and I can't control it; words just slip.

(Arwa, student, informal conversation)

Later on the same day, Arwa was talking about the type of series that she liked and her account included:

> We are not just Algerians and it makes me know how different I am to the people around me and it makes them know how different I am. As we speak now, people are around us and these people are Algerian and we are part of them but at the same time, we are not part of them. So, it's important how Algerians see us. It's important that they know we're different.

(Arwa, student, informal conversation)

In both cases, Arwa inserted her student-of-English identity. However, the fluidity of her identity was displayed in the fact that each case was different.

At first, she mentioned that the use of English in public was not a deliberate act and that "words slipped" without her even realising. Although different from the reality she displayed

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later, it did seem to designate the extent to which Arwa was affected by the English language which seems to go back to habit and exclude practice as the reason why. Thus, according to her, her identity as a student of English was subconsciously displayed through her undeliberate use of the English language in public. The subsequent statement made by Arwa, on the other hand, indicates that the use of English was not always unintentional and that she did use it to insert her user-of-English identity and to distinguish herself from people she thought she was superior to.

On another occasion, Arwa mentioned that "if people don't know English, they don't know anything" to justify her fondness of the "first world" that includes English speaking countries. Based on several conversations we had regarding the matter, I was able to come to the realisation that she deliberately inserted her persona for that purpose. Hence, given that she constantly positioned herself as a West idealist, it can be inferred that part of the reason why she spoke English in public even to ask for the price of items, for instance, was a way of highlighting her allegedly superior position as a user of English. In addition to the image participants want to display to the Algerian public to insert difference, a number of them seem to worry about the image that the West has of them. This is discussed in the following subsection.

"This is the Algerian identity": The desired collective persona

Participants were particularly concerned about the image that the idealised West has of them, which is amongst the ways in which their identities are related to their West idealist positioning. In the same way that some participants tackled their personas as individuals, others dealt with this from a wider perspective which generally included how they wanted their collective identities, as a society, to be seen by the world. These views, which were addressed by several members of the community including Hisham, Aisha, Fatima, and Kamel, seemed to reinforce the type of division set by compartmentalisation ideology, in the sense that they spoke of their collective persona as something that necessarily separated them from the West. Expressions like "how they see us" (Aisha, teacher, informal conversation), "we don't want them to think that we're […]" (Kamel, teacher, overheard conversation), and "we have to show them that we're […]" (Lamia, teacher, informal conversation) were common amongst people within the community. It appears that to these participants, displaying a "decent" persona before the West was a very vital concern.

An example of that would be Hisham's disproval of certain elements in the Algerian primary school curricula, which also feeds into his populist position as discussed earlier in Section 6.1:

> You know, when people talk about us, they always bring up Zred[19] and old houses and goats and sheep and old clothing. Why is that? You should be looking for something else. For something that has value. You should be looking at systems for example. For instance, we have a very advanced and clever irrigation system. The way their system works is mind-blowing. Or you should be paying attention to the architecture of the Amazigh, their designs and the way they used to construct houses, not an old house in the middle of nowhere and you say this is Amazigh. This is what people should know. Even Arabs were affected by Amazigh, their traditions, some words, ways of thinking, beliefs. This is the Algerian identity.

(Hisham, teacher, formal interview)

In a way, what he said makes great sense. Usually, when people bring up the topic of cultural heritage and ethnicity of Amazigh or Berbers, the first thing that crosses my mind is an old lady sitting in the countryside wearing traditional clothes near an old house with farm animals around her even though I am Algerian.

Although I do realise that I am in no position to claim whether he was wrong or right, I believe that what he said sprang from the principle that the Berber culture was much more than just old houses and "Zred". Hisham also addressed the issue of "Zerda" earlier in the interview and expressed frustration towards the fact that that type of feasts was taught to young pupils as part of the Algerian heritage. This issue was tackled as another way in which Hisham's religious and Berber identities were displayed. Nevertheless, although the juxtaposition was not done in relation to the West per se, but to his own community that he believed was short of religious and cultural knowledge, the way that his type of collective persona was displayed to the West seems to have been of great importance to him.

In addition, the fact that this relates to his populist opinions that feed into the pro-Western facet of compartmentalisation ideology seems to indicate how his own identity was constructed in relation to the West. Finally, Hisham mentioned that that was the "Algerian identity" without referring to the type of identities that he talked about when he described his own identity which could designate that he viewed his individual persona as different from the collective image that he believed should be displayed. In relation to Hisham's opinion about the Berber heritage, some participants' Amazigh identities, including his, were displayed in

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[19] Plural of Zerda.

relation to their user-of-English identities in a number of ways. In the following section, I discuss how the participants in this study juxtaposed their Berber identities to Western attributes based on their pro-Western positioning.

7.1.4. *"I'm a coconut in reverse"*: Juxtaposition of Amazigh identity

A number of participants project their idealised perception of the West onto their Berber identities to make sense of who they believe they are. Their juxtaposition can be seen in two ways. The first one has to do with how they strive to find similarities between particular Western aspects and Berber whereas the second way relates to their belief that even though Berber and Western attributes are different, they can still coexist within the same individual mindset. Although many of them identified themselves as Berber, the already existent division between the West and Algeria seems to be amongst the most salient factors that made them juxtapose their perceived Berber identities with the West. This can indicate how this juxtaposition is governed by compartmentalisation ideology.

Dissimilar to views on the hybridity of identity that root for the coexistence of multiple identities and which seems to be a shared construct among many individuals in the community, some participants established a different type relationship between their various identities. Some of these relations consisted of projections of certain identities against ones that were opposing in nature. In other words, the harmony did not lie in the fact that they coexisted, but rather in the idea that those identities could be put side by side to create a more holistic view of who the participants believed they were.

The perceived similarity between Berber and the West

This juxtaposition was represented by several participants including Houssam, Hisham, Maya, Aya, Nora, and Houda. An example of this would be Houssam's account of who he believed himself to be. His account began by introducing how English had had an impact on him as a person and how his perception of English changed through time:

> [T]here was a word that best describes what happened to me: Ethnic Crossing. Like you speak a variety or you acquire some cultural aspects of a certain group to which you don't belong. I used to do that concerning AAVE not like physically like tattoos and everything. No, in my way of behaviour, my mindset.
>
> (Houssam, teacher, formal interview)

What makes this particularly interesting is how aware he seemed to be about his own change. This seems to have had an impact on his own affiliations as an English language user. However,

referring to his own experience as "ethnic crossing" directly signals the link that has with identity.

He clearly stated that he behaved in certain ways which he believed appertained to a group to which he did not belong. Based on his West idealist predispositions, some of which were described previously in this thesis, it can be argued that this type of ethnic crossing that he described was, in fact, a form of implantation of the superiority of Western attributes into his perceived Berber origin. Even the way his tone changed when he spoke of this particular side of his Berber identity seems to indicate how proud he seemed to be of having had ethnic crossing vis-à-vis the West.

Although he talked about this as a past experience, the impact of it could still be visible when I interviewed him. When I asked him if that had an impact on him as a person, his answer was:

> Of course, yes, absolutely. If you compare Houssam nowadays and before there is a difference. It's that in the past, I used to say that the language is more intonational, more beautiful, kinda musical. This is number one. I used to like the hip-hop culture but now I am more into their cultures, kind of because of the rebellious stand that they bring to that community. You know the African American cultures are the minority their language is oppressed underprivileged etc […].

> (Housssam, teacher, formal interview)

What can be understood from this is that his appreciation of the English language began by giving the language itself positive attributes such as "beautiful" and "musical". Then, possibly, his exposure made him relate to the stereotypes he held about one of the cultures that is believed to be carried by the language. In addition, Houssam referred to the "rebellious" nature of African Americans, which also seems to be based on some stereotypical views he had about the African American community.

When I asked him if he was of a rebellious nature himself, he responded positively. The perception he had of the US, specifically African American communities, was further expressed in his juxtaposition of that with his Berber identity. This can be seen in the following extract from my formal interview with him:

> - I think there are certain commonalities, like Berbers, here, we are oppressed.

> - Did you choose it because you are rebellious, or did you become rebellious because you chose it?

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- That's part of the story. I said that we have many aspects in common. […] Sometimes, when I communicate with my friends, I like to insert certain expressions, bonified expressions from African American English to express my masculinity. So, if I say "I'm not gonna do that", it's not gonna sound like "I ain't gon do that" this African American English, I am projecting that I am so, so aggressive, but what added to this aspect that I just mentioned because it existed even in the past, what added is that now I care more about the culture because we have so many commonalities as I said they are oppressed by white people and we are oppressed. Their way of speaking is underprivileged and so is ours. Also in the media, you see the way they portray their culture the same happens here.

(Houssam, excerpt from formal interview)

As far as language is concerned, he seemed to be stereotypical about the way African American English was used.

By saying that he wanted to show his masculinity through being aggressive by speaking like "African Americans", he somewhat revealed two important aspects. The first one is that he seemed to perceive African Americans as aggressive which seems to be essentialist. The second point is that he perceived aggressiveness as a sign of masculinity, and masculinity was an important aspect of the Berber identity according to many people in the community. Moving on to the commonalities he believed existed between African American English and Berber and the cultures that 'accompanied' them, I believe that he was able to do this projection based on his views about both Berber and African American English. This idea made me think that perhaps his identity comprised a version that he had about African Americans in his mind.

This idea was confirmed when he said:

[…] I'm a white person with an African American soul. I'm a coconut in reverse.

(Houssam, teacher, post-interview conversation)

Houssam made this statement as to refer to a very judgemental label that some African American people obtain if they behave in manners that are specific to 'white' people. Regardless of how stigmatising the original term was, its use by Houssam appears to have been expressed in a positive sense. He used this term to make tangible the way he felt about himself and how being exposed to the American cultures affected him.

Since Houssam constantly gave examples of African Americans when asserting his views about the West, it can be said that his views about them relates to the West. Although he seemed to embrace the idea that the West and Algeria held attributes in common, the reason behind saying so seems to strictly feed into compartmentalisation ideology in the sense that he

did not appear to speak of the resemblance in relation to society, but merely in relation to himself. Hence, this juxtaposition seems to be his way of holding a superior stance towards his Algerian community, which he seems to regard as inferior to the West.

More occurrences that seemed to feed into this reality could be seen on his Facebook timeline. He posted a picture of a conference held in 1963 which was entitled (what translated to): "The Arabization Campaign in the Arab World in 1963: Purging the Maghrebi Tongue" with the words "Arabization" and "purging" highlighted in different colours. He also inserted the caption "Hhhhhhhh xD". People in the comments section expressed opposing views to what was written and related that to subjugation and authority. In one of his replies to a friend's comments, Houssam said:

> We will fight like Martin Luther King.

> (Houssam, teacher, Facebook observation)

Again, it appears that Houssam juxtaposed his Berber identity with the West. Even though most of the comments he inserted were written 'jokingly', they had immense meaning behind them which all fed into the juxtaposition he made between the West and his inevitable Berber self. Another way in which this projection occurred can be seen in participants' beliefs about the synchronicity of Berber and the West.

The coexistence of Berber and the West

Houda's expression of her Berber self, for instance, involved analogy between being westernised and being Amazigh, which she seemed to essentially perceive as different:

> It is true I am Amazigh, but my Amazighness is different than most people here. I feel that it evolved because I am not stuck where they are. I have a more westernised Amazighness, if I can say that. […] For example, when I have my own wedding, I will make it different. It will be Algerian of course because I can't peel myself off of my identity but at the same time, it will be better, it will be modern and classy.

> (Houda, teacher, Facebook Messenger chat)

Houda's self-identification as Berber seems to spring from a source of inevitability. Based on this, as well as other accounts of hers, she appears to identify as Berber because it was imposed on her by nature. Thus, her sense of inferiority towards the West seems to have constructed a type of division between Berber and Western, in the sense that she perceived them as necessarily opposing. Like many other members of the community, she related Berber to tradition and the West to modernity. She also seemed to hold a superior stance towards her

community individuals because she believed she was westernised as opposed to people who were not. Thus, her juxtaposition seems to imply an immense sense of inferiority to the 'necessarily different' West, which she seemed to affiliate with.

Along similar lines, Aya described her belonginess to her Berber origin by saying:

> I know we are Berbers and I know we have culture, and I hate it when people say we are barbaric, but they are right in a way. We are not barbaric, but we are not as civilised as the West, for example. People keep on sticking to their stupid traditions without thinking of the consequences. I know we are Berbers, but that should not keep us from being modern like Westerners.

(Aya, student, individual interview)

Like many people within the community, Aya seemed to consider Berber as primordial and ancient.

This type of belief seems to have been reinforced by her idealisation of the West, which she regarded as novel and modern. In other words, she seemed to have put the West and Berber in two opposing categories, with the West being necessarily superior. Although she stated that being Berber and modernised could coexist within the same individual, by partially acknowledging the idea that Berbers were "barbaric" as opposed to the West and referring to some Berber traditions as stupid, she seemed to look down at Berber while asserting the West idealist position that she always inserted.

As opposed to the affiliation with the West, some participants preferred to keep their distance from all that seemed to be Western by means of conservatism. This, amongst a few others, is seen as a sentiment that has ideological attributes within the confines of the current study. In the following section, I discuss conservatism, nationalism, and feminism as identity-related constructs that shape and are shaped by the division between the West and Algeria.

7.2. Ideological sentiments

In this section, I discuss how participants' perceived conservatist, nationalist, and feminist identities are shaped by compartmentalisation ideology. In the particular setting of this study, these constructs are directly and strongly related to the identity of individuals mainly by means of how the participants themselves made sense of them. Thus, these constructs are not addressed as ideological positions, but rather as sentiments that relate to participants' identity construction as well as their ideological positions.

7.2.1. "*Exterminating our roots*": Conservatism

Some participants tend to make sense of their fear and resentment towards the West by constructing a conservative shield that would supposedly protect them against acculturation. Others disprove of the 'change' yet still perceive it as inevitable. Thus, their conservatist accounts, as part of their identity construction, are a prominent factor in the maintenance of the division between the West and Algeria within the community. A number of participants perceived the West as a threat to their traditions, morals, and values, which appears to shape and be shaped by their westophobic and ethnocentric positions. An example of this would be Hisham's view on the teaching of the 'English culture':

> The English culture should be taught with the language, but of course you should be selective somehow in order to teach. There are things that are sensitive and questionable.

(Hisham, teacher, formal interview)

Part of Hisham's right reality can be seen at the level of his seemingly conservatist stances. The fact that he referred to the point of sensitivity and questionability in several points throughout the interview sessions in relation to the issue of what to teach and what not to teach explains why he directly talked about it here. In addition, this appears to relate to who he believed he was as a person and how conservative he wanted to be seen, which seems to spring from some ethnocentric beliefs that he has about Western culture as compared to his own, some of which were discussed in Section 6.4.

Regarding the same issue, he mentioned:

> I'm not saying that you should pick up those cultures because, especially if you still live here, it's wrong and you can't do that. I'm saying that you should be aware of the differences.

(Hisham, teacher, formal interview)

By stating that students ought to be aware of the differences between cultures, Hisham highlighted the issue of cultural literacy. On the other hand, the side of conservatism that relates to ethnocentrism in his identity seems to be displayed here. Conservatism, ethnocentrism and fear of acculturation all seem to intertwine at this point. In other words, the statement Hisham made appears to appertain to the rejection of any type of acculturation that might possibly occur to students as part of their learning process. That rejection of acculturation was backed up by the belief that Western aspects which are opposing in nature to his culture principles are wrong and should not be adhered to. All of this seems to feed into his conservatist self. That is, the

fact that Hisham wanted to be seen as a conservative person appears to explain the type of ethnocentric views that he had about the West.

The issue of conservatism is often associated with the way clothing is perceived by participants. The Algerian 'modest' way of dressing was generally put in opposition to the 'Western' way of clothing with various definitions of what Algerian and Western ways of dressing were. While some participants directly related clothing to identity, others' perceptions of it could be indirectly inferred from their statements. In the same way that pronunciation was associated with identity by Maya, her understanding of identity also seemed to relate to an idea she had about dressing styles:

> If the person is really attached to his identity, he or she will not change their
> way of clothing because they have a strong personality.

> (Maya, student, individual interview)

Based on my thick description of the incidents that occurred with Maya, I was able to conclude that she had a side of conservatism in her in spite of her idealisation of the West, which forms another reality. That side was often displayed in instances which include clothing, traditions, family, and religion, all of which seemed to somehow connect in her mind. This point accords with Yilmaz's (2008) findings, as noted in Subsection 3.5.3, especially at the level of family and religion.

Another view that seemed to be particularly pertinent to conservatism was expressed by Aisha. In my formal interview with her, she said:

> For me, teaching is the most suitable job for a woman in our country.

> (Aisha, teacher, formal interview)

Taking this statement individually led me to think that it was a cultural relativist view that she expressed. However, addressing it in relation to a number of opinions that she expressed in regard to female work altered my opinion into considering that it actually had to do with Aisha's conservatist self. These instances include when she said that the only respectful job for women would be teaching when she spoke of her fondness of teaching.

The following is an extract of an informal discussion that I had with her as described in my fieldnotes:

> When I asked her what she meant by "respectful", she responded saying that
> it was "noble" and that it was the only job that several generations in Algeria
> found "appropriate" […].

This has to do with how conservative she believed herself to be, which appears to relate to some of the patriotic and westophobic opinions that she expressed as discussed in the previous chapter. Additionally, stating that her opinion matched many generations' opinions about teaching seems to imply that her very attitude towards the matter resulted from what she perceived as 'rooted' within the Algerian 'culture' which somewhat relates to a similar point Maissa made regarding the matter.

As per his conservatist opinions, Hisham mentioned an important point that had to do with Aisha and Maissa's "roots". On the issue of cultural literacy in the formal interview, he said:

> […] [B]ut here our culture is very different from theirs and you need to understand or know the differences so that you can live in harmony with them. I'm not saying that you should pick up those cultures because, especially if you still live here, it's wrong and you can't do that. I'm saying that you should be aware of the differences.

(Hisham, teacher, formal interview)

In a brief follow-up interview that I had with him, I asked if what he said concerning cultural literacy during the interview was related to teaching in any way. His response was: "acculturation is the enemy of identity" (Hisham, informal interview). He carried on explaining how the "Algerian" identity needed to be preserved and how the "roots" should be kept in order for the identity not to fade away. What he said in the follow up interview appears to explain what he meant by awareness of the differences. Although he called for cultural literacy, his call was not intended to spread awareness for the purpose of tolerance, but rather for the purpose of caution towards acculturation. Whereas acculturation was feared by many participants, it was perceived as unavoidable by others.

