

Social violence and incidences on the family structure, the individual and his personality: reflections from clinical practice

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Abstract:

The Algerian population went through several events that had engendered various alterations in different settings. Beside the French colonization that had left long-lasting mass aftereffects, the man-made violence during the 1990's had caused many mutations within the Algerian society at different levels: symbolic, individual, societal, political, religious, psychological, and so forth. We can observe new values and life-styles within the Algerian society. As clinical psychologists, we will attempt to give an analysis of these changes due to the several events of violence that the population had to go through and how they affected the customs and the life-style of the Algerians.

Key words: Algeria, man-made violence, psychic trauma, social change, French colonization.

Introduction

The psychological changes that an Algerian researcher could talk about are attributed to several factors: the colonization, the independence of the country, and all the changes induced by the cultural and socio-economic turmoil of today's Algeria. To be able to evaluate the changes, to apprehend and analyze them, it is necessary for a psychologist to go back to the traditional values which structured (and still do) to a certain extent, the mentalities and the social groups. We can then deduce that the Algerian family has changed, that there is an emergence of the individual, and the nuclear family. However, in order not to lose sight of the psychological approach, we will adopt the perspectives of a clinician's working with victims of terroristic violence and account

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for the turmoil that the Algerian family went through, and the incidence of this violence on personality. In fact, our experience as clinicians allows us to have a sociological position, since the persons whom we treat describe to us their lives' conditions, the status and roles that each one of them (according to sex and age) occupies in the family, the status of the individual in the group, the status of the child... But at the same time, we are well suited (as clinicians) to observe the psychological changes occurred at the personality level following trauma that hundreds (even thousands) of Algerians experienced during more than a decade in the 1990's because of extreme man-made violence. So, in the present paper, we will proceed by adopting a two-level reading with regard to social changes in Algeria, the first one, will focus on the psycho-sociological dimension, the second one, will take into account the elements related to personality.

However, before coming to that, we should clarify first what is commonly called traditional society.

1. Traditional society

Before talking about traditional society, it is necessary to start with the definition given by scholars in the field, especially that given by Pierre Bourdieu (1980) who is well known for his studies about Algerian society. He wrote to describe it by saying that it *"is inseparable from a type of economy [which] can only be understood in relation to the civilization, because it is related to the social structures whose cohesion guarantee somehow the balance between man and his natural environment"*. And yet, for practical reasons, we will articulate them into separate levels.

1.1. Characteristics of economic life

- *Rudimentary economic life for immediate and direct consuming*: The farmer sows the field and harvests the crops, but he consumes without the significant transformation of the crops.
- *Closed economic life*: the farmer produces for his own family consumption. He does not sell his product; he barter it for other products of basic needs. This kind of bartering is more familiar to him than the money mediation.
- *Rural economy*: the rural Algerian is more often a small farmer, an arbor culturist. He does produce only what is necessary to him, he ignores almost completely the capital and its mechanisms.
- *Economy with little developed techniques*: it is reduced to swing-plough, to animals that are attached to laboring machine to do the work (trait animals). Besides, man is the main instrument of work.

This brief description allows us to come up with two facts: it has to do with an economy of survival; we produce in order to survive. This survival shows how great man's dependency on nature is. This economy is then left to the hazards of nature.

1.2. Family group and its functioning

The basic structure that founds this economy and which is founded by it, is the family group. The latter is composed of several generations: the parents' generation, their children and spouses, and the grand children. From a formal point of view, the group presents the following characteristics:

- It is patriarchal; the authority is practiced by the extended family father who decides for family destinies. He is the legal representative of his own family and of others. Everything or almost everything, must go through him, he is the one who decides in case of conflict. Members of his family owe him respect and obedience. In order to "protect" himself and to safeguard his power, he maintains not only space distance, but more psychological one as well from the rest of his family. His authority is founded on the indivisibility of land, the power to disinherit.

- He is agnatic or matrilineal with regard to the filiation order. Blood bonds are the only ones that we consider in this type of society. This is why it is necessary to make sure that one's blood is pure and his race is authentic. It is then in this context that we must understand the physical integrity of the woman, that is, more precisely her virginity. As a matter of fact, in order for the family to be able to perpetuate (in this lineage), it must be sure of its descendant. Only a child, who is descendant from paternal blood and with marriage, can have the right to be the representative, from generation to generation, of the father and his ascendants. This rule may put the origin and the cohesion of the group at risk. There is no place in the traditional family for the natural child.

