Identities from the Kabylie
Narrating Amazigh identity through conflict understanding

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Abstract

The objective of this study was to understand how participants’ with an Amazigh identity in the Kabylie narrates their conflict understanding in relation to their identity. In order to contribute to the conflict transformation, this study sought to complement previous research that approaches the ‘conflict(s)’ in an etic way, by approaching the conflict understanding from an emic point of view. Theories on identity construction through othering and Somers’ narrative analytical dimension were applied to 21 unstructured in-depth interviews. The analysis presented that there are multiple narrated topics that were connected to identity construction and conflict understanding. The main finding was that, the overarching conflict understanding leans on the government as being the primary ‘other’ and ‘enemy of the Berber population. Based on the findings I argue that highlighting the Berbers’ understanding of conflict is needed in order to build sustainable peace but also that the participants’ strong use of othering when constructing their identity could also further divide the Algerian society.

Keywords: Amazigh identity, Algeria, Kabylie, Narrative analysis, Conflict understanding, Identity Construction
### Acronyms and Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALN</td>
<td>The National Liberation Army (Armée De Libération Nationale)</td>
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<td>AMAZIGH</td>
<td>Berber</td>
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<tr>
<td>AROUCH</td>
<td>Berber Arouche Citizens Mouvement (Mouvement Citoyen Des Aârchs)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BLED</td>
<td>People From Outside The Big Cities</td>
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<tr>
<td>CNRA</td>
<td>The National Council Of The Algerian Revolution (Conseil National De Revolution Algerienne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIS</td>
<td>Islamic Salvation Front (Front Islamique Du Salut)</td>
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<tr>
<td>FLN</td>
<td>National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale)</td>
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<tr>
<td>GPRA</td>
<td>The Provisory Government of The Algerian Republic (Le Gouvernement Provisoire De La République Algérienne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAGGARIN</td>
<td>The people who use hogra which means Injustice, exclusion, discrimination, racism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMAZIGHEN</td>
<td>The word used to define the group/community/oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KABYLIE</td>
<td>Northern region in Algeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KABYLE</td>
<td>Berber from the Kabylie region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAK</td>
<td>Movement for the Autonomy of Kabylie (Mouvement pour l’autonomie de la Kabylie)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MUJAHID</td>
<td>One engaged in Jihad for the Algerian liberation</td>
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<tr>
<td>TAMAZIGHT</td>
<td>The Berber Languages</td>
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<td>TIFINAGH</td>
<td>The Berber Alphabet</td>
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<tr>
<td>TAFSUT</td>
<td>Spring</td>
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<tr>
<td>WILAYA</td>
<td>Administrative Division In Algeria</td>
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Map of the Kabylie, taken from the website: https://kabyle.com/carte-kabylie-68
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1 Introduction

In Northern Algeria, there is a region called the Kabylie which inhabits individuals with an Amazigh identity, among others. These individuals have been related to multiple ‘conflict(s)’ in Algeria since long before the independence of the country in 1962 from the French Colonization.

I argue that, within previous research, the ‘conflict(s)’ in the Kabylie have been approached from either a set understanding of the ‘conflict’ or from the state's point of view. Additionally, I argue that previous research on the subject does not approach conflict in an emic way from the people and their thoughts but in an etic way as an observer and externally. There is a gap in research on how people within the Kabylie understand the ‘conflict(s)’ which is why this study approaches’ the ‘conflict(s)’ directly from individuals in the Kabylie. These conflict understandings will be developed by analyzing narrations of 21 participants through Margaret Somers’ (1994) narrative dimensions. However, I argue that there is a relation between how individuals understand the conflict and how they construct their identity; this will be developed further down. Additionally, the identity construction in this study is approached through theories of ‘othering’ that argues that there is a connection between individuals’ identity construction and how they perceive the ‘other’ and the ‘self’ (Brons, 2015:69).

This study approaches the Amazigh identity as one of the identities that have been reinforced by the conflicts in Algeria. The reinforcement of identity could be seen in movements, for recognition of the Amazigh identity such as the movements of 1980 and 2001 (Weitzman, 2015:2511). However, in 2018 the Amazigh identity seems to be in what, Paige Arthur, (2009) would deem a “transitional justice” where the state is “taking care” of problems “that has been left over from the past.” (2009:336). One part of the “transitional justice” in the Kabylie is the officialization of Tamazight1 as the national language in Algeria. This transition is the evolvement of Algeria into the end of “transitional justice.” It is important to conduct a study in a transitional phase as it can highlight the change within the society and the people's view (2011:41), in this study the narratives will be presented within this transitional phase. I argue

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1 Tamazight is the Berber languages
that it is essential to study narrations within a conflict in transition. This can help one see the changes in the conflict but also to provide an understanding of the conflict(s) from within.

1.1 Relevance to Peace and conflict studies

This study is relevant to the domain of peace and conflict studies because it seeks to get a deeper understanding of relations between the participants’ conflict understanding and the Amazigh identity in the Kabylie. This study will not be using a traditional view of conflict understanding that approaches conflict from the elite, top-down approach (e.g., Clausewitz, 2013). This study will instead approach the conflict narrations from a bottom-up perspective as suggested by Maček (2017) to give a more ‘inclusive’ view of conflict than the ‘singular’ traditional view. The emic approach on the relation between Amazigh identity and conflict understanding could contribute to the conflict transformation by complementing the etic view made in previous research to include multiple sides’ understandings. This study is approaching individuals of a side that is often ignored in peace discussions; moreover, according to John Paul Lederach, it is vital to know all sides of a conflict to achieve sustainable peace (1998).

The understanding of what identity is in this study is based on Slocum-Bradley’s (2008) working definition of identity as: “Identities’ are meanings – labels, categories, symbols, and so forth – applied to a persons or other narrated actors in specific contexts” (Slocum-Bradley, 2008:5).

1.2 Aim and research questions

The objective of this study is to understand how participants’ with an Amazigh identity in the Kabylie narrates their conflict understanding in relation to their identity. These individuals’ narration will introduce a conflict understanding from the Kabylie, a side that is often ignored in talks about peacebuilding in Algeria. According to Nikki Slocum-Bradley (2008) narratives within identity construction could be used to promote peace and/or conflict (2008:9). I argue that there is a relation between the conflict understanding and the Amazigh identity because identities can be reinforced when in conflict, but also that the Amazigh identity has been
connected to conflicts in Algeria, for example, the sociolinguistic conflict according to Afaf Boudebia-Baala (2012:265).

Conflict understanding in relation to the Amazigh identity will be gained through conducting the narrative analysis of the data which consists of 21 unstructured in-depth interviews. The conflict understanding will be used to see how Imazighen construct their narrative identities. The aim with this research is to approach, the data in an emic way, to provide a view from within the Kabylie but also to look at the conflict understandings from individuals’ which can contribute to an understanding of the conflict(s) from within.

This Study will be using Somers’ (1994) narrative dimensions as an analytical tool, to answer the research question:

*How do the participants narrate their conflict understanding(s) and how is their identity constructed through their narrations?*

The research question will be analyzed using three dimensions of narrativity suggested by Somers (1994). The analysis will then be structured around the following three dimensions: ontological narrative, public narrative, and metanarrative. Moreover, Somers’ elaborates four dimensions, but the epistemological narrative is incorporated throughout the whole thesis which is why it is not included in the analytical dimension. This will be further elaborated on in the analytical framework.

### 1.3 Limitations and Delimitations

This study is based on primary data collected during a 15 days trip to the Kabylie. This study is not using secondary sources to support or contradict the claims made by the data. The aim is not to prove any validity or making any truth claims in the empirical reality. This study is based on the stories given by thirteen female and eight male participants, but their view and understanding are not representative of the whole Kabylie.

The empirical material collected for this study is rich in information and understandings. Because of the data collection method in the study one cannot replicate the same findings or
answers, as the narrations are given to me as a researcher and my position and background. Moreover, it is hard to replicate unstructured interviews that were narrated in this context and time. This study is authentic because everything is based on the participants’ narrations and my interpretation of their narrations.

The analysis of this study is limited in what narratives are analyzed as it is using the specific dimensions developed by Somers (1994) and the narrative are used to answer a specific research question, which is why some narratives could not be included. The study is also based on 21 interviews which are rich in narratives, and it is impossible, given the word limit to include all narratives told by all individual participants. This study used a specific approach to narrative analysis and is aware that there are multiple different approaches to the narrative analysis. The credibility of this study lies in the perspective of the participants in their narration of happenings, events, and phenomena together with the creation of a new narration made by the researcher. The credibility hinges on the intertwined perspective of the researcher and the participants in the new narration which gives credibility to the study

1.4 Thesis outline

This study is structured in seven chapters. The first chapter consists of five sections; the introduction the topic, the relevance to peace and conflict studies, aim and research questions, limitations and delimitations with the study and the thesis outline. The second chapter is the background chapter, which is divided into some of the historical moments in the Algerian history that will help the reader understand the analysis. Background consists of three sections; pre-colonial Algeria, the French colonization and independence of Algeria and the last section introduces Amazigh movements and symbols for identity. The third chapter is previous research which has one section on Berbers in research. Chapter four is the Analytical framework which is divided into two sections; the four dimensions of narrativity and secondly narrative identity construction through othering. The fifth chapter is the Methodology, which introduces the reader to the data collection method and is divided into six sections; research design, sampling of participants, data collection, transcription and translation of interviews, researchers positionality and ethical considerations. The sixth chapter is the analysis using Somers dimensions and is divided into three main sections which are also divided into smaller sections;
Ontological narrative which is divided into two smaller sections; personal narrations and self-identification and how participants ‘make sense’ of happenings in their lives. The second section if the public narrative which is divided into two sections; participants societal narrations and narrations about the in and out group. The last dimension is the metanarrative which is divided into three sections; languages, religion and Berber nationalism. The last chapter of this thesis is the conclusion which consists of three sections; the first sections introduces the findings of the analysis. The second section gives a critical reflection of the findings and the thesis, the third sections introduces further research that could be made using the data.
2 Background

This chapter will give an introduction to some of the important events and moments in Algerian history to be able to understand the context but also the references made by the participants in the analysis. The chapter will start off by introducing the pre-colonial setting in Northern Algeria with a focus on the Berbers. The second section will introduce colonial Algeria and the Algerian independence. The third section will introduce Amazigh movements and symbols of identity.

