

*Public opinion and social structures and their impact on decision-making
A reading on the reality of the Algerian experience during
the democratic transition: 1989-2009.*

الرأي العام والبنى الاجتماعية وتأثيرهما على عملية صنع القرار

قراءة في واقع التجربة الجزائرية خلال مرحلة التحول الديمقراطي: 1989-2009.



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Abstract:

No one can deny the close relationship between public opinion, social structures and decision-making in various societies and political systems, and how public opinion is one of the most important factors that the decision-maker takes into account, regardless of the form of the political system that controls the reins of government, in addition to the nature of the social structure of that society.

Therefore, this study aimed to show the importance of the interaction that occurs during the democratic transition in the Algerian experience between the parts of public opinion, social structures and the decision-making process, by highlighting the role of the media and civil society institutions in it. In addition to the importance of national integration and the social structure of Algerian society, which helped accelerate the process of the desired democratic transition.

The descriptive approach was adopted to reach the results of this study as the most appropriate by identifying the limits of the democratic transition process that Algeria witnessed from 1989-2009 and the role of public opinion and social structures in influencing decision-making during that transition. Through this study, the following results were reached:

The civil society institutions, media institutions and social structures forming the Algerian society did not find a suitable space for them in the Algerian political scene, to express their opinion on what they deem appropriate and inappropriate to strengthen democracy in Algeria. These institutions witnessed a great lack of elites and programs.

key words: public opinion, social structures, decision-making process, the Algerian experience, democratization.

الملخص:

لا يستطيع أحد أن ينكر العلاقة الوطيدة بين الرأي العام والبنى الاجتماعية وصنع القرار في مختلف المجتمعات والأنظمة السياسية، وكيف أن الرأي العام يعد من أهم العوامل التي يضعها صانع القرار في حسابه مهما كان شكل النظام السياسي الذي يسيطر على مقاليد الحكم، بالإضافة الى طبيعة البنية الاجتماعية لذلك المجتمع.

لذلك هدفت هذه الدراسة لتبيان أهمية التفاعل الذي حدث خلال مرحلة التحول الديمقراطي في التجربة الجزائرية بين فواعل الرأي العام والبنى الاجتماعية وعملية صنع القرار، من خلال ابراز دور وسائل الاعلام ومؤسسات المجتمع المدني في ذلك. إضافة الى أهمية الاندماج الوطني والتركيبية الاجتماعية للمجتمع الجزائري التي ساعدت في التسريع من عملية التحول الديمقراطي المنشود.

وقد تم الاعتماد على المنهج الوصفي للوصول الى نتائج هذه الدراسة باعتباره الأنسب من خلال تحديده لحدود عملية التحول الديمقراطي الذي شهدته الجزائر من 1989-2009 ودور الرأي العام والبنى الاجتماعية في التأثير على صنع القرار أثناء ذلك التحول، وقد تم التوصل من خلال هذه الدراسة على النتائج التالية:

إن مؤسسات المجتمع المدني ومؤسسات الإعلام والبنى الاجتماعية المشكلة للمجتمع الجزائري لم تجد فضاء يليق بها على الساحة السياسية الجزائرية، لتعبر عن رأيها فيما تراه لائقا وغير لائق لتعزير الديمقراطية بالجزائر، فقد شهدت هذه المؤسسات افتقارا كبيرا في النخب والبرامج.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الرأي العام، البنى الاجتماعية، عملية صنع القرار، التجربة الجزائرية، التحول الديمقراطي.

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Introduction:

Public opinion is one of the important factors in the participation of the decision-making process. It is known that codifying the relationship between public opinion and decision-makers leads to creating a natural interaction between the concerns and issues of public opinion and the decisions of political power which ensures the maintenance of political and social stability on the one hand and bringing about societal changes in a sound manner on the other. No one can deny the close relationship between public opinion, social structures and decision-making in various societies and political systems, and how public opinion is one of the most important factors that the decision-maker takes into account, regardless of the form of the political system that controls the reins of government, in addition to the nature of the social structure of that society.