This explains the control of sexuality and the relations between men and women who may put themselves at risk by committing illicit sexual relationship (the latter can only be accomplished within marriage) and procreate illegitimate children (only children born within marriage are acknowledged). So, it is in this manner that the sexual segregation is considered taboo that one cannot transgress without taking risk of severe sanctions. Consequently, there is the "homosociality" of the two-sex groups. The homosociality aims to maintain almost exclusively relations with one's group of sexual belonging.

The family is the only model of heterosexual relations that the society provides for its members. However, inside the family, the rule is not abolished; it still goes on, that is, men and women are separated during meals, and certain important family life events: marriage, funerals... This sexual segregation which appears very soon in an individual's life, is reinforced by a series of rules that change according to areas, for example wearing the veil, going out only at certain hours and days, specific halls separating men and women to avoid meeting with each other.

This rule is getting less rigid with regard to aged members of this society. Once an aged woman has become a mother-in-law and grandmother, has fulfilled her duties toward the group, is no longer an object of desire, she is able to move more freely. The aged man also does not have any more to comply with the rules of sexual segregation space.

- Very early marriage: it is a family business and not an individual one. The two families of both sides decide for a series of reasons to make alliance by marrying their children. The marriage aims in the first place at birthrate for the group, which increases its prestige and its honor. Besides, the differentiation between families is for a great part due to the number of males a family has. A family without boys, without men, is doomed with a long run. A family with few boys is vulnerable. However, the family which has a great number of "arms" (i.e. a lot of body arms) sees its future insured. This institution allows also the group to control the sexuality of its members.

Finally, at the individual's level, it allows them to reach a well-valued and recognized status by all. Besides, the traditional logic does not make room for celibacy. To be a bachelor means to be without a social status. Moreover, M.Khellil (1984) states that *"this society which wants to regulate keenly social relations does not admit those without a status"*. The bachelor can risk himself to transgress some of the fundamental rules with regard to sexuality that should be socialized and with regard to procreation that should be legitimate. The objective of man's existence is to be a father and for the woman to be a mother.

It is then the biological roles that permit individuals in the first place to define and actualize themselves at the psychosocial level. This is why we live to be fathers and mothers. Hence, the status attributed to the sterile woman: she can be repudiated; and her husband, with the consent and even pressure from the group especially that of the mother-in-law, can have a second wife.

- It is endogamous; the preferred marriage is the one, which is contracted with a cousin-german (first cousin), the paternal uncle's daughter. In general, privileged alliances are those, which are contracted within families to avoid the stranger and the unknown, and to preserve in between-same-blood families.

1.3. Complementary parameters

How will the group get organized to carry out its objectives? The previous characteristics have already given some indications with regard to the framework where individuals will develop. Other parameters will allow us to better get grips of the status and roles of its members.

-a- The cohesion:

The family cohesion is the price of survival. Besides, the family is the economic, religious, political unity. The only bonds acknowledged and known by the traditional logic are those of blood. According to Khellil (1984), "a person belongs... to a group of individuals. His parentage is through males. We do not ask someone who he is, but to whom he belongs, that is, to what village, and in his village, to what group".

The family organization is the model from which the rest is conceived and built: everything happens as if this society did not conceive another type of relationships inside a social set, other than those existing between parents.

The family is the only unifying principle, which makes cohesion the most basic. (P. Bourdieu, 1980). Being the only means of subsistence, the land acquires a sacred status. It is the reign of indivisibility; each member can have a share of the common possession, but does not have a right to private property. Any attempt to violate this rule is then perceived as a threat to the group. However, of all its members, women were the only ones to leave eventually the land after marriage. Women inheritance means the fragmentation of heritage patrimony and with the long run, the disappearance of the rural society. Therefore, the exheredation of women in Kabylie, or in other areas, the use of *habous** is considered the best solution.

* Although in the Koran a woman's heritage does exist (half of the man's part), the Kabyles gave it up following a deliberation in 1748 in order to safeguard landed property. The *habous* are, according to the religion, possessions that cannot be sold.

The fundamental value of this society focuses on the honor of the group and its prestige. The latter is based on its member's behaviors, which should conform to the group's prescriptions and rules: respect and obedience to the father first, respect to elders afterwards. The individual must bow to the interests of the group; the uniformity and the conformity are among the virtues that are the most valued by the group. Any deviation from the rules is sanctioned: "follow your father's path, and you will succeed", says this popular adage, which focuses on the essential acts of the social life. It is in the tradition and in the past, that one should search for the sense of the present. In this family configuration where the individual's interest should not exist, the socialization and the integration of the individual must go through his "fusion" in the group, which decides for the destinies of all.