2.1 Pre-colonial Algeria

The pre-colonial state of Algeria did not only include Algeria but a big part of Northern Africa: Morocco, Mauritania, Tunisia, Libya, Mali, and Niger. During the 500-400 B.C., Berber kingdoms were starting to form in North Africa such as Massacassyles center, Massyles cast. Multiple leaders passed through the different kingdoms such as Masinissa in Massyles, Syphax in Massacassyles or Jugartha, the leader that united the Numidian empire in 116 B.C. there are multiple leaders such as Juba, Juba II and tacfarinas (Ilahiane, 2017:xiv-xlvi).

During these years the empire and the Berber population in North Africa were invaded by multiple empires and kingdoms such as the Vandals 429 B.C., the Byzantines 596 B.C. these are not the only once, more appeared in late antiquity following these two such as the Arab invasion of North Africa during the 7th and 8th century. The Arabs faced strong opposition by the Byzantines when entering but especially from the Berber empires which according to Magbailly Fyle (1999:31) were used to being invaded. The Arab empire or caliphate was met with a strong opposition especially in their conquest in the spreading of Islam. The resistance continued for many years such as when the Arabs came to the city of Aures and were met by Al-Kahina, the queen of Aures. With Al-Kahina’s death in 701 B.C., the resistance ended, and Berbers started converting to Islam under the new rule, and some became assimilated to being Arab by taking part in fights for the Arab army (Ilahiane, 2017: xivi-xlvi). After the Arab invasion multiple events happened, the Berbers continued to resist, and other empires invaded
North Africa such as the Ottoman empires during the 1500s, and it was not until the French colonization that it went from being Arab Algeria to the French Algeria in 1830s (2017: xlv).

2.2 French colonization and independence of Algeria

The French colonization of Algeria started in 1830 and continued until 1962 when Algeria became an independent state after the voting on the Algerian independence in France and French Algeria that accumulated a majority of votes. When the voting was done, the signing of the Accord D'Evian was made between the French Republic and the provisory government of the Algerian Republic (GPRA). The GPRA was representing the National Liberation Front (FLN) with its leader Krim Belkacem, the signatory of the document with the representative party of the French republic. However, the fight for the independence of Algeria was not an easy task taken by the Algerian population who had been fighting for their right to “their country” for many years before the signing of the Accord D’Evian (Pervillé, 2012:89).

After the negotiations the GPRA was now sitting as the heads of the country on the 3rd of July 1962, and this is when tensions started to form on who was going to ‘rule’ the country after the independence. The national council of the Algerian revolution (CNRA) and the chief from all the Wilayas in Algeria reunited and were all against submitting to the power at the borders. The threat by the border was the liberation army (ALN) with at his head the general Houari Boumédiènne. This group was called the group of Tlemcen or Clan of Oujda which later united with Ben Bella against the GPRA. The CNRA was against the takeover of Ben Bella, but they were too strong to fight because of the coalition with the ALN that had been preparing by the borders and had approximately 31.000 men stationed in Morocco and Tunis. On the 5th of September 1962 Ben Bella had taken over with the ALN and Algeria was now ruled by the FLN of Ben Bella and in 1963 the first constitution was written and established in Algeria since the French colonization (Rocherieux, 2001:28-30).

The new constitution was based on socialism, single party but also Arabization meaning the only language of Algeria is Arabic, and the religion is Islam. The new constitution was now the source to the discontentment of the Amazigh population. Berber leaders such as Krim Belkacem and Ait Ahmed did not get the opportunity to rule Algeria and saw themselves as the ‘rightful
successors’ (2001;28). Moreover, the president of the assembly during the time Ferhat Abbas (1984) said that the ALN of Boumédiène and Ben Bella’s FLN “confiscated the independence of Algeria” (Abbas, 1984).

Boumédiène took over the rule in 1965 with a military coup d’état against Ben Bella and based his political rule on the Arabization and the Islamization of Algeria together with his foreign minister, Abdelaziz Bouteflika (current president of Algeria 2018). According to Julien Rocherieux (2001), there are multiple consequences of Boumédiène rule, such as the conflict between elite Arab-speakers and the elite of French-speakers. The generalization of the Arabic language lead to the spread of pan-Arabism and the introduction to pro-Islamic politics in Algeria (2001:37). The government used propaganda to legitimize decisions such as changing the collective memory and re-writing history to show the party of FLN as a symbol during the colonial time (Gbanou, 2003:82-84). These events of Arabization and Islamization is where multiple events and people were taken off the Algerian history but also from the streets of Algeria such as names of fighter's but also names from the pre-colonial Berber era. Religion was used as a tool by the government to fight off thoughts of democracy and laïcité and to legitimize the power of the government (Rocherieux, 2001:37).

2.3 Amazigh movements and symbols of identity

The government had a hard time suppressing the movements of recognition from the Berber population that had been rising since the independence. The rise of the Berber population waited until 20th of April 1980 to revolt in the events of the Berber Spring or (Tafsut Imazighen). The movement started after the invitation of the author Mouloud Mammeri, to the University of TiziOuzou was rejected by the municipal power (Rocherieux, 2001:39). The uprising became a chronological cycle of events and happenings demonstrating for the Berber cause and the recognition. The events of the first day of Tafsut Imazighen started with police to invading hospital, factories, etc. with tear gas, arrested hundreds, and wounded even more individuals (2001:39).

The second movement that will be introduced is the Black Spring of 2001. The Berber population was preparing to celebrate the 21st anniversary of the Berber spring when the college
student Masinissa Guermah was assassinated in the gendarmerie of Beni Douala. The death of Guermah was met with protest and demonstrations by students. They were met with violence by police officers and gendarmes, which resulted in killings of thousands and many wounded civilians in the Kabylie. In the wake of these events, people called to stop the shedding of blood. However, in urban centers, citizens organized themselves into neighborhood committees, to the ancestral structure called the Aarchs. The representatives of seven Wilayas and universities in Algeria met at the youth center of El Kseur, where they wrote the common platform of El Kseur which became the foundation of the citizen’s movement of the Aarchs (Salhi, 2010: 143).

The violence between the civilians and the gendarmes went on until March 2002 a month after the end of the civil war. President Abdelaziz Bouteflika tried to appease the demonstrators by promising to make Tamazight a national language. However, this did not stop the violence between the demonstrators and the Police. Cities were besieged by the gendarmes' civilians were beaten, political opponents and journalists were mistreated, and dozens of Aarch delegates were arrested. The arrival of the Amazigh Prime Minister Ahmed Ouyahia in 2003 calmed the conflict and reopened for discussion and dialogue between both groups. These events of 2001 are called the black spring or the movement of l’Aarch which changed the traditional Berber political parties. New movements and parties started to form in the scene such as the Aarch movement (Arouch) and the Movement for the Autonomy of Kabylie (MAK) created by Ferhat Mehenni former activist, singer, and revolutionary (Ilahiane, 2017:125).

During the event above, one singer and activist became the “rebel against the state” and that was Matoub Lounès (Vidal-hall, 1998:117). There has been much research conducted about Matoub Lounès, Judith Vidal-hall (1998) wrote that “he had been one of the great voices of the Kabylie, radical, outspoken and often controversial” (1998:117). Matoub is seen as one of the biggest fighters for the Berber cause in Algeria using music as the tool against the government. Matoub was censured from all radios, and television-stations in Algeria was shot five times by the police in 1988 and kidnapped in 1992. He was kidnapped a second time in 1994 during the school boycott and the president Ferhat Mehenni of Berber Cultural Movement, (MCD), threatened the terrorist that held him that a war would start if they did not release him. Consequently, this lead to a large demonstration and a march in the Kabylie for his release (1998:117-120).
3 Previous research

This study challenges some etic research made on the conflict in Algeria related to the Amazigh identity. Some of the research made on the conflict approaches the conflict with a conflict definition before the study itself which limits the understanding and perspective given by participants in the studies. This research argues that research conducted during the colonization and right after cannot be applicable in the same way as before because the context and time has changed in the Kabylie but also in North Africa in general. I argue that there is a gap in research regarding the relation between conflict and the Amazigh Identity. This gap needs to be filled with perspectives from bottom up individuals’ but also a context and understandings in today’s time and space not with theories and perspectives from anthropological studies made during or just after the colonization. This chapter will provide a critical view of research made on the Amazigh population in Algeria, approach their conclusions, and view as a strength or weakness from the conclusion of the study on understanding of the conflict from Amazigh in the Kabylie but also their identity construction. The research introduced in the chapter will be about the Amazigh in Algeria and their identity.

