

RESEARCH ARTICLE

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Women of Algeria ... Fronts in the face of death A Gender Study of the Activist Presence of Algerian Women

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Abstract:

This paper examines three representations of women's activism in Algeria during a critical period in the country's history from 1991 to 2017. The first refers to feminist activists who opposed Islamist discourse in the 1990s, subsequently raising the banner of resistance. The second manifestation concerns those who expressed sympathy with Islamist discourse, either voluntarily or under duress. Finally, the text considers the effectiveness of independent female activists in demanding the rights of those who became known as the victims of the national tragedy. The study also analyses the situation of women in Algeria during the first two decades of the twenty-first century. During this period, Algeria embarked on a reconciliation and civil peace project, and it was claimed that women had made significant progress that could be considered "enviable".

Keywords:

Feminist - voile - islamist- democratic - national tragedy.

Introduction

Algeria had its first attempt at democratization throughout the Arab region. Shaken on 5 October 1988, it had the biggest popular uprising since independence, when young people demanded improvements life and employment opportunities at the same time as the declaration of the state of emergency, which will last more than a decade, counting chaos and death in a situation similar to what the Arab countries are currently experiencing, and what is commonly called the "Arab Spring".

Indeed, it is not exaggeration or feminism to say that women were at the heart of the transformations of Algeria. It may be added that they have been the mainstay of these transformations by their participation or inevitable involvement in the process of events. They were from the outset a strategic target; for example, the threats of the jihadist currents that emerged after the cessation of the electoral process in 1992 to bring down from hermitage to streets the discourse of the women's hijab - dominating in the 80s - thus chasing women who do not wear the imposed dress.

Indeed, attempts to veil women threaten them in their source of subsistence or social advancement. For example, numerous terrorist attacks have hit teachers of french language or students who insisted to continue their studies at the time of a deadly madness.

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On the political front, we can enumerate a number of female components that played a direct role in this critical period in the history of Algeria: the demonstrations of Algerian leftist women who raised the famous slogan «Free and Democratic Algeria» defying the Islamic slogan that spread in the largest Algerian cities: « There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah, through this sermon we live, through it we die and by it we find Allah ».

These feminist movements militating at that time were a great support for the military establishment, which triumphed and maintained a republican regime face the possibility of an Islamic regime in Algeria.

However, these movements, which have contributed to changing the course of the democratic transition in Algeria, do not deny the existence of other women's organizations strongly involved in Islamist movements supporters of victims of the so-called "military coup", either joining the fighters in the mountains, as members of the moderate Islamist parties, preferring to participate in the political process of the 1990s and express reservations about the idea of tyrants Jihad. Some of these women will later be classified as victims of the national tragedy as wives of jihadists killed by the army during periods of "civil concord" and "national reconciliation".

Another feminine front will be born after the cessation of hostilities, an opposition front ignored for a long time and not at all listened to, which is not belonging to a single ideological current: it is about the mothers of the disappeared who number in the thousands in an Algeria, which knows a democratic transformation.

These are three main fronts: the front of loyalist to the army in a direct way, the pro-Islamist Front in a direct or indirect way, the front of the victims of the ongoing conflict. In the latter front, there are activists or simple militant activists who do not adhere to any political party but who have been forced to fight because of the predominance of history and the duty of struggle.

By engaging Algeria in the path of reconciliation, these formations will appear in the form of practices of the authorities involved in the governing body, for example, the leftist activist Khalida Messaoudi, who became Minister of Culture from 2002 to 2014. Others will be involved in the positive or negative Islamist opposition, benefiting from the amnesty charter. Others will be independantes activists in civil society; This last formation is a promising one that is not only formed by the generation of contemporaries of the crisis of the 1990s but also by the new generation who grew up in this crisis.