However, individuals do not seem to bother and do not feel that these prescriptions and these rules are constraints: *"these rules and these models...which the education and the custom impose on us by a sort of impregnation, so they are not necessarily external constraints; and on the contrary, it is when an individual feels that they are as such, that he is more likely to free himself* writes J.Maisonneuve (1966). He adds: *"social order (i.e., the traditional system) is not quite an external and conventional factor to the individual; it does not subsist for a long term without a collective adhesion more or less conscious"*.

Beside the material security, the group provides for its members the psychological security; it is the origin, the only one of its identity, which is conceived in this logic as being the group origin. The most severe sanction that an individual can incur is to be banished from the group, to belong no more to a group. The individual is perceived and recognized as a person belonging to one group or another. The more the group to which he belongs is appreciated and respected, the more he has a privileged status within his community. Thereafter, all members of a family group must try hard to maintain and preserve the honor and the cohesion of the group in order to be able to have psychosocial satisfactions.

All men and women are involved in a real struggle to stop interpersonal conflicts and to preserve and perpetuate the image that the group must show to others. This group functions as a microcosm: there is no future outside it. One was born, works, gets married, has children, and then dies among his group which is the only environment of life, the only that one can imagine.

1.4. Status and traditional roles

What placed men and women occupy within the group? The previous characteristics gave us already some indications. As we said, the family is agnate and patriarchal; this reveals its "structuring" according to gender. In fact, the male element is preeminent in the logic of this system. This male preeminence means the group force. The woman's virtues are also signs of the force of the group, its honor and its prestige. Therefore, the woman also takes advantage of the attributes of the group; the more the group is respectable and the more there are men, the more chances she has to realize "a successful marriage" and to have a privileged place among her family-in-law.

Status is also functions of age, the elders, because of their experiences; they have acquired a great wisdom and knowledge. They are awed and respected. Children are raised according to the ancestors' cult. Then, if the woman is viewed in term of domestic universe and housekeeping, it is the eldest woman who has the most privileged status. If the man is viewed outside home, here also, it is the eldest man who is the representative of the family with regard to others. At his death, it is the oldest son who will take over the responsibility of the family.

2- Social changes

How far do social mutations go back within the traditional Algerian family, and by the same token the status and roles of its members? And what is the nature of these changes? The answer to this two-fold question is rather more related directly to Sociology and History than to Psychology. Moreover, our objective will be modest: we will concentrate only on the main factors that have led to changes. Do these changes go back to the colonial period where the Algerian society has been subdued by the French state?

The colonialism has in fact, destroyed the traditional agrarian system. Seeing that the best lands were in the possession of the colonist, the Algerian farmer was obliged under the double colonial violence (physical and material), to leave his land which was the only means of living, and to put himself, at the service of others (A. Megherbi, 1973). From being a farmer exploiting an indivisible and sacred land, he became an under-proletarian, an agricultural worker. These status until then, were unknown in the traditional society. The apparition of wages has settled an impersonal relationship between capital and work, in a society where the economy has always been dealt with personal relations. Then, the Algerian farmer emigrates toward towns in search for employment. So, the

basis of the agrarian system itself was destroyed. Hence, the large family, which was considered a life environment, that provides coherence and security, will be shaken. What happened then to the traditional values system? Has it disappeared along with its sustained support? Here, points of view differ. Both P. Bourdieu and A. Sayad (1964) agree that the agrarian and values systems that are in a functional interconnection, were vowed to disintegration. Therefore, the consequence was the emigration toward towns, the destruction of traditional solidarities and collective constraints. Hence, emerges individual rapid development and economic individualism. In brief, the individual has been "thrown" into poverty: both material and moral, he has been dissocialized, dehumanized, hurt in his basic and vital values... That is how, according to the two authors, the Algerian farmer is described, he has been destituted of land, during the colonial period.

In the traditional society, there was only one type of values, the only one possible. However, the colonial system introduced other foreign values to the natives and different life styles. So, that is how for example, the cultural ways and foreign techniques will impose a materialistic vision of the land, and as a consequence, the old patterns lose their ritual significance. As a result of this, appears acculturation and ambivalence. The Algerian then had to face two cultural patterns.

