

# مجلة المعيار AL-MIEYAR Journal



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# المعيار

مجلة نصف سنوية متعددة التخصصات، مصنفة "  $_{
m C}$  "

# شروط النشر وضوابطه

- -المعيار مجلة علمية محكمة تنشر البحوث الأكاديمية والدراسات الفكرية والعلمية والأدبية التي لم يسبق نشرها من قبل.
  - دورية تصدر مرتين في السنة عن جامعة تيسمسيلت. الجزائر.
    - تُقبل البحوث باللغات العربية والفرنسية والانجليزية.
  - -ضرورة وجود مختصر أو تمهيد للمقال سواء باللغة العربية أو الأجنبية.
  - تخضع البحوث والدراسات المقدمة للمجلة للشروط الأكاديمية المتعارف عليها.
    - تخضع البحوث للتحكيم من طرف اللجنة العلمية للمجلة.
- تُقدم البحوث والدراسات مكتوبة في ورقة على مقاس (21/29.7) بهامش 1.5سنتيم عن يمين الصفحة وعن يسارها وهامش 1.5 سنتيم عن أعلى الصفحة وأسفلها.
  - تتم الكتابة بخط (Traditional Arabic) حجم (16)، وفي الهامش بالخط نفسه حجم (14).
- تتم كتابة البحوث كاملة أو الفقرات والمصطلحات والكلمات باللغة الأجنبية داخل البحوث المكتوبة باللغة الفرنسية بخط (Times new roman) حجم (12)، وفي الهامش بالخط نفسه حجم (10).
  - تكون الهوامش والإحالات في آخر الدراسة ولا يستعمل فيها التهميش الأوتوماتيكي.
    - يُقدم البحث في قرص مضغوط ونسخة ورقية مطبوعة.
    - لا يقل حجم البحث عن 10 صفحات ولا تتجاوز 15 صفحة.
      - الأعمال المقدمة لا تُردّ إلى أصحابها سواء نشرت أم لم تنشر.
  - المواد المنشورة تعبر عن آراء أصحابها، والمجلة غير مسئولة عن آراء وأحكام الكتاب. كما أن ترتيب البحوث يخضع لاعتبارات تقنية وفنية.

المدير المسئول عن النشر أ. د. عيساني امحمد.

# المعيار

المجلد الثالث عشر العدد 1 جوان 2022 مجلة نصف سنوية متعددة التخصصات مصنفة " C "

تصدر عن جامعة تيسمسيلت – الجزائر توجه جميع المراسلات باسم رئيس التحرير عن طريق البوابة الإلكترونية www.asjp.cerist.dz

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ب

### كلمة مدير النشر

# أيها القارئ الكريم:

يسر أسرة مجلة "المعيار المصنفة (C)" التي تصدر عن جامعة أحمد بن يحي الونشريسي بتيسمسيلت أن تقدّم إليك العدد الأول من المجلد الثالث عشر وهي إحدى قنوات الجامعة العلمية، وقد اكتسبت مجلتنا قيمتها العلمية ومكانتها الأكاديمية بما تتسم به من مواصفات علمية وكذلك بفضل مجالاتها البحثية المتنوعية.

- تضمّ لجنتها العلمية أسماءً لها وزنها العلمي في الوسط الجامعي، من داخل وخارج الوطن.
- تنوّع اختصاصات أعضاء لجنة القراءة، إذ تراوحت بين الأدب، والعلوم الإنسانية والاجتماعية، والحقوق والعلوم السياسية، الاقتصاد، والنشاطات الرياضية والبدنية، واللغات.
- تنوّع تخصّصات أبحاث العدد إذ جاءت موزّعة بين اللغة والأدب والنقد، والعلوم الإنسانية، والحقوق والعلوم السياسية، الاقتصاد، والنشاطات الرياضية والبدنية، واللغات.
  - تمنح المجلة فسحة للمقالات المترجمة، وللأبحاث الأجنبية (الفرنسية والإنجليزية).