3.1 Berbers in research

The research on the Amazigh population in Algeria has been split into different categories, depending on what the researcher was studying. Moreover, the most ‘famous’ writer on the Berber population is Pierre Bourdieu (1972). In one of his books, he writes about the construction of the Berber household in the Kabyle and focus a lot on the male-female structure within the household and how the femininity and the masculinity are present within the structure of the household. The theories by Bourdieu’s have been used many times in other studies to ‘understand’ the Berber population and their way of living in Algeria but also in Morocco and other parts of North Africa. Paula A. Silverstein (2004) critically examines the work of Bourdieu in her study where she touches upon how using theories by Bourdieu on “rooting” and “uprooting” to understand how:
The French nationalist discourse has continued to inflect contemporary form of historical consciousness among the Kabyle diaspora, including contemporary Kabyle cultural politics in France and the transnational movement (Silverstein, 2004:1)

This study is again based on the anthropologic work of Bourdieu made during the colonial time to explain the Berberist movements in France and the transnational movements. However, she approached it critically. I argue in this study, that theories from the colonial times are important but should not only be limited to these kinds of works such as the famous writings from Bourdieu which should be critically evaluated as done by Silverstein (2004). I argue in this thesis that even if Bourdieu is an important theorist one should go from more than just his theories, as done by Ann Thomson (1993). Thompson (1993) argues that anthropological studies or the majority of studies made during the colonial times or as she says “1830-onwards” are made from the “illusion” created by the French. The “illusion” meaning the French that saw themselves as the “explorers” of a world that until their arrival was unknown to the rest of the world. Thomson (1993:19) writes that this “illusion” was incorporated in the “Myth Kabyle” where she introduces one of the famous writings within the definition of the “Myth Kabyle” from Damas and Fabar (1847):

The population of Algeria is divided into two parts Arabs and Kabyle’s of different origin and irreducible enemies, the first lazy pastors who live under tents, have black eyes and hair, the second ones live in the mountains in houses and cultivate the land are often blond or gingers with blue eyes, a result of mixtures with the Nordic race. The Kabyle people, partly Germaine natives of origin other times Christian, are the ones who can be most easily civilized (Damas and Faber, 1847 cited in Thomson, 1993:19).

This is still not the first time that the Amazigh were racialized as this was already seen in the works of Abd al-Rahman ibn Khaldoun where he writes about all the different Berber dynasties in Algeria. Moreover, he also writes about the “superior race” of Berbers in Northern Africa in (1854). Ibn Khaldoun did not only write about the Berbers but also about Arabs and Islam, so he was not limited to the Berber population but incorporated the different topics in most of his work. Khaldoun and his works are one of the most ‘significant’ publications within the Islamic philosophy and on the topic of Berbers (Goumeziane, 2006:8).
The works by Khaldoun were also presented by Jane E. Goodman (2005:18). She conducted a field study in the Kabyle within an association created after the events of 1980s in Algeria and writes that references from Ibn Khaldoun was present on banners within the association such as “The talent of the Berber race and its noble qualities” which as seen in Goodman’s (2005:18) book was found in the book mentioned above called Algeria in Antiquity (1972). Goodman’s study focuses strongly on how historical events can explain what she sees in her field stay. She discusses historical moments such as the French colonization the “Kabyle myth” but she especially writes a lot about the Kabyle view and understanding of music, lyrics and the symbol of singers within the society and their importance in the construction and formation of Amazigh identity (Goodman, 2005:18-20).
4 Analytical framework

This chapter will discuss the analytical framework of this thesis which is built on Margaret Somers’ approach of narrativity. The first section will discuss the relevant analytical tools for analyzing the narratives mentioned in Somers’ study on narrativity. Additionally, it will also introduce other perspectives on the dimensions. The second section will introduce theories of othering and identity construction that will be used in this study to conduct the narrative analysis.

4.1 The four dimensions of narrativity

The American sociologist, Margaret Somers, has tried to reconfigure studies on identity formation through the use of narrativity. She argues that studies on identity formation have made a substantial contribution to the understanding of social agency but suggests a new way to approach identity. This study will be using Somers’ narrative dimensions as an analytical tool to understand how the participants narrate their conflict understanding and how their identity is constructed through their conflict understanding.

Somers’ elaborates in her study for four narrative dimensions which in this study will be used as an analytical tool. The four dimensions are: epistemological narrative, ontological narrative, public narrative, and metanarrative. The epistemological narrative looks on how the researcher constructs, re-constructs and re-produces the narratives within the own subject. This narrative dimension allows the researcher to position themselves in relation to the field and have an open mind when approaching information, this to be transparent in the interpretation of the narratives (Somers, 1994: 613). The epistemological narrative was discussed in Mona Baker’s (2006) conducts her analysis of narratives using Somers’ narrative dimensions of narrativity. In opposition to Somers’, she argues that the interpretation of narratives can never be guaranteed as sometimes the narratives told by participants can go against the narratives of the researcher, translator or interpreter of the told narratives (Baker, 2006: 30-35).
The second narrative dimension argued for by Somers is the *ontological* narrative which are narratives used to “make sense” of what is going on in the social life and. Somers argues that social life in itself is centered around the *ontological* narrative which is a “condition of social life.” (Somers, 1994:614). The ontological narrative is the dimension used to “make sense” of participants/individuals experiences, events, phenomena. The stories told around the happenings in their lives are then used to “make sense” of what is occurring in their lives. Thus, people act and behave in the ways of these stories (1994:614). Baker (2006) further structures the ontological narrative developed by Somers (1994). Baker (2006) develops the ontological dimension as a *personal* narrative as well. This dimension is then developed to be a tool that individuals’ use to construct their identity and live and act around (2006:28).

The ontological dimension is used by individuals’ within the social space (society) that may be part of the in-group but also people with whom ‘they’ may have ‘incompatibilities’ (out-group). The division between the in and out-group is then seen with the collective narratives told by the individuals’ Baker (2006:33). Nevertheless, according to Baker (2006), the ontological narrative is the most complicated and hardest to interpret because it is a collection of personal stories and happenings in individuals’ lives (2006:132).

The third dimension introduced by Somers (1994) is the public narrative which looks one step further than the ontological and goes above the personal level of the individuals’. The Public dimension looks at what is going on in communities, religious centers, families, work, etc. The important symbols or officials that have entered people's lives within the group will then form and influence the identity construction of the group within the public dimension. However, the public narratives within the society is something that changes, because it is a narrative which is formed during the time and space and within the given context (Somers and Gibson, 1993:6).

The public narrative is the dimension that strongly influences the ontological narrative. According to Somers and Gibson (1993), the public narrative is a “shared narrative” within the community or group. The public narrative strongly influences the ontological narratives because they do not appear from thin air but instead are based on the shared narratives within the group (Somers and Gibson, 1993:6). Nevertheless, Baker builds on the argument of Somers and Gloria Gibson (1993) that the public dimension of narratives is different depending to which group you belong to which, proves the division between narratives from the in and the out-group.
The fourth narrative dimension built on by Somers is the metanarrative. This dimension of narrativity taken for granted within the society. It is structured around stories about “who we are” such as nationalism, religion. These narratives are concepts and explanations that are constructed by social researchers (among others) these narratives can be the “dramas of our time” (Somers, 1994:619). The metanarrative can be a narrative found in the public narrative that has progressed to become a metanarrative because the narrative has persisted and lived on for decades and lives out of individuals’ influence by that narrative (Baker, 2006:44).

4.2 Narrative identity construction through othering

Identity construction and conflict understanding in this study are approached through the narrative dimension mentioned above. The epistemological dimension is elaborated on throughout the whole study but does not have a section in the analysis because it is incorporated. The identity construction is approached using the three dimensions as tools but also theories on othering as ‘the other’ is used when construction once own identity. The narrative identity incorporates theories of othering to the construction of identity, and this cannot be known if the conflict is not narrated.

The theories on othering and the ‘other’ in this study is used as a theory in the concept of in identity construction. According to Simone de Beauvoir’s (1949) (cited in Lajos Brons, 2015:69),” the other” is a construction of the conflicting part thus the construction of “the self” (2015:69). Lajos L. Brons (2015:77) argues that the ‘other’ is a set of “the superior self/in-group in contrast to an inferior other/out-group”. Furthermore, othering is the identification of somebody/someone belonging to ‘them’ the out-group which according to psychological theories are described to be different from ‘us’ (the in-group). The ‘self’ within psychology distinguish that there is a psychological need for othering and that the differentiation of in-group from out-group and the self from the other. According to Brons (2015), there is “positive discrimination of the self and the in-group” from the ‘other’ and the out-group (we vs. them) (2015:77).

When the process of othering has been established within the society, a division will be created between who ‘we are’ and ‘who we are not,’ and according to Vilho Harle (2000) we need this
distinction to be created in order to define ourselves and the group (2000:4). The in-group will make use of the image of the out-group to reinforce the ‘bad’ image. When doing this, we create a bigger difference between the stranger and the more significant the distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ the more available they are to hate on (Perry, 2002).