Our study examines the importance of the interaction that occurs during the democratic transition 1989-2009, in the Algerian experience between the parts of public opinion, social structures and the decision-making process, by highlighting the role of the media and civil society institutions in it. In addition to the importance of

Public opinion and social structures and their impact on decision-making A reading on the reality of the Algerian experience during the democratic transition: 1989-2009.

national integration and the social structure of Algerian society which helped accelerate the process of democratization.

Through the above, the following problem can be raised:

Did public opinion and social structures contribute to influencing the decision-making process during the democratic transition that Algeria witnessed from 1989 to 2009?

To answer this problem, the following two hypotheses can be used:

- There can be a space befitting the institutions of civil society and the media as well as the social structure of Algerian society on the Algerian political scene, to express its opinion on what it deems appropriate and inappropriate to promote democracy.
- There is limited influence of public opinion and social structures in influencing the decision-making process during the democratic transition that Algeria witnessed from 1989-2009, due to the lack of elites and programs in these institutions.

The introduction to the article should contain an appropriate introduction to the topic, followed by the problematic research and then the hypotheses put forward, in addition to defining the objectives of the research and its methodology.

**The first Topic:
Media and public opinion in Alegria**

The world now lives in a global village thanks to the media, especially satellite channels, which are entering the homes of the third world, including Algeria. Since Algeria is located in a strategic area close to Europe, it is located in a concentrated media area. Thomas Patterson says that visual and written media are more expressive and influential in popular public opinion, even more so than parliaments in democratic countries¹ in both internal and external media.

Public opinion does not represent an independent entity by any standard, as it is established mainly through what is broadcast by the media, and it is difficult to imagine this opinion in a society in which these means do not clearly exist². These means are the neutral voice that Laswell spoke about, which provides ideas published by official voices - which are self-serving voices such as the government, the party, or others - with a full and accurate explanation.

¹Thomas Patterson, *time and news : the media 's l'imitation as an insteriment of democracy* (international political science reviews, vol.19 N°.1,(january1988). pp.55-67.

²Abdelrrahman Azzi, *Studies in Communication Theory*. p.1. (Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies,2003), p.67.

Laswell believes that the voice of public opinion, which expresses all the opinions of the masses and not the opinions of a specific group, and from this logic, the press was called the fourth authority, as it gradually became a platform for political debate and a competitor to the system of government, exploring the situation for the public and stopping it on the truth of things and their insides, so it helps it to have a sound vision and insight when making its decisions and protects it from all attempts to mislead it.

The independent press in Algeria is the most beautiful gain from the many gains of the October 1988 uprising. It was the only press in the world that was not satisfied with its role in informing public opinion, but exceeded it to play the role of absent political parties and the role of inactive associations. On its shoulders, it carried all these burdens, especially the national burden, and thus found itself during the last decade in the trench to combat terrorism.

Freedom of information is an integral part of freedom of expression, and therefore of democracy itself. By browsing the history of the Algerian press, we can measure the extent to which the values of freedom are implanted and practiced in society and the extent to which any political system is democratic.

The political and economic choices that were confirmed at the official level in post-independence Algeria, and like many of the experiences of the countries of the third world, focused on the central role of the state not only in the economic and political field, but even in the media field. Private and partisan media were nationalized in light of these trends, which were opposed by some political forces at the same time that the authority began to form a multifaceted public media sector from a formal point of view, and thus the media in this period turned into a mouthpiece for power¹.

The signs of pluralism began with the beginning of 1989 and came with Law No. 90/07 dated: 03/04/1990 on the media, where the Ministry of Information was abolished and replaced by the Supreme Council of Media. With the opening, the "Reform Team" led by Prime Minister "Mouloud Hamrouche" in the Presidency began to control the draft media law that would constitute a break with the censorship practiced on the media for a quarter of a century. However, these and other measures did not prevent the existing authority from dominating and restricting the work of the active media institutions. The latter were subjected to violent and continuous shocks, and it was not easy to continue the experiment in light of the hostility that I found

¹Lhacen Razak. **The presidential election campaign through the Algerian private press - a study in the analysis of the content of Al-Khobar and Al-Shorouk daily newspapers.** Unpublished Master's thesis in Media and Communication Sciences. (Constantine: University of Mentori. Faculty of Rights and Political Sciences, 2009), p.59.

Public opinion and social structures and their impact on decision-making A reading on the reality of the Algerian experience during the democratic transition: 1989-2009.

among many official ruling political circles that did not originally accept pluralistic and democratic ideas.