وتجدّد أسرة المجلّة دعوتها لكلّ الباحثين بالالتفاف حول هذا المنبر الأكاديمي بمساهماتهم العلمية، ولهم منّا كل التقدير والعرفان.

المدير المسؤول عن النشر

أ. د. عيساني المُجَّد

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# Ethnic Borders and Identity Politicization in Algeria

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# Abstract The current study investigated the present ethnicities in the social structure of Algeria, and the extent to which there is real ethnic differentiation between these components. Thereby the following questions are raised: is there any integration or disharmony between ethnic groups? Does ethnic integration really targeted in Algeria? Are there attempts to fabricate societal pluralism in an environment that was largely homogeneous? Through these questions, we attempt to politicize social distinctions in Algeria, after that has been expressing a flexible cultural pluralism, and considered as a social wealth by politicizing the sub-"identities" and highlighting and

#### ملخص:

ننطلق في دراستنا من افتراض بوجود تعددية اثنية في الجزائر، ونحاول التحقق من ذلك بدراسة محتصرة للإثنيات الموجودة في التركيبة الإجتماعية، ومدى وجود تمايز اثني حقيقي بين هذه المكونات، وهل هناك اندماج أو تنافر بين المجموعات الإثنية، وما حقيقة استهداف التكامل الإثني الموجود في الجزائر ومحاولة اصطناع تعددية مجتمعية في بيئة كانت تتسم بالتجانس إلى حد كبير، كما نتطرق إلى محاولة تسييس التمايزات الإجتماعية بعدما كانت تعبر عن تعددية ثقافية مرنة تعبر عن الثراء الإجتماعي عن طريق تسييس" الهويات" الفوعية وإبراز التمايزات وتعميقها.

- ✓ Social Structure
- Ethnicities
- ✓ Differences
- ✓ Politicizing Identity.

#### الكلمات المفتاحية:

-الجزائر

التركيبة الإجتماعية

ر پر دید

-التمايزات

-تسييس الهوية.

\*Chikhaoui Ahmed

deepening the distinctions.



#### 1. Introduction

Algeria has been experiencing multiple political and social conflicts in recent years, the most serious of which is the use of ethnicity. As the focus of a conflict fueled by fraudulent political rhetoric between the conflicting parties, these differences began to evolve to reach their most intense since the beginning of the 22 February 2019 movement in which the conflicting wanted to retain a strong position in the post-Hirak phase, a phase that everyone wanted to culminate in a strong and new political system and constitutional institutions.

Virtual networking sites have emerged as areas of conflict, using all the terms betrayal and digging in history to betray one or the other party, To inflict a virtual defeat and mobilize as many as possible against the other group Algeria has until recently been experiencing a kind of social coexistence based on integrated integration of societal components, Under a central political system that extends its authority throughout the national territory and to all social components and all geographical parts of the State without any discrimination.

However, signs of division and distinction between social components began to emerge to the point of doubting the reality of homogeneity that had characterized Algerian society. Hence, many hypotheses have been made, among are, attempts to create a rift in the social structure of Algerian society through deliberate plans; as a result creating cracks in society. This was obviously inoculated with political discourses to facilitate influence on the State as a whole in terms of the entity and internal structure. Thus, this dilemma prompts us to ask the following question:

-To what extent does Algeria's societal pluralism affect political reality?

To discuss this problem, other sub-questions emerged to be answered within this article:

- -Is there a fact that there is an ethnic plurality in Algeria?
- If any, what are the ethnic boundaries between these groups?
- To what extent do the ethnic borders match and conform socially and politically?

#### 2. Difinitions:

Before going into the discussion, it is necessary to define the terms used in the topic, which are:

**2.1** Ethnicity or ethnic group: units or subgroups of society that are interlinked on the basis of language, religion, race, history, etc., can be distinguished from ethnicity as ethnic links based on a social association, while ethnic ties are reflected in biological criteria.

