Political Participation in Algeria: between Reality and Mechanisms of Activation

المشاركة السياسية في الجزائر: بين الواقع وآليات التفعيل

La participation politique en Algérie: entre réalité et mécanismes d'activation

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ملخص

إن المشاركة السياسية هي عملية اجتماعية سياسية، تعتبر عصب الديمقراطية، ومن خلالها يمكن أن نميز بين الأنظمة الديمقراطية التي تقوم على المواطنة والمساواة في الحقوق والواجبات، لأنّ النظام الديمقراطي هو الذي يسمح بأوسع مشاركة هادفة من جانب المواطنين في عملية صنع السياسات أو التأثير فيها، وكذا اختيار القادة السياسيين. أما الأنظمة الاستبدادية الشمولية التسلطية فتحتكر العمل السياسي، وتظهر فيها السلبية السياسية. وفي الجزائر، فبقناعة ووعي الجزائريين بالعمل الوطني وأهميته المعبر عن وعي ثقافي سياسي مستنبط من ثقافة المجتمع وسياسة النظام، تزداد نسبة المشاركة في الحياة السياسية لأن المشاركة السياسية هي إحدى العمليات المؤثرة في تشكيل وعي الأفراد، وتطوير اتجاهاتهم الفردية والاجتماعية، وتنمية أيديولوجيتهم.

الكلمات الدالة: المشاركة السياسية؛ التنشئة السياسية؛ الوعي السياسي؛ الثقافة السياسية؛ الأحزاب السياسية.

Abstract

Political participation is a socio-political process, the core of democracy, through which we can distinguish between democratic systems based on citizenship and equality of rights and duties, because it is the democratic system that allows the most meaningful participation of citizens in the process of policy-making or influence, The choice of political leaders …, in contrast to authoritarian totalitarian regimes that monopolize political action, showing political negativity. The participation and participation in political life is one of the most influential processes in shaping the awareness of individuals, developing their individual and social attitudes, and developing their ideology.

Keywords: political participation; political upbringing; political awareness; political culture; political parties.

Résumé

La participation politique est un processus sociopolitique qui représente le noyau de la démocratie. Elle permet de distinguer les systèmes démocratiques fondés sur la citoyenneté des droits et des devoirs, car c'est le système démocratique qui permet la participation la plus significative des citoyens au processus de décision ou d'influence et le choix des dirigeants politiques. A l'opposé, les régimes totalitaires autoritaires monopolisent l'action politique ce qui affecte négativement la participation politique. En Algérie, la participation des Algériens à la vie politique exprime un attachement à la culture de la société et une adhésion à aux pratiques participatives du système politique algérien de participa de culture politique. C'est un processus déterminant dans la formation de la conscience des individus, le développement de leurs attitudes individuelles et sociales et de leur développement de leur idéologie.

Mots-clés: participation politique; éducation politique; conscience politique; culture politique; les partis politique

Introduction

Political participation is considered as a voluntary, conscious, and optional process that includes a series of direct and indirect activities which the individual practice within his society to contribute in the political life and make sure to have a positive role in influencing the political pathway in order to achieve the public interest that stands with his views and political affiliations.

Therefore, political participation is among the most basic right that every Algerian citizen who lives in the society must have. He has the right to choose his governors, who on his behalf oversight the governors, and to make the public policies directly or indirectly, i.e. to involve the Algerian citizen in the political life. Perhaps the most significant and most notable canal to political participation is election.

Political parties have the role of promoting the culture of participation in elections; there are several ways to bring about electoral sensitization and raise awareness about the need of citizen participation. Among these means we have media, radio, TV reports, meetings and approaching the electoral process and insure its integrity and transparency.

Political participation is simultaneously a right and a duty; it is indeed a right to every member in the Algerian society, and at the same time a duty and an obligation. Every citizen has the right to participate in discussing the issues that interests him and to elect who represents him in the Parliament.

Because when he participates in government decision-making and development program, he feels himself and then raises a sense of belonging in his society, and satisfaction toward his political system.

Therefore, the Algerian political system must adapt with reasons for change –which stem from his needs or the surrounding environment- the means for that is political upbringing and conscription, by relying on strong, credible media and communication in order to enlighten the public opinion about different issues that matters for it, and encourage participation and interaction to reach the desired objective in Algeria.

