

**Hybrid political systems study of Arab system and Algerian
case before the "HIRAK"****Système politique hybride étude des système arabe et le cas
Algérien avant le " Hirak "**

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Summary

One of the paradoxes of today's political systems is that they claim to be more democratic than others, and this thesis becomes more evident when moving to the world arbitrarily called the Third World because of its recent era with democracy; Democracy in this world came under the impetus of the third wave of democracy, and accordingly , the chronological age of these democracies does not exceed half a century at the most, and this is a matter in itself that creates the problem of democratic consolidation, And it raises the problem of incomplete democracies or hybrid political systems that live on a mixture of democratic values and authoritarian practices in front of human rights organizations and major countries, and give an image that democracy is still in its embryonic phase, and that the time has not yet come for the completion of democracy; This article deals with the nature of the hybrid political systems with a focus on the Arab systems and in particular the Algerian case before the hirak.

Keywords: democracy, democratic transition, hybrid political systems, social change, the nature of Arab regimes, the Algerian political system, democratic transition in Algeria, manifestations of hybridity in the Algerian political system.

الملخص:

يعيش عالم اليوم في ضبابية الديمقراطية الكاملة والغير كاملة و يتجلى هذا الطرح أكثر عند الحديث عن العالم المسمى بالعالم الثالث، و ذلك لحدثة هذه مع الديمقراطية؛ فالديمقراطية في هذا العالم جاءت تحت دفع الموجة الثالثة من الديمقراطية التي عرفها العالم في سبعينيات القرن الماضي ، وعليه فالعمر

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الزمني لهذه الديمقراطيات لا يتجاوز النصف قرن في أقصى الحدود ، وهذا أمر في حد ذاته يخلق إشكالية الترسيع الديمقراطي، و يطرح إشكالية الديمقراطيات الغير مكتملة أو الانظمة السياسية الهجينة التي تعيش على المزج بين القيم الديمقراطية والممارسات التسلطية ،هذا الوضع في الحقيقة يعبر عن مرحلة من مراحل التحول الديمقراطي في انتظار عملية الترسيع الديمقراطي، لكن أحيانا أخرى يعبر ذلك عن إرادة لتمديد الوضع الهجين و التحجج به أمام المنظمات الحقوقية والدول الكبرى ، واعطاء صورة بأن الديمقراطية لا تزال في مرحلته الجنينية، و أن الزمن لم يحن بعد لإكمال الديمقراطية؛ تعالج هذه الورقة طبيعة، الانظمة السياسية الهجينة مع التركيز على النظم العربية وبشكل خاص الحالة الجزائرية .

الكلمات المفتاحية : الديمقراطية – الديمقراطيات الكاملة – الديمقراطيات غير المكتملة – الانظمة الهجينة – التحول الديمقراطي – الانظمة العربية- النظام السياسي الجزائري.

introduction

The idea of hybrid or the word hybrid means in the language mixed in its simplest concepts, and when moving the term to the social and legal sciences, we find it sometimes associated with societies, and sometimes with political systems, and the Greek and then Roman experiences are the oldest examples of this through what is known as the phenomenon of deviation Systems

¹, and to address this matter, some thinkers such as “Aristotte” and then “Polybe” proposed the idea of a mixed system in order to avoid this deviation, and thus the Greco-Roman philosophy was the first to develop a conception of hybrid political systems, this theoretical proposition in Reality takes its source from the political experiences of the two Greek societies And the Roman, through the experience of the Spartiate state, which was a mixed military-aristocratic system of government, and then with the Athenian experience during the reign of Solon, which mixed between aristocracy and democracy, and then with the experience of the Roman Republic, which in turn mixed between three forms of government.

The development witnessed by Western societies led with the end of the twentieth century to adopt the model of democratic governance as a system based on a set of values that raise the people and make them the owner of sovereignty. In order to become the owner of the main role in the political process.

Today's hybrid political systems are, in fact, approaching the idea of a mixed system that has been promoted by many thinkers of political thought through the ages in the context of the search for “authoritarian balance” and the priority of ownership with a slight difference, which is that most hybrid systems today tend to consolidate democracy As a system of government without other systems, or at least it claims to be, the process of transition towards democracy has created in the practice field a new form of political systems that are not well-established or complete democracies, but rather hybrid systems that adopt democracy and mix, for example, between competitive elections and the strong

presence of authoritarianism; These regimes witness democratic openness and periodic elections, as well as living on the remnants of the authoritarian past through the administration's interference in the electoral process, and its control of election results, in addition to the strong presence of the military; These regimes are classified in the category of transitional democracies, or as it is called gray zone regimes².

The hybrid character differs from one system to another according to the intervention exercised by the authority during the process of democratic transformation, and also through the process of democratic transformation itself, which often knows setbacks before the process of consolidation. Democracies are constitutionally dominated by a presidential, semi-presidential or representative system of government, all of which are forms that determine the nature and method of government that does not deviate from the democratic framework.