Members of the ethnic group perceive themselves as having a culture distinct from society, sharing a particular language or dialect, a religion of their own, beliefs of common origin, and also having relatives, traditions, as well as social values, symbols and practices, physical characteristics and geographical origins, the ethnic group usually has a common economic and social situation and political affiliation.<sup>1\*</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> –Ahmed Chikhaoui, Belakhdar Taifour, "The Politicization of Ethnicity and its Role in the Formation of Political Parties", International Journal of Scientifics and Engineering Research, volume 9, Issue 7, July 2018, p303.



**2.2 Ethnic boundaries**: The concept of ethnic boundaries refers to the delineation of distinctions between ethnic groups, if any, the extent of such distinctions, by identifying these groups, their name, their distinct cultural and social values, and how to screen individuals belonging to each group through social determinants; Linguistic and ideological interaction, customs, traditions, physical and symbolic historical values of each group, concentration or geographical dispersion, although this element may not have a significant impact on the determination of differentiation.<sup>2</sup> Ethnic boundaries also include the identification of a system of values defined through social control of the ethnic group, which makes the social life rules of the group, from individual and collective behavior, and the pattern of social interactions that are compatible with them. The boundaries are drawn by defining cultural distinctions with all the components of the concept of culture to determine whether individuals belong to or are strangers of a group.

The concept of ethnic boundaries evolves according to the evolution of the concept of social interactions, as social change and communication development have contributed to the complexity and narrowing of distinctions between societal groups, and in some cases it is difficult to determine the affiliation of individuals to this or that group, The phenomenon of globalization has contributed significantly to the consolidation and dissolution of interaction and ethnic relations between all social sectors to the point of uniting them. This has made it difficult to define these boundaries only within a limited range for some ethnic groups, which have insisted on maintaining their differentiation in order to ascertain their own pattern and set of values, which are distinct and distinct from other groups<sup>3</sup>.

#### 3. Ethnicities Types:

The use of the term ethnic has increased widely in the field of comparative politics and has become interchangeably used with the term race, especially with the emergence of global orientations toward populism and the dismantling and reinstallation of States, particularly in Africa, Asia and the Middle East, based on the concept of nation-state. After being used, ethnicity has become necessary to deepen its concept and define its types based on its salience, depth and meaning and through these criteria four types can be identified:

#### 3.1 - Dominant Ethnicity:

This type of ethnic group is considered more used for the discourse of domination and supremacy over other groups to control the position of power and influence in the country, and

<sup>5</sup> - Lijphart Arend, **Democracy in Plural Society, a Comparative Exploration**, Yale University: Copyright, 1977, p 04.



<sup>\*</sup> Beyond the meanings assigned to these critical concepts, the still growing literature on ethnic politics and conflict has elsewhere mirrored the increasing importance of the ethnic factor in the political processes of developed and developing, democratic and nondemocratic political processes during the last third of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, in too many instances this literature has developed in an alternately ambiguous or compartmentalized manner, failing on the one hand to distinguish clearly between those factors explaining the persistence of the ethnic factor in modern politics versus those affecting its influence in the modern world, while on the other hand providing neither broad, cross-country studies of ethnic conflict nor comparative explorations of the various types of ethnic conflict to be found in the contemporary world. There have been notable.

<sup>-</sup> Joseph Rudolph, Politics and Ethnicity: A Comparative Study, (Perspectives on comparative politics), First published, Hampshire, England, PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2006, p.p 01-02.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> -Fredrik Barth, **Ethnic Groups and Boundaries**, The Social Organization of Culture Difference, Boston: Little Brown Company, 1969, p15-16.

against other components of society, and here the distinction between nations and ethnicity becomes weak and the limits of differentiation between the two concepts are very narrow. A nation that relies on cultural unilateralism may be considered a form of ethnicity, mobilization of this kind is a reaction to the system of cultural unilateralism, discriminatory treatment, or unequal regional mobilization with other regions, which are occupied by ethnic groups that preoccupy cultural centralism\*1.