When the construction of the ‘other’ is established in the society, the political elite can use this construction of the out-group and justify violence against them as violence will be legitimate when used on the out-group. According to Johan Galtung (1990), there are three different types of violence: Direct violence is used physically on individuals’, cultural violence is violence which can be used against a specific aspect of culture to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form, structural violence is exercised through social structures and institutions to harm people or enable them from reaching the basic human needs. Thus, the group can understand the physical violence as used because of their common identity and values and that they reject what ‘they stand for’. Additionally, one should acknowledge that the concept of othering is more complicated than individuals’ identifying with either the in- or the out-group as individuals’ can hold more than one identity but also identities that are seen to be contradicting within the society (Klandermans, 2014).

Within society, there could be more than just one in-group and one out-group but also an ‘other’ within the in-group (Klandermans, 2014). Nevertheless, according to Charles Taylor (1992) any human being need to construct their own identity towards a group that is distinguished by its history and its symbolic and imaginary components. Taylors (1992) argues that there is a strong need for the out-group to be recognized and argues that there is a link between the will to be recognized and identity. Thus, not being recognized means that the identity and group are being oppressed. He argues that identity is shaped by how much the identity and the characteristics the identity has is recognized and writes that not being recognized can make so that the group can suffer real damage (1992:25). This inflicted violence can then be seen as structural violence against the group. Theories on identity are not limited to the importance of only recognition but also (among others) the importance of land and localization. Theories on autochthony are defined with the supposition that there is a connection between people and the land they live and are from. This connection to their ancestral land can be seen in their “loyalty” and the groups “right” to be on that land (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001; Landau, 2006: 3).
5 Methodology

This chapter will give an outline of how the data for this thesis was collected; the steps and methods used and seek to give absolute transparency. The chapter will start off by introducing the research design of this study. Moreover, introduce how the participants of the study were selected and how the data was collected as well as how the transcriptions and translations of the interviews. The chapter continues to discuss my positionality and the ethical considerations.

5.1 Research design

Research design is introduced by John W. Creswell (2009) as “Plans and procedures for research that span the decisions from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis” (2009:3).

This study uses a narrative design meaning the collection of individuals’ stories of happenings in their lives. The stories are then ‘re-told’ or narrated by the researcher. Narrative inquiry combines the narratives told of the participants’ lives with the narratives of the researcher into “collaborative narrative” (2009:13). There are multiple ways on what a narrative analysis can be applied on, and in this study, the analysis will be applied on unstructured in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews are the most compatible with the design and the four dimensions elaborated by Somers (1994). This study works in accordance to these four dimensions which focuses strongly on the constitution of identity through narratives but also the researchers’ position. According to Sharon Thomas (2012) traditional research tries to prove validity and truth claims within participant’s stories and prove that they are more valid then they are. Narrative inquiries intent is not to prove any validity or truth claims within the narratives told by the participants. However, the narratives are valid because they are narrated by the individuals towards the researcher. Narrative inquiry looks at individuals’ stories, understanding, and meanings (2012:212).
5.2 Sampling of participants

The method of sampling in this study was purposive sampling which is based on choosing people because of their position. The position in this study is the participants’ identity as a Berber. To be able to know whether a participant identified as Berber or not this was shown in the discussion before the interview but also during the interview.

The participants were not obligated to only present their Amazigh identity, but it needed to be one of the identities. Some of the participants in this study were familiar with me because of my previous trips to the Kabylie. However, some had approached me wanting to be part of the study when hearing about the subject from acquaintances and myself. During the conversation, all participants identified themselves as Amazigh by labeling themselves and the ‘other.’ However, it was hard to distinguish the identity of some of the participants in the discussions, but a clarification was given when conducting the unstructured in-depth interviews. The 21 participants in this study consist of 13 female participants and eight male and they have been divided numerically 1-21².

5.3 Data Collection

The data of this study was collected during a 15 days trip to Algeria. The method of data collection was based on the elaboration of Russel Bernard (2011) of unstructured in-depth interviews. This method was chosen because unstructured interviews are used to get participants to “open up” and “express” themselves on their “own terms” and at their “own pace” without any interruptions or strict interview guidelines (2011:211). However, an interview plan was made after one of the participants from the pilot phase wanted question to be asked, this was not a demand articulated by all the participants in this study. The interview plan consisted of themes but also of open-ended questions that were asked if the participant wanted questions to be asked. Moreover, the interview started after the participant had read the consent form or heard of during the discussion before the formal recording of the interview.

The method of unstructured in-depth interviews was chosen because they did not limit the narration of the participants by focusing on specific questions or topic but let them lead the interview. This method ‘fits’ perfectly with the narrative design and Somers’ (1994) dimensions

² A table is provided in appendix A with information about the participants.
as it is important to let the participants tell their stories without interruption and structured questions. Unstructured in-depth interviews lean on “free communication” with the participant which structured interviews get in the way of, by being a “limitation,” structured interviews are directed by the researcher and does not give the participant the same “freedom” (Bernard, 2011:211).

Bernard (2011) argues that unstructured in-depth interviews are not “guiding” the participants, however, I argue that anything can be seen as being guiding towards the participant. Maja Povrzanovic Frykman (2004) argues that the researcher needs to recognize that “personal and social history” is the basis “on which knowledge, in the frames of the project is produced” (2004:90). Moreover, it is impossible for the researcher not to lead the formation of the study or the interview. This should not be seen negatively as the uniqueness of each study is seen in the positioning and “grounded” (2004:90) with the researcher in collaboration with the participants. However, the acknowledgment by the researcher of its subjectivity is needed and is elaborated on further on in the study.

The interviews were conducted face to face in French, Tamazight, and Algerian in the setting chosen by participants. Some of the participants wanted the interview to be conducted at their homes other at cafeterias or libraries. Some of the participants did not want to be alone in the interview and wanted other people to be part of it such as family members and friends. This could have made the participant ‘open up’ more but also that they could have restricted themselves. Moreover, some of the participants were part of other participants’ interviews which could have influenced their interview as they had already witnessed and hear an interview.

As this was not my first time in the Kabylie a lot of the participants in this study knew the researcher before, this could also mean that the participants felt more open to be part of this study and talk about their experiences. This could also mean that because they know me they restricted themselves as it could have considered me a close friend, a family member which could mean that they felt that everything could not be shared. These two settings could go both ways. Moreover, because of the social and cultural context in Algeria and the Kabylie, I knew that it is not seen as appropriate for a female and a male to be in the same place alone without being familiar with each other or accompanied. This is why when interviews were conducted with male participants in a public space or at their home, I had to be accompanied by a family
member or a friend. A family member or a friend also accompanied the male participants. The people that accompanied the participant and me did not participate in the interview but where there and their presence might also have affected the narrations of the participant and the researcher.

The unstructured in-depth interviews were not the only time I met with the participants. Some of the participants I met multiple times throughout the trip but all of them I met at least twice, where multiple of the participants still talked about their experiences and lives. This provided a multitude of contexts but was not used in the study but could have been if this was an ethnographic study.

5.4 Transcription and translation of interviews

The transcription was made on the recorded interviews, and the whole interview was transcribed so that all narratives were included. The transcription also included stops, breathing, and emotions such as laughing, smiling, etc., to give context to the narratives. As mentioned above, the interviews were conducted in French, Tamazight, or Algerian, or a mixture of all three which makes the transcription very hard to do. The researcher does not write Algerian in Arabic letters but Latin and does not write in Tifinagh which is the Tamazight alphabet. Consequently, the transcriptions were made in French, the language that is the most compatible with the mixture of the languages and the language that I am the most proficient in writing amongst the three.

The interviews conducted with the oldest generation born between 1920 and 1940 were all made in Tamazight and words that do not have the same meaning in French as they do in either Algerian or Berber were written in the corresponding language and instead explained.

When doing the transcription of the oldest generation, the researcher had to ask a family member for help in defining the meaning and definition of some words and sentences. This happened because there is not a national way to speak Tamazight. Consequently, depending on the region where the participant is from words and meanings differ strongly from the Tamazight known by the researcher. I then approached my dad that knows the dialects and differences in
Tamazight depending on the regional location so that the narratives will not be transcribed incorrectly.

5.5 Researchers positionality

This section approaches Somers’ (1994) epistemological narrative where the researcher positions themselves towards the data and research which is done previously but in this section the focus is on the researcher's subjectivity towards the topic and how this can affect me as the researcher and participants.

When growing up, I was very interested in the conflicts in Algeria concerning the Amazigh identity. My interest in the Amazigh identity developed because of my background, being half Swedish and having an Algerian, Amazigh father. With my multiple trips to the Kabylie and my ability to speak the languages in the region, I do have a connection to the topic. Moreover, my knowledge of the context, ‘conflict(s)’ and setting gives me the ability to conduct this study in an emic way.