Problematic

To what extent the Algerian citizen interacts with the different mechanisms of political participation? How can these mechanisms be improved?

In order to study this subject from various aspects, it was divided to there (03) points as follows:

- − The concept of political participation
- − The reality of political participation in Algeria
- − The mechanisms of activating political participation in Algeria

1. The concept of political participation

There were multiple efforts to determine the concept of political participation, for instance we find Geraint Parry who defines it as "participating in some of the political work and actions, with the expectation that the participant is able to influence the decision" (السيد شحاتة، 1993، ص 104)

The Encyclopedia of social science defines the political participation as "those voluntary activities by which members of the society participate in choosing their governors and making their public policies directly or indirectly, means participating at different levels of political work and system". This definition emphasizes the aim of these activities which is choosing governors and making public policies. (طارق محمد، 1990، ص 108)

Tariq Muhammad Abdel wahab stresses that it is "eagerness of an individual –based on specific psychological characteristics- to play a role in the decision making process, this eagerness reflected in the individual's political attitude by practicing the right to vote or to run for political office, as it is reflected in supervising, criticizing and evaluating the political decisions, in addition to knowing what's going on around him of political matters. Ultimately, it

is the result of the triangle: activity, interest, and knowledge. (طارق محمد، 1990. (ص 108)

Ibrahim Abarach adds "the participant has a share in political affairs, if we say the citizen is participating politically means he plays a role in the political life, this suppose having a community that its politics and decision-making are the result of its member's contribution". (أبراش، 1998، ص 237)

Ibrahim Abarach emphasizes that political participation is a working mechanism that democratic political systems possess; not a spontaneous individual act but a bilateral, interactive relation between the citizen from one hand and the political system from the other hand.

Hereby, political participation refers to an action of free will; this excludes coercive actions and any behavior resulting from: coercion, fear, or greed. It expresses the citizen's deep convection and belief that he is a part of the political system, this convention is obtained by upbringing and the political culture in society, it involves values, sense of belonging, and awareness about the ability to change by rights and duties.

From a functionalist perspective, political participation works on the democratization of the political system, the reinforcement of its public pillars, and reduces the possibilities of imbalance and disorder. As for then citizen it has the function of personality and personal integrity.(أبراش، 1998، ص، ص، 240-241)

Ibrahim Abarach summarizes the most important factors that push the individual to political participation in the following: (أبراش، 1998، ص ص، 248-249)

- Psychological motives.
- As an expression of political awareness and national responsibility.
- It might be a way of expressing the public demands.
- It might have religious or ethnic motives.
- It might be out of fear from the authority.
- It might be a request for a better position or job.
- It might be a defensive act against expected change.
- It might be semblance of familial or tribal solidarity.

Therefore, political participation is voluntary or official process that expresses a public, rational trend; involves organized, legitimate, and persistent attitude; reflects enlightened awareness and perception of the public role's dimensions in the area of political work, characterized by deep

understanding of rights and duties. Through this process the citizen plays a positive role in the political life of society whether this role is about choosing the governors, the political leaders, or by contributing in making the political decision, working on its implementation by the available and developed means of supervision, restraints, and adjustment.

(السيد عبد الحليم، (د.س)، ص 242-243)

Participation aims to develop the sense of belonging and loyalty among society members, and it is a way of expressing the citizen's right to practice his liberty in his society. Participation can involve three (03) basic stages that affect one another mutually, and work together in coherence and interdependence that it is difficult to separate in between. These stages are:

(عبد الهادي، 2001، ص 214-215)

Awareness: refers to the individual's awareness level of his place in the society and his rights and duties, and of the activities and practices through which he achieves participation.

Conscience: this stage refers that the more the individual is aware of his social activities responsibilities; the more he is passionate and motivated about, and by doing these responsibilities he gets a feeling of happiness and one of relief after get it done.

Action: this stage refers to practicing the actual individual participative behavior in different social activities.

There was an agreement between both Michael Roush and Philip Althoff that there are levels of political participation, in their book "An Introduction to Political Sociology "they established a pyramid scheme that covers all types of political participation, and can be applicable on all political systems, as follows:

- Occupation of political or administrative functions.
- Pursuit of political or administrative functions.
- Active membership in a political organization.
- Passive membership in a political organization.
- Active membership in a para-political organization.
- Passive membership in a para-political organization.
- Participation in political meetings.
- General interest in politics.
- Voting.