Allow me to admit that I do not want this paper to remain at the theoretical stage, let me begin by recounting what is currently reverberating in the narrow streets of (my city of) Algiers after almost three decades of the October 1988 uprising. Daughter of Bab El-Oued, the oldest neighbourhood in the city that witnessed the first spark of this popular movement in the history of Algeria. This district, which embraced the inflamed speeches of Ali Belhadj, the spokesman of the Islamic Salvation Front¹ in the "Sunnah" mosque, in which this problematic party was founded in February 1989 by the most influential men of the Islamic movement in Algeria.

1- What is the saying in Bab El-Oued on 2017?

They call it "the City of Women". On January 5, 2011, just before the Tunisian Jasmine Revolution broke out, Algerian youth stormed into the streets of major cities, condemning the high prices of sugar and oilurging in the Algerian collective memory, the events of 5 October 88. When one of the journalists of France24 broadcasting channel, interviewed some of the

young demonstrators at Bab El-Oued, one of them responded in a phrase that was then relayed by social media «This is the country of injustice ... Men are unemployed and women are working ... This is it! We do not understand anything in this country... we did not understand anything... If the situation remains so, many problems will occur in the future»². These sentences which has emerged from the depths of the masculine subconscious of this young man who is forced to reverse his masculinity in the new Algeria ... "the country of *Al Madamat* (women)" as the children of the popular regions wish to call it, and "*Al Madama*", which is a cynical and insulting³ alteration of the French expression "Madame", which in the standard usage referred in the past to a certain class of noble women and with time, the reference moved to be a title of a married woman. This expression was generalized during the mandate of the French Council of State in 2012 to include all women in a symbolic movement to democratize this title. However, in Bab El-Oued and its suburbs, it has other uses not yet noticed by French dictionaries.

There is a growing resentment expressed in the direction of this Algerian "*Al Madama*"; the woman who is now controlling many areas of work in the administrations, schools, universities, hospitals ... and even in the most difficult areas such as defence institutions. Recently a wave of scoffs and accusations was launched in an attempt to cuckold the National People's Army after the appointment of Mrs. Fatima Boudouani, on the eve of Independence Day, as the first woman in the rank of Major General of the Algerian army⁴.

It is the new Algeria ... Bouteflika's Algeria, where many Algerians (male and sometimes female) do not hesitate to express their discontent from being caught by the grip of "big hands" ... It is often said that Bouteflika bought women.

2- What Bouteflika did to women ... and what women did to Bouteflika?

On March 10, 2015, the Algerian parliament ratified a law that provides for the protection of women from violence and harassment of up to imprisoning the harasser from two to twenty years. This law received an unusual response; the first launched by the withdrawal of the deputies of the Islamic bloc from the ratification session⁵ invoking the lack of quorum for deliberation; via the logic that the law was passed without formal vote and imposed on the Algerian society. This law was not derived from the legitimacy of representation. The opponents of this law accused the President to the extent that he was accused of threatening the inviolability of the Algerian family, dispersal and declaring war between the two parties. Indeed, how could one give woman the right of prosecuting her husband for verbal abuse?

In the view of the human right group, this law was considered a legitimate and normal gain get of Algerian women, albeit belatedly, thanks to a long history of struggle, ranging from liberation revolutions to the black decade.

There is another front that has viewed the issue as a mere politicization of the women's community, which is a very important part of the electorate⁶, especially with Algeria's steady abstention in voter turnout. The participation rate in the last legislative elections of 2012⁷ was 38.5%.

In the same context, Bouteflika will also be credited with the adoption of the "women's quota" system in the 2008 as amendment to the electoral law, which approved a proportional representation of women in elected councils, estimated at 30%⁸.

We can conclude here with article 36 of the Constitution of 2016⁹ which will recommend the promotion of the principle of employment equality between genders, and support for women's opportunities to assume positions of responsibility, thus paving the way

for empowering women as a "reform" of Bouteflika. So, did Bouteflika really buy the women's consciousness to further empowering himself? Alternatively, did women buy their empowerment against empowering Bouteflika's rule?

3- Before Bouteflika ... unveiled women !!