My position leads me to be acutely aware of my subjectivity towards the topic which is why the method of in-depth unstructured interviews were conducted to let the participant speak without interruptions. The analysis was also done numerous times not to leave out any vital information that I might ‘ignore’ because of my comfortability in the topic and subject. One should not ignore that participants might not address multiple narratives because they believe that I am already aware of those because I am ‘one of them.’ Moreover, my cultural identification and my friendship and familiarity might also influence the way I interpret their narratives, so the influence goes both ways. This thesis was only feasible in the short amount of time because of my familiarity with the topic and also the friends, family, and acquaintances that I have acquired after traveling to the Kabylie since small. The social, economic, cultural, etcetera, the context was known and given after these multiple trips to the Kabylie. The narratives introduced and elaborated on in this thesis were given to this researcher meaning that the narratives were told in the given context and the positionality of the researcher whether a stranger or a friend.
The participants in this study that had never met me did not approach me as an outsider but talked to me as being one of the in-group. This was noticed many times when talking about the experiences they had because they speak in Algerian or French in another city than the one in the Kabylie and said: “you know how it is.” This was very interesting as I have experienced instances when people say “you must be Kabyle” when I speak French because of my strong dialect but also when I speak Algerian. This is because I have a strong accent from the Kabylie which is also why I believe that the participants approached me in this way because of the way I talk but also clothing or even the personality as discussed above in the topic of ‘guiding’.

5.6 Ethical consideration

The participation in this study was voluntary, and before the start of an interview, a consent form was handed out. The form was signed by all participants both physically signed and vocally signed by those that did not read it which means that I read it and the participant agreed to it vocally, so it could be recorded. The confidentiality was tried to be reached by not disclosing information such as where participants lived, and age. Consequently, this is why the participants are put in the numerical order 1-21. The only information that will be introduced in the thesis is their gender if they lived in the city or bled and a generalization of their date of birth. For example, if somebody was born in 1996, it will be written as 1990-2000. These are included to provide context but also because there are differences and similarities between the genders and age, and whether a person is from the city or the bled, these differences were presented in the analysis.

This study wants to in the best way interpret and cite the stories given by the participants. This is why no modification will be made on their citations and why the original citation from the transcription will be put in the footnote. Before quoting the participant in the text, a number will be written so that the reader knows who said what. Because of the lack of space, I cannot present the analysis of every separate participant but have to structure it around the narrations and topic in accordance with the three dimensions. Moreover, when conducting the narrations of the interviews, I need to take into consideration the hierarchical nature of interpretation which was elaborated by Mary S. Morgan (2017). She argues that the narratives are owned by the participants and that the one interpreting should remember that this is their stories but my

3 Bled means being from outside the city
interpretation (2017:88). Moreover, I have a role in the interpretations because the results are an incorporation of participants stories and my own as my background is incorporated in how I interpret their stories, thus interpreting a new intertwined narration.
6 Narrative Analysis

This chapter will present the narrative analysis conducted on the transcription of the 21 interviews using the three narrative dimensions elaborated by Somers (1994). Because of the broadness of the three dimensions they have been divided into smaller parts to easier distinguish the narrations in the analysis.

6.1 Ontological Narratives

This chapter will introduce the ontological narratives of the participants which tries to make sense of experiences, events, and phenomena. The narration around the happenings in their lives is then used to ‘make sense’ of what is happening in their lives. The chapter is divided into two sections the first will introduce the personal narrations the one used to construct their identity and self-identification. The second section tells the narration of how participants ‘make sense’ of happenings in their lives.

6.1.1 Personal narrations and Self-identifications

The participants narrated a belonging to the Amazigh race some argued for being the “first civilization of the Algerian territory”⁴. The second narration was that they are the ‘natives’ of Algeria because they have a genealogy that proves this. Moreover, this ‘genealogy’ gives them the ‘right’ to call themselves Amazigh and Algerian. Participant (6) illustrates narrations “I have a genealogy that proves that I am originally from this country before the multiple occupation that passed through this country”⁵. Whether these narrations were introduced to a belonging to the Amazigh ‘race’ or ‘native’ they were both intertwined and used to prove that they have a genealogy that either connects them to the Amazigh race or being the original inhabitants of Algeria. The second topic focused on the localization and the ancestors of the land. The participants identified themselves to be Berber because of the Amazigh history and historical figures that existed before the Arab conquest as illustrated (3) “We have our warriors

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⁴ Première civilisation du territoire algérien
⁵ J’ai une généalogie qui me prouve originaire de ce pays avant les multiples occupations qui sont passées par la
Masinissa, Jugurtha, Kahina we have a history and our queen”\(^6\). This to prove that he is not ‘making up’ his identity. Moreover, this is also shown in a quote by participants (1) “true Algerians are Berbers they are not Arabs because it's a race that came here before Jesus Christ”\(^7\). Another participant continued on the topic (13) “Real Arabs are those from Saudi Arabia not those here”\(^8\). This narration showed that to be Berber means to have more ‘rights’ to be in Algeria than the ‘Arabs’.

Participants identified themselves as not only Amazigh but also to the region as illustrated in the quote (7) “We are Kabyle”\(^9\); (12) “I am Kabyle and Berber”\(^10\). Moreover, all participants identified themselves as Muslims and a believer. Moreover, there was one participants that identified herself as being Arab (14) “I am Arab and Berber why not”\(^11\) this narration counters the other narrations of identification as they all identified themselves as Berber against the ‘other’ being an ‘Arab’. Participant (14) was the only one that had two identification that within the narrations presented by the participants are not compatible.

6.1.2 How participants ‘make sense’ of happenings in their lives

The events of 1980 were narrated by all the participants whether they that had participated or not. The participant that had participated in the movement lived and narrated the movement in different ways. Participant (1) had been part of a political party during the events and talked about the movement in a very emotional way. Another participant (10) said that in 1980s he was a university student and remembered:

> During the night the police entered the male dorms, sirens were heard outside and we got the message that the police had invaded the female dorm at the University of TiziOuzou. It was almost like a war with the army, it felt like the intifada in Palestine was almost like a war with the army, it felt like the intifada in Palestine\(^12\).

\(^6\) On a nos guerriers Massinissa, Jugurtha, Kahina on a une histoire et une reine
\(^7\) Les vrais Algériens sont berbères pas arabes c’est une race qui est venu avant Jésus Christ
\(^8\) Les vrais arabes sont les gens de Saudia Arabie pas d’ici
\(^9\) Nous sommes Kabyles
\(^10\) Je suis kabyle et berbère
\(^11\) Je suis arabe et Berbère pourquoi pas
\(^12\) Pendant la nuit, la police est entrée dans la résidence des hommes, des sirènes ont été entendues à l'extérieur et nous avons reçu le message que la police avait envahi la résidence des femmes à l'université de Tizi Ouzou. On a presque fait une guerre avec l'armée c’était comme l’intifada en Palestine
The second event that was narrated was the Black Spring that was mentioned by a majority of participants. Multiple of the participants had taken part in the movement and Masinissa Guermah was mentioned by all the participants whether they participated or not. Guermah was a hard subject to discuss for participant (15) that knew Masinissa and talked about him for a long period of the interview remembering “He was a good guy that did not deserve to die” 13 she continued “When I heard he was shot I directly sprinted out and participated in the fight against the Arabs and the military, they killed him for nothing an innocent college student” 14

Another participant talked about the event and his participation but not in the same way, participant (4) “We were part of the movement for Tamazight but not because of Tamazight but just to skip school”15 Another narration of the movement from the individuals’ that participated was that the Arouch was corrupt and was only looking for their own benefit as narrated multiple times by participant (2)

What hurts the most is that the leaders of the movement were all far away. Looking back at all the young people that were killed and hurt and knowing that the leader of the movement was never here to participate in the demonstrations not at all they were not here16

Participant (2) was very frustrated and annoyed when talking about the movement because of the effect it had on her “While all the leaders of Arouch had sent their children to study in France while we did not have classes for a year, I could not even pass my baccalaureate because of the boycott”17 she was not alone in her distrust of the movement, as participant (10) also had a similar narration “Arouch did not continue until the end, the state bought everybody when they got money, when they got means they dispersed completely” 18

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13 C’était un bon garçon il ne méritait pas de mourir
14 Quand j’ai entendu qu’ils l’ont tué je suis sortie directement et j’étais dans le combat contre les arabes et les gendarmes, ils l’ont tué pour rien c’est un collégien innocent
15 Nous sommes rentrés dans les émeutes de tamazight mais pas pour tamazight juste pour pas aller au cours
16 Ce qui fait le plus mal, c’est que les dirigeants du mouvement étaient tous loin, je me souviens de tous les jeunes qui ont été tués et blessés et sachant que le chef du mouvement n’était jamais là pour participer aux manifestations pas du tout
17 Alors que tous les dirigeants d’Arouch avaient envoyé leurs enfants étudier en France alors que nous n’avons pas eu cours depuis un an, je ne pouvais même pas passer mon baccalauréat à cause du boycott.
18 L’Arouch n’ont pas continué jusqu’au bout, l’état a acheté tout le monde ils ont eu de l’argent, il a eu des moyens et ils se sont dispersé complètement
The last narration of 2001 was from participants that did not participate in the movement and those who participated but saw it as an achievement. Participant (3) talked about the achievement of getting out all the gendarmeries from the Kabylie “Since 2001 the gendarmes have never returned to the Kabylie, if they come we will start throwing rocks, they will never come back to us”\(^{19}\) another participant saw the movement and the leaders of el Kseur as something that gave light to the Berbers as participant (6):

> There were people in this population unfortunately naïve that believed that they wanted to help. They saw a glimmer of hope because somewhere when you remove everything from somebody and that somebody no longer has anything, and you promise him rain and sun, happiness and prosperity he will see you as a light and ignore all the flaws you have because he believes in you.\(^{20}\)

He continues in a very sad voice that “These people made promises but behind every promise a project was hidden, they played with the population like you play with dices”\(^{21}\). The view of the participants varied a lot based on their understanding of the events of 2001 whether they were part of it or not. Participants (2) had a similar view to participant (6) where both had given up hopes in the leaders whether Berber or ‘Arab’.