At a time when restrictions on independent journalism have increased and in various ways reached the issuance of laws suppressing freedom of opinion, the authority has focused more on imposing its control over heavy media: television, news agency, radio because of their wide impact in a society in which illiteracy has increased and oral culture has historically dominated.

An example of this restriction by the authority on the media is that related to the amendment of the Penal Code in 2000 with the approval of the deputies of the National People's Assembly by an overwhelming majority on the need to put controls and tighten the noose on the independent press.

What can be said **in the end** is that the media in its various forms have known in modern Algeria a kind of openness, especially after the ratification of the 1989 Constitution, but this openness was restricted by the ruling authority, which made the task of these institutions difficult and made them unable to communicate the truth to public opinion in addition to their dependence in many cases on the authority of all kinds in general or in particular through funding and financial support. This is due to the power of the ruling authority in these media institutions, especially in the recent period.

The first requirement: Civil society and public opinion

The existence of civil society institutions is one of the most important manifestations of democratic transitions, as it is through these institutions that public opinion can be crystallized from below rather than controlled from above, and in this way society has sufficient confidence to resist the tyrant and restrict the powers of government.

Considering that any transformation takes place in society, but behind it are decisions that have resolved this transformation and the participation of many parties in this process, including civil society institutions that play a prominent role in democratic societies and their various spectrums.

In order to know the role played by these institutions and the opportunities available to them in the Algerian political system through participation or non-participation in the political decision-making process, these institutions must be addressed in a way that allows to know the relationship between them and the dominant forces in the political decision-making process.

Building civil society institutions that are based on democratic foundations, including federations, associations, independent trade unions and other civil institutions, especially parties, contributes to the creation of effective citizens who

take responsibility, participate in decision-making and contribute to the spread of democratic values.

Hence, it can be said that there is a strong relationship between the establishment of democracy and the existence of democratic civil society institutions.

In fact, civil society, with its open and hidden civil and political institutions and organizations, knew its formations before the 1989 Constitution, and after this date it found its legal and political legal changes after the declaration of pluralism.¹

Civil society, with its various organizations such as parties, associations, civil service associations, professional and labor organizations, and interest groups, constitutes a safety valve against the monopoly of political power, and a major driving force towards democracy. The absence of an active civil society in Algeria at the beginning of the experience of the transition towards pluralism was an important factor in the relapse of the experience. Perhaps the weakness of civil society in Algeria is rooted in the stage of independence, in which the state allows the emergence of any independence outside the official state structures that took over the task of political and social mobilization. Thus, when the army turned against the democratic experience, civil society during the period of the 1989 constitution did not produce enough self-sustaining mechanisms to make political pluralism a popular choice that imposes itself through the institutional expressions of civil society.²

In his study on the democratic transition in North Africa, "Jean-Noël Freier" pointed out that Algeria has 53,743 organizations, of which only 823 are active at the national level, which indicates that these organizations are of a service nature³. As shown in the early 1990s, businessmen moved towards civil organizations, where Algeria witnessed five organizations of employers, which later became a national partner in the country's development path. The following are the most important civil society organizations in Algeria:⁴

The second requirement: Civil Society Organisations

1)-Workers' and farmers' organizations: They are many, the most important of which are:

- The General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA), which was founded in 1950.
- The Islamic Trade Union for Labor, founded in 1990.

¹Abdel Rahman Barqouq, Sonya Al-Eidi. **Civil society and democratization in Algeria**. A research paper presented at the First National Forum on: *Democratic Transition in Algeria*. (Biskra Mohammed Khader University: Faculty of Rights and Political Sciences, (December 2005), p.96.

²Ahmed Mnissiet al.. **Democratic Transition in the Maghreb Countries**. (Cairo: Center for Political and Strategic Studies, 2004), p.156.

³Jean Freier, **North Africa's limited democratic transition from civil society to political participation**. (Cairo: Center for Economic, Legal and Social Studies and Documents, 2003), p.24.

⁴Ayman Ibrahim Al-Desouki, **Civil Society in Algeria (Al-Hajra -Siege -Fitna), Arab Future Magazine**. (2000). p365-381.