Hybrid political systems are characterized by belonging to a group that shares a set of characteristics such as underdevelopment, authoritarianism, submission to colonialism, and the desire to bring about development, Institutional politics.

The development project in the so-called Third World experienced different fates, and in fact produced different economic and political forms between those who achieved the desired development and those who reproduced failures. These repeated failures in fact produced hybrids at the economic level, socially and, of course, at the political level. In fact, this situation expresses a labor stage in which the progressive forces and the conservative forces struggle, and at the same time creates a situation similar to organized chaos; The Arab world and Algeria, as a country belonging to this group, express this reality. It is a hybrid system in all the meanings of the word, whether at the social or political level, where these social and political forces struggle to create a new situation that expresses a transformational process. In the end, it remains to determine the nature and path of this transformation. Is it really a stage of transformation? Democratic or is it a form of political adaptation of the regimes?

Through this article, we will try to address the issue of hybrid political systems by focusing on the Arab political situation and scrutinizing the Algerian case, but before this we will try to explain the term hybrid political system

❖ **Democracy and the hybrid character of political systems:**

In the past, researchers were interested in classifying political systems, and the issue is still raised today, the systems are classified as democratic, dictatorial, totalitarian or authoritarian, and the same classifications may be multiple in one model, so we find in democracy, for example, parliamentary

democracy, constitutional monarchies and presidential systems, as described Other systems are only electoral democracies, and they are a form of hybrid systems where a rule of democracy represented in competitive elections is mixed with the strong presence, for example, of the military or with the strong presence of the administration in the electoral process, which makes them hybrid democracies, and these are classified The regimes are in the category of transitional democracies, or as it is called the gray zone regimes³ This form of regime appeared under the impetus of third wave democracies. The shift towards democracy did not directly create entrenched democracies, but rather the creation of legal and institutional frameworks that establish procedural democracy⁴ with the remnants inherited from the authoritarian or dictatorial past, and in this way democratic and authoritarian frameworks coexist. In a way that suggests that these regimes are experiencing a necessary transitional stage for the process of democratic transition, and quantitative studies record the decline of authoritarian regimes in the world in favor of the democratic system, with reference to a fundamental observation that the will to establish democracy as a system of government varies in nature from one country to another between the actual desire to make democracy the rule to which everyone appeals, and the desire for formal transformation only or changing the interface, and this is what gives us in the end well-established or trending democracies Towards Consolidation, and Hybrid Systems, this hybrid character is the dominant feature in political systems that have adopted democratic transformation, especially in Africa and the Arab region.

❖ **Factors contributing to the transformation process:**

Democracy is based on a set of principles that make it a dominant political model, The peaceful transfer of power and oversight through the principle of separation of powers and equality between the rulers and the ruled, the supremacy of the law and participation in political life through the principle of rights and freedoms, all of which make democracy a model that penetrates the system, social in all its dimensions, so that it becomes the demand of all peoples who live within tyrannical political and social frameworks, and among the manifestations of that is protest and demand for reform and change, and various forces contribute locally and internationally to promote the democratic demand, among which we mention:

a) Civil society:

Civil society constitutes an important link in the development of societies and in shaping their general structure, whether by perpetuating a political model or by overthrowing it. It is also different, but this matter presupposes the maturity of civil society on the one hand, and the lack of containment by official channels to become a mouthpiece serving its interests on the other hand. Accordingly, public order may produce a multi-civil society that does not

follow the same line and does not meet on foundations that should be acted upon, bearing in mind that the good environment for every active civil society is democracy, because it guarantees participation in political life, and guarantees all social, professional, political and social groups. This right is within the framework of a pluralistic representation in defense of their political and human rights. Thus, the institutions of civil society, in terms of being expressive institutions stemming from the process of social change, become channels of proselytizing democracy through protest, strike, and awareness-raising work, distributing democratic values; Civil society has historically been a means of overthrowing authoritarian regimes, and educated classes have played a key role in this process

b) Communication technology and the World Wide Web

The development that affected information and communication technology contributed to the creation of communication channels that reconsidered the social and political frameworks on which societies are based. It suffices for the Internet user to surf the social networking⁵ sites or the sites for exchanging information, pictures and videos to realize the nature of the rights that people enjoy in the West, and then democracy has become a popular demand, whether it is a tradition intended for uniformity in the lifestyle, or it is an actual demand. Realizing and aware of what democracy can offer, especially when we know that the majority of those who use these new technological tools belong to social groups Mostly educated.