It is noted that the Occupation of political or administrative functions comes on the top of the pyramid, i.e. it represents the highest level of participation; down to the bottom where situated the lowest level of participation which is voting.

In addition to these definitions that covers the organized aspect of the process, i.e. official framework. There is an unofficial aspect; in this regard Louimir defines political participation as "every voluntary work whether it is successful or failure, organized or not, periodic or constant, suggesting the use of legitimate or illegitimate means in order to influence political options, management of public affairs, or governors performance at all levels of local or national government". (طارق محمد، 1990، ص 108).

This definition moved from the traditional version of political participation that takes place in peaceful legal ways (such as voting in elections) to passive participation in the form of peaceful protests against arbitrary decisions that were taken or will be taken; or even in an illegal, violent ways.

Moreover, in any society, people's turnout or reluctance for political participation depends to great extent on their acceptance of the political authority, and vice versa, the more they refuse the political authority the more their peaceful positions change into civil disobedience and violence which threat the stability of the political system, it is for this reason that political participation is crucial for the political system who tries to gain people's support, by changing the ways and adjusting the methods of gaining people's support in order to make such support stable and sustained. (رياض عزيز، 1995، ص 63)

Ahmed El said Tadj El din sees that political participation has several characteristics which are: (المنوفي، 1987، ص 328)

Action: the active movement of the mass towards the achievement of a particular goal on a set of goals.

Voluntary: the citizen's choose voluntarily to make an effort under a strong feeling of social responsibility towards the public cases and goals of their society; neither under any pressure nor material or moral forcing.

Choice: by granting the right of the participant to offer their support and consolidation to political work and political governors, and to take that support and consolidation back when the political work and government efforts are in contradiction with the real interests and legitimate adjectives.

Based on that, and according to Tadj El din, political participation can't be seen as a natural process a human gain it by birth or inheritance, however, it is a learned skill a person obtains it during his life through interaction with family, friends, and society.

In light of the above, we will examine the reality of political participation in Algeria within the next point, whether is positive or negative participation.

2. The reality of political participation in Algeria

The state in its entity brings together the whole society including the multiple forces, whether they were in a state of agreement, disagreement or conflict. One of the state's functions is establishing balance between those forces with what it represents of legitimacy; this requires preventing the monopoly of power by certain social and political forces, and then imposing legal alternation between these forces. (حزام والي، 2003، ص 266)

In Algeria, the contrary had happened, after the independence single-party system was adopted marginalizing the rest of social forces and monopolizing power by a particular group that doesn't reflect the opinion of all Algerians.

The media like TV, radio, and press are tools the authority used to spread the political values it wanted to deliver to the members of society through content of the planned programs that an individual is exposed to voluntarily, the influence here wither positive or negative it occurs vertically, i.e. fro; top to bottom, from the authority to the citizen without consideration to their problems and opinions, thus make it less accepted and thereby decrease their political awareness.

The monopoly of power and preventing its alternation make the identity of a certain political elite or political party to became the base of membership for the unengaged forces, this monopoly of power make it by consequence illegitimate, therefore, any attempt to oppose, resist, or overthrew this power became a natural act within the general context of understanding that it doesn't represent the whole society, but rather it represents only a small social group or political elite at the expense of the rest of society. (جوهري، 2001، ص 320-322)

This is exactly what happened in the 15 of October 1988, when the Algerian society exploded because it was suffering from oppression at all levels and in all areas. And of course the political system back then tried to treat the crisis with fragile solutions, so it adopted multiple-party system that allows all citizens to participate in the political life.   Political participation is the

basis of democracy, in fact the growth and development of democracy depends on giving the chance to serious political participations to all society and make it a right all individuals have. Furthermore it is the effective political participation that creates political pluralism which in its turn creates strong political opposition. This helps strengthening democratic practices and turns into daily practice where out of awareness individuals participate in all social institutions.

Political pluralism according to Mohammed Abed al-Jabri is a semblance of political modernism, this shall mean having a social area people wag 'wars' through politics, i.e. through dialogue, criticism, opposition, give and take, hence peaceful coexistence based on compromise solutions.