The narration of the French colonization was mostly given by the oldest generation of this study. The participants had different experiences of the French colonization, participant (18) talked about how “nice the French soldiers were”\(^{22}\) by giving them candies and that the people that were the scariest was not the French but the soldiers “I remember when the soldiers would enter the house in the middle of the night looking for Mujahedeen’s”\(^{23}\), the participant told horrific stories of her seeing her father being beaten and “taken to prison because his brother was a Mujahid”\(^{24}\). Another participant, (16) was reciting poems and talking about her experiences during the war, she gave horrific images about her experience during the war. She talked about

\(^{19}\) Depuis 2001, les gendarmes ne sont jamais rentrés en Kabylie s’ils reviennent, on commencera à leur jeter des pierres, ils ne reviendront jamais chez nous

\(^{20}\) Y’avait des gens dans cette population, malheureusement naïfs qui croyaient vraiment et voulaient vraiment aider ils voyaient en eux une lueur d’espoir parce que quelque part quand vous enlevez tout à quelqu’un et quand quelqu’un n’a plus rien et vous vous lui promettez pluie et soleil, bonheur et prospérité tout ce qui s’en suit il vous voit comme une lueur d’espoir avec tous les défauts que vous avez il croit en vous

\(^{21}\) C’est gens-là ont fait des promesses et derrière ces promesses j’avais tout un Projet, c’est gens-là ont joué comme on joue avec des dés avec cette population

\(^{22}\) Ils étaient gentils les soldats français

\(^{23}\) Je me souviens quand le militaire rentre chez nous au milieu du soir en cherchant les Moudjahidin

\(^{24}\) Pris en prison parce que son frère était un Moudjahid
seeing the French soldiers abusing men “They wanted to scare us, look what will happen to you if you hide Mujahidin in your homes”\textsuperscript{25}. Participant (19) talked more about the Algerian immigrants in France “They should be ashamed of themselves to leave to a country that made us suffer misery for years and years”\textsuperscript{26}. Consequently, the narrations presented that there is more than just one ‘other’ within the participants’ narrations, as there were multiple ‘others’ in the in-groups and the out-groups.

6.2 Public Narratives

The public narratives will define and see what is going on in the society as to what is the problem or present conflict in their view. The second finding of public narrative in this study is to see how the participants define themselves within the society. Moreover, because they are the ones narrating they will be part of the in-group. Furthermore, this section uses othering to see how they narrate themselves in the in-group and how the out-group is narrated.

6.2.1 Participants societal narrations

The individuals’ in this study presented numerous narrations on their societal understanding of the problems, conflict or just tensions within the society. The first topic of narration was on how the Algerian government was the biggest problem within the society. Some participants narrated ‘them’ as the biggest enemy of the population (6)

They do not want the population to evolve and just lets the identity conflict between the Arabs and Berbers come to light, to hide the real problems in Algeria such as the economy and unemployment \textsuperscript{27}

When talking about these societal problems a majority of the participants talked about the new mosque that is being built in the capital one participant said (2) “They are building a mosque the most beautiful mosque in the world while our hospitals are disgusting”\textsuperscript{28} this was said to

\textsuperscript{25} Ils veulent nous faire peur, regardez ce qui va vous arriver si vous cachez des Moudjahidin chez vous
\textsuperscript{26} Ils devraient avoir honte de partir dans un pays qui nous a fait la misère pendant des années et des années
\textsuperscript{27} Ils ne veulent pas que la population évolue et laisse le conflit identitaire entre les arabes et les kabyles être aux yeux de tout le monde pour cacher les vrais problèmes en Algérie comme l'économie et le chômage
\textsuperscript{28} Ils sont en train de construire une Mosquées du monde alors que nos hôpitaux ils sont dégueulasses
highlight the government's focus on Islamization of Algeria and not the welfare system and the important infrastructure.

When narrating the problems within the government one politicians was mentioned by a big majority of participant one saying “When Naima Salhi insulted us, I was pissed because she was insulting us, all the Kabyle, the Amazigh us the Berbers”29. Another participant talked about how the government used Naima Salhi to (2) “Put the conflict in center just before the upcoming elections”30 another participant said that this was done so that (11) “they can split between people who agree with her and people who do not, and then this split will be created within the society”31. This narration on how the government is the biggest problem was well illustrated by participant (6) “This state is playing with the population like a yoyo they increase and decrease the temperature however, they want, this conflict will not exceed these kinds of ambiguity it will always go around in circles” 32.

Another topic is the one that looks at how this conflict is something that (9) “we are all born with”33. This narration was presented as a conflict between Arabs and Berbers and that “the Arabs are born with a hate towards us Imazighen since forever that’s how it is”34 and (17) “that’s just how it is”35. The participants then continue to give examples as to why the Arabs hate the Amazigh and their identity. Moreover, there is also the counter narration (3) that “There is no conflict in between Arabs and Berbers because being Algerian means you are Amazigh”36 so the given conflict between Arabs and Berbers according to these participants is just a myth as there is no conflict and it’s the fault of the education (4) “They never taught the Algerian history properly if they did people would know that they live in a Amazigh country”37 This directly connects to the third narration which is the education in Algeria. The education is

29 Naima Salhi nous a insulté je me suis énervée, parce qu’elle est en train de nous insulter, nous les kabyles, les amazigh les berbères
30 Mettre le conflit au centre juste avant les élections
31 Il le fait pour diviser la population entre ceux qui sont avec elle et ceux qui ne le sont pas pour créer cette division dans la société
32 L’état la se joue de cette population comme un youyou fait monter la température et la fait descendre comme bon lui semble, donc ce conflit-là ne va pas dépasser ce genre d’ambiguïté ça va toujours tourner en rond
33 Nous sommes tous nés avec ça
34 Les arabes sont nés avec une haine envers nos les Imazighen depuis toujours c’est comme ça
35 C’est juste comme ça
36 Y’a pas de conflit entre Arabe et Berbère parce qu’être algérien veut dire que t’es Amazigh
37 Ils nous ont jamais appris la bonne histoire s’ils l’auraient fait les gens sauraient qu’ils habitent dans un pays Amazigh
narrated as being one of the major problems as to why the society looks the way it does but the biggest focus being on the wrong telling of history.

Moreover, the topic of religion was present in the participants’ societal narrations. The religion and Islam and its problematization by Arabs in connection to the Imazighen society but also how some participants (3) view Islam as a problem “Islam is the cause of the division in the Algerian society between Arabs and Berbers”38. In the narration of Islam, the participants were divided, one part connected Islam directly with Arabs, the second connected Islam with the Arabic language. Thirdly Islam was narrated as a source of problems. Lastly the collective narration of Islam was that it should always be the religion of Algeria. This was not applicable for three participants that wanted a secular state which is a counter narration to the collective narration of Islam being the religion of the state.

The participants that narrated Islam as a problem connected it to the Islamization of Algeria and said (3) “if they did not come and Islamize people there would also not have been an Arabization” 39 these participants connect the Islamization with the Arabization of leaders such as Boumédiène and according to participant (6) “The Kabyle or the Amazigh is oppressed it’s a person that does not live in liberty in his own home, it’s like an indirect occupation”40. This oppression introduces the fourth topic: The need for recognition, participant (21) said to feel “oppressed by a government”41. According to participant (13) the politicians within the government “are not the rightful leaders of Algeria”42 and are “oppressing the rightful population of Algeria”43. This was reinforced by participant (7) “this is our land”44 these arguments connect to the statements made by the participants in the ontological narrative to the recognition of the ‘race’ being ‘native’ etcetera.

The last topic to be introduced in the societal narrations is that the problems were either connected to the corruption by the Algerian government or in connection to the argument that (5) “The Amazigh population will not help you anymore”45. The participants talked in
connection to the events of 1980 and 2001 saying (11) that “Imazighen will not rise this time around, the Arabs can deal with this on their own”\(^\text{46}\) to also say “A lot of people have already died for this”\(^\text{47}\). Participants (6) used the same kind of argument saying “When we were demonstrating the Arabs were saying: What are they doing? and when they are demonstrating now, we are saying: When we needed help you were not there for us”\(^\text{48}\). These arguments of having ‘no energy’ to participate in the fight or even demonstrating was introduced by a majority of the participants, the middle generations even said “We went though it by being out in the streets our kids are now doing the same but using Facebook”\(^\text{49}\).