c) Academic journals and NGOs

The issue of promoting democracy presented itself sharply in the literature of political science, between those who see it as a new means of hegemony, and those who see it as an evolutionary link to what is called the universality of democracy, academic fields on the subject of democratization, and comparative studies related to the Third World, and the creation of related newspapers and magazines We mention, for example: the "journal of democracy" and "freedom house", and sites such as the Office for the Promotion of Parliamentary Democracy (OPPD) of the European Parliament, as well as the International Association for Democracy and Elections IDEA, and other international institutions that sponsor democracy and try to spread it Through websites, in addition to this, non-governmental organizations that work in the field of human rights and that provide reports on human rights violations in non-democratic countries or those working to establish democracy.

d) Impartiality of administration and independence of the judiciary

It is customary when talking about the neutrality of the administration, we mean by that an administrative body in itself whose mission is to watch over the drafting of laws and watch over the electoral process, and it is a function that

assumes neutrality, that is, not taking sides with one of the parties, whether it is related to the authority or the opposition, especially when it comes to a transitional stage because the administration is in this stage. It is the one that oversees the organization of political life according to rules that are in line with the process of democratic transformation, especially with regard to competitive elections and the revision of the electoral pool. And the division of electoral districts and other things related to the electoral process, which the administration's aides watch over, such as the sorting process, in which if neutrality is not adhered to, its results do not destroy the path of democratization and I consolidate the influence of one group at the expense of another, in addition to the administrative one, we can talk about the independence of the judiciary from the rest of the authorities and its role in combating corruption accompanying the transitional period, in which political leaders from the previous authoritarian regime could be involved.

❖ Factors inhibiting transformation

Based on the reality that recognizes the existence of factors contributing to the process of democratic transformation in the world, it is also possible to identify a set of obstacles that stand in the way of completing the process of transformation, and maintaining the hybrid character politically and socially, and we can summarize them in the following points:

a) dominant class:

By it, we mean those who enjoy privileges within the existing system, whether they are rulers or belong to the entourage of rulers, whether by kinship ties or by the influence they enjoy within the frameworks on which the non-democratic system is built, and by virtue of that they refuse to move towards democracy because it may reconsider the privileges they enjoy with it.

b) Conservative current:

The conservative creed, in its simplest definitions, is a form of rejection of the process of change, and it arose historically to defend the traditional political and social system. From what has been done, it becomes clear that the conservative current in transitional societies may be the most important obstacle in the process of social or political change, Democracy and we can distinguish between two different tendencies in this regard, the first is ideological, stemming from the experience that transitional societies went through in their political development, and the stage of political construction that created frameworks foundations, and values that are often the result of a socialist, communist, anti-imperialist ideology. It has a current that believes that democracy is nothing but a political reflection of capitalist imperialism, and therefore they seek to stand against the actual democratic transition, As for

the second trend, it has a religious dimension linked to the issue of religion and democracy, and the problem of compatibility between religion and democracy in many speeches and writings and fear in view of the foundations and values it bears, such as popular sovereignty and freedom.

c) The military and clientelism:

The military establishment, or more likely the security apparatus in all its forms, has gone astray in playing a prominent role in regimes transitioning towards democracy in a way that prevents the completion of the process of transition to democracy, whether by rejecting the process and obstructing it directly through the means of material coercion it possesses, or by controlling the process of democratization by playing new roles either As a protector of democratic gains against possible attacks by groups that do not believe in democratic choice as a model, or as a guarantor of national unity. Among the other obstacles, we can include political and economic clientelism, which are groups that may have been influential in the previous political system. Thanks to their relations, they were able to be an active member in the economy and politics, and they controlled economic sectors that threatened the security and continuity of the state and it may even control the appointment of some ministers to serve its interests, as it may serve foreign interests, and this constitutes an infringement on the popular choice.

❖ The nature of the Arab regimes

The Arab regimes have almost similar structures, whether with regard to the traditional structures on which the traditional state was founded in the Arab region, by which we mean tribalism, or with regard to the evolutionary path known by the Arab countries, which was mainly associated with the colonial phenomenon, and led to the adoption of modern structures in line with what the West has set of political and systemic frameworks that allow the third world to access the world order from this idea begins the first characteristic of the hybridity of the Arab regimes that found themselves after their independence forced to abandon their political and social specificities - without actually giving them up - and They adopt Western frameworks and systems inherited from colonialism or from the global system. Arab systems share a number of aspects, which we refer to as follows:

a) ruling inheritance:

The Arab regimes that rule today are the result of a distinct historical labor in which the characteristic of the ruling elites and the cultural heritage of Arab societies are mixed , Context Abdallah EL Aroui says in his book **"The Concept of the State⁶: Our legacy is the legacy of the sultanate state on the theoretical and intellectual levels.** With monarchical governments, it is incomprehensible when it comes to republican regimes there are many

examples of the Syrian regime⁷, for example, where the ruler continued for more than 25 years, and the constitution was amended to allow his son to run for the position of president. From monarchical or republican, nothing changes because the system of government in Arab regimes is inherited in one way or another

b) The strong presence of the security apparatus

The Arab regimes know the growing influence of the security apparatus in its various forms, whether it is the army in some countries or the police or intelligence in other countries, or a combination of these different agencies. It threatens human security instead of being a shield to protect it⁸, and the security apparatus in the Arab countries plays a role in stabilizing the existing political regimes, whether through direct rule or through the guardianship it exercises in choosing who rules.