Public opinion and social structures and their impact on decision-making A reading on the reality of the Algerian experience during the democratic transition: 1989-2009.

- The National Committee for the Salvation of Algeria: It was established by the General Union of Workers in 1992 to counter the influence of the FIS.
- National Union of Algerian Farmers (UNPA).

2)-Trade unions: These unions, along with human rights organizations, are among the most active civil organizations in Algeria currently, as a result of several considerations, the most important of which is that they obtain for their members gains such as those obtained by federations, and are characterized by the high educational level and political awareness of their members, in addition to their relative financial independence, including in Algeria the Syndicate of Journalists, Doctors, Engineers and Businessmen Unions.

3)-Feminist organizations: It includes more than 30 women's organizations that defend women's rights and resist violence against them. It also stands out in the fields of defending human rights and part of its activity is focused on family law. These include:

- Women's Charity, which is more widespread and prestigious.
- Women's associations or federations of parties.
- Women's bodies subordinate to hegemonic or free organizations.
- Sororities.

4)-Human rights associations: This current is divided into three tributaries: Ultek, who belong to the categories of lawyers, academics, doctors and journalists first, and the second includes left-wing elements, while the third tributary consists of members of the Amazigh cultural movement, the most important of which are:

- The Algerian League for the Defense of Human Rights founded by the lawyer "Ali Yahya Abdel Nour".
- Algerian League for Human Rights.
- Algerian Observatory for Human Rights.

5)-Cultural Associations: It is one of the most important features of the Algerian Syndicate, the most important of which are:

- Arab Association for the Defense of the Arabic Language.
- Algerian Arab Movement.
- Berber cultural movement.

6)-Voluntary associations: The number of these associations increased from 12,000 in 1989 to 40,000 in the following year.

Most analyses of society have avoided delving deeply into trying to analyze the relationship between power in authoritarian regimes involved in the processes of transition towards democracy and the activities of civil society, which is undoubtedly a unique and exciting relationship, and the limits of this relationship were characterized in the case of the Algerian experience by cautious and measured

openness, as the authority in the period of unilateralism carried ideas contrary to democracy, as it controls all (organizations and associations). The idea of "freedom" has remained for a long time -taken as a basis in the sense of liberation from colonialism- including the establishment of a democratic system with social content, this idea explained by Professor "Michel Camus"

(Michel Camau) is still at the center of the achievements of the authority in Algeria.¹

The crisis experienced by the Algerian political system at the end of the 1980s led to a reconsideration of dealing with this crisis by dealing with a partner that ensures a proper exit from the latter and facing the pressures of the general environment.

There was recourse to civil society institutions that were widely known at the beginning of political pluralism, which came in the 1989 Constitution, which gave freedoms to form associations and organizations.

In light of this great spread, the Algerian political system set up mechanisms to confront or resist the danger that may result from these civil institutions, so it had what it wanted, for reasons including:

- That these associations (especially service associations) intervene in the field of social control, which is a field left to its own devices by the authority or that it was a symbol of failure, especially its economic options.

- The possibility of international action and access to support and assistance proposed by financial bodies and political institutions that require international standards that make democracy and respect for human rights a central element of good governance.

- The diminishing marginal productivity of repression, and this stems from a conviction that has spread among rulers as well as the opposition, which is that authoritarian regimes –in our region in general - have become solid regimes (Régimes robustes) in the sense that they are not subject to overthrow, not with popular anger (such as the events of October 1988), not even with violence (the 1990s).

- The non-ideological and deeply pragmatic nature of authoritarian regimes that prefer openness. The only ideology at the center of the speeches of the ruling elite is democracy.²

This has resulted in the creation of a common democratic lexicon that allows the use of a single reference but is interpreted in different ways, and this has led to a

¹Michel camau, **la notation de la démocratie dans la pensée des dirigeants Maghrébiens**, (paris : CNRS, 1971), p.116.

² Op Cit, p.117.

Public opinion and social structures and their impact on decision-making A reading on the reality of the Algerian experience during the democratic transition: 1989-2009.

rapprochement between actors who do not share the same convictions (the government coalition and the presidential alliance, for example).