«They kill Algeria, they kill our children, we cannot remain indifferent... we should not give up! »

Unveiled, women rejecting the systematic assassinations of Algerian intellectuals, following the end of the electoral process in Algeria (January 11, 1992), decided to go down to the streets and occupy or rather retrieve the public space where women, especially those who are not dressed with the "religious dress" of which headscarf has become the minimum¹⁰. According to the Islamic discourse, which controlled the Algerian streets with the power of arms and hermitage, these women chose confrontation rather than withdrawing and obeying the constant threats of assassination that began to affect a number of female students and teachers who face this intimidation and joined school or work unveiled.

They did not grieve then for bare chests but for bare heads when they got organised to form the Rassemblement Algérien des Femmes Démocrates (RAFD): the Algerian Rally of Democratic Women in October 2003, shortly after the assassination of the writer Taher Jaout by jihadists (2 June 2003)¹¹ who launched the bloody decadence in Algeria by targeting the employees of security institutions, writers, journalists and university professors and all the elites who boldly expressed their hostility to the project of the Islamic State in Algeria, and even implicitly supporting the decisions of the "Janvistes"¹². They adopted the last will of Jaout:

«If you keep silent you will die, if you speak you will die, then say and die»

It is a difficult choice but the only option available, as they echoed in their marches breaking silence

«They kill Algeria, they kill our children, we cannot remain indifferent... we should not give up» !¹³

They raised the pictures of the victims and decided to demonstrate in front of the presidential headquarters and in the central squares of the capital after every terrorist incident that leads to more lives that are innocent. Initially, they were counted to belong to the Algerian leftist parties and activists in the feminist movement. Soon, they were joined by female citizens who had never exercised any political activity before. The majority did only "reject" the horrors of what happens to the sons and daughters of Algeria ... Some of them are from the rural areas and some are housewives.

The RAFD movement is a clear example of the blatant and radical feminist opposition to terrorism and religious extremism¹⁴ that has targeted women's speech and a project that has been largely liberalized and can be said to be satisfactory. Leaders of the dissolved party have promised their fans to return women to their natural space, "home".

Men will recover their jobs against a financial bonus that makes women focus on their basic role: "having children and preparing the good Muslim". This was also considered a genius solution to the unemployment crisis that brought October's youth to the streets¹⁵.

The speech of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) ranges from the radicalism of Ali Belhadj, who considers that women should join the home space to ensure their "natural" roles as wives and mothers, and the abortive radicalism of Abbassi Madani, who considers that "women have a prominent role in educational, social and economic institutions. The head of the Islamic

Salvation Front, which at that time formed the only Islamic political grouping, refrained from mentioning political institutions,¹⁶ which means the exclusion of women and their symbolic isolation from authority institutions.

This interpretation may be based on the fact that there was a total absence of candidates from the [party] for local elections in 1990 due to the failed legislative elections of 1991.¹⁷

Women simply had to know their enemies and to choose the "front" they have to line up with. This is really all that happened ... The feminist movement was one of the fiercest opposition that took over the Algerian street in a time of silence, fear, assassinations, kidnappings and massacres, to the extent that a journalist wrote: «Algerians women are the men of Algeria»!¹⁸.

4- Veiled Women!

The men of the dissolved Front did not move in fact without women's weight. History will remind us that the Front had its women along with its men. There is even the saying that the overwhelming victory of the Front in the local and legislative elections is due to the voices of women. The Islamic discourse in Algeria was not to succeed and invade the street without the support of women. In the literature of this discourse, it is believed in a little hatred towards the issues of women's emancipation. Did women really vote in favor of a speech that negatively address their issues explicitly and clearly?

Or did they support a discourse calling for women's rights of different type?

The FIS men advocated in fact for another form of life for women in Algeria; their discourse was based primarily on this key phrase: "safeguarding the dignity of women"; this preservation will only be based on two options: return to her main function and natural space: "House", or create a safe space by providing a working environment for the "scourge" of mixing. This is clearly manifested in the speech of Ali Belhadj that adopts the first option and the speech of Abbas Madani, who may waive the option of "prohibition" to the option of "isolation".