c) The paternal character of authority:

The term paternalism finds its roots in the past centuries, not because it was a feature of intellectual radiation, but rather as a logic that imposed itself in the structure of political power, and in the structure of society based on the return of power to a person on the grounds that he is its first owner. These images may be based on the image of the legitimacy that Max Weber developed. In particular, traditional legitimacy, which is based on a firm belief in the sanctity of traditions and the need to obey leaders who exercise power according to these traditions⁹, and may be attached to charismatic legitimacy in which power is assigned to a person with extraordinary qualifications. Arab societies live according to a traditional pattern that nourishes the content of patriarchal authority religiously and customarily, and this situation creates in political practice either complete submission to authority, whose manifestations are manifested in offering obedience to the regime during the electoral seasons, or aversion to political authority and the political practice accompanying the democratization process, as a result of the strong presence. The manifestations of this aversion are manifested in the phenomenon of political aversion on the one hand, and indifference to political life on the other hand, and distancing from political organizations, and this is what creates a chasm between the young society and the political elites affiliated with the authority or the opposition.

❖ Social dynamics in the Arab world

Today, Arab societies are witnessing profound transformations in the basic structures on which they were founded. Despite the strength of the traditional deposits resulting from the social composition of the individual, the social dynamism seems to be a faster process than the institutional change¹⁰, This is evident through the refraction of many traditional values inherited from the

ancestors in the form of Traditional marriage or the education of daughters, for example, or even the exercise of power over sons, and all of this falls within the process of social change, which is summed up in a transformation that takes place in the social organization, whether in its structure or in its functions during a certain period of time, The image that Arab society presents to us today is the consumerist characteristic that goes beyond what the individual has been conditioned to through social and political upbringing. This consumerism goes beyond food consumption to include another type of consumption, which is the consumption of the dominant culture and its value system, under the influence of books, magazines, newspapers and television programs. Many times, this social movement breaks the inherited traditional values and introduces a new value system mostly copied from Western systems, and carries the values of human rights and democracy, as new expressive values as an alternative to the existing systems, and at the same time imposes on the systems dealing with it in a serious manner in accordance with institutional and legal frameworks.

➤ **Algerian case before de "hirak"**

Hybrid political systems are considered a product of the process of transition towards democracy, and we have previously indicated that the process of transition towards democracy creates the hybrid character of political systems by virtue of the mixing resulting from the coexistence between old and new elites during the process of democratization; Algeria is considered one of the political models that adopted the democratic transition process in the early nineties of the last century, and it was assumed that the hybrid character accompanied the birth of pluralistic democracy in Algeria, at least in the first years of the democratic transition, given that the process of political transformation was an initiative of the regime that ruled the country during the period of unilateralism It is assumed that the hybrid trait has at least disappeared or ended after nearly three decades have passed since the transformation process.

The historicity of the Algerian regime

The establishment of the Algerian political system was with the beginning of independence in 1962, but the political power in Algeria finds its roots in the struggle of the national movement and the independence movement that declared the revolution, and through which it drew the features of a political system in which two institutions play a fundamental role, namely the one vanguard party and the military institution (army). The National Liberation Army and then the National People's Army), and this situation is transmitted by the constitution of 1963¹¹ where belonging to the Liberation Army became the criterion through which positions are distributed, and belonging to the party is a means of social and political advancement in Algeria independence, and

this situation dominated political life For more than two decades, without affecting the continuity of the political system.

The Algerian political system was classified in the one-party stage in the category of totalitarian regimes, where one party apparently dominates political life; But the strong presence of the charismatic president, who bases his authority on the political contradictions emanating from the elites that make up the political power, was placing the party as a front only to gain a kind of legitimacy. Sometimes in other ways¹², the political system was living on the impact of internal crises resulting from the reduction of pluralism in the nation party, and by the imposed hegemony on public freedoms, and the policy of intimidation had a role in containing it, and the personality of President Houari Boumediene played a role in concealing these crises from the public¹³, And after his death The struggles of the constituent wings of power surfaced over who would rule the country after him, and the arrival of chadli ben Jedid to power represented a victory for a group of rival factions since independence, and the beginning of a new era.

The chadli stage, was characterized by softness compared to the Boumediene stage, and this matter gradually contributed to the emergence of protest movements at the behest of political and religious figures. On the other hand, the economic situation allowed the beginning of the eighties to curb the forces that denounce the political system, without eliminating or containing them.