6.2.2 Narration about the in and out-group

All the participants in this study defined themselves to belong to the in-group but they have an understanding that the government sees them as the out-group within the society. Multiple narrations were found in the participants’ definition of ‘us’ and ‘them’ a lot of similar and different understandings were narrated. The first narration that was found was used multiple times by different participants but in different context and that is the definition of how ‘we are’ and “We are more intelligent, cultivated and better looking than the Arabs that's why they are jealous”\(^\text{50}\). the exact same quote was given by a majority of participants that is why a specific participant citation will not be given. The statement was given in connection to different topics such as the one by participant (3):

> The Imazighen in the army were always on the front row because they are the most beautiful and also that they are always the top generals because they are the smartest and most cultivated\(^\text{51}\)

Another approach to the same statement was narrated in connection to the politician Naima Salhi and other political leaders such as Boumédiène. The participant made the statement when talking about what they had said about the Berbers such as (4) “because they are jealous of the

\(^{46}\) Les Imazighen ne vont pas se révolter cette fois si les arabes peuvent se débrouiller
\(^{47}\) Trop de personnes sont mortes pour cette cause
\(^{48}\) Quand nous étant entrain de manifestes les arabes disaient que-que ce qu’ils sont en train de faire et maintenant quand ils sont entrain de manifester nous disons quand nous avions besoin de vous, vous n’étiez pas là pour nous.
\(^{49}\) On a vécu ça en étions dans la rue et nos enfants font la même chose mais sur Facebook
\(^{50}\) Nous sommes plus intelligents, cultivés et plus beaux que les arabes c’est pour ça qu’ils sont jaloux de nous
\(^{51}\) Les Amazigh de l’armée étaient toujours au premier rang parce qu’ils sont les plus beaux et aussi qu’ils sont toujours les meilleurs, généraux parce qu’ils sont les plus intelligents et les plus cultivés.
Berbers” and that’s why they are (15) “haggarin towards the Berbers”. The participants that used these narrations, defined the Berbers as being superior in looks, intelligence but also more cultivated then the ‘Arabs’. Moreover, the clear ‘other’ here is the ‘Arabs’ because they are ‘inferior’ to the Berbers.

There is a strong division of the in-group by two sides. The first is the in-group narrated by the participants from the city, secondly one by the participants from the bled. There seems to be a discourse between the Amazigh from the city and those from outside the city (people from the bled). The Amazigh from the city defines the Berbers from the bled as an out-group by identifying them as being ‘conservative’ and ‘traditional’ as they are ‘open’ and ‘modern’. Participant (11) says “we in the city are much more open” another participant talked about her husband from the bled saying (20) “My man wouldn’t let me move how I wanted and always asked me why are you late? Where did you go? But that’s what you get when you marry someone from the Bled”. This narration of men from the bled by woman in the city was given by a lot of female participants.

The individuals’ from the bled said (3) “It’s the people from the bled that participated in the war” in this context war was the movements of 2001. The people from the city are understood as (12) “They are forgetting how to speak Tamazight and they only speak Algerian”. They seem to understand the language to be the first identifiable trait to be a Berber and understood people not speaking in Tamazight as losing their Berber identity. The participants’ identity was narrated by multiple participants such as: (3) “When we go out and a Berber approaches you both speak Algerian even if both are Berber and when you ask why don’t you speak in Berber? Because we are in the city”. As illustrated there seems to be a division and tensions between the people from the city that define the Berbers from the bled as an out-group and the people from the bled who do the same things about the people from the city.

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52 Ils sont jaloux envers les berbères  
53 Haggarin means somebody who uses hogra which means injustice, exclusions, discrimination, racism etc.  
54 Haggarin envers les berbères  
55 Les gens de la ville sont plus ouverts  
56 Mon mari ne me laisse pas bouger comme je le voudrai il demande toujours pourquoi t'es en retard tu es où mais voilà ce qui se passe quand tu te marie avec un quelqu’un du bled  
57 C’est les gens du bled qui ont fait la guerre  
58 Ils sont en train d’oublier de parler tamazight et parle qu’algérien  
59 Quand on sort et un berbère t’approche les deux vont parlait en arabe même si les deux sont berbère et quand tu demandes pourquoi tu parles kabyle ils vont te dire parce que nous sommes en ville
6.3 Metanarrative

The metanarrative in this study will look at how the individuals’ look at things that are ‘taken for granted’ in the society according to them which will include symbols that are taken for granted. The sections in this chapter were done according to narrations of topics that were presented to be taken for granted by the participants above.

6.3.1 Languages

Tamazight was narrated by all the participants to be the languages that needed the recognition it deserved and that it is a/or the language of Algeria. The metanarrative is not the language in itself but the need of the language to be recognized by institutionalizing it. The lack of recognition and institutionalization of the language makes it this underlying understanding by all the participants that the language is taken for granted by the participants. Moreover, all participant were happy that it was recognized but the recognition given by the state was narrated differently. The understanding of the recognition of the language was split in three narrations. The first was by the participants that have no faith left in the government and saw the officialization of Tamazight as just (6) “A symbol to quiet down the population”\textsuperscript{60}. The second narration was illustrated by participants (4) “looking forward to the establishment of Tamazight in the 48 Wilayas”\textsuperscript{61}. They see the institutionalization of Tamazight as a good sign for the future of the languages in Algeria.

The third group mostly included people that have studied Tamazight in school. They argued that more needs to be done in order for Tamazight to be considered the second language in Algeria as the system is not developed, one argued (2) “They are demanding the language but the language is not the problem not the language itself but instead the lack of formations, it’s the schools, it’s the economy, it’s the science, it's the hospitals”\textsuperscript{62}, and the same narration was made by participants (11), “We study Tamazight for years but then there is no job same goes

\textsuperscript{60} Un symbole pour faire taire la population
\textsuperscript{61} J’ai hâte que Tamazight soit établie dans les 48 wilayas
\textsuperscript{62} Il revendique la langue alors que ce n’est pas la langue qui gêne y a autre chose Ce n’est pas la langue elle-même, mais plutôt, le manque de formations, ce qui manque en Algérie c’est les formations, les études, c’est l’économie, c’est la science c’est les hôpitaux.
with Arabic we study it up until we start university and then everything is in French if you don’t study law which is in Arabic” 63

This narration introduced by some of the participants was strongly focused on the education and the impact that Tamazight can have, but also how its development is needed in order to make it the national and official languages. Multiple participants narrated this such as participant (14) “There is no understanding between Amazigh as words in different regions differ and so does the dialects”64 another participant pointed to the Chinese dictionary during the interview saying (6)

The Chinese have released a Larousse dictionary which is sold in Algeria so that the Algerians learn Chinese, and the Kabyle or the Berber does not even have a dictionary yet, so this is the margin that this state takes on the population65

All the participants blamed the government for the lack of development of Tamazight and the lack of education and formation of Tamazight. According to participants (6) “the state is doing this to always be a step further than the Berber population”66.

The last narrative is the narrations about Matoub Lounès he was narrated as the fighter that used the second symbol Tamazight in his fight for recognition. Matoub Lounès was talked about like a (3) “hero of the population”67 a man that (8) “would never cease to exist”68 a man which (9) “songs are still sung in the same cause”69. Some participant were key people in his memorial organization and some even became strongly emotional when talking about him and what she felt after his death (9)

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63 Nous étudions tamazight mais après il n’y a pas de travail la même chose avec l’arabe on l’étudie jusqu’à l’Université après tout est en français si tu fais pas droit ou tout est en arabe
64 Y’a pas de compréhension entre les Amazigh parce que les mots dans les différentes régions diffèrent et même les dialectes
65 Le chinois a sorti un dictionnaire Larousse qui est vendu en Algérie pour que les algériens apprennent le chinois et le kabyle ou le berbère n’a même pas encore fait sont dictionnaire donc c’est la marge que cet état prend sur la population
66 L’Etat fait cela pour avoir un pas en avance sur la population berbère
67 Un héros de la population
68 Ne cesserait jamais d’exister
69 Les chansons sont toujours chantées pour la même cause
When Matoub died something went missing, he was scared of nothing, but something is missing he was fighting to protect a cause like I told you he was a man who was scared of nothing, but something is missing.

There was not one participant that did not talk about Matoub and even when talking about the symbol of Matoub not one participant talked negatively about him. The young generations in this study said (8) “I was born after Matoub’s death” and one specific quote by Matoub was given by 15 out of 21 participants, this citation was narrated by participant (10):

When the journalist asked Matoub what animal he like he said: The donkey when the journalist asked why? Matoub said: Because the donkey built the Kabylie, so the journalist asked: So what animal do you hate? Matoub said I hate the Camel and the journalist asked why? And Matoub said: Because it brought the Arabs to North Africa.

6.3.2 Religion

The narration on Islam and Muslims was split within the participants as seen above. One part argued that Muslim traditions in Algeria should not be obligatory with a focus on Ramadan. Secondly, participants narrated that Berbers are Muslims and that (13) “the government and the Arabs have dirtied the picture of Berbers by calling them non-Muslims and drinkers”. The presence of a collective narration that Islam should not be touched and that it should stay the religion of the state. However, three of the participants wanted secularism and some wanted a laic state as in France.

The second narration around the religion, was the in-direct one that started when the participants talked about the political party MAK the movement for the autonomy for the Kabylie. All the participants expect one was against the party and the reason why was divided. One part hated the party because they were believed to (4) “hate the religion”. Moreover, the party was...
disliked because of their affiliations with Israel and Jews (10) “How can we like Ferhat Mehenni when he has a good relationship with Israel” 75.

6.3.3 Berber nationalism

The narrations above connect to nationalism which is the first strong identification of the Amazigh history by the state and the Arabs. The participants had a strong will to have their history told and their interpretation of history, queens and that this history should be taught in school. The history that is taught in schools are (4) “the Arabs history” 76 which according to the participants has (13) “nothing to with Algeria because Algeria is Berber not Arab” 77. The re-writing in the ‘correct’ way (15) “will not deny the real population of Algeria and their languages Tamazight, the languages of Algeria” 78. The other narration within this topic was that of Arabic. Arabic was narrated in a way that it should also be a language of Algeria because it is the language of the Quran. Without Arabic the Quran cannot be read and understood which is why Arabic is essential to Algeria because it is a Muslim country.