Opposition to 'inevitable' cultural change

In relation to the issue of clothing discussed earlier in this section, Bee expressed a similar view:

> Appearance here is too important because my appearance should reflect my identity and my culture. Sadly, in here, most people reflect other cultures' appearance like when we take for instance an Algerian or anyone from university or school with cut hair from the sides only and with pants that are ripped, like ripped jeans; he doesn't reflect our culture and our identity what we need is someone to reflect our culture and identity, but in a modern way not that much traditional and not overly trendy […].

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Like many other participants, Bee considered appearance to be related to identity. She seemed to believe that the way a person dresses themself ought to be reflective of their identity. In addition, it appears that she viewed identity as homogenous and collective. She mentioned that everyone in her society was expected to abide by a certain type of fashion that clang to the collective identity held by society on the whole. Even though Bee constantly displayed West idealist views, her disproval of the way people dressed seemed to echo a certain type of different reality that had to do with her conservative self. It appears that despite the fact that Bee did eulogise the West to a great extent, conservatism still had a hold on her to some degree, which is another position that she held.

Subsequent to this statement of hers, a small discussion took place within the general framework of the interview discussion:

> - Salah (addressing Bee): If we want to reflect our "culture" what do we wear?
>
> - Bee: We don't know because our culture is vanishing, and we can't stop it from vanishing.
>
> - Me: So, are you saying he's supposed to wear 'qashabiya[20]' if he really wants to reflect his culture?
>
> - Salah: It's a tradition in Algeria to wear qashabiya and so many people wear it even nowadays.
>
> - Bee: There's no other kind?
>
> - Salah: What are you supposed to wear as girls to reflect your culture?
>
> - Bee: Culture is vanishing that's why we are wearing other cultures' clothing. We have to confess.

(Excerpt from pair interview)

This brief discussion on clothing yielded two important issues. The first one has to do with culture erosion which seems to be the main reason behind Bee's conservatism. That is, it appears that Bee was holding on to something that she thought the society was losing. Therefore, her definition of the Algerian way of clothing cannot be explained if taken out of this context since she, herself, did not have a specific definition of how Algerians were *supposed* to dress up.

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[20] A traditional Algerian garment generally worn by males in Winter.

The second point is that this discussion corroborates what she said later on in individual questions about acculturation. She stated that the values of her society were diminishing because of exposure to the West. Thus, it seems that clothing was included in the way she perceived values in the Algerian society which explains why she was uncertain about what that meant to her and she preferred to talk about culture erosion instead of actually answering the question. This issue also seems to relate to an anti-Western stance that she occasionally held as per a right reality that she displayed. In regard to that, and similar to other participants such as Maya, she, in many instances, asserted that her "culture" or "country" was better. An example of this would be when she stated: "familial relations are what make us strong not like the West" (Bee, student, individual interview), which utterly opposes her deeply rooted West idealist stance.

Another ethnocentric view that included the idea of clothes was expressed by Maissa who stated:

> It's against our traditions that women travel on their own and it makes sense because most people who go abroad to study come back as different people. Their identities change. We have one identity here. We are Algerians and Muslims. Most people when they go abroad, they get rid of that identity and have a new one that is strange to us and strange to what we have.

> (Maissa, teacher, formal interview)

According to her, Western values form a threat to the identity of Algerian people, which can be regarded as a form of westophobia. The overlapping of ethnocentrism, fear of acculturation, and conservatism can be regarded as the main cause of Maissa's statement. In addition, based on other statements that she made within the framework of the interview and even prior to that, it can be said that her statement was also a by-product of a reverse-(neo)-orientalist stance she held.

Not only did Maissa hold a conservatist stance towards what was Western, but she also had a similar type of views about some colleagues of hers:

> Some groups think we are complicated and conservative. We don't want to judge them, but we think they are too liberated and most of them lose the prestige of being teachers because they become too friendly with students. That's not in our culture. Perhaps, that's with the American culture, but not with our culture and we are Algerians not Americans.

> (Maissa, formal interview)

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Referring to other teachers who were apparently accepting of Western cultural aspects as "too liberated", to mean that they were 'too liberal', appears to be indicative of Maissa's conservatist tendencies. Although she had previously referred to herself as a conservative person, in this extract, she said that people perceived her as "complicated and conservative". To her, the connotation that both words had in this particular context were negative. However, she used the same term to refer to something with a positive connotation in a different context. It appears that this has to do with her persona. The fact that she viewed that group of colleagues of hers as "too liberated", which was perceived as a very negative thing by her, seems to have had an impact on her idea of the type of image that she believed the same group of colleagues had about her.

Regardless of it appearing to be ethnocentric, her statement also indicates a sense of detestation towards all that had Western attributes without it essentially being Western. This seems to corroborate a view that she had expressed concerning marriage in an informal discussion that we had along with a few other teachers. Regarding this matter, she said that getting married became a "fashion" and that it lost its traditional value given all the Western "invasions" and changes. When Ahlam commented saying that it was okay so long as it was not religiously forbidden, she said:

> It is about culture not about religion, but we are exterminating our roots.
>
> (Maissa, teacher, group discussion)

As with many other participants, Maissa sought to make the distinction between religion and culture indicating that her conservatism went back to her cultural belongingness more than it did to her religious beliefs.

Participants' fear and dislike of acculturation was observed to be dependent upon their own definitions of 'nation' and 'culture'. Nevertheless, their seemingly nationalist tendencies leaned more towards their idealisation of the West. In the following section, I discuss how participants' nationalist accounts feed into their pro-Western ideological positioning.

7.2.2. *"One, two, three. Viva l'Algérie"*: Nationalism

Participants express their nationalist identities by showing the need for Algeria to become like the West. Thus, nationalist discourses are reinforced by their idealisation of the West. Overall, individuals who adhere to nationalism generally express their allegiance by way of opposition to the West. However, this opposition does not negate the idea that they perceive the West as superior. Some of their seemingly nationalist accounts endorse the division set

between the West and Algeria through the idealisation of Western standards and properties. The main reason why nationalism is not tackled as a thin-centred ideological position in this thesis is that it is essentially dealt with as a sentiment that directly connects to the identities of individuals, in the sense that individuals define themselves in relation to their nation and their nationalist tendencies can be displayed in the way they describe themselves.

As previously discussed, as part of their deep-rooted realities, some participants displayed beliefs that appeared to be West idealist. In many instances, these views contradicted another set of realities that had to do with nationalism and patriotism which mainly classified within the category of the right reality. However, there were instances in which the nationalist tendencies of other participants were embraced by a deep-rooted reality that grew up with them as part of their socialisation processes. Each of these realities seems to be related to different sets of identities, all of which feed into the idea of how the identity construction of individuals is tied up to the division they make between the West and themselves.

An example of a nationalist perspective that seems to spring from the intersection between a deep-rooted and a right reality was expressed by Aisha who said:

> I believe that Algeria is very good. I do think that my country is a better country that can never be changed. This is from my childhood. This is what our parents told us. They taught us this. I have very good conditions, I love Algeria. I can never change my country.

> (Aisha, teacher, formal interview)

Based on other encounters wherein Aisha expressed a similar stance, what she said here seems to be nationalist to a great extent. Although much of what she said during the interview backs up this statement, other instances outside the formal state of the interview leaned more towards a West idealist view, which is why this has to do with the right reality she often displayed. In addition, Algeria was essentially juxtaposed to the West. That is, the use of "better" in this instance seems to back up many of her statements regarding how she believed that Algeria was "better than any Western country" (Aisha, teacher, group discussion).

Notwithstanding that, according to Aisha, this feeling of patriotism was part of her childhood socialisation development which indicates that it might be an engraved form of reality about which she seemed to be conscious. This view was further echoed when I asked her which teacher she would pick if provided with the institution case scenario I described in previous chapters. Aisha mentioned that she needed time to contemplate upon my question because she did not want people to think that she chose the Algerian teacher for nationalist

purposes, which could be a form of bias, neither did she want them to think that she chose the 'native speaker' teacher because of nativespeakerist bias. In my opinion, it was more than just her persona that confused her. I believe that it was the degree of rootedness of both ideologies that caused such confusion. After a few months of the formal interview with her, Aisha was still unable to provide me with an answer to that question, which somewhat validates my supposition about the confusion being more than just an issue of persona.

Similar to Faya's view about preferring to spend her last days in her country, which is discussed later in this section, Karima, a peripheral participant, expressed a nationalist view that followed what appeared to be a West idealist position that resulted from a sense of inferiority towards the idealised West:

> […] Then, I asked whether she was for illegal immigration and her answer was: "of course not. I would rather be buried here in the mud of my country than drown in the ocean and never be found or be buried in the flowers of Hawaii with no one attending my funeral.

(Excerpt from journal)

Although Karima expressed her wish to live in a Western country for various reasons, when I confronted her about what could be an interpretation of what she said, her nationalist identity seemed to take over and she responded saying that she preferred to die in her country. Nevertheless, although she inserted her nationalist view, the idea that the West was superior was still communicated when she mentioned "the flowers of Hawaii" as opposed to the "mud" of Algeria.

The idea that what she said here was related to the fluidity of her identity could further be seen on her Instagram when she posted a photo of a group of Algerian young people holding the Algerian flag and inserted the caption:

> One heart. One nation. My country. My everything.

(Karima, student, Instagram observation)

This picture was posted during the Hirak[21] period in Algeria which seems to have summoned a sense of belonging and patriotism within some participants and Karima was no exception. At

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[21] The nation-wide protests that began on 22/02/2019 in response to the regime attempts to reinstate Bouteflika as president of the country for a fifth term. Even though Bouteflika's nomination was the spark that started the protests, demands were no longer restricted to his departure; the people demanded a significant change in the way the country was run.

some point, Karima changed her profile picture to one that said, "Don't keep calm and say: One, two, three. Viva l'Algérie" with the Algerian flag in the background.

When I asked her about these posts, I expected a type of shift towards a more pro-Algerian stance. However, her response was:

> It's time for Algeria to try the [taste] of advancement […] We can't use the door [because] we're very far behind, but at least we can look through their window.

> (Karima, student, Instagram chat)

Even amid her seemingly strongest nationalistic sentiments, Karima still found a way of inserting her West idealist stance. Hence, it appears that the nationalist identity she seemed to display could be a dose of anticipation towards getting a step closer to her idealised image of the West. This type of reality that the Hirak provoked seems to exist amongst many other participants including Leila and Shay.

As discussed in previous chapters, despite the West idealist beliefs that Shay appeared to have, when I asked if the participants would trade nationalities with people from other countries in the focus group discussion, Shay said that she would not. When I asked her about that in the individual interview, she responded that she would not "doom them with living in Algeria". That answer appeared to be some form of a twist to me and it indicated a high degree of dislike that Shay seemed to have towards her country and nationality. A second twist emerged during the Hirak. During that period, Shay wrote and shared various posts on her Facebook timeline that mainly related to how much she loved her country and how proud she was to be Algerian especially after the Hirak went on peacefully from the part of Algerian protesters.

When I asked Shay about the apparent contradiction of what occurred, her response was:

> I love my country so much, THE COUNTRY not the people. I wanna visit each and every city and monument but people are so backward I can't even travel 170km away on my own and not get in troubles. Nationality is related to the people as well not only the country! Who wouldn't want their country to be developed and its people to change their mentality to accept each other and the diversity between them? I want the government to change, but most importantly the people to change. […] I just feel like I'm not welcome anymore because I'm changing to the best and people are changing to the worst, that's why I'm a patriotic and a refugee in my own country.

> (Shay, student, Facebook Messenger chat)

By so saying, Shay raised a number of important issues which mainly include nationalism, alienation and perceived backwardness.

As for nationalism, I believe that it was due to the Hirak that those sentiments of belonging in Algeria were awoken. Much of what Shay expressed before the Hirak had to do with her sense of belonging to the West for various reasons that were previously discussed in other chapters. However, nationalist expressions and thoughts which were shared all over social media seem to have affected her to some extent which constructed a new reality that appertained to the type of identity that was newly constructed. Nevertheless, her nationalist tendency did not seem to affect her opinion about the West and Algeria. In regard to backwardness, what Shay said in the Messenger chat appears to corroborate what she said in some informal conversations that we had during the data collection period, some of which were previously discussed in Section 6.1.

Moreover, stating that she did not feel welcome within her own community seems to feed into the feeling of alienation that she described in the formal interview as discussed Subsection 7.1.1. That being said, it appears that part of the fluidity of her identity can be seen at the level of how it had changed through time depending on what was taking place. In addition, the fact that she expressed some nationalist views can be seen as a reality that existed at a given point in time. As with all other realities, this newly built one did not alter her already-existing realities in relation to her identity, but it added to the depth of them. Part of the coexistence of these realities can be seen in her last statement when she said that she was both patriotic and a refugee meaning that she was nationalist, yet at the same time, she felt alienated. Participants' nationalist sentiments were also displayed in the way they wanted to encourage Algerians in order for Algeria to become more like the West.

"Charity starts at home": Supporting the Algerian youth

When I provided Maissa with the same case scenario as that of Nora, Aisha, and other teachers whom I interviewed, her answer was:

> I would definitely choose the Algerian teacher. Other teachers will not understand our students and our students will not understand them. I will choose an Algerian teacher who is competent and who can communicate in a good way with our students. […] We should support our youth, our own people. That's how we make our country better not by bringing foreigners with their cultures to lead us into their bizarre ways of thinking. No. We always complain about no job opportunities. Then why choose other people? Why provide strangers with job opportunities and deprive our people from that?

Based on other interactions with her, Maissa's view about opting for the Algerian teacher seems to have sprung from three important issues.

At the outset, she stated that she would choose a "competent" Algerian teacher who would best understand the students, which relates to a reverse-nativespeakerist stance that she constantly displayed. The second issue clearly has to do with her nationalist identity. As per the definition of nationalism, the idea that Maissa expressed about endorsing the work of Algerian people due to their Algerianness falls within the category of nationalism. By so saying, she supported the interests of people belonging to her nation by believing that they were the ones who were rightful of the jobs provided in their own country. The last point is what I descried in previous chapters as ethnocentric. By referring to Western ways of thinking as "bizarre", Maissa invoked a sense of ethnocentric bias, which seems to indicate that her nationalist tendencies were tied up to the anti-Western stance she occupied. This bias also relates to her identity as an individual who was both a conservatist and a nationalist as well as one who held westophobic beliefs which were mainly displayed through ethnocentric claims.

In trying to construct the meaning as to respond to the case scenario I provided her with, Nora's response to the same type of question included:

> Because the Algerian is the son of my country as we say in Arabic, and the American is a native speaker and he knows the language even better than I do.

Similar to Aisha, Nora seemed to be torn between two sets of thoughts. On the one hand, her nativespeakerist orientations led her to think that the 'native speaker' teacher would be better due to their linguistic baggage. On the other hand, that appears to have clashed with her nationalist identity. The way these two constructs were brought together can also be illustrative of how responsible her identity was for the type of realities that she displayed throughout the entire data collection period.

For instance, while she showed West idealist convictions by encouraging migration to Western countries in many instances prior to the formal interview, her statements in the formal interview seemed to be of a somewhat different nature:

> I'm not going to add anything to them I am going to benefit my society, my own people. I belong here. If I want to add something, I add it here at home. Charity starts at home. That's it. They are not in need of me. They have their

civil society. They have people who are fighting for their rights and they are changing things. So, I'm going to make change here. So, that's why I always tell you we need you here, Sarah. We need you here.

<div align="right">(Nora, teacher, formal interview)</div>

Nora's statement seems to be a combination of a nationalist identity and a West idealist position. Regardless of the fact that she constantly urged me to stay in the UK after graduating for reasons that included "better" living condition, education, and the like, what she said in this excerpt denotes that some of the West idealist views responsible for the type of 'advice' that she gave me were still existent in her most nationalist statements. While what she said clearly sprang from some nationalist beliefs that she had, stating that the West did not need her because they were already "good" seems to back up her West idealist tendencies as per the deeply rooted reality she constantly displayed.

Along similar lines, a nationalist view that seems to be strictly related to the cultural identity of participants was expressed by Faya who stated:

> A lot of people travel abroad, what is also known as brain drain. Why do we blame the government? Why do we blame the people? We should blame the brains that leave the country. They say that America is great, the UK is great, Canada is great. You make them great when you go there.

<div align="right">(Faya, student, focus group)</div>

This statement was echoed in many instances in the individual interviews and informal conversations including when she said: "I am proud of my way of life" (Faya, individual interview), or when she said:

> I was born here, I will die here. This my country, my culture and I'm proud.

<div align="right">(Faya, informal conversation)</div>

These instances, amongst many others, displayed the sense of belonging that Faya seemed to feel towards her country. Regardless of the other instances in which she displayed alternative realities, her nationalist statements appeared to go hand in hand with the type of cultural identity that she had. Her statement was similar to that of Nora's in that they both actively showed support to their nation by referring to the 'ideal' West.

Another view that relates people's nationalist identities to compartmentalisation ideology is Maya's statements about loving her country in spite of the flaws that it was perceived to have. Similar to Nora's opinion about "staying" in the country to improve it, Maya

said, in the focus group discussion, that she would not trade nationalities with any person from any other country:

> This is where I belong. I know that there are a lot of things going wrong here, but this is my country and I love it and I want to stay here how can we all leave and expect our country to be better?

<div align="right">(Maya, student, focus group)</div>

When I asked her about it in the individual interview, her answer was:

> I might have a second nationality, but I would never let mine go because it's been 20 years that I'm Algerian. Algeria is my home even if there are a thousand things that are bad, but my country is precious to me. I want to live here. I love my country no matter what.

<div align="right">(Maya, student, individual interview)</div>

Despite her idealisation of the West, Maya still exhibited her religious and nationalist identities without any hesitation. The fact that those identities intertwined with the type of ideological positions that were held by her seems to add to the fluidity of her identity and her self-affiliations.

This view seems to back up Maya's assortment of countries on the map I provided the participants with in one of the focus group sessions. On the map, she drew circles around certain countries and drew a line that divided the map into two unequal parts. Her explanation of her drawing was:

> Here, I circled the best countries not just for English, the best countries according to me. The United Kingdom, Canada and my beloved country Algeria.

<div align="right">(Maya, student, focus group)</div>

Referring to the countries she chose as "best" appears to go back to two different reasons. While the choice of Algeria can be explained by her saying "my beloved country" which indicates a sense of nationalism and belonging, her choice of Canada and the UK seems to go back to her idealisation of the West which is related to her student-of-English identity. The role of the map, in Maya's case, was to shed light on the existence of two somewhat opposing realities simultaneously.

Following Maya's opinion on the matter, Faya stated:

> If they gather and they try to make something great, they will do something great, but they all follow their dreams and go abroad and shine why don't you work together and shine in your country instead of shining in another country?

<div align="right">(Faya, student, focus group)</div>

To that, Maya added:

> Yes, my country raised me, my country gave me food and free schooling and my country gave me the opportunity to sit here and talk today why should I be ungrateful?