Pluralism is having a voice or voices that are opposed to the government s voice. (طارق محمد، 1990، ص (108

 Most researchers agree that political pluralism has become necessary for individuals lives.

However, in Algeria, according to the constitution of the 23rd February 1989, political pluralism was opened up giving birth to 63 party but these parties suffer usually from the lack of legal canals of expression like not having real effective political parties that play their role, the multiple political directions and their fights over national matters should be the biggest guarantee for ability of renovation and the proper treatment of national and international variables to approach the right thing.

The parties force and efficiency is reflected in its ability to build political awareness among citizens and raise their ability to start political work and assume the consequences, and participate in a positive effective way to serve the social public issues, and influence the inclusive development. Furthermore, it also has the role of enhance the current political culture if viable or create a new one and develop it dynamically from the social ideological orientations, spirit, political thoughts.

However, what happened in Algeria since the 1990s after the cessation of the electoral process and getting the country into civil war because of the huge problems citizens were living, this made even voting as an electoral behavior in Algeria not based on practical inputs and assessment of the presented party's agenda, but rather it takes shape according to the remnant of social upbringing; voting here is not on a party, nor a program, nor an ideological choice, it is instead based on people and their links with tribalism

forces, sectarian and ethnic affiliations. And some financial temptations like vote-buying.

Under such electoral atmosphere the person became more important that the institution, this could be the reason that impede the transition to institutionalism.(أوجار، 2018)

Especially that political appearance became frequent each time, what made the Algerian citizen isolated from the political life, i.e. negative political participation; this negativity can take many forms:(طارق محمد، 2001، ص 18-19)

Indifference: lack of interest about people, phenomenon, nor positions in general.

Political skepticism: been suspicious about the positions and statements of others especially the leaders see the political work as lousy work and that trusting politicians is impossible.

Political alienation: refers to an individual's sense of estrangement for political work, political system and what's going on in society

Alienation: refers to an individual's sense that the society and authority don't feel or care about him and that he has no value in his society, this leads to minimize or even loose the motive of participation in the political world.

The sense of belonging to the country started fading, till the individual lost interest about every political event that's going on around him, which in turn made him loose sense of full citizenship, raised aversion from all forms of political work, his participation in elections became formal and submissive out of fear from authority's oppression. Since the Algerian system during the 1990s was obligating anyone who wants to have a job or a house to have the voter's card. That's way the rates of participation were a bit high. For instance the proportion of participation in the presidential election of 16th November 1995 reached 75.68 ٪ the electoral act was indeed obligatory.

However, in the presidential elections of 8th April 2004 the participation ratio decreased to 58.08 ٪ the reluctance has grown to reach 50.70 ٪ in 17 April 2014's presidential elections. And of course if there was another presidential election in 2019 an extraordinary phenomenon might happen in the Algerian society and maybe the voting proportion was below 20 ٪ but "Elhirak" liberated the Algerian society from a lot of things, maybe the most important is confronting the fifth mandate of the former president Abdelaziz

Boutaflika. (An arabic word used to express the peaceful protests that took place in Algeria since 22 February 2019. It means the political movement).

Media in an important source of political upbringing and awareness, it grew a political culture related to issues, institutions and political systems as it worked on raising awareness and political knowledge among the youth, influence and encourage them to participate effectively in the political process.

The internet drove Algerians to participate effectively in discussing public issues and express themselves with all freedom away from government's constraints. Social media or (the new media) had a high effective influence no analyst or media expert could imagine, it even surpassed a lot of TV media in live broadcasting of events. It proved immediate news with photos and videos calling for positive participation in voluntary work, moreover, some networks contributed in making the culture of influence through some internet influencers.

Furthermore, these networks had a role in the downfall of three Arab regimes during the first 8 months of 2011, which are the Tunisian regime that lasted for 23 years, the Egyptian that lasted for 30 years, and the Libyan where the deposed president lasted in power for long 42 years.

Political participation is becoming increasingly important in Algeria post the peaceful protests that took place in 22ⁿᵈ of February 2019, when millions of Algerians went out to combat corruption that delved into different state institutions from the center to the periphery. People broke down the wall of fear especially with the ending of General Tewfik's myth. These protests kept going on because of the lack of trust in authority figures, and they were so far strengthen with securitization by army commanders, especially that this movement was without leadership and showed the world how wise are the Algerians in their attempt to make a civilized renaissance.