The year 1985 is considered an important turning point in the course of the political system, as it is a key year for the transformational process initiated by the system by opening up economic life through a set of laws that limit the monopoly of the state¹⁴, and these policies were supposed to create an economic dynamism that pushes the stagnant national economy Forward, but in reality it created political and economic clientelism that monopolized the import of some materials, and created, directly or indirectly, a parallel market, which contributed to exposing the rentier system and weakening it in the eyes of the public, and it became clear that the fragility of the system became a reality, as the conflicts that were hidden from the public inside The political system or the party, in the summer of 1988, became circulated in the street among the public and was mainly confined to a struggle between the president and the party, in the summer of 1988, it became circulated in the street among the public, and it was mainly confined to a conflict between the president and the party, in addition to the rumor accusing the president's son of embezzling large funds from the state treasury. The president responded in a speech on September 19, 1989, accusing a wing within the party of enjoying privileges. And in order to preserve it, he is against the economic openness and the political reform that is to be carried out, and this discourse exploded the situation¹⁵, and one of its direct results was the events of October 1988, which is termed as the beginning

of the democratic transition in Algeria ,it was accompanied by a number of reforms that are in line with democratic values.

The reforms initiated by the regime opened the door for many to challenge them as inauthentic reforms because society did not demand them or that they were fabricated by the regime itself ¹⁶ At the same time, the reforms were responding to an international cycle of political transformations that changed the political map of most countries that were It belongs to the eastern camp, and regardless of being granted by the regime, no one denies that it is a paradigm shift politically, at least. The constitutional reform of 1989 is institutionally comparable to the values and principles found in Western constitutions in the areas of political pluralism, freedom of expression¹⁷, and the right to strike. And other rights advocated by pluralistic democracy, these rights or gains were confirmed in practice through the emergence of a group of political organizations and a group of free newspapers, which became a platform for conflicting ideas between the opposition and the regime. For a critical vision and the lack of ethics that define public and private affairs, as a result of the absence of a democratic, pluralistic political culture for more than two decades.

❖ **Transition towards democracy and manifestations of political hybridity**

➤ **Transition towards democracy in Algeria**

Before talking about the manifestations of hybridity, it is necessary to highlight the time during which this hybridization appears, as it is assumed that the process of democratic transition is a set of stages that begin with the democratic transition, which is defined as "the extended difference between one political system and another." It is considered a sensitive stage in view of the possibility During this stage, the regime suffered a setback the regime at this stage is of a hybrid nature, in which the institutions of the old and the modern regime coexist, and authoritarian and democratic elites contribute to power, whether through conflict or agreement ¹⁸ Also, the democratic transition is determined according to specialists in four forms, and it is from above when the political system initiates it, whether through the military establishment or through the political leadership, as it may be through negotiation between the opposition and the regime, and this results in a quasi-civil contract or an agreement that satisfies both parties. As it may be from below, through revolution or protests, through which the regime relinquishes power in favor of this protest movement. There is also another form, which is the pattern of foreign intervention, whether by military force to remove an authoritarian regime or by international financial and monetary institutions.

In the Algerian case, what is certain is that the process of transition towards democracy was launched procedurally by means of the 1989 constitution. It

also came at the initiative of the regime, or at least a faction of the regime. It is also certain that it came under the impetus of an internal protest movement whose motives are non-political, in addition to that it responds to international variables and the pressure of financial and monetary institutions, because Algeria entered into an economic crisis beginning in 1986, and it is also the result of consultation and dialogue between the various poles of the opposition and the regime, and thus all forms of democratic transformation came together, but to different degrees.

➤ **Aspects of hybridity in the Algerian democracy:**

Talking about mixing democratic and authoritarian values is the basic characteristic of the so-called hybrid political systems, and therefore we are facing a phenomenon that may accompany the process of democratic transition

A. The strong presence of the sediments of the past

The transition from the one-party system towards political pluralism created a new situation in which aimed to resort to the rules of the democratic game, especially the pluralistic elections, and for this purpose the 1989 constitution laid down the general principles that regulate this political life, but the paradox that presents itself is that the process of political openness, although it has It produced new actors in the political life, but in return it kept the old ones, which ran the country for more than 3 decades and at various levels.

a. In the political parties:

Article 40 of the 1989 Constitution ¹⁹ is considered the beginning of a new era for the partisan movement that was active in secret during the unilateral stage, and the beginning of the establishment of an infinite number of parties, while preserving the party that ruled the country since 1962 * and that wore the mantle of the opposition party while preserving its privileges The previous era, especially with regard to a network of divisions distributed throughout the national territory, and this is what makes it superior on the ground to all parties, without talking about the symbolism that this party carries in the social imagination of Algerian society, and in particular the class of the Mujahideen and their children and the sons of the martyrs... Which makes it an important pole in the equation of change and the transition towards democracy so as not to say an obstacle to the transition towards democracy because it is burdened with a patriotic past Quarters of the constituent parties of the Algerian political field, and this may be acceptable in view of the nature of the front that used to bring together the various political currents in Algeria, but it is unacceptable when we look at the content of the programs of these parties and we notice in them an attempt to reproduce the economic and social policies that were produced by the Liberation Front for three years decades, and even some parties

today do not find anything wrong with saying that our program is the program of the President of the Republic.