<div align="right">(Maya, student, focus group)</div>

Although Maya seemed to be aware of the situation that other participants discussed, her nationalist tendencies appeared to be guiding her arguments.

At first, she mentioned that she accepted her country for what it was. However, she began to reflect on the advantages that her country had which seems to have strengthened her nationalist vantage point. Despite the fact that Faya and Maya's opinions were very similar, Faya's was different from that of Maya's in that her identities were displayed by turn. In other words, while Maya chose to display two realities of her identities simultaneously that both had to do with dissections between the West and Algeria, Faya almost completely denied the existence of either reality in the presence of the other which all feeds into the idea of how relative and personal realities can be.

Another issue that showed a great deal of contradicting realities was feminism. In the following section, I discuss participants' feminist claims and accounts, which are more related to their discourses than they are to what might generally be deemed feminist.

7.2.3. "*Who run the world? Girls!*": Feminist identity and the West

Participants who identify as feminist are divided into those who do so in order to affiliate with the West and those who find commonalities between religion and perceived feminist agendas. Either way, their accounts relating to feminism are often tied to the West, which can be seen in relation to compartmentalisation ideology as the majority among them regard feminism as a Western product. In the following subsection, I discuss how a number of participants expressed allegiance to the West by claiming a feminist identity.

"*Women in our culture are [too] submissive*": Affiliating with the perceived feminist West

Participants expressed their perceived affiliation with the West through the intentional display of a feminist identity. An example of this took place virtually. During the Hirak period in Algeria, many females took the opportunity of national and international broadcasting to

present their feminist stance and Shay was a promoter of that movement within the Hirak. I had noticed on her Facebook timeline that she posted issues that related to feminism. When people tried to persuade her into not mixing the original purposes of the Hirak with what they perceived as personal motives, Shay fiercely defended her feminist beliefs and defended the movement. This seems to underpin what was discussed as part of her nationalistic tendencies regarding the fact that her sentiments towards the Hirak were driven by her mental division between the West and Algeria.

Since feminism already emerged as a theme in my research that primarily appertained to the identity of participants, and based on the statuses she often posted in regard to feminism, I had a short informal interview with Shay on the matter:

> Yes. I'm a female. If I don't stand for myself, who will? I don't expect any party to side for me. […] I stand for myself and those like me.
>
> […]
>
> Being exposed to a Western material made me realise how oppressive our society is. I did have some feminist thoughts when I was younger and wasn't exposed to Western culture (mainly in English), but my overexposure to Western content did develop my personality a lot, specifically my feminist side. I had the chance to compare between various cultures and decide which one I wanted to adopt. If it weren't for English, I'd probably be less feminist. I believe that the more I am exposed to English and the right kind of content, the more I become more open minded and tolerant.

<div align="right">(Shay, student, except from Facebook Messenger chat)</div>

Notwithstanding how feminism as a movement changed throughout history, the perspective from which Shay decided to approach it related to female rights and oppression.

Having had the opportunity to have personal conversations with her, I was able to conclude how her past experience affected her decisions to become feminist in order to stand against what she perceived as oppressing and unjust. Based on my previous discussions with her and on my observations of her Facebook account, it appears that Shay's feminist beliefs were reinforced by her idealised view of the West. In addition, the fact that this feminist side of Shay's was related to her past, is part of her present and will be part of her future signals a close relation with her identity as an individual in accordance with Norton's (2000) delineation of identity. Additionally, Shay related feminism to open-mindedness and tolerance which are also attributes that she associated with the West in general. This certainly has to do with her perception of the West and how idealised it is in her viewpoint. Thus, the feminist stance that

she had is certainly a by-product of her West idealism ideology and her past experiences which both had a significant impact on her identity.

A similar view was expressed by Selma whose answer leaned towards a more feminist set of thoughts. Talking about the heritage that she said her grandparents gave her, she stated:

> They weren't that open to be honest […] but it's English mainly that made me become like this. Maybe I would not think about becoming feminist if I did dentistry like my parents wanted me to but being feminist is a choice and doing English was a choice […] So, I am feminist but I'm still Muslim and Algerian.

> (Selma, student, informal conversation)

It appears that what Selma tried to say was that she would not be the same person had there been encounters that would alter some aspects of her identity.

These encounters could simply be her choosing to do dentistry which would mean less exposure to all that appertained to the English language which would, in turn, change the fate of some aspects of her identity. Moreover, it appears that the juxtaposition she made between feminism and English could be indicative of the extent to which the two were related. Since being feminist is part of her identity, which is discussed later in this section. It looks like English had impacted her in many ways including this facet of her identity. Furthermore, Selma pinpointed the aspect of diversity in her identity by saying that she was Muslim and Algerian *despite* the fact that she was feminist. The use of "but" seemed to designate that she perceived feminism as something that possessed qualities that were presumably against her religion and culture, which, from her vantage point, were reserved to the West. Notwithstanding that, she did eventually acknowledge their coexistence.

A somewhat different feminist stance was expressed by Nora who said:

> I say culture, it's part of identity like imagine that […] you tell a colleague I sent you an email then her answer is very ridiculous because she says, "it's my husband who has the email and he consults the email instead". So who are you? Are you a human being? Are you an entity? Or are you just a belonging to this man? This mentality […] You choose whether you are a working woman, independent woman financially. You are independent in everything; you have your own soul. It's either you are, or you are a belonging and then I'm going to say I'm not a teacher. So, if you feel that you are inferior that you are dependent on someone else how are you going to teach independence to your students?

> (Nora, teacher, formal interview)

The fact that Nora referred to culture in relation to identity seems to shed light on two important issues. The first issue has to do with culturalism. She seemed to embrace the idea that culture is part of identity in the sense that the person's identity is dependent upon the cultural milieu wherein they exist. This claim seems to be culturalist based on some culturalist assertions that she made throughout the interview, some of which were previously discussed in Section 6.3. Even though Nora did not directly refer to her culture as flawed in this particular instance, the fact that she disproved of an act that was performed by a member of her community indicates that she associated that with a set of defects that had a negative impact on the identity of individuals.

The second issue relates to her feminist position. Throughout the interview, Nora constantly referred to the West as "the other" which was described in previous chapters. Based on what she said in other instances during the interview, she appears to believe that the mentality which was constructed as part of culture was responsible for the submission and dependence of the female teacher she talked about. Clearly, she also seemed to believe that that was non-existent in the culture of what she called "the other". The fact that she passionately told the story during the interview seems to reinforce the idea of the existence of feminist aspects as part of her identity.

These feminist aspects were first established when she talked about her "traveller" self. Regarding travelling as a female, she stated:

> […] Like many people wonder why I travel on my own. These people don't know me, obviously. [I'm] feminist. It's in my blood. It's who I am. […] I don't need a man to go to France or Italy or any other country. I need a backpack and my passport and my abilities as a strong independent woman. I can go and I can do it better than any other man so long as it doesn't contradict my religious principles […] And I can show men how it's done. […] Women in our culture are toooooo submissive and it's too sad that most of them like being submissive and our men like being dominant and they like being the ones that women depend on them!!!!

(Nora, teacher, Instagram chat)

Stating that being feminist was part of who she was clearly indicates that she perceived that to be part of her identity which is a reality that merits acknowledgement given all that was observed as part of the data collection.

I believe that the relationship between her identity and feminism extends beyond mere perception since, based on my observations, she tried to act upon her feminist inclinations and she appeared to strive to prove herself and that she really needed "no man" to accomplish what

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she wanted to achieve in ways that she believed were right. All in all, she seemed to define feminism in terms of independence and dominance, which were also tied up to her definition of the West. Furthermore, once again, Nora expressed an overgeneralising view of women and men at the level of her society and culture which relates to the first point I addressed concerning this issue. The story she told me about a teacher not replying to her emails is strongly connected with the type of beliefs that she had about her culture which she described in the Instagram chat that we had. Importantly, unlike Shay and Selma, it appears that Nora did not perceive feminism as necessarily opposing to religion. This belief was not restricted to Nora, as a number of other participants perceived being feminist and being Muslim as compatible.

"If I am Muslim, I am also feminist": **The mutuality between feminist and religious identities**

Some participants' expressions of their feminist selves and their religious identities are considered to be mutually shaping since feminism is seen as a Western product. This underpins the participants' accounts discussed in Section 7.1.2. Hisham and Aisha constantly addressed feminism from a religious point of view. The following extract describes Hisham's opinion about feminism:

> […] He carried on saying that every Muslim is feminist and that Islam dignified women. He said, "Before Islam, Arabs used to humiliate women. They used to bury little girls alive out of shame and disgrace, but then Islam gave rights to women. So for me, if I am Muslim, I am also feminist […]". However, he carried on explaining that he did not root for the type of feminism that recently spread in the West and that he supported the "old and original" one […].

(Except from journal)

Hisham's religious identity was discussed in relation to the West. He mentioned that some of his religious practices were reinforced by the type of Western values that he was exposed to. Because feminism is defined differently by different people within the same community, it appears to be defined by him as the dignification of women and the rights given to them. As per this excerpt, not only did Hisham juxtapose his religious identity to his feminist self, but he also projected his beliefs about both of them on the type of attitude he had towards the West. Although he decided to refer to what he regarded as negative, he still made a reference to the idea that he supported the type of feminism that was originally created which, according to him, was also a creation of the West.

Along similar lines, Aisha talked about feminism very briefly in one of the informal group chats we had in the Department. When I asked her about it on another occasion, she expressed her view about feminism saying:

> I am feminist on condition that it does not oppose my religion first and my culture second. I am with the freedom of women but of course, that should be with restrictions. […]

> Girls and women should be free to study, to have respectful jobs, to choose their husbands, to travel for a good purpose but feminism that allows women to get naked, hashak[22], and walk in the streets no I am against. Even men don't walk like that in the streets.

> […]

> Most feminists nowadays are doing that to gain fame no more no less. I am feminist but with restrictions, with boundaries.

(Aisha, teacher, Facebook Messenger chat)

Unlike Hisham who seemed to believe that feminism positively correlated with religion, Aisha said that she was feminist so long as that did not contradict any of her religious or cultural values. In the informal group chat, she said she was "a 100% feminist". Nevertheless, what she said here appears to link together her religious, conservatist, ethnocentric, and feminist standpoints. While her religious and conservatist selves were much more dominant, her representation of her feminist self was bound by limitations that were set by more engraved realities, which somewhat explains the contradiction in what she said. While most participants seemed to agree on the idea that feminism was about equality between men and women, they held various degrees of acceptance and of practice to what feminism stood for. Most of these degrees seemed to be based on the division between the West and Algeria as per compartmentalisation ideology.

By way of not perceiving feminism as opposing to religion, Aya expressed her disagreement with how she believed feminism had developed. When the topic of feminism escalated as part of a conversation that we had, which turned into a follow-up discussion, Aya said:

> I don't understand the hype. Don't get me wrong; I am feminist, feminist to the core, but look at us, like 90% of students and doctors and teachers are females. Like who run the world? Girls! But feminism is useful in places like

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[22] A word used in Algerian Arabic that roughly translates to "with all due respect". It is often used to apologise for doing or saying something offensive or shameful.

Africa or maybe in rural communities. Not here, not even in New York or Paris. That is too profligate for what feminism is and it's silly and selfish because women are really oppressed in other parts of the world […] Even our religion is feminist for God's sake; if only people were more knowledgeable […] I am feminist and I'm proud to be a female […].

(Aya, student, informal conversation)

It appears that what Aya intended to say was that feminism should deal with priorities. Although she believed she was feminist, she addressed the problem of oppressed women in 'less privileged' areas which was more important to her than what she referred to as "silly" feminist demands that were not even priorities. Her definition of feminism, thus, appears to be the right of education and work and possibly have an equal salary to that of men's which are priorities that should be dealt with before less salient issues that relate to "first world problems" as described by Samy in previous chapters, which seems to support the division between the West and the 'Rest'. In another instance, Aya mentioned that she did not want to be confused for "misandrists" because they were "too extreme" which seems to go by her definition of feminism.

Discussion Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed how compartmentalisation ideology contributes to the construction of participants' identities. While the relationship between identity and this overarching ideology is more apparent with some facets of identity such as persona and conservatism, the way in which the two are related concerning such constructs as nationalism, feminism, and religion is somewhat less blatant. Discussions in this chapter answer the third research question: "*to what extent are the participants' identities related to the ideological positions they hold?*". The answer could be seen at the level of compartmentalisation ideology itself and the discourses that either feed into its pro-Western or anti-Western sides.

The multiplicity of people's identities within the setting can be seen in a variety of ways, some of which are related to how the discourses they construct position them in relation to the West. Pro-Western positioning seems to have led to the construction of an alienated sense of self amongst some participants. This alienation goes back to the fact that they affiliate with their perceived Western qualities, which they believe to be absent within their society. Constant comparison with Western qualities and behaviours, and a possible envisagement of a future that takes place in the West seem to have contributed to the construction of the senses of alienation among participants.

Senses of alienation can be traced back to the way participants were socialised. In a society that is generally predisposed towards idealising all that is Western, some individuals find themselves choosing between the sense of inferiority to the West and the sense of superiority towards the 'Rest'. The choices they make build upon their idealised perceptions of the West. Thus, by choosing to affiliate with attributes of the West, participants seemingly express their longing for places that they have never been to and societal relations that they never experienced. These senses of alienated selves often relate to how free participants want to be. Since freedom is generally associated with the West, participants alienated selves become strengthened with the thought of liberty in the West. Although it might seem that these forms of cultural escapism and tendencies to escape culture oppose to the general rules that are believed to govern society including religion, the senses of alienation of some participants feed into their pursuing of religious freedom.

Although religious tendencies are commonly perceived as opposing to Western qualities, some participants in this study often displayed their religious identities in their most West-idealist accounts. Individuals within the community tend to juxtapose their perceived virtuous attributes of the West with aspects of religion. Thus, participants who seem to be more knowledgeable about Islam and who believe they have more characteristics in common with the West perceive themselves as superior to individuals within their society. Within the wider backdrop of society, people often use the expression "khassethom sh'hada w-yodkhlo lel-janna", to talk about Western people, which literally translates to "all they lack is shahada[23] to go to heaven". This expression means that Western people have the virtues of Islam, which include cleanliness, honesty, kindness to people and animals, and justice, without being Muslims.

While some of them indicated that their religious identities were strengthened by their projection to Western content, other participants' identities were displayed in the way they felt alienated within society, which somewhat feeds into the first point. Their inclination towards the pro-Western side of compartmentalisation ideology, and the fact that they perceive their religion as an essential part of their lives seems to have led to the construction of an intermediate position. That is, their longing for a future that grants them a 'Western lifestyle' is accompanied by their need for religious guidance, which suggests that they do not see religion as a constraint, but as a complement to the life they want to have.

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[23] A word that refers to the Muslim pronouncement of faith, which is "there is no God but Allah, Muhammad is his messenger".

In addition to religion, participants' ethnic identities were also juxtaposed to perceived Western attributes. According to most individuals, being Berber was inevitable. Many individuals within the community use the expression "Chaoui[24] and proud" to express their content with their affiliation as Berber. While some of them seemed to happily acknowledge their Berberness, others saw that as a necessity that was constructed as a form of a right reality. Consequently, certain participants sought to combine the inevitability of them being Berber with who they wanted to be in relation to the West. In other words, it appears as though people seek solace in their perceived resemblance with the West.

That is, the fact that 'Berber' and 'the West' are seen as essentially opposing in nature appears to have led some individuals to adopt an 'intermediate position' by choosing to see how similar they can be. The by-product of their attachment to their Berber origin and their admiration of the West can be seen in the way they juxtapose their sense of Berber self with their preferred 'Western' attributes. On the other hand, some participants' perception of Berber as primeval seems to have contributed to the division set between Berber and the West, which put them in a state of rejection to some of their Berber qualities as it contributes to their sense of inferiority towards the West.

Common perceptions of Berber as ancient and barbaric led some participants to disapprove of the way Berber is seen especially by the West, which can be regarded as a transnational type of persona. In relation to this, the fact that some individuals perceived themselves as superior in their society can be seen in their public personas as users of English. A number of participants seemed to purposefully speak English in public to insert a higher status within their public communities. Since the use of English was not common among the same individuals in classrooms or the Department of English, and based on some of their pro-Western accounts, it could be concluded that their personas as users of English were deliberations of how superior they wanted to be perceived by society. This point seems to feed into their overall pro-Western positions within compartmentalisation ideology. Nevertheless, the display of their user-of-English identities with a sense of superiority towards their community individuals does not disregard the sense of inferiority they have towards the West.

In relation to persona, some participants seem to like the idea of being seen as feminist while others perceive that as shameful. Within the particular setting of this study, feminism occasionally seems to be associated with modernity, open-mindedness, and freedom, which, in

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[24] Also: Tchaouit. A term used to refer to the Berber inhabitants of a region located in the eastern part of Algeria which includes the province wherein the study was conducted. The term is also used to refer to the dialect spoken by Chaoui people.

turn, are regarded as attributes of the West. The fact that some participants have no specific idea of what feminism stands for or what it generally seeks to achieve, their affiliation as feminists can be seen as a way of associating with their preferred attributes of the West. That is, their West idealist position seems to have constructed a desire to be associated with the West and being feminist is among the ways in which that can be achieved. Since feminism is usually seen as a Western property, many individuals often see it as opposing to religion and the Algerian 'culture'.

Although some participants sought to explain that there was no opposition between Islam and certain types of feminism, others expressed attachment to both in spite of their alleged incompatibility. This can be explained by a possible clash between their sense of 'religious' self and their idealisation of the West. Because they perceive them as essentially opposing in nature, wanting to be affiliated with the West while being religiously right seems to be a point of confusion for some participants.

Some participants' discourses within the community have to do with the fear of acculturation and "change of identity" by exposure to the West. These perceptions of the West a threat are, in some cases, related to conservatism. Thus, the participants' conservatist selves are amongst the reasons why the division between the West and Algeria is upheld. A number of participants perceive the West as a threat to the values of the Algerian culture and society, which seems to strongly relate to the essentialist and ethnocentric ideological positions. Since many participants perceive identity as a monolithic entity, the West is generally perceived as a threat because it is believed to lead to the destruction of their identities.

The main issue is that the West and Algeria are seen in terms of inescapable difference, which is why the existence of one would mean the erosion of the other especially to individuals to whom culture and identity are static and rigid entities. In some cases, conservatism seems to spring from a 'right' reality that individuals construct. It appears that when some participants actively process the idea of how they perceive the West, it becomes necessary to react to those thoughts by trying to protect their 'culture' and 'identity'. This is among the main reasons why conservatism is not restricted to individuals who generally construct discourses that appertain to the anti-Western pole of compartmentalisation ideology. It is a construct that even individuals with the seemingly most pro-Western inclinations have, which indicates that it can be composed of contrasting sets of ideas.