If we are to make sense of the changes as perceived and analyzed by Bourdieu and Sayad (op.cit.), we can only be critical: besides being exogenous, it erases a whole civilization which one could only talk about it in the past tense. For F. Fanon, on the contrary, the sense of changes is positive since by sapping the bases of the traditional society, it has led to review the patriarchy and to awareness about oppression. The outcome is the emergence of a liberated individual who is capable of taking in charge the destinies of a nation by getting involved and determined to struggle for the independence of the country.

Going back to the consequences of changes occurred after the emigration of men and their salaried position; we may think that several Algerians have attempted to preserve their cultural patrimony. This attitude is well known at the psychological level, as soon as a group feels threatened in its collective identity, it attempts to develop a closed mentality that is shown through the rejection of the cultural universe of the out-group. Everything happens as if being incapable of defending its land patrimony, and by displacement, the Algerian society will focus on its cultural patrimony.

As for the woman's status, we should say that it did never change under the colonization. The women's mission was to perpetuate, through education, the Algerian values and identity. However, the pauperization of the Algerians has led some women to go outside traditional family universe in order to be at the service of the colonialists as maids. Nevertheless, this intrusion in another universe has not attacked the ancestors' values. Men have experienced sooner and more often the salaried position, comparing to women, and probably, this makes the divergences between the two sexes. Until now, men and women share the same cultural characteristics and the same symbolic universe, but since men go out outside the traditional space, the destinies and space of those men, are not anymore within the family frame.

3- Changes in today's Algeria

After this brief journey in the history that seems important to understand what is happening in contemporary Algeria, we examine now the changes that took place in today's Algerian family. At the origin of these changes, we can cite several factors, but all authors who are interested in changes that occurred in the family, favor the schooling and work of women, which are considered, factors that deconstruct-reconstruct the family and men-women rapports.

3-1- Women work

Table 1: Evolution of Women activity between 1977 to 2013 (in thousands)

	1977	1987	1991	2001	2008	2013
Active Population	159,5	430,3	624	1288	1730	2275
Total Active Population	3047,9	5341,1	5958,5	8568	10315	11964
%Total female active Population	5,2	8,1	10,5	15,0	16,8	19,0

Table2: Economic activity rate according to sex, education and diploma

Without Education	Primary School	Junior high School	High School	Higher Education	Professional Training	Higher Education Diploma
M- 45,50	75,7	78,6	65,4	67,6	89,6	85,9
F- 4,9	08,4	12,9	18,6	48,5	45,1	71,7

Source: National Office of statistics (Office National des Statistiques "O.N.S"): Women activity, fourth quarter, 2013.

We can notice clearly the neat increase of female education. We should say, without going into details, that girls are better students than boys. Currently, they are ahead in classes, and they do not favor anymore only humanities field of study. Actually, they are rather present in medical studies where they have a tendency to exceed men; beside, they are also present in technology fields as well.

Table 3: Occupation rate according to sex and age in percentage.

15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55 and +
M- 35,5	83,1	90,7	87,5	32,1
F- 6,0	24,1	20,1	14,6	3,4

Source: National Office of statistics (Office National des Statistiques "O.N.S"): fourth quarter, 2013.

As it is shown in tables 2, the women's work is rather in high level of education. The underlying meaning is that women can work when they have pursued higher education and thereby they are able to occupy a worthwhile professional position.

As for the age of work, (table 3), women's rate tends de decrease as they get older.

However, women with low education or without education are very few in the job market, especially when we compare them to men. Nevertheless, we should note that statistics do not cover all men and women's activities, since it is often impossible to collect data concerning the informal work which tends to spread in our society. Besides, the salaried work for women has at least two consequences on the family:

- The going outside of women for work, leaving the domestic universe, and the act that they dispose of financial resources free them somehow from men's guardianship.
- At the same time, this allows the woman, inside the family, to have share in power, since she also contributes to the material support of the family, and she also can provide the family symbolic acquisitions: the professional success of a girl, of a woman (doctor, engineer, lawyer, high official, etc.) has always an impact on the parents, brothers and sometimes on the husband (although things seem more difficult with the husband, because the

wife's success is sometimes felt by the husband as a threat to his manhood).