- **3.2 Enclasure Ethnicity**: This type of ethnic has three subgroups:
  - Ethnicity dormant
  - Ethnicity confinement
  - In ward-looking Ethnicity

These three subtypes share the recession of their space and interactive introversion towards the inner ethnicity.

- **-Inactive or latent Ethnicity:** this type is usually found in practical, non-communicative, crossethnic isolation i.e. between ethnic groups; its role in society is marginal and has little visibility, as it is in a self-primitive and self-isolated society.
- -Cultural Confinement Ethnicity: is an ethnicity that lives in a kind of confinement, isolation, and cramping after the entry of ethnic expatriates or invasive groups into areas inhabited by indigenous ethnicities. (indigenous peoples), and these ethnicities were formed in new discoveries of new continents and regions, It also happened to Amerindians in the United States of America and the decline of these groups in isolated areas far from the center of social interactions for example, the dismissal of black Americans under Jim Crow Low laws, The Patostan system, which isolates the indigenous black people in semi-fenced quarters during apartheid rule in South Africa.

The third type of ethnicity, which is in-ward looking ethnicity, refers to the autonomy of the ethnic group to build the power of the group internally, and disengagement with other groups is a strategy of competition and pre-preparation. As an example for that, some black groups in Arab regions where blacks are a comparative minority within society and the most powerful version of this type are religious groups such as Muslims in Canada and America.

- Competitive Ethnicity: This type of ethnicity is based on competition with other cultural formations, with regard to the acquisition of State power and resource collection, and development in areas where this ethnicity is concentrated, so that competitive determinants are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> - Ake Claude, "What is The Problem of Ethnicity in Africa?", This contribution was presented as the keynote address at the Conference on Ethnicity, Society and Conflict in Natal, University of Natal, Pieteimaritzburg, 14-16 September 1992.



<sup>\*</sup> Ethnic groups which their members feel that they lack the political leaders as strong political competitors against other groups, like those in Congo, Burandi and Nigeria, become frustrated and show the weak representation and thus may resort to the use of violence as a means to eliminate the marginalization and domination from which other ethnic groups suffer. This is what makes the demands of many minorities or ethnic groups take several forms: a separatist, federalist or confederalist because the individual rights were to be cross-ethnic, minority rights, and the act which emphasizes freedom is the strong autonomy of the regions that provide autonomy, individual liberty, respect the privacies and social diversity.

built on this basis between ethnic groups within society or between ethnic groups on the one hand and the State on the other\*1.

- Optional ethnicity: This is a more open, less concentrated, dense and hardcore ethnic group, which focuses not on a central part of society and tends not to alienate other groups, but rather on symbolism in showing its distinction and identity and seeks to coexist.

Previous types are transforming according to the political, social, and economic conditions in which society lives Ethnicities are not fixed and they are subject to the variables that govern them. National consciousness may awaken individuals' feelings and push them towards ethnic demands, their transformation from inactive, isolated ethnicity to closed ethnicity, claiming rights and attacking other ethnicities, Closed is transformed into a competitive ethnicity, with ethnicities and all other cultural formations competing to acquire the means of power and try to achieve the development of their territory\*.

Over time, competitive ethnicity seeks to broaden its choices of cultural belonging, through rapprochement and collaborative alliances with other cultural groups that converge with them in common, resulting in their gradual transformation into an optional ethnicity<sup>2</sup>.

#### 3.3-Ethnocultural Relation

The element of heterogeneity is almost the predominant feature of most societies of the world. Social structure is a world of mosaic pluralism that lacks absolute homogeneity in composition, and this has made pluralism a quasi-general norm in societies.