What can be deduced in this regard is that the Algerian state remained dominant over the various civil organizations even after 1989, the date of the adoption of this political openness, which came only from the formal and numerical aspects, but from the practical point of view and in terms of productivity and efficiency and the strides it has made for the public benefit, it is still very far away as it has not yet reached to this day the level of social demand, due to the impact of the security crisis on it and the stability it has caused at all economic, social and even political levels. Without forgetting its material dependence on the state, the latter is its only financier.

The second Topic: Social Structure

Although scientific interest in the study of the social structure of Algerian society dates back to the early 1960s, addressing the components of this structure in its relationship to the democratic act has begun to surface since the events of October 5, 1988, which were embodied in a general popular explosion preceded by other popular explosions, all of which raised slogans focused on:

- Return to Islam and call for Arabization as national missions.
- Paying attention to Amazighness as a national culture.
- Condemnation of social injustices (such as nepotism, inequality and bribery) and the culture of oppression (despicable)
- Expressing discontent with the complexity of social problems such as: housing, unemployment, poverty, low standards of living, moral corruption...

In recent years, a large number of specialists have shown great interest in the characteristics of this structure and its transformations in light of: social instability, market economy, globalization, and although the quantitative and qualitative evidence related to these characteristics is still small and scattered, in this requirement we will try to reach some realistic judgments in light of our discussion of national integration issues, and based on the composition of the population in terms of labor force, ethnic-religious, sectarian, ethnic, tribal and class composition, the conditions of women and youth, and the manifestations of marginalization and political employment of these manifestations and structures, as well as the relationships and problems associated with deep material and moral social balances, the effects of social control systems, and the processes of interaction and support.

To understand the process of national integration more, it is necessary to identify the major social problems facing contemporary Algerian society, and to indicate the rural-urban relations and the degree to which the population engages in a

single pattern of consumption, public values, and social contradictions, in addition to monitoring the features of the main national current that leads society and its elements of existence, the groups that make up it, the interests it represents, its common denominators, and its orientations towards democratic transformation.¹

The first requirement: National Integration

Studies on the Algerian social structure tend to focus on two contradictory variables, and consider them as the center of the two projects that are different: the first focuses on national homogeneity and integration without absolute denial of diversity, while the second focuses, above all, on the issue of diversity and the recovery of ethnic identity without absolute denial of what is prevalent (this, of course, in their moderate forms). The main dilemma facing Algeria today is the intensification of the conflict between the extremists of these two projects and its consequences, and sometimes the violence and sometimes the concentrated pressure that increases with the increase of contradictions and internal crises.

Worse still, lobbyists are looking for opportunities to pounce and create breakthroughs in the social history of Algerian society.

Without going into the details of these cross-cutting issues, we confine ourselves here to addressing the social structure in the light of: the composition of the population, the situation of women and youth, the manifestations of the economy and marginalization, the phenomenon of diversity and its relationship to democratic transformation.

First section: The demographic structure of the Algerian political system

Population composition: The population of Algeria has passed through two main stages: the period of the French occupation, which was characterized by the decline of the population as a result of the violent resistance that the Algerians faced the occupier, and the spread of diseases and famines. The period of independence was characterized by a significant increase in the number of quail as a result of the availability of health care and improved living conditions that led to a decrease in the mortality rate. Young people under the age of 20 account for more than half of the population (75%).

At the same time, quantitative evidence confirms that the population of Algeria is unevenly distributed, as most of them are concentrated in the northern region, and the further south we go, the lower the population density. On the other hand, there is an increase in the number of urban residents and a frightening decrease in the number of rural residents, especially since the beginning of the 1970s, when the policy of industrialization and collective employment in major cities led to the displacement of

¹Ismail Qiraet al., **The future of democracy in Algeria.** p.2. (Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies, 2009), p.244.

Public opinion and social structures and their impact on decision-making A reading on the reality of the Algerian experience during the democratic transition: 1989-2009.

unemployed rural youth or those with weak agricultural income. This displacement has intensified in the last decade due to the violent repercussions of the Algerian crisis, of which the Algerian countryside with its mountains was the main theater.

Population distribution: As already mentioned, the unequal distribution of the population is based in the northern part, which includes about 10% of the total area (2,381,741km²).