Education and the condition of salaried persons (*salariat*) have also helped the emergence of new aspirations, which are different from those of the traditional family. Men and especially women aspire after the rupture with the traditional family where habitation is shared with the parents-in-law who are detainers of power. We can say now, for sure, that families have a tendency to be nuclear, especially in the cities. Most often, the family is composed of the father, the mother and the children. Moreover, the power of the elders has almost disappeared. The percentage of this type of family has gone from 58,79% to 65,14% in 1987, then to 71,1% in 1998. This proves that the traditional family constituted of several generations where the older, were the center of power does exist nowadays in a minority in current Algerian society.

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In these new families, based on the parental couple, children occupy a new place in this type of family: they are taken care of a great deal, they are pushed to pursue studies, and they become persons who have the right to talk...

With regard to these changes and their incidences on mentalities and behaviors and the emergence of the individual, several approaches are in debate:

a) The first approach is the one developed by the Algerian psychosociologists who have been influenced by C. Camilleri (1973). They stipulate that the changes that took place in the Algerian society lead the individuals to value conflict situations, to anxiety and to an existential distress.

The education, the condition of salaried persons (*salariat*), and the use of mass media, exposed the Algerians, especially those in great urban centers, to the western culture. The latter can be attractive, and some of them, because of their academic and professional background, adopt it. This adoption means acculturation, that is, the abandon of ancestral values and the integration of foreign values. Therefore, this leads to "deculturation"; one loses what founds the values of his/her own culture and forgets its foundations. But, as we have stated above, this acculturation has a price: the abandon of one's culture is followed by a feeling of guilt toward parents, of one's origins, and even a feeling of betrayal. Hence, this explains why several Algerians would live insolvable

conflicts; they are "between" two worlds: the first one which is considered modern is exogenous but attractive because it provides a certain freedom and individual autonomy, and the second one which is traditional is linked to parents, to the identity; therefore, the Algerian is facing the ambivalence (N. Toulbi, 1982).

b) The second approach stipulates that changes that have taken place are of pure form that traditional values continue to structure the mental universe of Algerians, their behaviors and even that the traditional values are so strong and vivacious that they constitute true obstacles to modernity. In fact, all the appearances that show modernity, they are in reality make-believe, because a keen observation of behaviors reveals that Algerians are still in the depth of their traditional values. There has been no rupture and integration of new values: Algerians remain strongly anchored in the traditional values, which continue to mark all acts from the most trivial to the most important (S. Medhar, 1992).

c) The third thesis underlies the complexity of the problem inherent to social changes and their incidences on the family structure, the mentalities, behaviors and the emergence of individuality. Here we take into account concrete changes that have taken place in Algerian society, we could say, repeating a phrase, which has been often used by the Marxist movement, that the infrastructure has really changed but it did neither erase everything that defines the traditional value system nor it left it intact. We already have stated earlier that the traditional family became a minority during these last years, the couple supplants the group; it exists and claims its existence by facing others, often the man's parents who would like to keep their son under their roof. It happens often that the couple makes a personal choice; the family does intervene only aftermath to confirm the choice made by the young adults. The new couples make decision in common or at least without referring to the family. The statistics have shown in the past a decrease in birth rate especially for the educated couples, living in urban environment and where the wife works: in 2002, the national survey on family health confirmed this trend with a ratio rate of 2.4 children by woman in 2002, 2.81 in 2012 and 3.02 in 2013 (Ministry of Health, 2014).

These numbers show that the family by becoming nuclear had reduced its number by reducing the birth rate; which is the consequence of using modern means of contraception. Despite the fact that we observe a decrease in birth rate in general, there are some fluctuations during the last years, as it is report-

ed by National Office of statistics(December, 2013):1.48(‰)(for 1000) 1.92(‰) in 2008, 1.96(‰) in 2009, 2.03(‰) in 2010, 2.04(‰) in 2011, 2.16(‰) in 2012 and 2.07 (‰) in 2013*. As we can see, there is a baby boom during the last years, and a small regression in 2013, there is an "up and down" birth rate; this could be explained by an increase in marriages during the last years and a tendency to have less death birth rate because of the improvement of health care of pregnant women.

Beside the factors that we just cited and which contribute to Algerian family changes, we should talk about the tendency for delayed age of marriages, the legislator himself, through the law on personal status, determines the marriage age for the two sexes at 19 years old (amendment of this law, February, 2005). So, if nowadays, the extended family described earlier, has practically disappeared and it does no longer impose its control on its members, can we talk about the emergence of the individuality and about the autonomy of both men and women with regard to belonging groups (family, neighbors, peers.....)? Are women more autonomous compared to men? Can they decide their future outside the family structure, even if the latter as we just stated, is nuclear in nature?