One of the most compatible characteristics of ethnicity is the specificity of culture. The concept of ethnic pluralism refers to the existence of multiculturalism, the latter of which is not a problem in itself within societies. What makes it a problem and a source of tension within States is its intersection with Authority in its basic sense. in this case, multiculturalism is transformed from a strength of societies in that they possess a multicultural heritage that contributes to social coexistence, It pushes economic development into a weakness through which ethnicities with all their cultural components try to compete in the possession of the means of power and power to extend control over other groups, What may lead to tensions, especially in States that are weak in political institutionalization and conflict management, This makes it suffer from social, political

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> - Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Ethnicities and Multiculturalism: Politics of Boundaries", USA: Cambridge University Press, 2016, pp 32-33.DOI:https://doi\_org/10.1017/eB09780511489235.003.



<sup>\*</sup> Ethnic strategies are redirected and their values are produced according to the changes resulted in the society which make it coherent and continuung to meet the challenges and competing the other institutions of community. These features make ethincity in Africa know the ongoing maneuver to confront the factors that may weaken it in communities that are operated by the traditional competition contrary to what the areas (the areas that are under the dominance of modern institutions such as Europe and Northan America) know, notably, a unification of the contry's values and the instutionalization of political and social process.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> - Hayden Goren, African Politics in Comparatiive Perspective, second edition, New York :copyright, 2013, p 55.

<sup>\*</sup> The Constructivist approach comes as the second one according to Goran, identity is studied by giving independence to individuals through avoiding linking them to the culture of their environment. However, they use a part of their culture to indicate their identity affilliation, this approach is considred as being postmodernism. Constructivism argued that individuals construct their private community across religions, linguistic and ethnic factors; culture is the key factor in the definition of ethnicity. This approach has been citicized for being subsidiary to symbolic factors and individuals act according to cultural motives.

and economic instability as it does in many countries of the world, especially underdeveloped countries\*1

Ethnic pluralism remains a positive element in societies unless it turns into an inter-ethnic competition for control, the latter becoming the strategic goal for which ethnicities may provide Machiavellian means of achieving it, using several elements, the most important of which are:

- A- Nationalism: Nationalism element may be positive in the mobilization process against foreign colonialism, that many societies have embodied to liberate their lands, but nationalism becomes a negative factor when this element becomes an internal mobilizer against internal targets. which makes it an internal colonization and turns nationalism into the perpetuation of internal tension between ethnicities and individuals, Due to an ethnic attempt to use nationalism as a system to impose cultural monism and the practice of chouvinism and hatred of the other and the issuance of prosecutions against him, The practice of social repression and discrimination against minorities and other ethnic groups takes a dangerous tendency when the dominant ethnicity, which applies these practices, possesses the means of political power. What makes her practice take the form of formalism that expresses the orientation of the state, not just ethnicity, for example, the application of the element of nationalism to what happened previously in Turkey, which is known as the kamalism system, When it takes kamalism nationalism as a means of mobilizing freedom from domination and exercising the same nationalist orientation in suppressing societal ethnicities such as: Kurds, Armenians, and Muslim groups.
- **B- Closed interactive:** Cultural interactions between different ethnic types vary according to each type. Dormant ethnicity is a latent cultural factor rather than a political factor. Its culture is a kind of soft specificity that distinguishes it from other groups. The quarantined ethnicity on the other hand is influenced by a chain of dominant cultural ethnicities, reproducing elements of dominance against other groups, individual membership is not voluntary but imposed in social and political institutions, internal differences are repressed, ethnic and cultural boundaries are strict, individual choice is restricted, and movement through the-cultural groups is prepared.
- C- Competitive ethnicity: it is based on the set of values that it possesses and tries to spread across other groups, although it contradicts their values, which may lead to the use of force and violence to suppress internal differences in an attempt to mainstream ethnic culture, This ethnicity may push for a backlash from other ethnic groups to reject this imposed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> - Cachmore Ellis, **Dictionary Of race and Ethnic Relations**, fourth edition, London and New York: Routledge 1996, p 156.