These parties meet around a basic idea, which is the ego, meaning that they cannot imagine change without it, and their only concern remains power and position. The deposits of unilateralism, such as the rejection of the other, remained one of the characteristics of the Algerian political parties that did not develop a democratic discourse that accepts the rules of the electoral game noting that elections are a basis of the democratic process²⁰.

b. At the level of the press and the media

The new political situation created a great media momentum in terms of press releases, as the press titles varied and multiplied in both Arabic and French. Omar Belhouchat, director of Al-Watan newspaper²¹ at that time, believes that the huge amount of press releases was dictated, in fact, by the facts of the hour and the desire of journalists young people, in addition to the fear of the state's retreat from this media openness, in addition to the traditional newspapers Al-Mujahid, Al-Shaab, Al-Masa'a, L'horizon and the weekly Algérie actualité, a group of private newspapers competing with the state's newspapers began to appear, in the form of Al-Watan, Al-Khabar, Al-Manshar and Le Soir d' Algérie and Le Matin, and these new newspapers put the old newspapers in an embarrassing position in terms of the size of the readability, as the new and private newspapers outperform the public newspapers in this field, and they appear more credible and more professional in their field in the eyes of the public.

c. Civil society:

The constitution of 1989 created the appropriate atmosphere for the revival of a civil society that was living in stagnation because in reality it existed, but it was active within the one-party system, where it was contained by the political system to play different roles in the university, for example, where it frames and monitors student movements, within public institutions where it monitors workers And potential protest movements, and he works to abort them by collusion with the authority, and in sports by developing sports activities, and when it comes to women, there is an association of their own, and these organizations run under the supervision of the party leadership and its militants, and therefore they are branches of the party, Under the cover of a civil society, and the events of October and the openness that accompanied it, was an opportunity for the emergence of a large number of civil society organizations, and one of the paradoxes of political life in Algeria is that these organizations are affiliated with some political parties and work as a social base for their benefit what is certain in all of this is that the civil society organizations that emerged in Algeria, it is often exposed to the phenomenon of soft containment on the part of the political system, to become a means in its service, through

the financial support provided by the system to civil society institutions, to become similar to the mass organizations prevailing in totalitarian regimes.

B. About Pluralistic elections - between the desire for change and the desire to maintain the status quo

The electoral process in all political systems has two aspects, a procedural aspect related to the laws regulating electoral work, and a practical aspect related to the circumstances surrounding the electoral process, such as the general atmosphere accompanying the electoral process and the nature of the political system. In the end, they are determinants of the value of elections, so they are fair when we touch the independence of the vigilant political institutions. To organize elections, and it is also when the laws are neutral and do not serve any of the parties.

Algeria has lived since independence, and perhaps before independence, on the impact of electoral events that were endorsing the decisions of the public authority, and the electoral practice was in fact imprinted with the logic of power, the logic of loyalty and submission, and sometimes fear. Born from the events of October 1988.

The first plurality elections came as an expression of real competition between a group of parties within the framework of the election law 13/89, which was in conformity with the freedom stipulated in the constitution, and the law of associations of a political nature. Law 12/80 was based on it. Elections took place in June 1990 and the Islamic Salvation Front won the majority of the municipalities and state councils²².

It is noted that the first pluralistic elections in Algeria put democracy in the balance, and this was evident in the struggle of the winning party in the elections, and the administration that sought to obstruct the growing rise of the Islamic Party at the expense of the traditional and "progressive" forces. The street was an arena for this struggle as a means of pressure on power and The administration, and the authority at that stage played on the exclusivity of its possession of legal means of repression to impede the democratic process and direct political life, This obstruction was manifested in the conflict between the rising Islamic Party and the government, which created an electrified atmosphere and disturbance in public order, and the postponement of the elections until December 26, 1991; Which established the dominance of the Islamic party. The results of the elections were not surprising in view of the political weight enjoyed by the winning party in those elections on the one hand and in view of the approved voting system on the other hand, but the surprise will be in how a group of groups that make up the political system dealt And the political field with those results, This is because the situation accompanying the throes of emerging democracy created many trends that imagine democracy according to its ideas or orientations, and this situation finds an explanation for

it in the patriarchal guardianship practiced by the political authority during the unilateral stage and perhaps after it; And the conflict between the authority and the Islamic party will lead circumstantially to a series of measures that will lead to the cancellation of the second round of the legislative elections, that is, the suspension of the electoral process and the resignation or dismissal of the President of the Republic²³ and the entry of Algeria into a political crisis, the first victim of which was the nascent democracy²⁴.