In the same vein, individuals' seemingly nationalist tendencies can be traced back to a variety of thought processes, some of which appear to uphold the division between the West and Algeria, as part of the 'Rest'. While some participants' accounts concerning their love for

their nation seem to spring from a belief that it is superior at certain levels, others' accounts appear to still feed into the pro-Western side of compartmentalisation ideology. These individuals' enthusiasm about their nation springs from their desire to reach the West. Although many of them expressed the idea that the West is unreachable, their aspiration to get closer seems to govern some of their nationalist discourses, which feed into their sense of inferiority towards the West.

The final chapter provides further discussion of the key findings in the study and presents the implications that arose from the study. It also deals with the factors that contributed to the construction of participants' ideological positions.

8. FURTHER DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter sets out to address three important points. First, it seeks to provide a recapitulation of the most important points discussed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, in terms of establishing the relationship between all constructs in more concise terms. Second, it seeks to provide an answer to the fourth research question: "*What are the factors that contributed to the construction of participants' ideological positions?*", which I tackle in this chapter mainly because it leads up to some implications of the study. Third, it provides a description of the implications of the current study which occur at the level of research methodology and ELT practices, and also extend to society on the whole. In addition, this chapter also presents a conclusion to the thesis, in which I review the research aims, summarise what is presented in the thesis, and briefly answer every research question individually.

In the following section, I provide a concise discussion that explains the overarching key finding of the study: how all participants' views and behaviours discussed in this study, which are related to various ideological and non-ideological constructs, are brought together by means of compartmentalisation ideology.

8.1. How it all comes together

On several occasions throughout the thesis, I have explicitly stated that compartmentalisation ideology is encompassing of other participants' ideological positions in the sense that many of their views and behaviours seem to be based on degrees of superiority and inferiority which are necessarily tied up to the West-Rest dualism. In this section, I briefly recapitulate how the participants' statements discussed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 are related to compartmentalisation ideology. One of the most widespread and perceptible ideological positions held by individuals within the community is nativespeakerism.

In spite of the thick-centredness of nativespeakerism among the participants in the study, its existence is almost entirely related to notions of difference in terms of superiority and inferiority. As per the discussions provided in Section 5.1, this differentiation can be seen at the level of various aspects. For instance, the participants' constant use of the term 'native speaker' to refer to anything that is believed to be superior – not only in terms of language but also at the level of thinking and production – can be seen as a way in which nativespeakerism is bound by compartmentalisation ideology. That is, the participants' perceptions of 'native speakers' who happen to be Western, and 'non-native speakers' of English, who are non-Western, seems

to be governed by convictions of necessary differences that involve the idea that the English-speaking West is superior at the level of many aspects including methods, knowledge, and appearance. Thus, it can be argued that the 'native-non-native' dualism is a more specific form of the West-Rest dualism that is also governed by compartmentalisation ideology. This type of dualism is directly articulated in the form of West idealism.

Participants' seemingly West idealist statements can be regarded as the most obviously related to compartmentalisation ideology. The discussions in Section 5.2 denote that participants perceive the West as essentially superior to Algeria, as part of the 'Rest'. Expressions like "I bet they don't have mud in the UK" can be indicative of the certainty of difference embedded in the everyday discourses of the participants within the community. This difference is clearly related to the eulogization of the West that is perceived as necessarily superior to Algeria, which made every negatively perceived occurrence in Algeria contrasted to the idealised image of the West. In other words, the participants' negative attitudes towards any incidents in their society are directly accompanied by a reverse positive image that they believe takes place in the West. Given that West idealism is a thick-centred ideological position within the context of this study, it did not seem to need other positions to stand out. On the contrary, participants' thin-centred ideological positions such as populism, essentialism, and culturalism appear to require the presence of one another or other more solid sets of ideological positions to thrive. Thus, although individuals' views that tie them up to those positions appear to have more than once facet, the way in which they relate to West idealism is particularly noticeable.

Participants' populist views in the community seem to be divided into two different types, which both appear to be related to compartmentalisation ideology. The first view relates to oligarchy at the macro level. Individuals who possess this type of view demonise the West and see it as the "malicious" force that endeavours to take over less fortunate, albeit morally superior, nations of the 'Rest' of the world. This relates to the westophobic ideological position held by individuals who display similar sets of realities. On the contrary, the second view held by participants, which leans towards the pro-Western side of compartmentalisation ideology and draws on West idealism, demonises the Algerian higher authorities and blames them for the type of inferiority that is believed to have come to befall Algeria throughout the years. This demonisation is clearly opposed to an idealised image of perceived superior Western standards, which is directly linked to West idealism. Part of the reason why participants held populist and West idealist views is a dual essentialist position that they appear to occupy.

Participants also expressed various views that appeared to be essentialist, which seem to involve nuances of Othering and self-Othering. This type of Othering, as well as any essentialist views that the participants seemed to have about the West and themselves, has been a salient aspect of the way compartmentalisation ideology was maintained within the community. The participants' essentialist views of the West and their 'cultures' and society seem to be bound by a view that compartmentalises the essentialised criteria and attributes them to senses of superiority and inferiority. For instance, as described in Section 6.2, Salah's essentialist view of "materialistic" Americans places the American society, as part of the West, within a compartment of inferior difference, and so is the case with other essentialist and Othering claims that the participants made. The thin-centredness of essentialism within the community can be seen in the way the participants display them in relation to either West idealism and culturalism or westophobia and ethnocentrism depending on whether the difference is translated in terms of superiority or inferiority respectively.

Individuals who hold the culturalist position tend to view cultures as superior or inferior to one another. This type of division falls within the broader frame of compartmentalisation ideology that is inclusive of more than just cultures. Thus, when individuals say that Culture X is superior to Culture Y, what underpins their statement is the belief that cultures are essentially different and that difference necessarily admits degrees of superiority and inferiority. In most instances, this thin-centred ideological position was connected with West idealism since the superiority of Western cultures seems to spring from the participants' idealisation of the West.

The fact that some participants perceive their cultures as superior led them to construct a sense of judgement towards anything that is not culturally similar to theirs. That dissimilarity is seen as a defect as per participants' ethnocentric positioning. Hence, as far as Western values are concerned, most ethnocentric claims expressed by individuals within the community are bound by the belief that the West is culturally inferior, as opposed to their own cultures, which is one of the premises of compartmentalisation ideology. In particular, participants who displayed ethnocentrism often linked that to a westophobic position that they appeared to hold since their ethnocentric beliefs about the inferiority of Western cultures could be seen in conjunction with an overall demonising view of the West.

In the same way that participants' West idealist tendencies abide by the standards of compartmentalisation ideology, westophobic ones do in the way that the West is seen as essentially different from the 'Rest' of the world which includes Algeria. The demonisation of the West is, thus, accompanied by a sense of superiority that somewhat helps people make sense of the difference. Although this demonisation can be explained by a reverse position to an

existing awareness of the idealisation of the West, it can also be seen in relation to an ethnocentric position as well as certain aspects of participants' essentialist and populist inclinations. The way in which these participants' positions relate to compartmentalisation ideology is more or less the same. The type of demonisation falls within the overall category of division. This division was also often fuelled by an apparent reverse sense of superiority towards the West, which I labelled reverse-(neo)-orientalism within the context of this study.

The participants' reverse-(neo)-orientalist position is another form of the anti-Western stance that is greatly related to westophobia. It is often displayed as a reaction to the discourses that are believed to exist in the West about the non-West. Thus, the demonisation of the West, which is accompanied by eulogization of local beliefs and practices, seems to fall within the anti-Western category of compartmentalisation ideology, and also relates to other sets of individuals' ideological positions such as ethnocentrism, essentialism, and predominantly, westophobia.

Because participants tend to demonstrate many of these ideological positions codependently through their different accounts, the relationship these seem to have with the identity construction is bound by compartmentalisation ideology, which, in turn, shapes and is shaped by how the different discourses that contribute to the construction of identity operate. In this regard, the way in which compartmentalisation ideology relates to identity construction can be seen in several aspects including the religious and ethnic facets of people's identities, their personas, as well as certain sentiments that usually relate to how individuals were brought up and their views of the world, which, specifically, are conservatism, nationalism, and feminism.

A number of participants expressed different views that all seemed to feed into what some of them called "alienation". These senses of alienation can be traced back to how they perceived the West as opposed to their communities, which is related to their West idealist, essentialist, culturalist, as well as nativespeakerist positioning. Their apparent idealisation of the West seems to have led many of them to express allegiance towards the West since that would make them perceive themselves as superior individuals within their society. In addition, participants' religious and ethnic identities were often juxtaposed to the West. While some individuals chose to negotiate their religious or ethnic identities to reinforce their idealised views of the West, others seemed to express them in opposition to Western attributes whilst idealising the West, as in "I am Muslim, but…" and they carry on narrating how some perceived facets of their identities belonged to the West. Thus, in most instances, the religious and ethnic identities are juxtaposed to the pro-Western facet of compartmentalisation ideology.

Similar to religious and ethnic identities, some participants' personas within the wider backdrop of society were often connected to their idealisation of the West. By deliberately positioning themselves as users of English in spaces where Algerian Arabic was commonly spoken, the participants unintentionally positioned themselves within the pro-Western side of compartmentalisation ideology since their use of the English language seemed to be purposefully done to insert a higher position within the Algerian-Arabic speaking society. Hence, their personas became a token of their idealisation of the English-speaking West, in particular, and the West in general.

Some participants' pro-Western positioning within compartmentalisation ideology also seem to be a prominent factor in the construction of their feminist personas. A number of them seemed to deliberately insert a feminist identity in order to display allegiance to the West since feminism is widely perceived as a Western product within the community. On the other hand, in relation to their ethnocentric and westophobic tendencies, some participants' positioning within the anti-Western side of compartmentalisation ideology seems to have contributed to the construction of conservatist identities. The anti-Western stance appeared to also be responsible for the display of a nationalist identity among some participants, which did not seem to be entirely based on Westophobia, but still acknowledged the perceived supremacy of the West.

The construction of participants' ideological positions and discourses within the community and the relationship they have with identity construction and maintenance seems to go back to a number of causes. Based on the collected and analysed data, the following section seeks to provide an answer to the final research question: *"What are the factors that contributed to the construction of ideologies and ideological positions in the community?"*. Explicitly, it seeks to delineate the nature of some of the reasons behind the construction and maintenance of participants' ideological positions and identities in this study.

8.2. Beginnings and continuance

In this section, I discuss what I deem the most clearly articulated causes behind the participants' construction of compartmentalisation ideology and the ideological positions that underpin it. Although there do exist a number of other reasons that I assume contributed to this construction but do not provide any actual discussion about, the factors discussed in this section were chosen mainly due to the presence of in-depth data that support their existence. In addition, even though these factors are discussed in relation to specific individuals' views and opinions that link them to certain ideological positions, the fact that the participants' discourses had a major contribution in the construction and maintenance of these views is evident. It is, therefore,

worth mentioning that discourse could be seen as the major source to the construction and maintenance of the participants' ideological positions and identities as well as most of the factors discussed in the following subsections.

8.2.1. Limited exposure

While some participants' opinions and beliefs about the West seem to have originated from experience, others appear to have been grounded upon limited exposure and are, in most instances, fed by the stereotypes established as part of the participants' socialisation processes. In this segment, I refer to social media, media, and reported occurrences as 'limited exposure'. A number of these instances were directly addressed by the participants like Bee who said:

> We can see it everywhere; the media, people who lived there, TV, movies, documentaries […] [E]verywhere.

(Bee, student, pair interview)

The sources Bee mentioned here seem to be amongst the reasons why her beliefs about the ideal West have been constructed. As I previously mentioned, I have decided to refer to this type of experience as *limited exposure*. It is limited because the participants did not seem to acquire those beliefs based on personal experience, nor did they obtain them from direct exposure. Alternatively, they were based on occurrences that have been reported to the participants or portrayed by the different kinds of media.

Similarly, Omar said:

> […] [A]nd everybody can see it […] We can see them in their movies, series, on YouTube, even the quality of images is better […].

(Omar, teacher, informal conversation)

Omar's idealisation of the West also seems to be partially based on limited exposure since he had been to Western countries before. Although he indicated on another occasion that he was "aware of the dangers of media", his idealisation of the West seems to be governed by what he was constantly exposed to through diverse sorts of media. This also applies to Maya who assumed that "Westerners are more hardworking than us", when I asked her where she acquired this view, she responded:

> I see on YouTube, social media; they work hard.

(Maya, student, individual interview)

Her response appears to indicate how uncritically she seemed to trust what is portrayed on social media. Many of the thoughts she expressed in the focus group, interviews, and casual discussions we had seem to relate to this issue.

Maya seems to regard her limited exposure as experience. In addition to social media, she seems to base her perception of "experience" on occurrences that were communicated to her through other people. When I asked her where she believed her views originated, her answer was:

> Experience, because I've seen how my teachers teach and everything and I've seen on YouTube and in movies. So, I think it's experience. I've talked to people who shared their experience with me.

(Maya, student, individual interview)

Her statement seems to validate a reality that she previously chose to represent. It seems that her overgeneralised assumptions of the West were bound by the judgements that were transferred to her by people whom she believed had had actual experience, and by what was depicted in social media and the like.

Similar to West idealism, westophobia, along with the ideological positions associated with it, seems to have had its share in the community based on limited exposure. Maissa, for instance, generally talked about videos that she had seen on YouTube, which she believed "exposed" the West and their intentions. Other participants like Samy talked about videos that they had seen on Facebook about Americans being racist towards people. In one instance, Samy told a story of an American person who was "kicked out" of a supermarket for being a Muslim, which he supposed was video-recorded and released on Facebook for "the world to see". Samy also reported being a fan of "social experiments" that he seemed to believe revealed the true nature of people.

This type of unconsented video recorded social experiments seems to have had an impact on the way individuals perceived the world. For instance, Maya's essentialist views about the West and the 'Rest' seem to have been partially constructed by means of the social experiments she had seen on social media. On one occasion, she backed up her belief of how selfish Western people were, according to her, by referring to a social experiment she had seen on Facebook about a man beating his wife in public without anyone attempting to stop him. Selma interrupted saying:

No. I have seen that video and they only interfered when they saw a white person beating his wife because it is normal in Third World countries that these things happen, but not in Western countries.

<div align="right">(Maya, Selma, students, group discussion)</div>

While it might be true that Maya and Selma held somewhat different views about the West, their opinions were endorsed by the same type of observed content. Nevertheless, their interpretation of the content differed according to the positions they seemed to hold, which resulted in different views.

A similar instance of limited exposure occurred when I asked Shay where she obtained her beliefs about the differences between her community and the West. Her answer was:

From movies, social media, people tell us that all the time […] Things like that.

<div align="right">(Shay, student, individual interview)</div>

Based on her answer, she seemed to be passively conscious about the source of some of her thoughts. This means that she did not seem to be willing act upon her awareness of the issue, which she regarded as a bonus because it presumably brought her closer to Western 'cultures'. However, what she appeared to be unaware of is how limited that could be. Together with that, she stated that some of those ideas were communicated to her by other people which seems to relate to when she said:

Many of my friends are not Algerians, like they're German, American […] and when I talk to them, I feel that I should be where they are because it's so perfect.

<div align="right">(Shay, Facebook Messenger call)</div>

Although this statement is largely related to identity, I believe that the fact that Shay associated her 'Western' friends with the 'perfection' of the West might indicate that they are related.

In other words, previously, Shay mentioned that she obtained her views from people, which may suggest that she was indirectly exposed to what was said to her by "people". Based on this last statement of hers, these "people" could include her Western friends. Another aspect that this statement appears to indicate is the relationship between the construction of identity and the creation of ideologies. These views were shared by a number of other participants including Leila, Bayso, and Chaima. What also seems to be noteworthy is the idea that these individuals extensively used social media on daily basis. Another salient aspect in the creation

and maintenance of these ideological positions is the socialisation process of individuals in the community.

8.2.2. Socialisation

Another foundation of participants' views and opinions about the West and Algeria within the community is socialisation. Since most participants in this study share a similar sociohistorical background, their socialisation processes seem to have had several aspects in common. The fact that some individuals grew up being exposed to expressions that compartmentally eulogized the West in different ways might have had an impact on the way they perceived the West. One of these instances was articulated by Nora who said:

> In the past they used to always tell us in Western countries they are better, and students work hard, and they do this and that and they are better […].

<div align="right">(Nora, teacher, formal interview)</div>

It seems that this view of the idealised West has been constructed throughout interaction with society overall and teachers specifically by means of discourse. Like other participants, Nora openly stated that what she was exposed to as part of her socialisation process involved glorification of the West which is probably the reason why she grew up believing that they were glorious until she finally saw for herself.

Nora's views concerning the West seem to be mainly dictated by socialisation. However, real exposure to Western values seem to have constructed a new reality. While representing this reality, she subconsciously backed up her claim about some origins of her deep-rooted beliefs about the West:

> [A]nd once I attended a session one of my very first sessions of summer school and the teacher came late and I wrote this as a remark, the students came late. I said okay, she's a professor and she came late why do they always tell us that they are punctual and that they value time? It's like a myth; that's what I said to myself at that moment. She had already given them the material to read and then she made this kind of traditional lecture.

<div align="right">(Nora, formal interview)</div>

Her description of the situation seems to indicate that she was introduced to a reality other than the one she imagined. Her imagination and expectations appear to have come from society which she referred to as "they". She was so surprised that they could be unpunctual *too* that she took note of what happened. In addition, even though she later expressed that her experience

overseas changed the way she perceived the West, her deep-rooted reality, which relates to her idealisation of the West, was often subliminally displayed.

While Nora showed no knowledge of where her idealisation of the West might have originated, Bayso expressed awareness of where he believed he obtained his ideas. In this regard, he stated:

> Maybe society has a role to play in my wanting to go abroad, but other things. I think it's my understanding of my surrounding and of what is good and better and what is bad is what has a big role in what I think.

> (Bayso, teacher, formal interview)

Bayso, like other participants, seemed to realise that society was amongst the reasons why they acquired such beliefs about the West. In addition to his view about how society shaped his mindset, he also added that that part of his convictions was based on what he judged as right or wrong which I believe was, in itself, premised on deep-rooted social convictions.

Concerning the topic of going abroad, a question that I constantly received in the field was how I obtained the opportunity to study in the UK:

> […] Chaima – a peripheral student participant – asked me if I'll ever come back to Algeria after finishing my studies in the UK. When I said yes, she said: "if you really want to come back, can we swap? Can I go to live in the UK instead of you?". When I asked her why she said: "it's my dream […] it's everybody's dream to go live in a developed country and you have that chance and you want to let it go" […] She carried on talking about how she and her friends tried to go to the USA by applying to the Fulbright scholarship and how she thought about using that to find a job and settle there, but all of them failed. She said that she got into "depression" especially after she told her community acquaintances, and everyone supported her choice […].