Promises by the party's first man to compensate women staying home with financial grants may be considered a pragmatic appeal to a broad front of women who will form an important electoral container and a preparatory stage to return to the model of the "virtuous" Islamic community, in which the boundaries of femininity and masculinity spaces are strictly framed.

Did the women's masses really vote for the project of this "good" society, in which they shall have the necessary physical and moral protection, and thus participate in the overwhelming victory of the dissolved party in the local councils and legislatures? Or did they form a silent and absent front?

No one in fact can stand here. Although, We have to pay attention to more than one thing that made women's voices in the local councils and legislatures of 1991 the tacit vote, the most important of which was the vote of the family and the husband; that is, proxy voting, which allowed many men to pass their choices through the votes of those who they represent. The Islamists have vigorously defended this law, which allows the Algerian to vote for all the women of his family. There were no serious objections to this law registered. Indeed, it obscures the voice of Algerian women even in the ranks of the militants of the dissolved party, who considered that "women has to be satisfied with the rights conferred upon it by the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) and that she cannot imagine rights or freedoms except those attributed to them by Islam. [Thus] the women's electoral body formed an important resource

for voices that can be acquired and directed through family and husband vote to serve the cause of the party as being similar to the cause of Allah. The militants of the Islamic Salvation Front confirmed the right of the man, the head of the family, to vote in place of his wife or wives and in place also of the other female members of the family being the mother, the daughter or the sister"¹⁹. What in the end is a political dedication to the principle of the Islamic mandate of men on women!

In fact, the women's front did not act as an advocate for the cause of Allah, nor as a defender of the cause of men; the women of Islamic movement did not actually move in a conscious way to support the patriarchal state as far as they were driven by the unconscious utopia of the Islamic state. In a gathering protesting the imprisonment of the leaders of the Islamic Salvation Front²⁰, "FIS" militants told the press: «We defend Islam and not our daily bread »²¹ These gatherings and before them the electoral gatherings that occupied the stadiums in addition to the sit-ins of June 1991, are among the most prominent historical stations in which the Islamic feminist voice was heard in the "street"- a space that has long been forbidden to women, based on the literature of the Islamic discourse itself. However, these Islamists, which have been prepared since 1989, will not ignore the commitment to the principle of preventing mixing, and to this end, camps will be erected to isolate women from their brothers ²² within the front even when they defend their brothers who are in prison!

In fact, we cannot measure the extent to which Islamic female militants have contributed to the path of peace that will come years after the date of these sit-ins broken up by military. Thus, closing the public space to the Islamic protest, allowing the emergence of new and special spaces for this protest that what lead protestors to decide in a dangerous precedent to arm themselves.

After declaring the holy jihad on the tyrant ²³, the "brothers" will join the mountains. The "sisters" will join them after a while in the form of wives or sisters.

Although these women will be dubbed either "*Mujahidate*" or "terrorists" by virtue of their own volition or by the fact that they belong to the jihadist families for the space of the disobedience and revolt against the regime: the mountain; history will judge these women for having participate similarly in the course of the "repentance" of jihadists and their return to the society by convincing the husbands, fathers or brothers to take advantage of Bouteflika's amnesties with the project: the "Civil Concord Law" in 1999 and the "Charter for Peace and Reconciliation" in 2005.

In this regard, the authority has learned how to use the voice of "Islamist" women to promote the discourse of calling on jihadists to surrender and to enter the path of "repentance." State television frequently made calls to jihadist women asking their men to return from exile and stop fighting the State regime. We also remember the testimonies of women returning with their men and children from the mountain, confirming that the members of the People's National Army have treated them well despite their old allegiances, urging other militants to join the era of peace and enjoy amnesty and reconciliation.