The narrations of nationalism were split within the participants. Secularism of the state was narrated as an option so that the Berber population and the Algerian population could live in serenity. The second narration was believing that Islam is necessary and even that the religion could be a solution. These two narrations were introduced when talking about how the out-group view the Amazigh as non-Muslims which is why the view of Berbers as being good and real Muslim should be introduced to the country. The third split was the narration of the topic of Islam as a problem which is a counter narration to believing that Islam was the solution. These narrations saw Islam as the cause of any conflict in Algeria and this view narrated Islam as being associated with the forced Arabization and Islamization made by the state after the independence. Berber nationalism was not narrated only in regards to Berber identity itself but it was intertwined with the Muslim identity as representation discussed above but also as seen throughout the other narrative dimensions.

75 Comment on peut aimer Ferhat Mehenni alors qu’il a une bonne relation avec l’Israël
76 C’est l’histoire des arabes
77 Ça n’a rien avoir avec l’Algérie parce que l’Algérie est Berbères
78 Ne vas pas nier la vraie population de l’Algérie et leur langue Tamazight, la langue de l’Algérie
None of the participants have identified as not being Algerian but that being Algerian means being Berber, this was explicitly mentioned when narrating the MAK as said by participant (1) “We were part of the war, the Kabyle were the torchbearers of the liberation war”\textsuperscript{79}. The conclusion given to this is that all the participants see the Kabylie as being the ‘real’ fighter in the war and the once that liberated the country which is also why the recognition of who and what the Amazigh did should be recognized. Throughout the analysis the participants have mentioned their fight for recognition what they agree with and what they want.

\textsuperscript{79} On a fait partis de la guerre les kabyles étaient les porte flambeau de la guerre de libération
7 Conclusion

This chapter will give a conclusion and discussion of the narrations in the three dimensions. The first section will present the findings of conflict understanding in relation to identity construction. The second section will give a critical reflection of the thesis and its findings and elaborate on social and ethical consequences of the study. The last section will provide topics that could be considered for further research, this because the data was rich in narratives and information.

7.1 Findings and discussion

This section will provide a discussion and a conclusion of how the participants narrated their conflict understanding(s) and the relation to their identity construction. Furthermore, the narration focused on different repetitive topics throughout the three dimensions. I will now introduce the findings of each part of the analysis and how these findings connect to the conflict understanding and identity construction.

The analysis chapter started by introducing the narrations of the ontological dimensions which focused on the self-identification and personal narrations. Moreover, it narrates how the participants ‘make sense’ of happenings in their lives. The Imazighen understood themselves as being the ‘original’ population in Algeria and a population, marginalized and oppressed by the government. Furthermore, they narrated the oppression as the Arabization of Algeria meaning ‘their’ history, language but also the re-writing of history to ‘fit’ with the government’s view. This connects to the narrations of the ‘real’ Berber history of Algeria. Moreover, they also narrated the government as not being the ‘rightful’ government of Algeria. Additionally, these narrations connected to the ‘demand’ of wanting recognition by the government. Taylor (1991) elaborates on the connection between identity and recognition. He argues that when identity is not recognized, that the population is oppressed, which is evident in the participants’ narration.
The second narration was that of Islam. All participants narrated themselves as being Muslim meaning following Islam ‘correctly,’ but depending on how they narrated Islam, their conflict understanding was different as well as for their identity construction. Islam as a topic was more present in the public narrative dimension which looks at how the participants narrate what is ‘going on’ in the society (problem, conflict, tensions) but also uses othering to see how the participants narrate themselves as the in-group and how they narrate the outgroup. When participants narrated Islam as belonging to the out-group, the construction of the identity was around Islam as belonging to the ‘other’ because it connected to the Islamization and Arabization by the government. Participants narrated being Muslim as belonging to the in-group. The out-group (other) was then ‘Arabs’ that do not practice Islam ‘correctly.’ However, one participant countered these two narrated identifications as she identified as being Berber and Arab. Klandermans (2014) has elaborated that individuals can have more than one identity but can also have an identity that seems to be contradicting in the society. This identification means that she according to the narrations of the ontological narrative dimension and the public is the ‘other’ and part of the out-group but still identifies herself as Amazigh.

The last narrative dimension is the metanarrative this dimension incorporates the different narrated topics that were presented to be ‘taken for granted’ by the participants.’ This section introduced three narrated topics, which was Language as mentioned above connected strongly with recognition and oppression by the government. Secondly, religion was narrated as something that should not change in Algeria and remain the religion of the country. This narration was evident among the participant even those who narrated the religion to Arabization. The narrations of the topics lead to the narration of Berber nationalism. Throughout the analysis, the participants narrated topics and understandings that connected to nationalism. The signs of nationalism within the narrations was that the participants narrated themselves as being superior towards the ‘other.’ Furthermore, they had a strong narration of loyalty towards Amazigh and identified with the land, language, culture, religion as being a common characteristic of being Amazigh, which also included ‘physical’ characteristics of how Imazighen looks. The Imazighen together created this understanding of a ‘nation’ and this idea of a nation includes everybody in Algeria, because being Algerian equals with being Berber.

As discussed, there are multiple narrated topics that connect to their conflict understanding but also to how they construct their identity. Furthermore, the topics narrated connected to an overarching conflict understanding that was narrated by all participants. The overarching
conflict understanding leans on the government as being the primary ‘other’ and ‘enemy’ of the Berber population because of the association made to Islamization, Arabization, and oppression. A question that could be asked is: Is the government the ‘enemy’ because of the politics or them being ‘Arabs’? Additionally, the government is the overarching conflict in relation to the Amazigh identity can then be related to them being the ‘other’ as ‘Arabs’ which then equals not being the ‘original’ population of Algeria, this connects to the ontological narratives elaborated above. The conflict understanding in this study lies in the narrated topics, which are the basis of how the participants construct their identity. The use of othering was eminent in how they constructed the self in connection to the other.

7.2 Critical reflection

There were multiple understandings of the relation of Amazigh identity and conflicts in the data, but that there was to overarching understandings that the conflict was connected to either the government or the identity. This study has shown that approaching conflict understanding without a conflict definition, does not limit the understandings to one concept or perspective. The data provided an extensive collection of different understandings and identity constructions which shows that one should not generalize conflict understandings and identity constructions. The findings of this study have contributed to filling the gap in research about the Amazigh population by now providing a conflict understanding from within the population. Moreover, the data has demonstrated that there are multiple understandings in the Kabylie and multiple views that need to be taken into consideration when trying to achieve sustainable peace in the region. The findings do not only indicate that identity construction could contribute to sustainable peace, but it presents that the identity construction could contribute to conflict as well, because of how the identity is constructed based on othering. Moreover, what can now be done to achieve a conflict transformation?

There are social consequences in conducting a study like this, and that is that if a person from the Kabylie or a person with an Amazigh identity reads the analysis, they might not agree or like what has been written or analyzed. One should also think about the consequences a study like this can have on the region, could the conclusions in this study make the population rise? Moreover, can this study be used as a tool against the people by the government? These are things that should be considered as a consequence of any study, not just this one. There are also
ethical issues that need to be taken into consideration now that the study has a conclusion. What would happen if a participant read the narration and did not like how he/she was presented? Moreover, I would still argue that this study is an interpretation of the narrations of the participants together with my background which presented this new narration.

One should critically evaluate the method, theory in the study. The study is based on the totality of the research, which means that the theory chosen, the analytical tool and the data collected has contributed to the conclusion given in this study. If other methods, theories, and analytical tools were used, I do not believe that the results would have been the same especially if the study was based on a different analytical framework. This study is based on Somers’ three dimensions including the epistemological dimension, the dimensions have structured the narration in close connection to identity construction and conflict understanding, which means that it was chosen on the basis of the research question. However, this also means that it could be limiting the narrations to identity construction and conflict understanding.

7.3 Further research

Multiple conflicts were introduced in the data and should be looked at separately to see how these understandings came about in the Kabylie. The presence of a conflict between the in-group was also presented and should be analyzed further.

As the participants decade of birth was noted further research would encourage to see how their identity construction and conflict understanding differs or is similar across the different generations. The study showed that multiple females involved in this research discussed similar topics and events such as the male role within the household but also the restrictions given by the male on the female. This was not included in the analysis as a prominent public narrative because it did not connect to this topic but would be interesting to look into.

As seen in the conclusion there seems to be a lot of perspectives and understandings left from the colonization of the French such as the Amazigh understanding of themselves. This should be further looked into and see how the French can still have a substantial impact on the self-identification of Amazigh in the Kabylie. To conclude, each narrative introduced and discussed in this study should be further look into as the contextualization of the narrative was used in
connection to conflict understanding and identity construction. One should encourage further development of each narrative and look at how these narratives were introduced or presented within the Amazigh society and why there seems to be a strong problematization of some of the narratives. Moreover, further research would encourage doing the same study but on the ‘other’ and out-group presented by the participants to see what conflict understanding they have and how their identity is constructed.
Reference List


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