> (Excerpt from journal)

The fact that Chaima said that she was depressed when she did not get accepted for the scholarship seems to indicate the extent to which she longed to go, which seems to be related to her perceptions about the West in general and in the USA in particular.

Regardless of that, the pact she made with her friends about staying in the US after obtaining the scholarship appears to designate that her ideas about the West were shared amongst the friends with whom she made the agreement. In addition to her friends, there were the community members that she said encouraged her to migrate to the USA. Chaima's statements do not directly indicate how her ideas originated in the first place, but they do suggest that her ideas were backed up by social beliefs and convictions which were maintained through

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discourse. In addition to social beliefs, peer influence seems to be a constituent part in the way Chaima's thoughts were constructed or reinforced.

By the same token, Maissa and Kinda's ethnocentric and westophobic statements also seem to be a product of socialisation. In many instances, both of them shared stories about their upbringings and families. In a conversation that they both had about the grades of students, Maissa said how the old generations were "so much better" than the current ones. Kinda answered:

> The best among us used to get no more than 13, and now they get 19 but their minds are empty.

> (Kinda, teacher, overheard conversation)

To that, Maissa responded saying that their exposure to what the West had to offer affected their brains because:

> Western countries intend to make our people stupid so that they always stay on top when in fact they are nothing but what we make of them.

> (Maissa, teacher, overheard conversation)

Kinda agreed and added: "our parents warned us against these things and that's why we can't be easily fooled like them".

This short, yet rich, conversation between Kinda and Maissa was insightful in many ways. To name a few, it highlighted the relationship between different ideological constructs such as westophobia, backwardness, ethnocentrism, and essentialism, in the sense that it somewhat delineated a possible way in which these constructs could be connected. In addition, it provided proof of how these ideological constructs appertain to compartmentalisation ideology. To put it more sharply, although the main focus of the conversation was the grades of students, it quickly escalated to compartmentalise qualities of the West which were believed to be contradictory to theirs. Last but not least, the most relevant point to the objectives of this section is the idea that both Maissa and Kinda referred to their parents which might indicate that the way they had been brought up had an impact on their ways of thinking.

8.2.3. Stereotypes

Amongst the most salient aspects in the construction and maintenance of participants' views about the West within the community is stereotypes. This aspect intertwines with other aspects such as limited exposure and socialisation. Some of the stereotypes held by people in the community are specific to them; they were communicated through various means such as

discourse. Throughout the data collection phase, several participants expressed stereotypical views about the West and other countries which they believed were part of the 'Rest'. These stereotypical beliefs, some of which were described in several instances in previous chapters, seem to be connected to the type of ideological positions that individuals hold. In this subsection, I discuss occurrences that were previously referred to as stereotypical in previous chapters. Many of these stereotypical beliefs are related to essentialism to a great extent. For instance, in the focus group discussion, when the students were handed the photos of different-looking teachers, Samy picked the teacher whom he thought was Japanese because he had a stereotypical belief that their English was funny which feeds into his nativespeakerist position. By the same token, Imene's seemingly stereotypical beliefs about African American people made her choose a teacher because she thought she worked hard on herself unlike the other 'white native speaker'.

Similar to nativespeakerism, West idealism seems to be maintained by the type of stereotypes held about the West and the 'Rest' as discussed by Hall (1992). In this regard, several participants' eulogization of the West seems to go back to their stereotypical beliefs. Examples of this would be Nora's idea of punctuality and Houssam's perception of ethics, which are both shared by several other participants in the study. The fact that the participants thought that all Western people were punctual and highly ethical research-wise as opposed to the non-punctual and unethical 'Third World' seems to have reinforced their idealisation of Western values and standards. Reverse-(neo)-orientalism, westophobia, ethnocentrism, and other related ideological positions are equivalently connected to stereotypes. For instance, various ethnocentric beliefs about the West appear to be based on stereotypes such as weak and undervalued familial relations and over-liberation including such things as drinking and sexual relations. These ideas were communicated by different participants including Faya, Maissa, Aisha, Kinda, Lynda, and Hisham as described in previous chapters.

8.2.4. The 'Third World' narrative

A very obvious initiating point of compartmentalisation ideology as well as the participants' ideological positions that it encompasses is the Third World narrative. Much of the discussions that took place in the field were either based on or related to how the "Third World" was different from the West. Innumerable expressions that involved the use of the term were produced as part of the everyday life of individuals in the community. The term 'Third World' often implied notions of inferiority and primitiveness. The participants would often use it to refer to negative aspects of their community or to address positive aspects of the West and

contrast them with what was believed to be ideal. Expressions similar to: "because we're in the Third World" (Houssam, teacher, informal conversation) were an indispensable part of usual discussions within the community, and they seemed to justify many individuals' actions.

Therefore, the Third World discourse is amongst the most important factors in the construction and maintenance of certain facets of compartmentalisation ideology. In addition to discourse, as well as the aforementioned factors, an important source that I assume operates at the level of pro-Western ideological positions is cultural imperialism (Bisong, 1995; Boyle, 1997; Tomlinson, 2001; Brooks, 2006; Neyazi, 2010; Choudhury, 2013; Mirrlees, 2013) which is also related to linguistic imperialism (Qiang and Wolff, 2005; Isik, 2008; Phillipson, 2012; Turberfield, 2013) language wise. Since these constructs have not emerged as part of my data, they are not dealt with in this thesis.

As previously described, being a former student in the Department meant that I, myself, was immersed in those discourses for a period long enough that I participated in their maintenance. In the following section, I describe how my personal subjectivities developed alongside the development of my research.

8.3. Development of subjectivities

In this section, I describe my subjectivities in relation to the development that occurred to me throughout my research journey. My study developed from attempting to investigate language ideologies exclusively to exploring the notion of compartmentalisation ideology as well as the relationship it has with the identity of my participants. Alongside that development, my own identity as a researcher developed through time not only in terms of my position as a researcher, but also how I perceived occurrences with a community as an individual who had long been part of that community. Before the 'mud' incident, as described in section 1.1, I perceived myself as an individual whose job was to scrutinise the participants' every move without feeling the need to pause and think of how I could relate to them and their views. Although I was aware of the fact that I was required to be reflexive with regard to how I was to approach phenomena, being in the field was more challenging especially in terms of the way I perceived my personal trajectories in relation to my research.

The more I interacted with the participants and analysed the phenomena that took place in the field, the more I realised that I was not too different from them. I, too, had been there, and I, too, had long produced statements similar to theirs. It took me the entire research period to raise my own awareness of the issues and to actively think about them in a way that would make me less biased towards my prejudgements and personal preferences. Therefore, my

reflexivity as a researcher was somewhat dependent on the extent to which I defamiliarized myself with the familiar. Without this defamiliarization, I would not have been able to perceive the phenomena that occurred in the field, nor would I have been able to interact with the participants in the way that I did because I was so immersed in those discourses myself that it was difficult to look at them from a different lens.

I gave myself the label of the insider right from the beginning, but after completing the research, I wonder if I had really been an insider all along. In my opinion, the criteria of an insider include them not detaching themself from their participants' views and behaviours, which is something that I failed to do for a while especially at the beginning of my data collection. However, coming to realise that my interpretation of the participants' views and behaviours was dependent upon my personal trajectories seemed to strengthen my insiderness. This means that I was not only analysing my participants' views, but I was also analysing and altering my own along the way.

8.4. Implications for further research, ELT, and the social milieu

In this section, I discuss the implications of my study at three different levels. I explain how my study contributed to the overall framework of ethnographic research by extensively using repertory grids alongside other ethnographic tools to provide a more thorough understanding of participants' views in the setting. In addition, I describe how the findings of the study might contribute to the overall understanding of both the ELT environment as well as the social setting that surrounds it.

8.4.1. Avant-garde repertory grids

As previously mentioned in earlier sections, the use of repertory grids seems to be somewhat unrecognised in ethnographic research. Their use in this study could provide an additional framework to their use in ethnographic research. The fact that the students answered the questions that they, themselves, asked was very useful in the understanding of how thoughts were constructed in their brains and then communicated by means of numbers and justifications of those numbers. I described repertory grids in previous chapters as "guided narratives" to highlight their significance in the smoothness and spontaneity of the participants when undertaking repertory-grid-based interviews without neglecting the fact that the constructs addressed were covered and expanded upon. Additionally, applying the social constructionist framework to the study by use of repertory grids played a significant role in the way the study was executed. Only a small number of scholars extensively addressed this method – or tool –

in ethnographic research. Nevertheless, an even lesser number of researchers provided a detailed account of the use of repertory grids in ethnographic research. Thus, the repertory grid that I constructed could be used as a reference to future ethnographic pieces of research that involve the use of repertory grids. Since the construction of the repertory grid was mainly based on my interactions with the participants and the focus group that I conducted beforehand, the same type of pattern could be used as to delineate how repertory grids can be used in connection with other tools and methods of ethnographic research. Hence, the one used in this research can be used as a template on which newly developed ones can be based.

8.4.2. Palpable practices

The presence of some ideological constructs within the community seems to have had an impact on the teaching and learning practices of individuals. For instance, as per the nativespeakerist mindset, in the same way that teachers were constantly compared to 'native speakers' of English in terms of performance and knowledge, students were habitually compared to an idealised image of the 'native speaker' and 'Western' student. This idealised image often engendered issues such as assuming that the students' competency levels correlated with their performance compared to 'native speaker' and 'Western' students in the sense that, in some instances, the teachers would set an ideal that students would only get near obtaining if their answers or performance matched that which was already set according to imagined 'native speaker' and 'Western' standards. These ideas, which are believed to be restricted to Western students, include autonomy, critical thinking, and intelligence. Perceptibly, this type of idealisation impacts upon the grades that students obtain as well as their status within the community. As a matter of fact, being aware of the existence of such ideological positions and the consequences they can have might result in prudence about the practices that the ideologies may entail.

Moreover, in relation to the anti-Western facet of compartmentalisation ideology, it seems that westophobic individuals eschew being exposed to Western content because of the negative impact that they fear may befall them, which makes them less exposed to the language than they actually would if they had been more accepting of the type of content that is supposedly carried with the language. To some extent, this is also related to culturalism and ethnocentrism, in the sense that when individuals assume that their cultures are better, the thought that the learning of a language transmits the learning of culture might affect their aptitude to learn the language. Thus, ideas like those seem to have constructed a certain type of reality for when it comes to teaching the language of the 'necessarily different' "other" as some

would choose to call it. Thus, awareness about these matters may result in the construction of new realities that affect people's ways of perceiving as well as receiving the language, their aptitudes, and may possibly even lead to the construction of new facets in their identities.

Another example that relates to the pro-Western facet of compartmentalisation ideology would be the 'backwardness' mindset. It appears that the fact that many individuals within the community perceive the education system as deteriorating led several of them to consider university to merely be a source of money or diplomas that they can use to find jobs in other sectors – preferably overseas. That seems to have led many of them to contribute less to the teaching and learning community. In other words, by maintaining such narratives within the community, many participants communicated the idea that teaching became less "noble" for them because they could not teach in the way that they wanted due to systemic restrictions as opposed to Western countries whose teachers and students were at liberty to provide knowledge because their systems moved forward and not backwards. This idea seems to have led many individuals within the community to consider living abroad at any expense.

Therefore, raising awareness about the types of division caused by the discourses that underpin compartmentalisation ideology may be of great influence on the way individuals contribute to the community. Although it would be practically unreasonable to assume that awareness might completely disregard such division, adding this as a type of right reality that individuals might choose to display could minimise the negative effects of both the pro- and anti-Western facets of compartmentalisation ideology. Since the practices shaped by the ideological positions held by individuals expand to society on the whole, the idea of leaving the country seems to be reinforced by discourse amongst many individuals. The implications of this are described in the following subsection.

8.4.3. El-Harga[25] interrogated

Evidently, the community seems to be divided into three fractions: Potential Harraga(s)[26], supporters of El-Harga, and opposers of it. I argue that compartmentalisation ideology and its pro-Western facet are amongst the most salient factors in the encouragement of the phenomenon. The idealised envisagement of the West as a piece of paradise and a haven seems to have led people within the community to acclaim any 'ways out' of Algeria even if that threatens their or other people's lives. Discourses about El-Harga have taken various routes

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[25] A term that literally translates to "burning" (the borders). This term refers to North African attempts – or attainment – to illegally enter European countries mainly by sea.

[26] People who attempt to perform or succeed in performing El-Harga.

between the supporters and the opposers. While there are people who think of El-Harga as a despicable act despite their idealisation of the West, such as Karima who said: "I would rather be buried here in the mud of my country than drown in the ocean and never be found or be buried in the flowers of Hawaii with no one attending my funeral" (Excerpt from journal), others encourage the act of Harga in spite of how unethical it is and the dangers it entails.

In point of fact, most individuals in the community seem to be unaware of the ideological positions that they hold. Their support of El-Harga and their unwillingness to contribute to society because of their constant desire to move to the 'fairyland' of the West can be partially explained by their lack of awareness which, in turn, appears to be a prominent reason why their thoughts about illegal emigration are so vivid and extreme. Therefore, optimistically, raising their awareness about the fact that the discourses in their community underpin a massive ideology that draws a line between them and the West – and groups together all positions that cultivate the realisation of that – might be of help in making some of them realise that, perhaps, there should not necessarily be a 'way out'. If new discourses that seek to unleash the constructs within the compartments become part of the community so that not everything is explained in terms of superiority and inferiority to the West, oppositions to El-Harga might gradually thrive and encouragement of that phenomenon might grow smaller, which may lead to less people attempting to commit it.

8.5. Conclusions

In this section, I provide a restatement of the study aims and concise answers to the research questions. There have been various discussions on the nature of the participants' views and opinions in the setting. The main aim of the study has been to delineate the nature of the participants' views and behaviours in relation to their identity construction and to the ideological positions that they occupy within the studied community. The overarching argument is that individuals' views, which position them ideologically, seem to be part of compartmentalisation ideology whether that be on direct or indirect basis. Hence, compartmentalisation ideology is the umbrella under which most participants' ideological positions stand. Although there has not been a separate section that is dedicated to compartmentalising ideology in spite of its immensity, the fact that it is deeply rooted within the construction and maintenance of every ideological position addressed in this study can explain why dedicating specific sections to discuss the ideology would be of great restriction to the nature of it.

The following points briefly recapitulate the answers to my research questions, which were extensively answered in Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8:

    i.   *How do participants position themselves ideologically in the setting?*

- Participants' accounts concerning a variety of topics and issues positioned them within different ideological positions that had to do with the West and Algeria, as part of the 'Rest':

    a. Their discourses about the English language and the perceived superiority of 'native speakers' of English seem to be backed up by views that idealise 'native speakers' not only for 'possessing' the English language, but also for being 'Western'. Their Western-ness, therefore, became a quality by which they were perceived as superior not only in terms of language and teaching methodology, but also in terms of critical thinking and criticality, ethics, appearance, and intelligence. These beliefs, which appear to position them within the nativespeakerist position, are also held about non-English speaking Western people in general. This seems to position them within West idealism, which also happens to be a thick-centred ideological position within the community due to its pervasiveness in the field alongside nativespeakerism.

    b. The participants' seemingly populist accounts about politics and the education system in Algeria also seemed to feed into the West-Rest discourses in a number of ways. Many individuals related the perceived deterioration of the education system to politics and contrasted that with the 'advanced' education system in the West, which was often related to the ethicality of Western societies. On the other hand, other individuals within the studied community demonised the West for allegedly seeking to dominate the world through such means as the English language. These various views seemed to support different stations within the populist position.

    c. Many of the participants' views about the West appear to be based on a set of preconceived characteristics of what Western, and non-Western, societies are like, which seems to position them within the essentialist ideological position. Their essentialist views also seem to be divided into pro- and anti-Western depending on the realities they display.

    d. Participants' essentialist beliefs about cultures also seem to have led to the construction of perceptions of superiority and inferiority between cultures, which appears to place individuals within the culturalist position. The belief that some

cultures are better than others was so common among individuals that its existence was unquestionable.

e. Many of the anti-Western views held by individuals seem to be related to their essentialist negative judgments about the cultures of the perceived 'Other' on the grounds of their positive perceptions of their own 'culture'. By holding such views, participants position themselves as ethnocentric, which seems to dictate how they reject perceived cultural attributes that are different from theirs.

f. Individuals with a similar set of anti-Western perceptions, whether they be deeply rooted or based on a right reality that they sought to display, as described in previous chapters, also seemed to hold different views about how 'malicious' the West can be. Their demonisation of the West, rejection of Western 'attributes', and fear of anything that seems to be Western displays their occupation of the westophobic position. This position can also be related to certain beliefs they have about how they are perceived by the West.

g. These beliefs appear to have led many of them to develop opposing views to the West. By believing that they are despised by Western people for being Arabs and Muslims, some individuals seemed to develop a protective position, which is labelled reverse-(neo)-orientalism in the context of this study. Being positioned within the anti-Western stance, reverse-(neo)-orientalism has several characteristics in common with westophobia and ethnocentrism.

h. Overall, the participants' understanding of their surroundings appeared to necessitate constant contrast with the West and Western standards. This understanding seems to have been based on a perceived seesaw-relationship between the West and Algeria, as part of the 'Rest', in the sense that the superiority of one unavoidably entails inferiority of the other. These beliefs seem to have broadly positioned them within what is called compartmentalisation ideology in the context of this study. Participants' accounts that seemed to position them within other ideological positions such as West idealism and westophobia appeared to feed into compartmentalisation ideology, which encompasses most of their ideological positions that have to do with the West-Rest dualism.

ii. *To what extent are the participants' ideological positions interrelated?*

- Participants' ideological positions are interrelated in a number of ways:

a. The most obvious way is that all the participants' ideological positions dealt with in this study seem to be part of the all-encompassing compartmentalisation ideology. This ideology upholds the idea that qualities are mentally categorised into two separate compartments. These compartments are unswervingly associated with senses of superiority or inferiority to the West which partially decide on the pro- or anti-ness of the ideological positions that underpin this overarching ideology. With its opposing pro- and anti-Western poles, compartmentation ideology seems to be encompassing of most participants' discourses that have to do with the unavoidable West-Rest dualism. The accounts by which participants position themselves within the various ideological positions seem to eventually feed into compartmentalisation ideology because they often involve nuances of opposition with the West. Therefore, these participants' positions hold the division they sustain between the West and Algeria in common.