If we insist on the women's autonomy, it is because we think that their status constitute the best indicator of psychosocial changes. However, two remarks must be made before going on:

- First, the psychosocial changes do not have to do with all Algerian families, at least the former are not of the same nature and intensity. As a matter of fact, we cannot forget that it is very hard to talk about one Algerian family which represents all Algerian families existing in Algeria; it would mean ignoring the variables that differentiate the social structures.
- Second, the changes occurred have not touched upon the prohibition of sexuality: girls must be virgin before marriage. The sexual segregation of the space has been lessened, because schools and universities are open for both sexes. It is badly perceived though, it is even forbidden for some girls to have relationships with the other sex.

*These percentages are reported mainly by National Office of statistics (ONS), so they are reliable.

4- The 1990's decade of social violence and collective traumas

If in the 1980's, the Algerian society could be understood in terms of tradition-modernity, around the 1990's, another term should be taken into account to understand the current changes and the violence that have marked the 1990's decade: this has to do with Islamic ideology. We will not go back to the history of the emergence of this ideology in Algeria; instead, we will focus on the main phases, which were apparent before and after the emergence of violence. Hence, we can identify a first phase which consists of spreading and even of training for this ideology. This led to the adoption of its precepts, especially by youth and this was apparent mainly at female youngsters by wearing the Islamic dress (hidjab, djilbab), and at the society level, a coming back of the religion. The latter was introduced everywhere, at school where some school subject matters were not allowed because they did not go along with religion, such as sport for girls. Therefore, they were not allowed to practice sport in school (primary, middle and high schools).

The argument given then was that the sport wear was not suited for girls. Besides, some authors must not be cited because their theories were against the religion (for example, Marx, Freud). Moreover, the daily acts should obey religious rituals: the way one gets up, eats, talks to others... prayer rooms had been reserved in work areas, at the universities, lectures were given in these places to orient people, to train them and to indicate to them how to be and act according to this prescribed style by this new ideology. Convinced youth were the spokespersons of the Islamic ideology. Initially they inform people that they have been badly practicing religion, they gave advices and instructions to be followed to be good Muslims. Ideas founding these behaviors were of two orders:

- Moslem world (and the Algerians) got farther away from their religion and let themselves hooked by the sirens of the west;
- The only valid reference for Muslims is to go back to the heroic period of the prophet and his companions;
- The salvation can be possible only through establishing an Islamic State, which applies verbatim the Chari'a (Preaches in the mosques transmit a real violence against the "moutabarridjates" that is, those women who do not wear the hidjab, and put make up and have relationship with men...). The adepts of Islam will then re-Islamize the society peacefully in the first times, but they will not stay long before using violence against the recalcitrant.

This is how militia-men are constituted in campuses to make that the moral and religious values are respected: girls are harmed and attacked... women who are considered of bad morals are assaulted upon at their homes: it is the story of Ouargla where a group of fundamentalists set fire of Mrs. S'house, a mother of 3 children, her son, age of 3 years old, died on June 22nd, 1989, (annual report, collectif Maghreb, Egalité 1998, 1999). Preaching in the mosques transmitted a real violence against women, the "moutabarridjat", these women refuse, to comply with the Islamists' prescriptions.

Students' organizations claim Islamism, political parties were founded; they all want to bring back the true values of Islam.

- The second phase will see an Islamic party, The "Islamic Front of Salvation" (F.I.S) will triumph at local and legislative elections (elections communales et legislatives) on June 12th, 1990 and on December, 26th, 1991. What happened aftermath is well known, elections will be cancelled, and Algeria will entangled in a cycle of violence from which it has not yet recovered.

The armed violence will also go through several phases. First, the public order will be the target: policemen, militaries, but also intellectuals, we can cite for this latter, the assassination of Professor of sociology, M. Djillali Liabes, Professor of Pediatrics. D. Belkhenchir, Professor of psychiatry, M. Boucebc, the journalist and author, T. Djaout, and a lot more. It is also a moment where a great number of intellectuals have left the country because they were afraid to be the target of terrorists. Threat of death was general to persons who did not adopt Islamic principles. We can say that this violence was precisely aimed toward specific persons. Afterwards, and especially around 1997's, the whole population was a target; we refer here to the massacres of Bentalha and Rais where more than 800 persons (eight hundred) were assassinated, mutilated, burned alive. Our work with the population of these regions, since the opening of the Psychological Help Center by SARP (association for psychological aid, research and training) in April 2000, reveals that the number of massacres is higher than the given number by official sources (Ch. Bouatta, 2007, M. Sadouni Ghediri, 2010, 2011). This population of Northern Algeria, called "Death Triangle" by Algerians, has lived under a real reign of terror. They all have been subject of terrorists' rules which were imposed by force in these areas. They prohibited teaching of French language, and even going to schools in some places, reading newspapers... They watched very closely women's clothes, all movement of people, their relationships, their communication... As we have said in the in-

troductioin, our clinical practice has been a real observatory of what the population has gone through during the 1990's decade.