The logical explanation for stopping the electoral process shows that the process of democratic transformation in Algeria collides with the residues or remnants of the authoritarian regime, which was the main party in the transformational process. Thus, resistance to change still presents itself with sharpness, especially among those who have exercised power for more than three decades, And those who consider democracy one of the threats that would affect their gains and their socio-political influence.

After this event, Algeria witnessed an estimated 12 electoral contests between local, legislative, and presidential elections in which the various political parties constituting the Algerian political field participated, except for the Islamic Party, which was excluded from political life due to the extremism of one of the factions that formed it, and the general observation that we make. Through our reading of the results of these electoral events, from November 1995, the date of the first multi-party presidential elections, to April 2014, the date of the last presidential elections, they are:

- That all the electoral events had results in the interest of the political system or the power candidate, or at least the results are distributed among a group of political parties loyal to the regime, so it can be said that most of the elections were described as rigged in favor of the power or the power parties²⁵.
- The administration's contribution, through laws, to putting an end to excessive partisan pluralism created by the 1989 constitution, by framing political action with the organic law for political parties in February 1997 and the licensing system²⁶, and with the organic law for elections in 1997.
- The various electoral events were characterized by abstaining from voting or abstaining from voting, especially in the big cities.
- The administration demonstrated its shrewdness by controlling the electoral pattern in order to direct the vote, control the structure of the new parliament, and prevent a repeat of the December 1991 elections.
- The administration's will to intervene in the elections was manifested through the quota system²⁷

- – which the administration imposed on political parties through the amendment that was introduced to the election law in 2012 in application of the principle of parity that came in the constitutional amendment of 2008 through Article 31 bis²⁸, and this is in line with the pressures it exerts. Some governmental and non-governmental organizations internationally, particularly after the events of the Arab Spring.

C. about the legal system

The constitution is considered the supreme law in the country, and talking about the constitution is in fact talking about the features of the political system by virtue of the fact that the latter is the one that draws the form of the political system, and constitutional law jurists agree to classify the political system in the category of semi-presidential systems, whether through the 1989 constitution or 1996 Constitution, the characteristic of the hybrid is evident in this name itself. The constitution of 1996 is a semi-presidential, half-parliamentary constitution, despite the wide powers enjoyed by the President of the Republic, which make him not responsible before Parliament, while the head of government becomes responsible before Parliament, before the people, and the prime minister, some of the 2008 reform²⁹. All this is theoretical because the reality is otherwise despite this, the constitutional amendment of 96 gave a balance that tends to confirm the hybrid character of the political system, Through the creation of the second chamber in which the President of the Republic appoints a third, through which he can control the legislative body, as the 1996 reform came, with an old rule in the Algerian constitutions during the unilateral period, which is the legislation by orders that were present in the 63 and 76 constitutions while they were absent in the 1989 constitution. As an attempt to restore balance between the authorities, or rather, the executive authority, In another context, the new constitution put an end to the openness that Algeria has known through a constitutional article that limits the emergence of parties with a religious dimension and a secular dimension. This article was supported by the organic law for political parties, which in turn set limits on partisan practice and returned the partisan situation to a state of stagnation through the authorized role the Minister of Interior has the right to grant licenses and accreditations, and with this the emergence of parties does not become subject to legal matters as much as it is subject to political and normative controls, In a similar context, an organic law for elections was adopted, one of the most important points mentioned was the reliance on proportional voting, which allows for diverse representation between large and small parties. In addition to this, reference can be made to the constitutional amendment of 2012 and Article 31 bis, which calls for women's right to representation in various positions.

D. in the economic field:

We can say that the hybrid characteristic, in turn, is present in the country's economic system. After economic tutelage for more than two decades, the structural reform that Algeria experienced in the nineties, under the push of international financial and monetary institutions, was supposed to respond to the logic of profitability and competitiveness and transcend the repercussions of the rentier economy, the liberal orientation was paralyzed after the electoral process was halted the economic reforms proceeded at a rapid pace and took an upward trend under the pressure of creditors, and forced decision-makers to adopt economically strict policies with serious repercussions on the social situation, and contributed in particular to the development of symptoms of a national economy with two faces, an economic sector Hybrid specification, And by the word "hybrid" we mean that it moves with the data of economic liberalization on the one hand, and the mentalities of the directed economy on the other hand, and a formal economy and another informal or what is called the parallel market (which operates with the data of pure economic liberalization, the logic of profit and interest³⁰, and there are many institutions of the parallel economy We mention, for example, the following:

- **A foreign currency market:**

it operates with the specifications of a financial market or stock exchange in which the value of the currency is determined by supply and demand. It provides banking financial services to citizens. The strange thing is that the citizen deals with it with the same liberal logic as it deals with, so he does not find anything wrong with him applying to it when needed.