The research attempts that tried to classify the regions of the Algerian country differed, depending on the criteria adopted. Attempts that focused on growth rates divided the states of Algeria into three groups (states with a high, medium, or low growth rate), while attempts that adopted the issue of (urban-rural pattern) distinguished between three types of environments or areas (urban, semi-urban, and rural), while attempts that relied on the variable density of Algerian society were divided into three types of regions (high-density, medium-density, or low-density areas)¹.

Population characteristics: The aforementioned demographic analysis requires us to refer to some demographic characteristics that reveal the characteristics of our society and clarify the quality and nature of its population. Perhaps the first of these characteristics is those related to the process of equilibrium between males and females. It is also possible to refer to the category of the elderly (65years and older) representing a small percentage, (3.95%, equivalent to 903.829 people), while the percentage of the under 12 years rises to about 35.05%. Despite the gradual decline in dependent groups, the productive groups that were increasing due to multiple factors, including the spread of education, improving the standard of living, and birth control, have become increasingly shrinking in the last decade.

With regard to education, we note that despite the great efforts made in the education sector, this sector still complains of several shortcomings, which has increased the illiteracy rate for students aged 10 and over, as they leave school early and become illiterate, especially for rural women.

Following the development of the Algerian social structure since independence, it is noted that the decisive changes that took place did not occur automatically, which led to the existence of a number of contradictory systems or patterns of production and their coexistence at the same time. It is easy for us, then, if we start from the entrance of the multiplicity of styles, to find the Algerian class structure consisting of a number of old (traditional) and new (contemporary) social classes and groups.²To talk about women and their role in society, since the war of liberation, Algerian women have played important roles, so that their activity has

¹ Op.cit., p.245.

²Onset DGs. **Annuaire statistique de l'Algérie**, (Alger: reghaia, 1981)

increased and expanded since Algeria's independence, so they occupied senior positions and ran for presidents in 1999. The growth of women's employment in the non-agricultural sector has been encouraged by girls' access to education, which is increasing at a faster rate than male employment rates. However, women's work is still urban, concentrated mainly in large cities and directed to two economic sectors: the service and management sector, and the industrial sector.

Today, women are establishing active parties such as the Workers' Party headed by Louisa Hanoune and are exerting strong pressure to impose their respect and change the traditional view towards them in secular, national and Islamic parties alike. Its role has also emerged clearly in the field of voluntary associations framed by these parties or the state. It is noteworthy that these associations are trying hard to attract professional and expert women in various fields in order to improve the level of services provided to women, in light of the various legal frameworks and legislation, considering that the Algerian Constitution provides for equality between men and women and gives them their full political, social and economic rights. It is worth mentioning that Algeria has ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women with some reservations.¹

The Second section: Youth between marginalization and inclusion

Another characteristic of the Algerian social structure is the predominance of the youth element, which is characterized by many problematic features and divisions. He is not afraid that the conditions of young people differ in their form and content from one society to another. There are several theories that explain this difference. The field theory sees that the problems of young people in contemporary societies lie in the fact that young people do not know clearly enough who they are? What now? And who is allowed to.... Etc., which reflects his status as a marginal human being. As for the theory of social normalization, it focuses on social integration by absorbing the values and standards of society, while the theory of generations looks at the members of the same age group within the framework of one historical fact, where their attitudes and views are formed according to the prevailing spirit in this era. Thus membership in a particular generation indicates in particular that there is a social position, which determines much of the conditions under which the member lives, as well as the bounties which he acquires.

In conditions of unstable transformation, society goes through a state of inconsistency and heterogeneity that creates within it a systemic problem, which is solved through the imposition of integration by the elite, whether traditional or

¹Blue singer, **The Rise of Classes in Algeria: A Study in Colonialism and Political Change**. Translated by: Samir Karam. Bairout (Arab Research Foundation, 1980), p.26.