Beside what we have just said; we can also add that, according to persons who come to the Center, that the terrorists are well known: they are neighbors, members of the family, relatives... These terrorists place themselves as defenders and guardians of a new order based on religious precepts as defined by them. This is to say that they appropriated a version of Islam without even recognizing that there might be other versions and that people could have the freedom to practice Islam in their own way.

In other respects, people have learned during this decade of violence that traditional solidarities do not exist anymore. Some illustrations are presented here to explain this new situation:

- Mrs. D. tells us that when terrorists come to her house to kill her two sons, all the family was screaming for help from neighbors, but nobody came for their help. In addition to that, the day of funerals of her two sons, neighbors did not come to visit her and present their condolences. It was also very hard for the family to find an imam to accomplish the religious rituals.

- Mrs. S. had to leave her house, which was destroyed by terrorists, and after the assassination of her sons and husband, she found herself and the rest of her children without shelter, given that her brothers and brothers-in-law possess big houses. Nobody proposed to offer her a shelter.

- Mrs.B. found herself after the destruction of her house in a temporary shelter settled for her by the city hall. She is right now without any resources and nobody of her family is concerned about her situation.

Let's stop here giving examples, to say that what used to be in our traditional society a rule: supporting, welcoming and helping members of the family who are in need... has disappeared to leave place to individualism, that is, focusing only on the nuclear family which is composed of parents(the father, the mother) and offspring. We already have stated this earlier about changes occurred inside the Algerian family, but terroristic violence has accelerated these changes and has finished a work which started already long time ago. The Algerian had to face his own illusions of strong family ties; the current reality is otherwise: one can neither count on his family members, nor on his neighbors, on the contrary they might be the killers (terrorists). It was a real disappointment for the population who went through a whole decade of terroristic vio-

lence. Their values, beliefs, the worldview, the social foundations that they have internalized so far, such as generation differences, the prohibition of murder, and especially the murder of relatives, all have been transgressed (Ch. Bouatta, 2007, M. Sadouni Ghediri, 2013, 2012).

Can we from what we have presented and from our clinical observations say that there is a change in the personality structuration of Algerians? It is very hard to answer this question, especially when we study different definitions of personality. For psychoanalysis, for example, personality is the product of a genesis, a series of phases of psychosexual development during which the child will structure his personality in the interaction with the two adults of different sexes: the father and the mother. This will lead to psychic organizations that function more or less well according to the register in which they are inscribed.

Other definitions of personality emphasize traits, which are also acquired along the development, individuals will then have personalities which have traits of character related to sociability and adaptation.

As for the psychic disorders, the epidemiological research that we have undertaken (our association), shows that they are widely present in the population that had lived terroristic violence. Our research was undertaken in 1999-2000, we found that the prevalence of P.T.S.D (post-traumatic stress disorder) was 37, 7%, anxiety disorder was 37, 3% and depression was 23%, this percentage represents a sample of 652 persons of both sexes who live in two different areas: one was massively affected by terroristic violence and collective massacres, and the second was relatively spared* (M. El Masri et al., 2001).

The psychological consultation reveals that the persons who have this type of disorders following violent events do change, their personality also changes, their relations with others change as well; they become irritated, they no longer trust persons of their surrounding, they no longer believe that the human being (relatives, friends, neighbors...) can be helpful. In addition to this, they do not invest life anymore, they often live withdrawn and retreated with their pain that they could not be able to elaborate.

What we just presented is related to the proper psychic dimension and to some repercussions on the interpersonal level. We focus now on the family, on

* For more information about this research, the reader can consult the psychological review, number 9, 2001, SARP.

the relations between the family members, on the status and roles of the two sexes. We can make the following observations:

Several families are headed by mothers only because fathers had been assassinated by the terrorists or by the public order. As a result, women become responsible for their families. As for the population that we treat at the center of psychological help, we see especially, women without any education, who did never go to school. Most of these women were, before the death of their husbands, housekeepers, almost never went outside home and their main responsibilities were domestic duties. After the violence that the family had to endure, these women found themselves propelled into a public space, struggling with administrative authorities, with institutions, to obtain their rights that the legislator recognizes as theirs.