- **Commercial market:**

Diversified from bag trade in the eighties and nineties to smuggling trade and container trade under cover or borrowed names. This trade finances the national market with various materials that are mostly intended for consumption, and the citizen always deals with them according to the logic of the market economy and does not search for Partial or total support from the state for the acquisition of these needs. What is certain in all of this is that the parallel market acquires a large part of the cash liquidity in the national currency and foreign currency, and it is thus a financial vessel parallel to the official banks.

- **A way to absorb unemployment:**

The parallel economy in Algeria is a means of attracting the labor force in its various forms and specializations. In fact, it occupies half of the working class in Algeria, but without legal controls or social protection, which is in the interest of employers.

Conclusion

The hybridity of the political system is in fact, a form of democratic transformation, and it is a necessary stage in every democratic transition process thirty years, and from here we have the right to ask about the hybrid nature of the Algerian political system during this stage, does it enter within the process of transition towards democracy, or is it a form of political adaptation of the system, to find out about this, we will try to use a set of indicators through which we can measure, if that In favor of the adjustment process or in favor of the democratization process.

– Power trading :

The rotation of power in democratic systems is determined by three things: periodic competitive elections and party pluralism, in addition to defining electoral covenants enshrined legally, it can be said that he created the dominant party system in partisan practice in Algeria through the victory of the same party and its acquisition of the majority of seats in Parliament since 2002, and the same thing when it comes to the position of the President of the Republic after the constitutional amendment of 2008, where Algeria witnessed the election of the current president for two additional terms, and this, although it is democratically permissible by virtue of the fact that the president ran and won the elections, but it is customary, at least, affecting the credibility of the transfer of power at least since Algeria entered the pluralistic era in 1989, however, what is remarkable about the Algerian governments is that they often used the same names for their presidency on the one hand, and upon examining their government staff, we notice that the same ministers are deliberating on government positions with a slight change in government competence, Thus, the government is not subject to institutional logic, and this is more evident in building a consensual government from many parties, sometimes even from non-partisan personalities, the strange thing about all of this is that the party that won the majority was not granted the right to form the government. According to the provisions of the new constitution and Article 94, Paragraph 5, the appointment of the Prime Minister and the termination of his duties are among the powers of the President of the Republic after consulting the parliamentary majority, and the word "consultation" remains vague, Practical reality shows that governments take into account personal relations and the regional factor, with a slight change in this approach in the latest government amendments, where they adopted regional and national representation (the presence of personalities from the Great South), with the embodiment of the principle of parity between men and women, and this may It indicates that the regime adapted to the changes in the national and international arena through the protest movements that Algeria witnessed before and after the events of the Arab Spring.

– **Constitutional Structure:**

The constitution in Algeria grants the president superiority and dominance over all institutions through first the power of appointment granted to the president of the republic by the text of the constitution in positions, including the appointment of the prime minister and the heads of various bodies, including the Constitutional Council, and the power of control, with the absence of any political responsibility for the president of the republic constitutionally, public policy Responsible for the Prime Minister, although everyone in Algeria, including the prime minister, says we implement the program of the president of the republic, more than that, the president of the republic dominates the legislative institution by appointing the presidential third in the National Assembly, Article 118 of the current constitution, which is one of the constitutional restrictions that restrict legislative action through the right The objection exercised by the second chamber against the draft laws of the first elected chamber*, the second restriction is related to organic laws in which an absolute majority of the members of the National People's Assembly is required in addition to prior constitutional control ³¹ And it becomes clear through a look, even if it is not in-depth, in the third appointed by the President of the Republic, the dominance of a political elite rooted in power or in a relationship with state institutions, and appointment is often subject to the logic of loyalty, and ironically, the majority-appointed National Assembly is superior to the chamber The first is that it is insoluble, and thus it is an embodiment of the dominance of the executive body, which appointed a third of it.

– **Absence of administrative impartiality**

The state of emergency in Algeria has constituted a means in the hands of the political authority in Algeria and under the guise of combating terrorism, a pretext to close all the constitutionally regulated protest expressions, despite the efforts made to eliminate terrorism, and to restore security in most parts of the country, and then the authority announced the abolition of the state of emergency³² After the so-called Arab Spring, we cannot be certain that the state of emergency has been abolished because it is still in the behavior of the authorities³³ In addition to all this, the regime controls political life by restricting political parties through the law, whether with regard to the establishment of new parties, which are still subject to the will of the administration, or with regard to gatherings, and when it comes to the media through restrictions on the media through the new media law, for example. Or the authority to control or what has been raised recently about the distribution of public advertising to private newspapers.

All these indicators show that adaptation is the salient feature of all the movements of the Algerian political system, whether it is related to institutional building, or through the crises experienced by the political system, which impose on it the logic of maneuvering to overcome circumstantial crises and extend them in order to find solutions through which sacrifices may be made. With social groups at the expense of other social groups, this maneuver is, in fact, one of the biggest threats that the political system will face in the future, because it will create social and political crises that will reconsider the stability in which the country and the regime live, and the experiences of countries, the Arab Spring is the biggest proof of that.

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