Public opinion and social structures and their impact on decision-making A reading on the reality of the Algerian experience during the democratic transition: 1989-2009.

modern. Algeria is in this way in terms of instability and the fluctuation of the elite between the integration of young people or reliance on experienced people. The youth of the 1990s live in deteriorating conditions that made them act with enthusiasm and violence at times, and withdrawal and despair at other times, without forgetting the pioneering tournaments presented by the youth generation in the national liberation revolution. This group, from which a large segment was shamed in the regulatory frameworks during the sixties and seventies, emerged several broad sectors of them since the mid-eighties as a rejection force that worries those sitting at the top of the pyramid, which made them seek to repel the rise of young people and extract leadership from their hands in various tactical or coercive ways. Perhaps this caricature was best expressed by the researcher Scheler when he pointed out the fear of traditional leaders that the rising generation would tear them apart if they gave them a political facade in which to express their views.¹

The popular frenzy that exploded on 05/10/1988 is an expression of this scenario.

The second requirement: Social relations

A closer look at our current reality suggests a general response reflected on the individual who suffers from injustice, poverty and illiteracy, although most underdeveloped societies suffer from almost the same problems (housing, resources, income and illiteracy... etc.), but the factors of their formation vary from country to country.

In this regard, there has been a long debate in contemporary writings concerned with Algeria about current and future challenges. Within the framework of this debate, it seems that there is something agreed upon, which is that the image of the Algerian economy is distorted and disjointed, and the intensity of conflicts and disparity is also increasing surprisingly, and thus we find that this image (distorted - disjointed) constitutes the main challenge facing Algeria. In this context, some Algerian researchers, in dismantling the elements of this picture, focus on the following challenges:

- Increasing internal pressures (unemployment, housing, poverty...etc).
- Intermittent social explosions (ethnic, religious, linguistic...Etc).
- An economy amalgamated with looting continues and undue gains are preserved.
- Administrative corruption, bribery, nepotism and vilification.
- Continuing the process of replacing the bankrupt public sector institution with a private sector controlled by the financial mafia and speculative capital.

¹PEPP, **Women in top job**, (london :allen and Unwin,1971), pp.17-21.

- The continuing accusations of science and real intellectuals and the lack of rationalization and rationalization of science.
- Rising rates of social inequality.
- The emergence of hidden hostility and its transformation into confrontations between the campaign of historical legitimacy and those who seek it.

Examples of these challenges are many and varied according to the scope of the analysis, so that Algeria suffers from serious problems, the most important of which is the destabilization of social balances as a result of the invasion of new social and intellectual values and the restoration of updated consumption patterns. On the other hand, some researchers acknowledge the fact of the contradiction of local subjectivities that historically and culturally constituted the one theoretical or Arab self. In this context, realistic evidence confirms that the image of the other in Algerian practice has gone beyond the concept of the distorted image of the other and contradictory to the values of the ego. Rather, it has taken on a new dimension based on dividing the single self and its components into several antagonistic selves. This hostility took on a violent character between social groups that until recently seemed to be harmonious ideologically and culturally, which undoubtedly disrupted the process of perception in the Algerian individual, and thus the possibility of his assimilation of common values and the problem of self-awareness, and entering into reciprocal relations with human values in general¹.

Against this background, we point out that Algerian society suffers from serious problems resulting from its underdevelopment, and perhaps the most important results of social studies in identifying the most important major social problems that Algerian society reports are those that have been explained by their intertwinedness and complexity due to the security crisis and economic deterioration.

Conclusion:

The same can be applied to other social institutions, such as civil society institutions, media institutions and others, which did not find a suitable space in the Algerian political arena to express their opinion on what they deem appropriate and inappropriate to strengthen democracy in Algeria. These institutions have witnessed a great lack of elites and programs at all levels, especially since they did not come through the correct principle from which they are supposed to emerge, which is the principle of voluntarism and transparency(what we have noted about these institutions (civil society), as well as media institutions that they are funded by the political system in which they live, and therefore their decisions are in the interest of

¹Richard Flacks, **youth and social change, Markham Series in process and change in American society**, (Markham pub.co, 1971), p.9.

Public opinion and social structures and their impact on decision-making A reading on the reality of the Algerian experience during the democratic transition: 1989-2009.

the system that ensures their continuity, and therefore can be described as nothing but "like the fat used by the political system to decorate its external appearance" and a means of legitimization", and thus its impact on political decision-making in Algeria has not had an impact since the beginning of its activity until today.

What can be proposed in this regard is to call for the independence of public opinion institutions of all kinds in order to ensure effective participation in the decision-making process, in addition to the need to involve the citizen in this difficult process as an effective element that cannot be neglected.

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