<sup>\*</sup> Some historical circumstances experienced by some individuals may be the fundamental basis for the formation of a distinct ethnicity. Deprivation, for exsample, that immigrants and their descendants suffered from, is one of the psychological and social components that constitute the common sense to address the issues that violate their rights by indigenous people. This confrontation may lead to the formation of ethnicities shared by members of the accumulation and psychological elements shared by members of the same group. There are factors that reflect the former fact which is the dominance of imigrants on the indigenous people and the monopoly of physical/ political and even cultural rights from the indigenous people, this fact is realy experienced in America, Africa and Australia.

generalization, which makes the size of the differences and distinctions exacerbate and the ethnic boundaries between groups become more profound and divergent<sup>1</sup>.

A previous mechanism based on strength and confrontation may have negative consequences on ethnic and cultural coexistence, making the mechanism of containment, harmony and cooperation the least costly for society in terms of structure and coexistence, and there are many examples where alliances occurred between ethnic-cultural groups o although despite their contradictions, such as blacks and people of color in South Africa, Jews and blacks in American politics in the sixties<sup>2</sup>.

Optional ethnicity excludes domination to extend and propagate its culture, and considers that cultural borders are very close to other groups, and it depends on the identity and smooth movement in cultural coexistence and bringing other cultural groups closer together. Ethnicity in several societies coexisted through general rules in society, such as the political rule "passing" in the united states of America, "Browing" in Jamaica, and the so-called "money whitnes" rule in Brazil<sup>3</sup>.

#### 4.1 Ethnic-cultural pluralism in Algeria:

Algeria's population structure dates back to a long history of interaction between indigenous peoples and movements of many ethnic groups since the Islamic conquests. This long history of social interactions, including all colonial movements, produced a diverse demographic composition, despite the homogeneity that characterized these ethnic groups for a long time, compared to other Arab States that experienced excessive pluralism that led to bloody conflicts such as Lebanon and Iraq.

Algeria is officially known at the international level as an Arab state as a result of the population density that makes up its society, although the barbarian component, which is the first population group that occupied this geographical area of North Africa in thousands of years, has been throughout the region, leading the Maghreb countries to share largely the same population composition to a large extent such as Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Mali and Libya.

Algeria is considered as a multi-ethnic country if we delve into its demographic structure, despite the homogeneity nature with which it is known. Mostly latent ethnicities tend to coexist. The most important ethnic groups are:

**A- The kabyles:** The largest barbarian group speaking Tamazighth, that was designated as a national language after great debate in society. This group is concentrated in the kabylie region adjacent to the Algerian capital-Algeria- it is divided into major tribes and it is represented by the state of Tizi Ouzou with all its villages. (Dashra), the smaller tribes that are concentrated in the wilaya of Bejaia, as well as part of Setif region with limited deployment of their numbers in all regions of Algeria.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> - Jan Nederveen Pieterse, ibid.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> - Ahluwalia Pal, **Politics and Post-Colonial Theory, African Inflections**, First published, New York: Rutledge, 2001, p.p. 99-102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> - Caroline B. Brettell, **Constructing borders/crossing boundaries : race, ethnicity, and immigration,** First paperback, United Kingdom : Lexington Books, Copyright, 2008, pp 4-5.