- In other respects, violence that the population went through during the last decade, has great repercussions inside families: in addition to withdrawal and isolation from other persons in the community, because of the deconstruction of traditional solidarities of relatives and neighbors, they also witness developing violence within their own members.

Brothers are violent toward their sisters; they break objects, and are aggressive with their parents, either verbally or physically. Mothers also became violent, they spank their children. Some members do not stand screams, they get easily irritated and angry. This is to say that persons cannot control themselves anymore, that they are often overwhelmed by their impulses and that they express themselves through acting by using violence (Ch. Bouatta, 2001,2010).

- If this violence is a sign of distress, since it conveys that a person cannot manage his relationships with others by using verbal communication, it should be replaced in psychosociological context. For a long period, terrorists have assassinated people, burned persons, houses, schools, factories, different facilities...these have spread terror everywhere... It seemed them that there was no law, no social rules, no fundamental prohibitions... Landmarks that structure the whole social organization have disappeared; this has contributed to the transgression of social rules; respect toward parents, elders, public and other properties, etc. (Sadouni Ghediri, 2012, 2014).

It is clear to us that all these factors have repercussions on the development of the personality, on family relations, on relationships between adults and children.

We notice through our clinical work that adults who are suffering have difficulties to be good parents (in the sense of D.W. Winnicott), to establish limits for their children, which allow them to accept and internalize the law (in the large sense of the term).

Conclusion

The emergence of a conjugal family, it is a term, which seems more appropriate than nuclear family, has gone through a very long process: from the colonial period to the present time. However, the independence of Algeria, the access to education, women's work... have accelerated the autonomy of persons with regard to the extended family.

On the one hand, Statistics show that dominant family (in terms of quantity) is the one which is constituted of the father, the mother and children, but on the other hand, we can also notice that the individual has a tendency to get autonomous as well since s/he develops personal desires and aspirations independently from his/her parents' desires.

And what about violence? The latter has definitely contributed to structure the conjugal family since victims had experienced solitude and isolation during the reign of terror where neither relatives, nor neighbors did come to their rescue. This violence has a great impact on the modifications and the alteration of relations inside families, since women who used to be housekeepers became family chiefs, they have taken responsibilities that used to be attributed only to men. In addition to that, terroristic acts have caused psychological disorders among a large population, but they also have conveyed the transgression of the forbidden on fundamental principles which structure the personality of individuals and social groups.

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ملخص:

لقد عاشت الجزائر عدة أحداث التي أدت إلى ظهور تغيرات في مختلف السياقات. بالإضافة إلى الاستعمار الفرنسي الذي ترك آثارا مستدامة لدى السكان، العنف المقصود خلال التسعينيات، تسبب هو الآخر في تحولات ضمن المجتمع الجزائري على مختلف المستويات: الرمزي، الفردي، الاجتماعي، السياسي، الديني، السيكلوجي و هلم دواليك. يمكننا ملاحظة قيم و أنماط حياة جديدة و دخيلة في المجتمع الجزائري. سنحاول، بصفتنا نفسانيين عياديين، تحليل هذه التغيرات نتيجة أحداث العنف المتعددة التي مرت بها الجزائر و التي أثرت على عادات و أنماط الحياة لدى الجزائريين.

كلمات مفتاحية: الجزائر، العنف المقصود، الصدمة النفسية، التغير الاجتماعي، الاستعمار الفرنسي.

Résumé :

L'Algérie a traversé plusieurs événements qui ont engendré une multitude d'altérations dans différents contextes. Outre la colonisation française qui a laissé des séquelles à long terme chez la population, la violence extrême des années 1990 a causé des mutations au sein de la société algérienne à plusieurs niveaux : symbolique, individuel, social, politique, religieux, psychologique, etc. Nous pouvons y observer de nouvelles valeurs et style de vie. Nous tenterons, en tant que psychologues cliniciens, de présenter quelques analyses de ces changements dûs aux actes de violences massifs qui ont duré dans le temps et comment ils ont affecté les habitudes et le style de vie des algériens.

Mots clés : Algérie, violence intentionnelle, trauma psychique, changement social, colonisation française.