In fact, the investigation and research on the extent of the effectiveness of "mountain" women in supporting the Algerian national reconciliation process deserves more effort and perseverance. We cannot ignore the role of jihadist women who did not join the mountain and the voice of which was never heard. This is another women's front, even if this voice has not been documented, but it remains one of the voices that is supposed to be questioned to measure the impact on the path from delinquency to peace in Algeria. We cannot assert that all these women were supporting the idea of repentance for armed action and the return of

their men from the mountain, even if their interest requires that they strive and struggle for that aim.

5- independents women .. Women for Truth!

It was not a historical inevitability that the entire Algerian women and men adhere to political parties according to a bipartisan logic, aligned either to the camp of the military or to the camp of the Jihadi armies ²⁴. There is always a third front line for another logic; can we call it the logic of the victim.

Here we can see what the Coordination of families of missing persons (CFDA) ²⁵ has done; it is a great example of this third front, in which the voice of women belongs only to the search for truth. There is nothing nobler or more demanding than mothers who want to know and uncover the truth behind the forced disappearance of their children.

On the other hand, the birth of this front embarrassing the regime was primarily due to historical necessity. The number of missing persons in Algeria exceeded the 7,000 during the black decade. The Algerian authorities themselves recognized that fact but tried to turn this dark page from its history by paying the families of the missing in return for signing a procedure of closing the disappeared files officially. The procedure paved by the Charter of Peace and Reconciliation 2005; which was fiercely rejected by the coordination activists, who consider it a barter of the truth with money in order to protect the security agencies -the main accused in this case-from prosecution.

The female activists in this coordination did not necessarily belong to homogenous ideological convictions. Most of them had no political activity or demands. They were eventually united by the burning sentiment of motherhood and sharing the same issue: the loss of a son. It is this burning energy that seems to have generated the extraordinary courage to stand up to defend the justice of a "transitional justice issue" that has not been done in Algeria in a way that can heal their wounds.

These women have raised their voices in the face of silence, which they wanted to overshadow the fate of their children ²⁶, while the men of the families of the victims have renounced to plead the case, which is the most sensitive in the history of the Algerian civil war. These women have decided since the foundation of the Coordination to demonstrate every Wednesday in front of the headquarters of the Human Rights Advisory Committee in the center of the Algerian capital, without neglect, despair, or capitulation to the discourses that sometimes accuse them of belonging to terrorist groups, or advise them to forget and bypass. They did not bow to the repeated arrests by the security forces to dissuade them from demonstrating in front of sensitive government institutions ²⁷.

Since its foundation, this coordination has challenged mobilizing, advocating and documenting the course of development of this issue, which affects the different segments of Algerian society, with all its ideological affiliations.

The cases of kidnapping and arresting of young people touched those who belong to the Islamist groups and those who had no affiliation or political activity during the crisis. The case of their enforced disappearance became an Algerian civil issue. To which the coordination of the families of the missing has a motto keeping it present and vivid in the memory of the contemporary Algerian society.

These women have been demonstrating weekly for 20 years to demand the truth so that they can end the mourning of their lost beloved that began in the same black decade and did not end yet ²⁸.

Conclusion

In fact, this research can only serve as a gateway to ask many questions about the extraordinary role played by women in Algeria in the midst of a long and difficult political struggle. There are many lacks that make the research difficult and interesting at the same time. We have already provoked several stages that made us querying the difficulty of investigating the article, especially with regard to the example of the voice of the Islamic woman in the course of the democratic transition, the bloody decade of Algeria and then the era of harmony and reconciliation. Thus, this paper can be described as derogative because of the scarcity of the material from the one hand and from the other hand, parties refrain from testimony due to the sensitivity that is still characterizing the file of the dissolved party's activists in general, which makes the study of this situation a risk. Moreover, our attempts to approach women's experiences are different and may even be contradictory, with the necessary attention to the objectivity of the proposal and the need to take the distance from the historical events and their geography. This made our task difficult, and seem to be still in its first steps.