Because political participation is based on awareness, so the citizen won't participate unless he has large knowledge and consciousness about what he is going to do, cause participation without awareness can have disastrous consequences, participation increased the scope of political awareness, its importance stems from been one of the major means and ways to grow political awareness among society members. (العروسي، 2007، ص 139)

Indeed, Algerians from different ages and academic levels expressed their rejection for all authority figures through protests, and this by itself is

participation in the political life, as Samuel Huntington states "it is not necessary for political participation activities to be legal or to fit the standard of the political system, thereby, disturbance, violence, protests, and strikes are examples of political participation as long as it aims to influence public authorities". (Huntington, 1976, p6)

This statement agrees with the definition of Ismail Ali Saad about the concept of political participation "the involvement and concern of citizens about the political matters inside their society by agreement or disagreement, protests or resist ..." (سعد، 1987، ص 191).

During this movement it was conformed that Algerians are participating in the political life because the stages of political participation are related to the degree of citizen's participation in the political life as mentioned before. The first stage is **political interest** and this was demonstrated during the period of the movement, once an individual starts caring and following public issues and political events, participate in political debates with family and friends it is a sign that he is participating in the political life of his society.

The next stage is about political knowledge: means knowing the figures that play a political role, members of the parliament ... as we noticed people are talking about political figures and demand their depose.

If a member of the society during the next presidential election participates in electoral campaigns by financial support or helping the candidate or just by voting it means that the citizen is participating positively in the political life, and he will be in an advanced stage of political work if engaged in parties and associations or press charges to official agencies. (الحديثي، 1994، ص 267)

Because political participation supports the citizen's sense of belonging to his country, it introduces him to his rights and duties, it also expands the scope of awareness and political consciousness and this protects individuals from violence, alienation, and loose of identity, therefore, the process of building and supporting political participation must come first in the programme of the Algerian political system, because participating in political work depends on the availability of capacities and opportunities provided by those who possess power inside the society. (تاج الدين، 2012، ص 15)

The outputs would be raising individuals to obey the system by the implementation of its decisions, as for the inputs, the lie in raising the individuals to accept the rules of the political game, to be faithful to the political system's values, thereby, stability and survival are achieved as it is

possible for the youth to veer from the system and claim secession or immigration.

That's why some writers implicit in their analysis patterns of change that can occur on political upbringing that helps with political stability as follows:

- Shift from learning new things to a deep understanding of what has been learned and the new things that will be learned.
- Increase the ability to compromise between opposed positions, and settle conflicts in peaceful way.
- Shift from the specifics to the generalities, this is about the relation between the individual and the political system, i.e. respect the constitutional and legal rules.

Algerian elites and national figures must take the initiative of developing a road map in order to make the movement successful, because according to Huntington the increase of political participation and social mobilization can lead to the breakdown of the political system, luck of stability and widespread of violence and corruption. Unless this political participation and social mobilization were contained by strong and effective institutions, political parties sit on the top of those institutions and have major importance in organizing the expansion of political participation.

(النابلسي، 2009، ص 129)

This will only be possible with the use of some mechanisms we will get into next.

3. The mechanisms of activating political participation in Algeria

Political participation in Algeria is nothing but one dimension of political upbringing; it depends on multiple-factors some are related to the political environment and some are connected to the mental and psychological state of the individual itself. The political environment includes many variables related to political upbringing, where positive values are taught such as courage, team work, participation, this environment influence the way the individual responds to political stimulants and therefore, his participation in political activities.

For instance the political culture of the Algerian citizen contributes in developing his ways of political participation, furthermore, the stability of the Algerian political system and the social coherence depends partly on the political culture, cultural homogenization and the difference between the

culture of the elites and the other of citizens, reflects a source of threat to the stability of the political system, this is where the relation between political culture, political awareness, and political upbringing.

Political awareness is considered as a result for political culture that an individual learns, awareness is an outcome knowledge, understanding, and evaluating the issues, the type of political culture defines how the political awareness will be.