- **B- The Chaouis**: they are concentrated in the northeastern region of the country, Tebessa, Batna, Souk Ahras, Khenchela. They are considered to be one of the groups that are largely integrated and coexist with the Arab group.
- C- The Beni mizab: They are concentrated in the southeast of the country in the state of Ghardaia, with fewer other barbaric groups with their own cultural characteristics following the Ibadi doctrine, unlike all other Sunni-Maliki groups, which make up more than 90% of the population.
  - This group is considered to be the most coexistent and tends to look in-ward looking ethnicity and its interest seeks to practice special cultural idiosyncrasies and tends to coexist with other groups.
- **D- The Tuareg**: This group is concentrated in the far southeast and spread in the eastern-south borders, and some neighboring countries such as Mali and Niger, this ethnic group can be categorized as optional ethnicity. It does not seek to exclude other groups, but rather tends to symbolism in showing its distinction and identity, and this group seeks to coexist with other groups since before independence.
- E- Arab ethnic group: Anthropologists and historians consider that the Arabs are the largest groups coming to the North African region since before the Islamic conquests, and they are the largest ethnic group in Algeria. They have a wide spread in all regions of the country, and they are the majority of the population who coexist in cities and villages with all other ethnic groups<sup>1</sup>.

#### 4.2 Politicization of identity:

The problem of identity and the lack of adjudication and consensus on its elements and the separation of national identity, sub-identities, language problem and sub-cultural characteristics of ethnic groups, It was not previously presented in Algeria as a result of the degree of natural societal homogeneity experienced by society under a simple State and a centralized political system. But this proposition has become a past due to subjective internal factors experienced by certain ethnic groups and their relationship to the system, and external influencers want to create competing social pluralism that eliminates the homogeneity that existed before. Moreover, this pluralism is given a political intersection of minority, majority, dominant and oppressed race. and the circulation of political discourses separating Algerians by adding an ethnic and cultural nickname to each Algerian<sup>2</sup>.

Democratic political transition calls for comprehensive social understandings that go beyond factional demands and unite political demands. the solid ground for democratization is social compatibility and preconceived understandings that focus on political demands and make the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> - Yezza Hicham. "Beyond Arab vs Berber: The Rich Complexities of Algerian Identity Should Be Celebrated, Not Feared." Open Democracy revue, 2013, Retrived in https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/northafrica-west-asia/beyond-arab-vs-berber-rich-c mplexities-of-algerian-identity-should-be-c/, visited in 11-09-21, at: 23:50.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> –Ornanisation des Nations Unies pour L'education .la Science et la Culture, Secteur de la Culture, "Diversité et interculturalité en Algérie", UNESCO 2009, pp 08-09. Available at <a href="https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000214644">https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000214644</a>, in 15-03-2021.

goal of democratization a general demand, not a factional one, Past experience in South Africa and Rwanda has shown that democratic political transformation took place after all ethnic, racial and regional social components were convinced of the need to achieve political transformation and the mechanisms for its embodiment, acceptance of its results and invocation of its rules in political competition.

The prior agreement between blacks and whites in South Africa, and between Hutu and Tutsi within the framework of justice, was an important factor in the success of the democratic transition in the two States. The long-standing conflict over the experience of the transition in the two States followed a long conflict, in which there were liquidations and wars that amounted to genocide on the basis of social affiliation<sup>1</sup>. With all these grave events, the democratization and the building of new political systems have succeeded. This has come only after the conviction of all ethnicities to coexist and overcome differences so that new political institutions can be built through which competition can be institutionalized in peaceful ways.

These previous successful experiences drive us to draw out the success factors of these experiments, despite their magnitude. And since Algeria has never known such a serious ethnic conflict or internal strife on social grounds, It would be easy to conclude agreements, spread a culture of coexistence and respect for differentiation, and make it a strong base for pushing towards the establishment of new and structurally and functionally compatible democratic institutions. Moreover, these agreements are embodied through informal, umbrella conferences in which letters of coexistence and respect are circulated and away from betrayal speeches that have become remarkable, the culture of exclusion against other ethnic groups has become the most attractive rhetoric for supporters. Especially in electoral periods when the politicization of unanimous differentiations has become a tolerated and widely traded type to gain more political support. This reality began to produce an ethnic societal rift, in which individuals of different affiliations enjoyed homogeneity and coexistence until recently.