In this paper, we have focused on three women's poles, which, according to our vision, have played a decisive role in both the war industry and the peace industry. These women's components have defended their ideological and human rights based on the project of "fair Algeria" and their homogeneity. There is therefore a permanent and perhaps chronic debate about the shape of this "Algeria / dream", which may escalate to the point of bloody conflict, in which women were in fact only a vital partner; as an actor and a victim in the chronology of its development.

Not only did we ignore some of the active women's parties in terms of marginalization, but in terms of postponement required by the limits of research. For example, we have not been able to touch on some of the "moderate" Islamist women's experiences that have been part of the political process set by the government. We also did not touch on the transformations of the speech of the Algerian leftists, who joined the Regime and became involved in making its decision.

It will therefore be necessary to seek to fill many of the gaps we feel in the question of the effectiveness of the roles in which the voice of women in Algeria is employed or engaged in the context of war or peace. Indeed, we cannot recognize that women have that exclusive and traditional role of making peace and rejecting violence; we talk about this human being which is equal to man, so our proposal was trying to question the different roles and spectra in which the woman had that type of saying .. which inevitably turns into an act.

Footnotes:

¹ Dissolved In 1992.

² The full video that contains the young man's statement is available in this link:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DzpOFTj0cco&feature=youtu.be>

³ I might add "racist and may refer to the homosexual men, in a scorn and disdain way".

⁴ On July 4, 2017. The video of the appointment of Major General Fatima Boudouani, especially comments are available on this link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yVKWpZWCA0>.

⁵ With representatives of Adala Party and the Change Front ... See: "Algeria's Islamists protest amendment of family law", Al Arabiya website, 8 March 2015 :

<https://www.alarabiya.net/ar/northafrica/algeria/2015/03/08/%D8%A5%D8%B3%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%8A%D9%88-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%B1-%D9%8A%D8%AD%D8%AA%D8%AC%D9%88%D9%86-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%89-%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D9%86-%D8%AA%D8%AC%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%B1%D8%B4-%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%A3%D8%A9.html>

⁶ See these official statistics on the website of the Algerian Ministry of Interior, local communities and urbanization:

<http://www.interieur.gov.dz/index.php/ar/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D8%B2%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D9%88-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A9/%D9%88%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A9/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%AA/278-%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%AA%D8%B5%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%AD%D8%A7%D8%AA/1682-fiche-statistique-des-%C3%A9lections-l%C3%A9gislatives-2018.html>

⁷ See:

<http://www.aljazeera.net/knowledgegate/newscoverage/2017/5/2/%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%B1-2017>.

⁸ Constitutional Amendment of 15 November 2008.

⁹ The State is working to promote the equalization of men and women in the employment market: «the State encourages the promotion of women in positions of responsibility in public bodies and departments and at the institutional level»... See the text of the Constitution of 2016:

<http://www.joradp.dz/trv/acons.pdf>

¹⁰ Or let us say a symbol of it, and this is part of the principles of preventing the mixing of the sexes advocated for by the dissolved party. See in Arabic: Fatima Al-Zahraa Sai, *Political Status and Family Status of Women in Algeria from 1830 to 2005*, Part Two: *Claiming and Acquiring Citizenship*, Fatima Zahra Qashi, translated by Merizeq Qaytara, review and precision of Terms: Fares Bouhjila, Medad University Press, 1st Edition 2016, pp.88-93.

¹¹ According to the official version available, it will be useful to discover conflicting views on the killing of this problematic author in Wikipedia, which will attribute the death of Jaout to the military in the Arabic version, and in the French version, to the Islamists:

https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B7%D8%A7%D9%87%D8%B1_%D8%AC%D8%B9%D9%88%D8%B7 consulted on 11/11/2017.

¹² [The generals who adopted the decision to stop the electoral process In January 1992, in order to save the values of the Republic in Algeria according to their point of view, \(Janvistes is an algerian appellation: from French ; who depends on the month of january \(janvier\)\)](#)

¹³ See : Aude Lalande, *Le Refus*, 8 janvier 2008, voir <http://www.vacarme.org/article556.html> consulted on 11/11/2017.