b. Another degree of interrelation lies in that participants who seem to be nativespeakerist idealise 'native speakers' of English, not only because English is their first language, but also because they happen to be Western. Hence, the participants' idealisation of them involves more than language command and methodology. It extends to their morals, appearance, living conditions and so forth. Their West idealist positioning, in turn, is related to a set of essentialist perceptions they seem to have about the West. These perceptions also concern culture, which seems to contribute to the construction of culturalist discourses within the community. Their idealisation of Western 'culture' is, thus, an intersection of essentialism, culturalism, and West idealism. A similar relationship lies at the level of their populist positioning. Individuals' essentialist perceptions of the West seem to have led to the creation of theories that seek to explain why the West is 'superior', which is how participants' West idealist, essentialist and populist discourses interconnect.

c. When dealt with as dominant deeply rooted realities, participants' anti-Western thin-centred ideological positions are also interconnected. Participants' fear and resentment towards the West, which positions them within westophobia, is, in many instances, backed up by how they negatively judge Western cultural attributes based on their own, which seems to be ethnocentric. These ethnocentric views are also essentialist because individuals assume that being

Western dictates the performance of certain behaviours which are undesirable according to their own set of cultural codes. Their westophobic positioning also seems to intersect with how they believe they are perceived by the West. Feeling disliked and having the impression that they are being looked down on by Western societies seems to have constructed a reverse-(neo)-orientalist position in which participants disdain the West, which seems to have contributed to the development of some of their westophobic views.

iii. *To what extent are the participants' identities related to the ideological positions they hold?*

- The relationship lies in the way participants perceive themselves and the world around them through constant comparison with the West, which can be seen in a number of ways:

    a. Participants express feelings of alienation within their society as a way of distancing themselves from their Algerian counterparts. By saying that they feel alienated in their surroundings and affiliating themselves with the West, they somewhat insert a superior position that seems to draw on their West idealist positioning.

    b. Participants' religious identities are also displayed in relation to their idealisation of the West by constantly juxtaposing perceived virtues of the West with aspects of their religion. The perceived commonalities between Islam and the West appear to have reinforced their beliefs about the superiority of the West, which, in turn, seem to have had an impact on the way they perceived themselves.

    c. Their ethnic identities are most often seen as conflicting to their perceptions of the 'ideal' West. This opposition was, in some instances, translated in terms of a middle ground between the West and perceived Berber identity in which participants would seek to find commonalities between both. In other cases, the clash between the perceived image of the 'ideal' West and Berber resulted in refutation of some Berber attributes.

    d. Participants' intentional display of certain facets of their identities through the use of English, for instance, in order to insert a higher status within society can also be indicative of their West idealist positioning.

    e. Their personas are also inserted in relation to their perceptions of feminism. Because feminism is generally seen as a Western product within the community,

participants with apparent ethnocentric or westophobic tendencies seem to perceive being associated with feminism as discreditable. On the other hand, those whose discourses position them as West idealist associate feminism with Western modernity and freedom which makes them claim a feminist identity.

f. Participants' ethnocentric and westophobic positions seem to have had an impact on how conservative they believed they should be. Their conservatist inclinations were considered to be a shield that would protect their 'identity' and 'culture' from the threats caused to them by the West.

g. Although participants purposefully projected a sense of alleged superiority to the West based on their occasional nationalist sentiments, their accounts would still indicate inferiority to the West. Even in the midst of their most seemingly nationalist accounts, they would still express subordination to the West on the basis of their West idealist positioning.

iv. *What are the factors that contributed to the construction of participants' ideological positions?*

- As discussed earlier in this chapter (Section 8.2), there are numerous factors that contributed to the construction of participants' various ideological positions as part of compartmentalisation ideology. Amongst these factors are limited exposure which includes social media, media, and social narratives, as well as socialisation, stereotypes, and the Third World narrative.

In relation to the discussions provided in the last four chapters as well as the implications addressed in Section 8.3, it can be said that individuals within the community have become so 'blinded' by the constructed discourses that feed into compartmentalisation ideology and the positions that underpin it – whether they be thick- or thin-centred, pro- or anti-Western – that they are no longer able to consider weighing the blessings and burdens of both 'worlds' in a way that makes them see how the differences that they have long essentially compartmentalised and interpreted in terms of superiority and inferiority, are, in fact, but a set of related mental constructions which were dispersed through discourses that have been in the community for too long.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Repertory grid

Similarity Pole 1	Accent	Research	Teaching	Critical Thinking	Appearance	Level of Education	Content	Living Conditions	Way of Life	Fun	Contrast Pole 5
'Ours'											'Theirs'
Important								X	X	X	Not Important
											Not Culture Related
Culture-related											Not Culture Related
Time-bound											Not time-bound
Space-bound											Not space-bound

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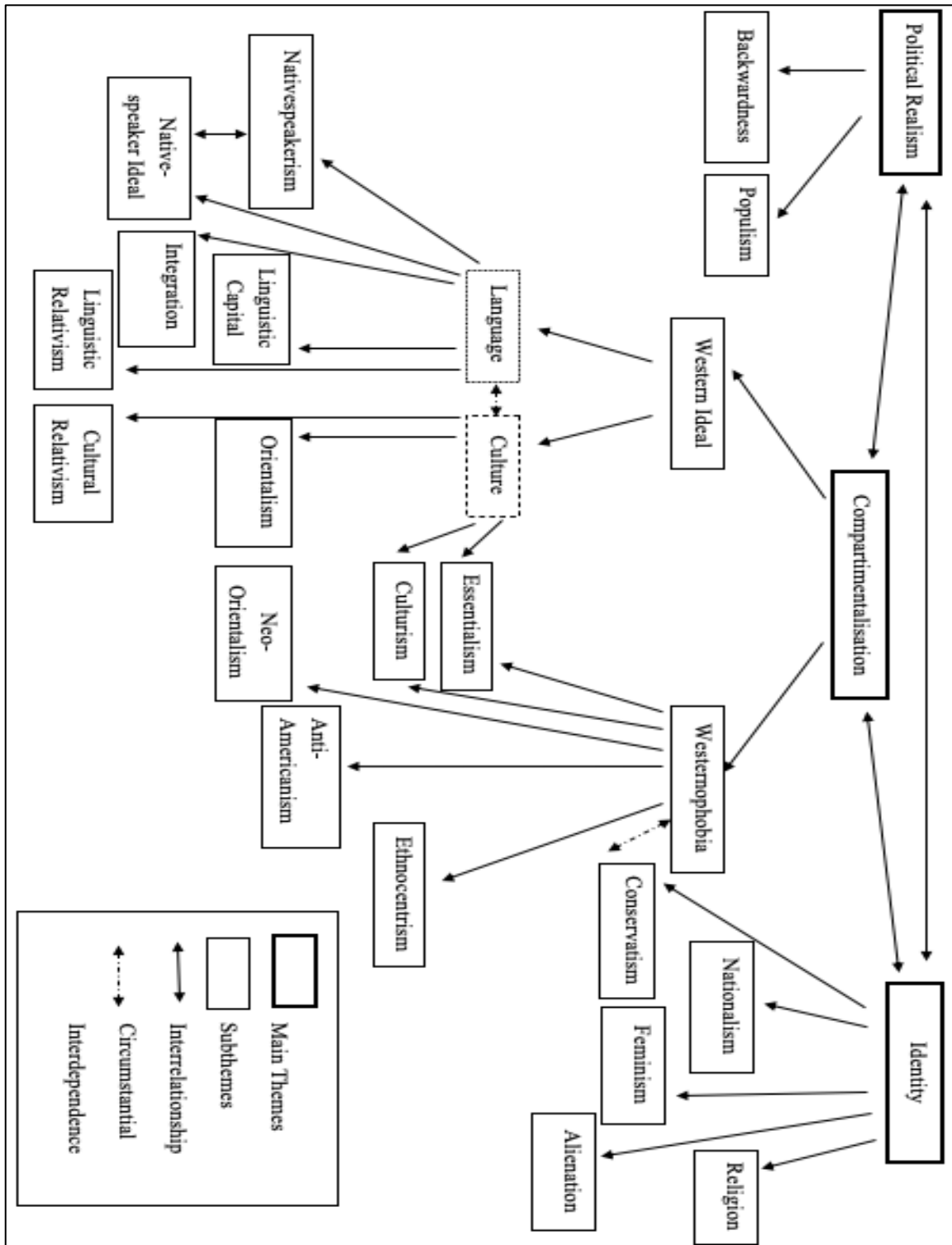**Appendix 2: Example of a student repertory grid**

Similarity Pole 1	Accent	Research	Teaching	Critical Thinking	Appearance	Level of Education	Content	Living Conditions	Way of Life	Fun	Contrast Pole 5
'Ours' 1	4	5	5	5	2,5	5	3	5	2,5 / 2,5	2,5	'Theirs' 5
Important 1	(4)1	(3)1	2	(5)1	1	1	1	x	x	x	Not Important 5
Culture-related 1	(icon)	4	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	Not Culture Related 5
Time-bound 1	1	4	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	Not Time-bound 5
Space-bound 1	2	(5)1	2	5	1	1	1	3	1	1	Not Space-bound 5

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Appendix 3: Examples of data analysis

- The competence matters here too. I mean what are they going to teach? If they are going to teach grammar or written expression or oral expression or pragmatics or discourse analysis and what else? Um I don't know things like these that have to do with language... second language acquisition, then of course would choose the native speaker, but if the module is methodology then I will look at their competence and then choose who's more competent. But if the position I mean the module is not specified then ill choose the native speaker and put them wherever. But of course there should be restrictions, I know where you are leading me with this question, the ideology of culture and if I'll let him teach it without any restrictions... of course not. I should set boundaries to what he should teach and what he should not. Of course. If I have a system, I would bring a native speaker, and I'll set the boundaries for the cultures they bring to us.

- Do you think institutions in Algeria work in the same way?

- No, of course not. As I told you before, we don't have a system. If they bring a native speaker here even if they don't have a BA, they'll let him teach and they won't set any cultural restrictions. A few years ago, there used to be a teacher here who had his BA in the UK I think. They accepted him to teach here although they shouldn't have, and he got a salary of a substitute teacher and things went smoothly and students didn't know. One student told me that he shunned her because she wanted to have an

UserAcer
These are "language" modules as he calls them, and because he believes that 'native speakers' are the only reference to the english language, then that was an obvious choice for him.
Nsm.

UserAcer
He teaches content modules. I don't know if he didn't choose 'native speakers' here too because he is a 'non-native speaker' and he teaches content modules or because he actually believes that that anyone teaches content modules...
This takes me back to the conversation he had with the other teacher on assessment. What he said in that discussion somewhat indicates that he truly believes that anyone with a good command of knowledge can teach content modules. The reason behind that might be that even the tests are MCQs. Language does not interfere much and therefore, it doesn't matter if the teacher is 'native speaker' or not.

UserAcer
Put them wherever can be an indication of native speakerism. Nsm. Even the point he raised about language and native speakers is likely to go back to native speakerism.

UserAcer
The issue of cultural restrictions again. Cultural relativism. He seems to dislike the idea of students adopting things that are "inappropriate" in his culture. The Berber culture. To a great extent, this seems to appertain to the ethnocentric ideology.

UserAcer
Nativespeakerism without the cultural relativism is what he thinks exists out there. Which means that his view on this is that it's not ethnocentric. And not being ethnocentric seems to be wrong according to him.

UserAcer
Even though he was not a "native speaker", having had his BA in Algeria made them accept him to teach (given that in Algeria, BA graduates are not fully allowed to teach in most instances).

UserAcer
I have had many teachers who said the same thing. That

- 100% and get rid of the exam once and for all. Why would you change a system if it was proven to be good and working? Why?

- Why?

- It's politics. Politics. There's an ideology behind this since your topic is about ideologies, they want to make the situation worse. I am anonymous, right?

- Of course.

- Yes, they want to make things worse. That's what they're trying to do.

- Why would they want to make their countries worse, in your opinion? And who are they?

- They don't like their country. That's the point. Why are they stealing? Why is there corruption everywhere? I don't want to get into details, it's even dangerous for you to get into these details. Be careful. You need to deal with this superficially. Maybe you can talk about this figuratively. But this is the reality of things. The elite, not the elite mentally or intellectually, I mean decision makers in the third world countries, it is in their favor that their people are ignorant and are not well educated. So, when you pass a

it. This seems to be an attempt to make me think about it? To deduce from that he has been saying? All that he has been talking about seems to lead up to this question.

UserAcer
Politics. He previously said that the problem is not with the educational system, per se, but with the political system that governs it. Now, he's about to talk about the political system in itself: Populism.

UserAcer
He said so little. He seems to be discreet about the whole thing.

UserAcer
Strong statements of how corrupted he thinks the government is. Many people talk about this all the time. Even outside the educational context, this issue is generally discussed amongst people.

UserAcer
Apparently, this is a common narrative. A conspiracy theory. It makes sense, but whether it is true or not cannot be decided. This relates to populism in a number of ways. One of these ways is that he is trying to give meaning to his assumptions through what he believes to be practical evidence. The evidence he provides feed into the essence of oligarchy. Although, I am not particularly concerned with oligarchy in itself, I think that in this case his 'awareness' of oligarchy might have led to the development of some populist views. For the moment being, I do not seem to be

Appendix 4: Preliminary mind-map

[…]

I: now moving to maps. you have a map in front of you, you can draw circles or lines write or draw or whatever you like relating to the points we have raised since the beginning of the interview.

(Time)

Selma: I just mapped the first and third world countries and they are separated by a line as you see here it's like a north and a south and the middle and the line divides them. like the third world is between two first worlds. The best Englishes are situated here and here (pointing at the United States and the UK) and when I was drawing it I noticed that the best Englishes are situated in the north and the south and it's also where the English I mean the best countries are that means they are the best countries for English and the best countries just like that I am talking about the UK and the USA because English spread. but as you see there are exceptions Iran is a first world country and Australia too and south Africa is a first world country and in south Africa they speak English and I don't think it's a coincidence.

Samy: I put my tendencies there. As you can see, I have no tendency towards British English. I love Latin English and of course American English and Japanglish as I said before because it's funny to listen to. the cross is where I am currently and the Netherlands is where I want to be. It's where I belong. Japanese English and Latin English are different they are incorrect, but they are attractive somehow.

I: would you use them?

Samy: of course not, they're just there to listen to

Maya: Here, I circled the best countries not just for English, the best countries according to me. The United Kingdom, Canada and my beloved country Algeria.

Selma: except for Algeria that's the "coincidence" I was talking about but maybe you forgot to put America on the map

Maya: no, I did that on purpose. I think that America is not what people think it is. it's very recent and it's the product of other countries and its own people are not its current population. so, I don't think it's that great as people say it's built up at the expense of other countries. that's my opinion I can be wrong.

Shay: I divided the map into places, and I put stars depending on the level of English. I have seen samples of people speaking English and I put them into categories accordingly so it's not about the first world or a second world it's about where they are most likely to speak a better English. for example, in the USA they have 4 stars in the UK they have 4 stars the highest is 4 stars. and in northern Europe Scandinavian countries their English is very good so they have 3 stars their English is very good you wouldn't guess until you hear them speak or when they tell you I mean, and then 2.5 in the middle east because they get a lot of attraction a lot of people who speak English a lot of native speakers go there to work so almost all of them speak a very native like English.

I: is 2.5 native like?

Shay: yes, it's very good compared to other countries it's above the middle then there's 2 stars for southern Europe Russia and north Africa and Indonesia and Malaysia it's not mediocre brazil Argentina because we almost have the same level

I: you put 1 in China

Shay: yes because even when they learn English they don't put effort into speaking correctly they can be famous or an entrepreneur or anything, but they don't put any effort into speaking English at all

Salah: I just put countries I wanna live in. Australia because of its economic system although it borrows a lot of money from the British government. Britain because it's the home base of English and it has a lot of opportunities for English speakers and America because it's culturally open to all cultures and nationalities all races although they have a lot of debates there and Norway because it has the best education system in the world and Dubai because it's full of opportunities work opportunities it's like a job market. Russia because it's cheap compared to other countries like in terms of education and you can even change major I can go from being an English student to a doctor and japan because of technology and facilities and they are all first world countries.

Bee: first I have chosen Japan, my passion. then there's the English here, here, and here (UK USA and Australia) and here are third world countries and Algeria can be a second world country. then there's the two big powers Russia and the USA and there's submission to the power the two places (south America and Africa) that's it.

Aya: I chose Canada and the USA and the UK because they are the original source of the English language and as Selma said it's not a coincidence because it can't just be that they're

that lucky I chose japan and India because we tackled their English and I am not a fan of either of them but I think they can be tolerable I mean we can choose many things at their expense. I circled Germany and Norway mostly because of their educational level it's advanced.

Faya: at the beginning I said India because I had a lot of experience concerning the language I had many conversations with Indians and I had difficulties in understanding their language our friend [Kamila] she's in Durham once she went to Hong Kong and she met a lot of students and she won the best paper award there in Hong Kong so she told me that there was an Indian guy who presented in English his English was so bad they didn't understand a word but he was so proud and confident like in India we have in India we Indians and she said that he was out of the topic and they didn't understand the language. I used to have an application in which you can talk to strangers from any part of the world and you call randomly and I talked to this guy and he said 'I am an engineer' and I said whenever I speak to an Indian guy he says he is an engineer so when I started talking I said that I have an MA and he said where I said Algeria he said no way because he didn't believe that Arabs pronounce like I do and I said dude your English is the worst ever don't judge Arabs. concerning Pakistanis same thing I had a conversation with someone once and I didn't understand a word. concerning Turkey, I have friends who went to turkey and they said that the level of English there is catastrophic.

Samy: you know they admire their own language if you wanna speak with them you must learn Turkish

Selma: and they don't like tourists it's like when you speak English to them they feel like they are uncomfortable

Bee: yes true

Samy: they got a lot of insecurities

Selma: they are uncomfortable when dealing with tourists

Faya: Egypt, I hate their English "birsday bark" and things like that. Mali, we had colleagues here in the past from Mali Idrissa, Salimato, Mamado and Maimouna some of them were good in English the others were terrible.

Samy: what about the Nigerians I think they have a great pronunciation

Faya: concerning France I have a friend Lina and she went to France I noticed that her accent changed a little bit to the worse because she's using French a lot more I think she forgot. then UK I used to have a friend from the UK concerning third world and first world his name is

Mohsin Sharawalla in 2011 he said his mother is Lebanese and his father is Indian, his English was good because he is a native speaker and concerning development he couldn't see me well. I saw him very well it was very clear like he was in front of me, but he couldn't see me well and I was like we are (emphasis on are) the third world, and concerning Canada they speak two languages English and French and I feel that the power is in Canada power in everything economy education language everything. now Thailand, when I saw those pictures and now the map it came to my mind that in Thailand I mean it's the land of homosexuality (before saying the word, she whispered it to me and asked if she could use it) and everything now I started accepting the idea of homosexuality because in the past I looked at it like eww but now the more I learn English and the more I learn about the culture the more I accept homosexuality like he is different from me I don't care I am going to talk to his English and to his background.