After the extremist parties advanced in the circulation of exclusionary discourses and put forward zero-sum equations in political, economic and cultural action, they were very aggressive in putting forward their ideas. s culture of coexistence and rejection of discourses of discrimination, The authors of discriminatory speeches have been made a pariah minority in the social and political spheres, especially between the Amazigh and Arab groups. and then to reflect on the political objectives through which a genuine democratic political transformation is achieved that embodies the broad acceptance and positive engagement of all social groups that make up society, Because prior and concurrent conviction about it will

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> - Mark kesselaman , joel krieger, william Ajoseph, **Introduction to Comrparative Politics** . brief edition, Boston: copyright, 2009,p321.



achieve the necessary legitimacy and legitimacy for any political project and will protect it from failure.

#### 5. Conclusion

The interaction between many of the socio-cultural, political, and economic factors as well as the political issues in Algeria could advance the political status and force the elite to develop new strategies to develop the political system. In the short term, this situation could prompt for national reformers to include wider participation and increase political competition rather than strategic self-interest. This later may create problems of social coexistence and make the State vulnerable and coherent. Even if they have an immediate normative commitment to democracy, they may prevent it from being achieved, due to the misappropriation of the appropriate mechanism. However, the question of democracy in Algeria required reflection in terms of the current time frame and the circumstances that had arisen with recent events. This is because the current social realities were different from those that existed previously.

Democratization experiences in Latin America, Africa, Asia and Southeast Europe have raised the issue of democracy as the necessary outcome of a transition from authoritarian rule. Over time, the Algerian political system may gradually integrate more and more of what Dahl calls as, the institutional guarantees of democracy, In particular, transparent elections, freedom to join and form organizations, freedom of expression, alternative sources of information and representative institutions for government policy-making, may ignore the structural social problems that remain latent and could weaken the democratic transformation.

The key to the future political transition in Algeria is to adopt transitional justice and reconciliation policies and mechanisms, starting with the task of restructuring Algerian society and achieving consensus and public conviction of the need for coexistence and adherence to compatible political institutions.

An important element in achieving real political transformation is transitional justice. The purpose of this later is to guarantee a great social transformation based on the assumption that societies need to confront past transgressions in order to come with their history. Indeed, transitional justice has reactionary aspects that eliminate all points of skepticism, controversy and social betrayal among ethnic groups that make up society and transitional justice emphasizes the need for Governments to build institutions. This seeks justice in past abuses, while demonstrating their commitment to good governance in the future.

Ethnic conflict, even if rhetorical, drives the State to bring about a profound transformation or institutional reform to structural social issues that may lose the existing degree of homogeneity, especially in the cultural aspect. In fact, the subject of national citizenship is synonymous with Arabism, and this definition has become rejected by the Tamazight group. It seems that the State is gradually expanding this concept by recognizing the Tamazight language as a national language and approved in the Algerian Constitution. Despite the



apprehension shown by other groups of Tamazight sub-identity in society over the cohesion, social solidarity and State that Algeria had previously known.

It was widely expected that the state would succeed in integrating and assimilating the kabilyans under the heading of homogeneous national identity as before, based mainly on the common Islamic faith, the Arabic language, the legacy of the struggle for independence, and the fight against extremism. This view complements the great perception of Algerian nationalism as a reaction, first against French colonial domination and more recently against the dominant influence of Western values. In addition to the authoritarian and reinter tendencies of the Algerian elite that are concerned with prioritizing their own interests over the interests of the society they govern. On the other hand, Algerian authorities have taken some initiatives to uphold Tamazight rights. The public authorities continue to regard cultural and racial differences as a threat to the Algerian system, as well as, a source of security concern. These contradictory attitudes on the part of the Algerian people contribute to a growing sense of cultural and linguistic alienation, increasing sense of exclusion among ethnic groups, which complicates national integration. Therefore, there is a need for a process of achieving consensus and prior social understandings of any democratic political transformation that begins with genuine transitional justice to eliminate the causes of the conflict in Algeria.

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