Participatory political culture is a type where individuals realize the aspects of the political process, however, dependent political culture will result passive political awareness. People can be divided according to the degree of their awareness to different groups, a group with high degree of political awareness and sense of responsibility, while the majority suffers from absolute negativity in dealing with the political system so they submit to its decisions and consider them unchangeable. (بودرهم، 2017، ص 312)

Algerian political parties must encourage all sorts of human gathering in order to achieve common goals, and train citizen on political work, encourage them to participate in their country affairs, raise sense of legitimacy by campaigns, dialogue, and grow the feeling of national integrity, what raise a sense of political security where people have the courage to express their opinions about public issues and contribute in the political life.

In order of an Algerian political party to absorb the negative effects of the political participation, they must establish positive values in people's minds through a strong ground of political institutions with effective upbringing canals. Because an effective political participation can't occur only through individuals awareness that takes shape throughout their understanding of the political, social, historical realities and the surrounding environment and society as a whole, this helps shaping political orientations and push then to political participation. There is no doubt that the willingness to participate raise with civilization and growth of mass media and the spread of education.

Media are seen as essential, critical tools in shaping political perceptions of Algerians by giving them information about political matters and concentrate on the importance of those matters according to what it represents as explanatory and analytical content and set its priorities.

Information and communication revolutions had multiple effects on increasing the participation of Algerians in political life; here are the most important effects:

- Spread political awareness among citizen through establishing political culture by widening the circle of discussion about public matters, encourage citizens to express their opinions without fear of punishment, this confirm the utility of expression and the sense of been able to influence the public life.
- Emphasis freedom as major value, to confront all means of injustice and authoritarianism, broaden the youth perspective and aspirations.
- Support the role of political opposition through: supporting the correct practices of democracy, present political behavior patterns where values like freedom, justice, equality, partnership, and competition are dominant.
- Present balanced analytical programme for the different issues, raise all the alternatives adopted by the different political powers, this will help to make a solid opinion and the right decision.
- Emphasis the public life as a core value, raise the spirit of resistance among the young generations.

These mechanisms motive the Algerian citizen to participate in politics through:
- The sense that participation is a duty and an obligation of all individuals towards the Algerian society, what require an effective participation in the public life, so they express their opinions, ideas and desires in order to be taken in consideration when authorities are making decisions, laws, and policies.
- Efficiency of social and political upbringing in the environment of family, school, or political parties which increase the value of participation in order to turn it into a life style among citizens.
- Provide legal and constitutional guarantees that insure security and safety, democratic atmosphere, rule of law, freedom of thought and speech in line with the high interests in the society.
- The will to play a crucial role in the different social activities, in a way that effects their present and future, and make them feel the importance of their roles, and its implications on the developmental process and strengthening

the social ties, in order to achieve a certain kind of integration and interaction between groups of society to reach their common interests.
- Attempt to influence public policy making in society to fit the real needs and desires of the society members that is beneficial to all.

Conclusion

In light of the above we conclude that the Algerian society is going through profound structural changes, produced a generation that grew in a corruptive environment in all areas, this made him looking for revenge against anyone related to the authority that led him to suffer from dire conditions. This generation was quickly influenced with technologies development that reports what's going on of global changes, and how societies with less potential than Algeria could face challenges and have raised their people, this encouraged the Algerians to participate in the political life of his country and depose the figures of the former regime.

This participation is in fact a strong relation between members of society, which appears as a sense of responsibility, so an individual make a shift from natural person to a citizen with high levels of awareness, who practice roles that contribute in growing his political awareness and of course such participation differs in levels because of interaction between mechanisms.

Political upbringing works on transmitting the political culture, which is a set of knowledge, values and political orientations that compose individuals knowledge and contribute in building, adjusting, or changing their political awareness. It also forms personalities by making them participate in the political life. Consequently, there is relation between the concept of political culture and the concept of political awareness, this latter is the base of having a political culture, it is the motive to participate in decision making, implementing in order to achieve democracy.

In order that political upbringing an effective role in preserving balance and stability of the political system it must be presented on high national level plan to create coherence between all content of political upbringing, and make coordination between its different roles and institutions in way that achieve social convergence and reduce social and political tension.

Furthermore, political parties are effective mechanisms for mobilization, it gather the ideological and tangible demands through strategies that turns ideas to practice and theory to application. In other words, political parties habilitate citizens to practice political work, and through upbringing,

cultivating, and education it forms the necessary leading figures for political work, of course this is related to several factors such as the type and degree of regulation in each party, and also the historical circumstances of its creation and its socio-political environment.

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