I: speaking of this last point, is it okay if we discuss this thing?

- everyone says that're okay with that

I: do you think that the fact that you are students of English changed the way you view homosexuality in any way?

Samy: it changed our views about everything

Aya: it did I mean I was homophobic I was totally against the idea but the more I am exposed to the English language, the more I accept it. I have many friends and they started to turn I like the person for who he is I mean I'm not interested in his sexual orientations, so I started to accept the fact that it's okay if you're gay or a lesbian I just like you for who you are.

Samy: she said everything

- Selma, Bee, Shay (same)

Salah: it's not the language that changed our view about homosexuality it's the culture behind the language and about my personal experience I used to be an anti-homosexual person but then when I got exposed to the English language more and more I started to accept homosexual people and now my view is I don't care. It's like English made me more selfish just like native speakers. I don't care about homosexuals; I just don't want to be part of them

Faya: actually when I first heard that there are people like that I was like this is gross what is that? but then when I started watching Ellen DeGeneres show I liked her personality and I forgot that she is married to a woman at the beginning I was like she's amazing she's funny but she's married to a woman wow and now I accept her as she is and I like her and her humor.

I: so, Salah you raised the issue of culture and now I have a question to all of you do you think that language should come with culture?

Samy: they are intimately bound together

Faya: yes

Selma: language should always be with culture

Aya: yes

Bee: yes

I: which culture?

Aya: I would say both

I: both what?

Aya: the American and British of course

Selma, Maya, Samy: yes

Bee: because here in Algeria we are more affected by British culture and British English RP especially in the past but now we are more exposed to the American culture the American pronunciation as well maybe we have friends from there I just wanna know more the more you know it's better for you

Shay: there aren't only two cultures associated with English there are a lot of other cultures and each culture has a subculture for example in north America both Canada and the USA speak English but they have completely different cultures like Canada accepts immigrants the USA don't they hate them the first one accept native inhabitants the others don't it's very conflicted I have been exposed to both cultures I have taken some of the ideals from each culture and of course I took from culture to learn the language and English comes with cultures not only one culture and I learned a lot of cultures just on my way to learn English.

Samy: I think that the main thing about associating culture with English is understanding their idioms and proverbs you won't understand their idioms if you don't know the cultural background behind them like you know we wouldn't get them

Aya: Yes like I said the more you know the better and easier for you especially at the level of communication

Salah: the culture affects language for example here in Algeria they don't use the word sex but in movies in American movies, because I never spoke to an American person, they use the word sex, they only use the word gender in sophisticated situations. in American there's the Ebonics English that black people use as a rebellious form of language they don't use standardized English the English use it in a more standard way, in European countries like France it is used in a more sexual way, in India it's used in technology and advancement, and in japan and countries like that it is used to show sophistication and respect it's like each culture implicates its own values on the language it's like culture has a greater influence on language than language has on culture.

[…]

Appendix 6: Example of teacher semi-structured interview questions

1. What makes a student of English ideal?

2. What are the characteristics of your favorite student?

3. What are the features that students need to have in order to be near ideal or maybe even ideal?

4. Do you think that this view shared by other students here in the department?

5. What makes a teacher of English ideal? On what basis?

6. What do you think Algerian students in Algeria think?

7. What do you think teachers usually strive to better or perfect?

8. What does the teaching/ learning of English mean to you?

9. Do you think that teaching/ learning English is the same as learning any other language?
   - Why?

10. What do you focus on the most when you evaluate your students?

11. What do you think that the mastery of English means?

12. Where do you position yourself in relation to the common beliefs about teachers and students in this department?

13. What teaching methods do you adapt in teaching?
    - Do you think they appertain to a certain methodology?
    - Where do you think these methods (this methodology) originated?
    - What about other teachers? What do you think they adapt as methods?

14. Would you want to teach your students (in the future) using a Western methodology?
    - Why? How?

15. Would you tell me more about the teaching methodology we talked about last week?

16. You mentioned that you think that the West is more organized in terms of curricula and course design. How or where do you think you acquired that idea?

17. When you came in and saw the sheets of paper last time (the consent form), you said something like: "yeshtiw ghir lora9i" [which translates to: "they only like sheets of paper or paper or paperwork."] What exactly did you mean by that? And do you think that is a good thing?

18. You also mentioned "third world country". What were you referring to when you mentioned that? How do you position yourself in all of this?

19. Do you think that the English language should be taught with culture?

20. Which culture? Why?

21. I have noticed that, very often, you mention the differences between Algeria and the UK; perhaps even the similarities on the academic/ educational level and even on a more casual level. Why do you keep on referring to that? Where did you get this belief? How do you perceive these differences? Where do you position yourself in all of this?

22. If you were the head of a teaching institution, what would the criteria of selection of teachers be?

23. If you were to choose between a British/American teacher and Algerian/Arab teacher (to teach at the level of your institution regardless of their other teaching skills), whom would you choose? On what basis?

24. Do you think institutions in Algeria work in the same way?

25. How?

26. What about society on the whole? Do you think that they value things coming from the West?

27. Do you think that society (overall) has/ had a role to play in the way you think about the West?

28. What is the first thing that comes to your mind when the term native speaker is brought up?

29. How do you define the term native speaker?

30. What do you think about this whole going abroad to study English thing?

31. Does it matter if it's the UK? Why?

[…]

I: Why do you have an American accent?

H: because I love the American culture like since adolescence period, I loved the American culture I loved hip-hop music and stuff.

I: was that intentional? acquiring it?

H: yes, I did want to learn it, I had the intention that I'm gonna learn this way of speaking but to be honest I was like trying to learn this accent, I was a little bit in a dilemma like sometimes I would mix between AAE and Detroit and Boston…

I: what did you settle on?

H: more like the general American which is kinda the standard and basically Detroit because it's the closest to the standard, to the general although I am not really as good as I used to be before in terms of AAE a couple of years ago. I had a friend his name is Khaled. he used to live in Louisiana and he came to Algeria and in Louisiana, they speak AAVE, so I was highly influenced by his way of speaking but to be honest, there's another layer as to why I chose that number one is because I love the American culture and by the way, I have been into their mindset and I was even like acculturating. I had that kind of I mean there was a word that best describes what happened to me: Ethnic Crossing. Like you speak a variety or you acquire some cultural aspects of a certain group to which you don't belong. I used to do that concerning AAVE not like physically like tattoos and everything. No, in my way of behavior, my mindset.

I: do you think that affected who you are as a person?

H: of course, yes, absolutely. if you compare Haroun (change) nowadays and before there is a difference. it's that in the past I used to say that the language is more intonational, more beautiful, kinda musical. this is number one. I used to like the hip-hop culture but now I am more into their cultures, kind of because of the rebellious stand that they bring to that community. you know the African American cultures are the minority their language is oppressed underprivileged etc.

I: are you a rebellious type of person?

H: kind of, yes. I think there are certain commonalities. like Berbers here we are oppressed.

I: did you choose it because you are rebellious, or did you become rebellious because you chose it?

H: that's part of the story. I said that we have many aspects in common. I said in the past, I used to love the language, the aesthetic part of it, but now here's the thing: sometimes when I communicate with my friends I like to insert certain expressions, bonified expressions from AAE to express my masculinity. so, if I say 'I'm not gonna do that' it's not gonna sound like 'I ain't gon do that' this AAE, I am projecting that I am so so aggressive. but what added to this aspect that I just mentioned because it existed even in the past, what added is that now I care more about the culture because we have so many commonalities as I said they are oppressed by white people and we are oppressed, their way of speaking is underprivileged and so is ours also in the media you, see the way they portray their culture the same happens here.

I: so, you're saying that we you do the projection here, Berbers are African Americans?

H: yes

I: who are white people?

H: in Algeria?

I: yes.

H: we have different categories. we have those Arabized Berbers this is one. number two, this is kinda graphic but I'm gonna say it, I won't call them invaders but okay Arabs who affiliate themselves with the Arab culture, politicians, politics and the like… so, these are the people that ever since the 1960s did their best to oppress this, our culture. and by the way I am not a defendant of Berber I am a defendant of diversity because I love Arabic although to be honest the coexistence of two languages would render one of them to be a threat to the other this is undeniable so the one which is standardized, privileged like in education in media in our case Arabic; in their case the standard will be a threat to the minority varieties so if one variety is standardized, officialized, documented, therefore the language and the culture by extension will be a threat to the other. I noticed and everyone noticed that Berber youngsters are starting to converge to the mainstream Arabic local norms. Should they be blamed on that? of course not. I don't blame it on them. It's the reality of things. I am more African American than a white person. We are suffering from something that is called subtractive bilingualism meaning that the domains in which Berber is used have been diminished compared to Arabic which is privileged in the political arena in media and not even the language even the culture is

oppressed because linguistic decay results in cultural decay. Language is a dovetail to culture; they are intertwined therefore the decay of culture reflects on language.

I: in the realm of projection or in the real realm?

H: both.

I: do you think that you would be who you are today if you were never a student or teacher of English?

H: the persona? no, no not at all. being exposed to their culture is really a gateway, a bridge to ethnic crossing. to me, being changed in terms of personality but if I wasn't a student or a teacher of English, I wouldn't have it I wouldn't be the same.

I: if I ask you who you ware what would you tell me? who is Haroun Melgani (change this)?

H: I am a person whose identity is multifaceted in the sense that I have different aspects of my identity and it depends from one context to another for example when I talk to my mommy when I talk to my daddy I am more affiliated with the Chaoui Berber culture and this affiliation is maintained through language behaviors many things if I talk to my friend Khaled I affiliate myself to many aspects of AA culture. I am a man, a teacher and this is reflected in the way I behave.

I: what about when you talk to me? which identity do you display?

H: I think it kinda changed a bit between when you were a student I used to see you like she's probably the best student ever but recently I see you as a colleague. and you're a researcher too like the topics changed I see you like a more grown up like a critical researcher.

I: when I asked you if time is up you said come on, it's Algeria what do you mean by that.

H: I mean like it's Algeria you don't need to ask me if time is up or not.

I: why is that?

H: because research ethics are not really advocated here. ethical protocols and codes are not as stringent as they are in the western world as those in other communities like Britain the western world generally I'll give you an example, I'm not gonna be a names dropped, but so many researchers just come here and say here's a questionnaire fill it in and then they come back after 3 days or a week or a month to collect it without any consent form discussed beforehand they don't ask participants if they agree or if its okay to withdraw or ask when these technicalities are not really discussed between the researcher and the participant so based

on my observations ethical codes are not that respected I've been interviewed by a bunch of researchers some researchers sorry bunch is kinda slang because I'm relaxed (laughs) but they gave me no consent form it was only verbal and they didn't even insist.

I: do you want the to give you the consent form?

H: It depends, if the study is about psychology or politics, I would want a consent form and anonymity as you said but if it's like about language issues then it's okay. It also depends like if I'm in a foreign country, I would probably ask for it because the privacy of individuals are really engraved in their culture; they are part of the reasons why participants ask for the consent form […]

I: What teaching methods do you adapt in teaching?

H: I don't think teachers in general use any type of method to teach in university they don't adapt a specific self-contained method and based on the chitchats I have with teachers outside the classroom, I think that most of them adapt a syncretic model like an eclectic model and I do that too meaning I don't adapt one method I do what works best for the module I didn't use a specific method so I'm more into eclecticism based on the module sometimes task-based it depends I give my students questions that are personalized sometimes, so sometimes I'm the guide sometimes I dictate what the students should do.

I: Do you think they appertain to a certain methodology?

H: yeah of course but it's the eclectic methodology I usually combine between heuristics I make them establish patterns, task based like I give them tasks depending on the difficulty yes these are the two methods that form my teaching methodology as a teacher. I mean these are the methods that worked for me.

I: Where do you think these methods originated?

H: heuristics came from cognitivism.

I: I'm talking about the places.

H: ah I don't have much knowledge about that.

I: where do you Think they originated?

H: I think it's basically either Europe more specifically the UK Britain or the USA.

I: Do you think it would have been better if the creators were Algerian?

H: No. I don't think so. but they would be better if they are modelled on the needs and desires of Algerian students. I'm against that thing which is copy paste. we have to accommodate, to take into account the needs, desires and interests of the students when applying their methods or methodology.

I: did you choose to teach phonetics, or did they assign it to you?

H: they assigned to me

I: why?

H: because there's kinda shortage at the level of teachers in the number of teachers.

I: do you think that they chose you over some other teachers?

H: I don't really have any idea about that.

I: do you think they chose you for phonetics because of your accent?

H: the head of department kinda insisted that I of all teachers should teach phonetics and oral expression at first and I didn't know why it might be because of that but he didn't say that directly to me but thing is, he accidentally heard me speaking English I don't know what happened but I pronounced a word or some words in English as I was talking to a friend and then he said these are the modules we want you to teach but he didn't like really have a good idea of how I actually pronounce right? and whether I'm fluent or not.

I: I have had the chance to overhear some conversations between students and they said that you teach like an American person, why do you think that is?

H: I don't know how they define that teaching, but I don't think it's about the way I teach. I think students used to have this prototypical picture of an Algerian teacher who is so strict so assertive authoritative, military kind of thing. when they came across a teacher who does things like I do they though I am teaching in the American way because I am more tolerant, and I make jokes and stuff.

I: have you ever been told that?

H: no this is the first time I hear that. Or maybe it has to do with the accent, number one. number two, because sometimes when we talk about American and British English I ask them are you guys more American or more British are you guys more Nicole Kidman or more Jim Carrey, so I always say I love American when I talk about myself maybe that's why students think that a funny teacher is an American teacher not funny teacher is British which is not true

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starting. from high school onward teachers of Arabic literature are stringent, they practice stringent rules their clothes are stringent I think students have this kind of perception about British and American teachers I used to believe in this way too because it has something to do with the media… British people are portrayed as rigid and hard going whereas Americans are portrayed as cool and funny and outgoing it's the media which crisscrosses with many other things like culture. but these are stereotypes.

I: you said that you used to think that way, what made you change your mind?

H: Two things. number one it's the learning practice, because I read a lot of books and I talked to people from both cultures which kinda made me think that I was wrong but here's something which is undeniable. there is kinda ringed truth in that I mean most teachers of Arabic are kinda less funny compared to English teachers what's the reason behind that? probably culture I think this is it and the same thing applies to British and American teachers exposure to culture speaks volume I mean I myself was kinda introvert in the past and I think the exposure to the culture of English mainly American affected me in a way or another so I became extroverted. I have been affected by individualism I am a person who is a good keeper. privacy, individualism, outgoingness, teasing… I learned teasing from African Americans and also here's the thing believe it or not in my culture Berber culture we love teasing a lot.

I: So, now, going back to methodology. Would you want to teach your students (in the future) using a purely Western methodology?

H: I have no idea if we have Arabic methods up here, but this is basically I mean, yeah I would opt for this method.

I: why is that?

H: because these are basically the options that we have but still I believe that when I apply a certain method I always focus on whether it suits the session and the classroom I'm against copy paste as I said.

I: If you were to choose between a British/American teacher and Algerian teacher, and a Korean teacher whom would you choose?

H: I would obviously go for the American.

I: Why is that?

H: first of all because of his linguistic background knowledge, number 2 I would assign him to be a teacher phonetics, or oral expression I think he would be a good source of a genuine

authentic material no need for other visual aids, but I would use precaution and what I mean by that I may give him heads up about the things we teach and the things we don't teach there should be kinda of; I don't like barriers to be blurred; I like barriers to be clear. Here's the thing; a couple of months ago I had a video conferencing with a teacher from Ohio, Kembel Kepler then I asked her to focus on a topic which is language and perception and you know that language and perception are really intertwined with ideologies so she sent me the slides beforehand and I asked her to remove some things. I would accept them for myself but not my students. It's all about gender thing and things like that and the I said to myself if she was a teacher in this department there are some things that should be resolved in here. She should omit some things; I would foreground things like that.

I: Do you think institutions in Algeria work in the same way?

H: I probably think so okay because a couple of years ago the Algerian ministry had a very creative idea which probably could change the whole educational stuff which is to replace Algerian teachers with Indian teachers in case we have a shortage.

I: why do you think its brilliant?

H: I'm being sarcastic this is basically very bad practice by the way to replace Algerian teachers with Indians whose Indian teacher is so Indian it's the worst type of English and there's something that happened in the 70s many Syrian and Egyptian teachers in Algeria were accused of preaching terrorist kind of ideas but I'm not sure but those were the seeds of the black decade I think.

I: What about society on the whole? Do you think that they value things coming from the West?

H: I probably think so ye,s they would opt for American or British and strike against Indian because for me if they bring Indians I would rather get my kinds home-schooled and not send them to those places (laughs)

[…]

Appendix 8: Extract from pair repertory-grid-based interview

[…]

TEACHING

Ours (1)- Theirs (5)

S: 5. Their teaching is better than ours in curriculum in behavior in everything

- what made you say so?

S: Because if you take as an example the best of our universities are internationally classified 500th and they own the 7 best schools Yale and Harvard and oxford they have big names they have better curricula they have more advanced curricula what we teach in secondary school they teach fourth grade like the square root I've learned it in my 4th year at middle school and after I looked at the American curriculum they learned in 5th grade or maybe earlier.

B: because everything is different bee

S: and they have better chances to deal with students who are more composed to learning than ours because of cultural reasons like we see that learning doesn't get you far like in here while they see that learning will get you as far as you can so it relates to teaching because students have different behaviors like they challenge their teachers in a more civilized way while we challenge our teachers in a more brutal and savage way.

B: yes.

S: it's like we're more biased by challenging the teacher than actually learning from the teacher while they challenge the teacher, so they can learn from the teacher.

B: Well, teaching there is too ideal because there in the educational system the first thing is that they treasure humanity and the human beings before anything else and that's what made their educational system more successful and their teaching. in here, there's no value. they don't treasure the human being the student they don't treat the student well there's no good rapport. There's no valid content an educational system which is full of invalid content and paradoxes a chaotic educational setting. That's why everything there is so ideal it's too sad here, and there there's no, I mean, we cannot even compare.

Important (1)- Not important (5)

S: 2. Teaching is very important because knowledge is pointless if there's no one to teach it to and without knowledge we don't have a culture we don't have a history we don't have a future.

- why didn't you put one?

S: I didn't put one because there is another kind of teaching like teaching oneself.

B: I have put one because it's really important where teaching comes from. and teaching itself is very important but it is more important that the teaching is valid and done in the right way if the teaching is done wrongly the whole generation or maybe generations will be lost bee.

Culture related (1)- Not Culture related (5)

S: it is culture related. the Chinese have more respect for their teachers because of their culture, Algerians have little respect for their teachers because of their culture and Americans have more respect for their teachers because of their culture maybe because of political reasons.