¹⁴ See: Malika Ramaoune, *Les associations féminines pour les droits des femmes*, *Insaniyat*, revue algérienne d'anthropologie et science sociales ; n ° 8, 1999, pp. 129 - 149 <https://insaniyat.revues.org/8331> ; consulted on 12/11/2017.

¹⁵ "It will be useful to see the famous television program during the Algerian democratic openness: «*Fi Likae Essahafa*: Meeting media», in which the leftist activist Khalida Messaoudi addressed Abbassi Madani about the promise done by his party to women concerning a financial grant in return for staying at home and perform the duty of maternity to the fullest. Khalida asked the question: where did you come with the money to pay these grants? Abbassi replied that the dismantling of multiple security services could save its budget!

«*Fi Likae Essahafa*: Meeting media” Abbassi Madani, Morad Chebine, Rabah Khoudri, Khalida Messaoudi, Bachir Rezzoug, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rwSaTQsJyKc> consulted on 17/01/2018.

¹⁶Fatima Al-Zahraa Sai, *ibid*, p.89.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.89.

¹⁸ Aude Lalande, *Op.cit*.

¹⁹Fatima Al-Zahraa Sai, *ibid*, p.89-91

²⁰ Ali Belhadj and Abbassi Madani were arrested on 30 June 1991 and sentenced to 12 years imprisonment the reafter.

²¹ *Ibid*, p.92

²² It is interesting to mention here that the term "brother" in its colloquial Arabic variants, "my brother", "my sister", "the brothers", "my brothers", was used in Algeria during the Algerian revolution among members of the National Liberation Front; the ruling party after the independence of Algeria, to give the status of piety or what is known in Algeria to "sanctity and respect" on the relationship between the sexes of the members of the Front. It has been restored by the Islamic Salvation Front in the context of another history of its variants of the classic Arabic: "Brother" "Sister" "brothers" and "sisters", to attribute the holiness on the relationship between the sexes of the members of the party and to control this relationship within the limits of the "non-sexuality" as argued by Fatima Zahra Sai, see *Op. Cit.* p.93.

²³ It is noteworthy that the first declaration of jihad was launched by Abbasi Madani in the form of a threat to the regime during the Friday sermon, June 28, 1991 to lift the siege imposed by the Authority.

²⁴ Following the cessation of the electoral process, the declaration of jihad against the Algerian regime resulted in the birth of several armed Islamist movements: the Islamic Armed Movement (MIA), the Islamic Armed Group (GIA), the Islamic Salvation Army (AIS), which tried to unite the scattered jihadist groups in exchange for the (GIA) that declared the struggle against both the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) and the regime.

²⁵ The Coordination was founded in Paris in May 1998, under the pressure of a group of mothers of missing persons, in order to defend the right to uncover the truth and bring justice on the issues of missing persons during the black decade. For more details, see the coordination site:

<http://www.algerie-disparus.org/le-cfda/qui-sommes-nous>. Consulted on 11/01/2017

²⁶ Or their husbands or brothers. Although most of the activists were mothers of the abductees, mainly refused to let their sons and daughters join their demonstrations for fear to be harassed by the regime.

²⁷ The last recorded arrest occurred on September 30, 2017, when they were demonstrating outside the Algerian parliament. Othman Lahyani, "Security forces arrest families of forcibly abducted in the 1990s in Algeria", *Al-Arabi al-Jadid*, September 30, 2017:

<https://www.alaraby.co.uk/politics/2017/9/30/%D9%82%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%85%D9%86-%D8%AA%D8%B9%D8%AA%D9%82%D9%84-%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AE%D8%AA%D8%B7%D9%81%D9%8A%D9%86-%D9%82%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%A7-%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%B3%D8%B9%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%B1> Consulted on 11/01/2018.

²⁸ It would be interesting to read the stories of the tragedies of these women that have been afflicted by the fate of their children.

<https://www.ictj.org/ar/news/algeria-women-disappeared-truth> Consulted on 11/01/2018.