- political reasons?

S: teachers in America always go on strikes and argue like we are not going to teach you sons because you give us money and respect and other things so they are more hated because of their culture and even terms of the actual teaching process it's related to culture like our culture we even have a saying "li 9ra 9ra bekri" which roughly translates to "school was better in the past" (a commentary on the deterioration of the educational system in Algeria) or "jib weldek fahem wallah la 9ra" (which translates to "raise your child to be clever and rational and who cares about school").

B: I agree with him and in addition to what he just said there are many educational systems where they integrate culture in teaching the curriculums as a very significant module in the UK unlike here especially in university we only had culture as a separate module once and it was boring.

Time bound (1)- Not time bound (5)

S: 1. it is time bound you can't teach a 90 year old English, you can teach younger people because they have greater capacity to learn especially languages.

B: the same thing

Space bound (1)- Not space bound (5)

B: it is space bound teaching is related to the community in which it takes place it's like the point of research teaching is successful when the surrounding space helps and it's not successful when the surrounding space acts against the teacher or the student or both and it's also related to culture.

S: I agree with her, it depends on the place in which you study or teach but I didn't put 1 because there is self-teaching as I said before and you can teach yourself regardless of the circumstances.

CRITICAL THINKING

Ours (1)- Theirs (5)

S: they have critical thinking; we have a thinking that is critical. They can criticize the method of teaching, the content of teaching, but we are more biased into criticizing the teacher himself. I said thinking which is critical because we like to criticize the teacher and not the content that's why we didn't realize that what we are being taught was taught in France in 1975 why? because it's culture-related we didn't develop that kind of critical thinking.

- what do you mean by we? does that include you?

S: society I am talking about society I have critical thinking but I only say we because I recently acquired by being exposed to other societies like I didn't have any critical thinking when I was young I didn't think at all I only cared about getting good marks until I went to high school when I became a drop out and I never went to school and when I got to college I just I…. I chose English because I thought I didn't have critical thinking. I knew I was good at English so I chose English to get a diploma without much effort but I have critical thinking. I actually changed and tried physics but I dropped out an came back here and I realized the syllabus is so easy… so easy… they teach us commas and full stops. I laughed myself to sleep everyday. about commas and points you learn about that at the university level? you learn how to write a paragraph? how to write a sentence?

B: but we should learn that.

S: if I had the curriculum in my hand, instead of teaching commas and then words in the first year and then sentences and their different types from simple to complex and compound in the second semester , and then compositions in second year and then essays starting with simple essays or essay introductions in the second semester and then moving to more complicated ones, I would start with the last step I would start with the complicated and

complex essays in the third year I would I teach you how to write a complex essay in first year and in it I will drop hints at what is used moving by these steps without you even realizing it I go to the last one and in the process they can learn all of these.

- don't you think that hat you are saying is a sign of critical thinking?

S: yes, but I think about it objectively and not subjectively. our society is dominated by non-critical thinkers and I am part of it, so I say we are not critical thinkers and not we are because 90% of us are not it's not 4 it's not 4.5 it's 5. Their societies are dominated by critical thinkers.

B: he almost said everything but I want to add that I don't really know what critical thinking means I don't know when I shall say you are a critical thinker or if someone is thinking critically or not maybe because as he said we are surrounded by people who are not critical thinkers so we don't know what's CT.

Important (1)- Not important (5)

S: it's extremely important it's like the light bulb story he has critical thinking he wanted to invent something that would make life better it's the only way to make people walk toward the better and if we want to change someone's views it's all about critical thinking.

B: it is important although I don't really know what it means but just the name means its important because taking the words critical and thinking as two separate entities they are both too meaningful the two words carry a very heavy meaning let alone them being together.

Culture related (1)- Not Culture related (5)

S: it is culture related even if we take it out of the way there are cultures that support critical thinking more than others because it doesn't exist. There's no culture that doesn't support critical thinking. Apparently, culture influences the types of critical thinking; like Americans are biased by having critical thoughts about their politics and, us, we don't have that option we don't have critical thinking about our political system and even if we do we don't do it that well we just throw stuff around and say that our government is a failure when the real problem is not the government but with us as people as a culture so cultures dictate if people should be critical towards certain things if someone has critical thinking about religion here, and even the way people are critical about religions differ. Here, people read Quran and reflect on real life to see the miracles of Quran, and how many things that have been said more than 1400 years ago scientifically make sense now as opposed to that are Americans and other

western countries critical thinking in religion to them means that they go against religion and say that God doesn't exist or Mohamed PBBUH doesn't exist or Jesus PBUH doesn't exist that's how it works so it's highly cultural.

B: yes I do agree with you that it's culture related, but I think that some societies are critical thinkers and others are not simply because critical thinking or I think that it either exists or it doesn't. There's' no in between. Even your point about religion, the best religious scholars are not Arabs, take Yusuf Estes who is American or Zakir Naik who is Indian I think or Ahmad Deedat is south African. These are not Arabs and they are genius and they have critical thinking that makes people I mean like the American people you talked about speechless. I think culture leads the way to critical thinking if you want to be a critical thinker, here is the suitable to good culture for you to become that if there is no good culture, there is no critical thinking. Even if we intend to and in most instances, we don't even know where it is

Time bound (1)- Not time bound (5)

S: I asked the question does it require time to be a critical thinker it's related to experience to freedom if you experience freedom and you have critical thoughts once the next time the process will be easier

B: I disagree with that I think it's only time bound if you are in the right place other than that it's not related to time

S: it's almost the same idea the condition I mentioned is freedom.

B: and there are others like teaching people to be critical and introducing the people to critical thinking and raising their awareness it's related to the point of teaching here in the table.

Space bound (1)- Not space bound (5)

S: it's not space bound you can be here and express your ideas about something that happens somewhere else in society so you can have critical thinking anywhere I can think critically about the way the government rules in American even though I am in Algeria and I can have critical thinking about stuff that happened in the past but don't even exist now about a TV show that doesn't exist at all it's not space bound it happens in the mind.

B: for me it's totally different it is related to space because it's almost the same as the culture. the space to me here means society, culture, mainly country and region… the attitude the

politics that means f you are in the right place you can develop your critical thinking if not there's no point.

…

LIVING CONDITIONS

Ours (1)- Theirs (5)

B: their living conditions are also better than ours and more comfortable and more relaxing they allow them to live and study and work respectfully and happily whereas ours are sad and bad.

- why didn't you put 5?

B: I didn't put 5 because it's not really that perfect living conditions because they have some imperfect sides of their living conditions because to live in a very good atmosphere with very good conditions. That is too ideal. I think it won't make you stronger whereas a mixture of hardship and comfortable living conditions make you stronger.

S: they have better living conditions than ours because their living conditions are more flexible they could work their way around them when ours are tight for example they have more comfort when it comes to income than us and the only thing that we have advantage in is that our currency is low so we have the quality where we can use money without worrying whereas they have to stress over money. like if their salary is 2000 pounds a month is a lot, but it doesn't provide the same quality of life as 40 million Algerian dinars. this is the only advantage that we have over them but when it comes to being comfortable flexible vacations buying stuff you have advantage over all areas except for this one.

Culture related (1)- Not Culture related (5)

S: it is culture related I have one example to prove this because everything is proved through examples in the tile of Gandhi, they fasted and went through poverty there are even those who worshiped poverty and said that it is the way to hold the truth that materialism is the enemy of the self but for western countries luxury is privileged so culture defines what's high and what's low when it comes to living conditions. here in Algeria if you have a house and you have enough money to provide food and decent clothes to your family then you are classified among the top 61% of the people who are satisfied with their living conditions in the UK you are only 3% or something you have to provide a lot of other things even the food will go with diet like this household will only eat vegetarian options or vegan and our culture in general

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doesn't stress a certain living condition over another it's like the more you are comfortable the better you are.

B: they are related because culture provides the living conditions. a good culture provides goo living conditions a bad culture.

- what do you mean by bad culture?

B: for instance, the Algerian culture and the western culture (as one culture) this last one is good whereas the Algerian one is full of mistakes which takes us back to living conditions which are better in western countries.

- how do you know that western countries provide better living conditions?

B: we can see it everywhere; the media, people who lived there, TV, movies, documentaries, like I can't even tell you like everywhere.

S: biographies.

S: what do you mean by living conditions affect culture? (Interrupts Bee) they affect one another it's a cycle. like if we have better living conditions our culture will change and if we have a different culture I won't say well have better living condition because its circumstantial but we have a different view on our living conditions in our satisfaction with our living conditions there are minimalist cultures and they see living conditions differently and there are materialist cultures like you can't find one American person who thinks minimalistically even if they so they are pretending because his culture dictates a materialist identity that he can't get rid of. So, culture dictates how we view living conditions. It dictates how we live them.

B: I think it also dictates how we live them to be honest.

Time bound (1)- Not time bound (5)

B: living conditions in the past are not the same now and they're not going to be the same.

S: living conditions relate to time in so many ways like a 100 years ago they were not the same and in sometimes having good living conditions is bad and now having good living conditions is good. like in the 17th century if you are the king of some tribe or country and everyone else is starving but you have the best living conditions in the world that is not a good thing it is bad, he will be hanged.

Space bound (1)- Not space bound (5)

B: the society the place are the responsible the factors that determine to create ot provide good living conditions or not bee

S: I don't see how living conditions are related to space I can see how space is influenced by good conditions like your good conditions dictate how the space around you is made even people.

WAY OF LIFE

Ours (1)- Theirs (5)

B: there ways of life are we have to confess are better than ours but at the same time our way of life is great as well we have things that they don't have we have tenderness that they don't have familiar relationships and those intimate and delicate stuff whereas they are very harsh and dry and numb. When the person reaches 21 years old, he starts looking for an apartment whereas us even if the person is 40 years old, 50, he stays with his parents and it has nothing to do with dependence it's about familial stuff that I really adore we have some really good stuff.

S: we can say theirs is better than ours or ours is better than theirs depending on how the person sees himself and his surroundings and that's changeable if you define yourself as something today you will define yourself as something else tomorrow and the ay of life relates to the person its personal it's a matter of choice.

Culture related (1)- Not Culture related (5)

B: it is! ways of life are part of culture and culture is part of ways of life.

S: it is related because the way the person defines his way of life depends on his beliefs and values and traditions culture itself has shared beliefs which are part of culture its complicated way of life is the most complex topic in the world I can't explain but they are interrelated and each one is part of the other there are minimalist societies and cultures and they affect the lives of their people because those are their beliefs there's are nihilist cultures even way of life defines cultures.

Time bound (1)- Not time bound (5)

B: it is time bound because there are ways of life in the past that are vanishing at the moment and styles of living traditions some behaviors that no longer exist and some are going to be created in the future.

S: one of the characteristics of way of life is that it's changeable and change is related to time.

Space bound (1)- Not space bound (5)

S: it is related to the space because space can be a defining characteristic of how you choose to live your life.

B: same thing it's part of society and culture.

[…]

I ran into Student D again and I asked her to elaborate on what she said about identity and personality; she said: "I meant that I should pay tribute to English for making me more open-minded because before I got introduced to English, I was very close-minded. It is true that our traditions are good, and I have always been a fan of Algerian things like Eids, religious celebrations, invitations, weddings, circumcision ceremonies, success ceremonies, and many other things. However, studying English made me discover that I am much more than that. I have always been open-minded, but English made me open-minded". There was confusion in the way she was talking about how English contributed to who she is as a person. I thought that her repeating of the word "open-minded" was but a slip of the tongue; however, when I told her that she said the same word twice, she seemed to be aware of repeating it saying: "I know… (more than 30 seconds of silence) I meant that I have always been open-minded and understanding because it is who I am as a person, but English helped me learn new things to be open-minded about".

"Things like boyfriends and homosexuality. Before studying English, I used to be homophobic and I didn't want to be friends with girls who had different sexual orientations. Now, I don't". I asked why English and not French or any other language and she replied: "English is different. I have grown up watching French TV shows, but everything about them seemed to be so wrong. When I grew up and I started watching MBC 2 (an Arab TV channel that broadcasts Hollywood movies with Arabic subtitles) and I have seen actors performing roles that they are not, different types of roles, my belief that everyone can be who they want to be as long as they do not hurt you became stronger. Then, I began to watch movies on my own, I download them or watch them streaming now, and I have watched a wide range of characters. It's like, if I didn't learn English, I wouldn't have had the opportunity to watch such

movies and to be introduced to the American culture. The American culture is very versatile and that's how it made me open-minded".

"You said that it made you cooler. How is that?" I asked, and she answered: "by making me more fun and open-minded as I told you. Have you seen the animated movie inside out?". "It's like that. Everything that I got introduced to through the medium of English helped build a new aspect in who I am. I have new friends from America and the UK and we get along very well. Sometimes, they even say that I have an American mentality because I'm very outgoing and spontaneous". I asked her if she thought that spontaneity and outgoingness is restricted to American people and she said: "Kind of. Every country is known for something. British people are known for being conservative which explains why their movies are dull and devoid of life and colors, Russian people are known for being rough and solid, and American people are known for being funny and spontaneous. They like to talk, they run in the streets, they celebrate life…" Then, she asked if I had seen the movie "just married" and told me about a scene in which the couple were immediately recognized as Americans because they were "crazy" and to her, craziness is part of open-mindedness.

Appendix 10: Example of fieldnotes

Appendix 11: Example of classroom observation

/ / /

m:25

S4: Whats that supposed to mean?

T: That's disrespectful. You cant be informal that way. You're in a classroom [ASK HER] not a coffee shop in NY.

Sn: What should I say?

T: Would you please explain what you mean by that. Those movies you watch will make you lose all the respect you should have for your teachers. Dont forget your origin.

m: W.

Sn turned to me and said: 'When will you go back home'? I said at 5? She said when ... what she meant was when I was going back to the UK and

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C. No. I mean, I teach my students about British and American history & you teach yours about the history of the English language. How are these different?

L. The difference is that you are teaching one country while I'm talking about the language of these countries (emphasizing) (learn type)

C. Exactly! When you teach a language, you need to learn about the history of its country or countries of origin.

L. Yes, country of origin? (laughs) You are talking about a language not a person.

Oh, you criticize people.

C. Yes, your language of this people!

L. These people can be you or me. We are using the language why aren't you teaching your students about Why are you teaching them about the American and British history? That if you too

C. It's all part of the English language! that's English & was born in the UK!

L. How & where American & British politics parts of the English language?

Teachers got interrupted and I never got to see the ending.

Appendix 13: Van Dijk's categorisation of the ideologies explored in this study

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="25" style="vertical-align:middle">Compartmentalisation ideology</td><td colspan="3" style="text-align:center"><i>Membership</i></td></tr>
<tr><td>Who are we?</td><td colspan="2">Algerians.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Where are we from?</td><td>Pro-West</td><td>Anti-West</td></tr>
<tr><td>The "third world".
The non-West.</td><td>The non-West.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3" style="text-align:center"><i>Activities</i></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">What is expected of us?</td><td>Pro-West</td><td>Anti-West</td></tr>
<tr><td>To imitate the West.</td><td>Not to imitate the West.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3" style="text-align:center"><i>Goals</i></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Why do we do this?</td><td>Pro-West</td><td>Anti-West</td></tr>
<tr><td>Because we cannot reach the West.</td><td>Because we can be better than the West.
Because we are better than the West.</td></tr>
<tr><td>What do we want to realise?</td><td>To reach the West.</td><td>To show that we are better than the West.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3" style="text-align:center"><i>Values/ Norms</i></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">What are our main values?</td><td>Pro-West</td><td>Anti-West</td></tr>
<tr><td>Being more Western means being more religious.
We are progressive.</td><td>We should avoid the West because we will lose touch with our culture and religion.
We are conservative.</td></tr>
<tr><td>How do we evaluate ourselves and others?</td><td>We, as a group, are inferior to the West. However, those among us who have Western attributes are superior to those who do not.</td><td>We, as a group, are superior to the West. However, those among us who behave like Western people are inferior to those who do not.</td></tr>
<tr><td>What should (not) be done?</td><td>We should follow the West.</td><td>We should not follow the West.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3" style="text-align:center"><i>Position and group-relations</i></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">What is our social position?</td><td>Pro-West</td><td>Anti-West</td></tr>
<tr><td>We are superior to non-Western people who do not affiliate with the West, yet subordinate to Western people.</td><td>We are superior to the West and those among us who affiliate with the West.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Who are our opponents?</td><td>Pro-West</td><td>Anti-West</td></tr>
</table>

	Who are like us, and who are different?	Those who affiliate with the West.	Those who do not affiliate with the West.
		Resources	
	What are the essential social resources that our group has?	Pro-West	Anti-West
		The West is rich; we are poor.	The West is rich because they are feeding off our resources.
West idealism	*Membership*		
	Who are we?	Algerians.	
	Where are we from?	The third world/ The rest of the world.	
	What do we look like?	Less physically appealing than Western people.	
	Activities		
	What is expected of us?	To become as advanced and superior as the West.	
	Why are we here?	Because we can't be in the West.	
	Goals		
	What do we want to realize?	To travel to the West and live there.	
	Values/ Norms		
	What are our main values?	We should be progressive.	
	How do we evaluate ourselves and others?	We are better than those among us who are 'un-Western-like'.	
	What should (not) be done?	We should try to be more like the West and less like the Rest.	
	Position and group-relations		
	What is our social position?	We are inferior to the West.	
	Who are our opponents?	Our society, the government, and the culture that is holding us back	
	Who are like us, and who are different?	Those who are more Western-like.	
	Resources		
	What are the essential social resources that our group has or needs to have?	We need to live in the West in order to become rich.	
Reverse-(neo)-orientalism	*Membership*		
	Who are we?	Algerians.	
	Where are we from?	North Africa/ the non-West.	

	Who belongs to us?	Non-Western people/ people who do not behave like Western people.
	Activities	
	What is expected of us?	To resist acculturation.
	Why are we here?	Because we love our culture, religion, and society.
	Goals	
	Why do we do this?	Because we don't want our people to be acculturated.
	What do we want to realize?	Our people to know that they are not subordinate to the West.
	Values/ Norms	
	What are our main values?	We are conservative.
Reverse-(neo)-orientalism	How do we evaluate ourselves and others?	We don't have to be like the West to be good.
	What should (not) be done?	We should appreciate our culture and religion and not be fooled by the image the West has of us.
	Position and group-relations	
	What is our social position?	We are superior to the West.
	Who are our enemies, our opponents?	Western people who look down at us.
	Who are like us, and who are different?	Nations who are also oppressed by the image the West has of them.
	Resources	
	What are the essential social resources that our group has or needs to have?	We were made poor by the West and that is why we are looked down at by Western people.
	What do we have that the others do not have.	Morals.

(Van Dijk, 1998, pp. 69-70)