RESEARCH ARTICLE

Study about the relation between Cultural and Political socialization

Ali Taleb Moubarek	Doctor
	University Ahmed Draia-Adrar
	Algeria
	Email Id: moubarek84@univ-adrar.edu.dz

Yamina Gouarah	Doctor
	University Kasdi Merbah Ouargla
	Algeria
	Email Id- gouarah.yamina@univ-ouargla.dz

Abstract

This study attempts to identify the cultural obstacles to political development, through the process of political socialization in a society with a traditional culture, and its reflection on the political culture of individuals and groups, trying to identify the internal and external factors of the political problem of contemporary Algerian society. The political crisis that Algeria is experiencing today is due to cultural obstacles, as a result of the overlapping internal and external factors that have contributed to impeding the political development of the country. The study concludes that the internal cultural obstacles to political development are due to the weak political socialization practiced by civil society institutions, which structure composition and practices depend on a traditional culture stemming from the prevailing thought under the traditional culture inherited from within the community which moving amongst, the structure and specificity of the traditional community (authoritarian masculine societies, non-recognition of the other, absence of a culture of tolerance and legitimacy of difference...). As for external factors are due to the legacy of the French occupation in various stages of Algerian history, the effects of which are still valid today, in creating a fratricidal rivalry in controlling positions of power within the same society in undemocratic ways, leading to the emergence of political violence and the absence of a spirit of citizenship and democracy, which is the goal of all political development.

Introduction

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If the culture, any kind of culture, in its essence is a political process, then social culture has never been independent or condescending from political and social conflicts. In fact, it has consistently been the main arena in which these conflicts take place. This is what made us recall the parties to the conflict in Algerian society, a struggle between the official culture which means the culture that the state oversees or orbits. However, the other culture so-called counterculture or the culture of opposition is determined by its relation to one another, which must be viewed in terms of action and reaction.

Thought, whether as a tool for thinking or as an intellectual production itself, is always the result of friction with the environment it deals with, the sociocultural environment in particular, reflecting its role in shaping thought (culture) as a tool and content together. Thus, the importance and specificity of the sociocultural environment in forming the specificity of thought is not only perceptions and opinions, but also a practice that reflects the realities of society as a result of a way of life or a way of thinking.

Cultural constraints to Algeria's political development

The Algerian political crisis today is due to the cultural problem, as a result of the overlapping internal and external factors that have contributed to constraining the political development of the country.

1- Internal factors: attributed to the structure and particularity of the traditional community.

Cultural structure of the society

Can a renaissance be built with a non-rising mind? The structure that we mean here is that was formed and composed within the traditional society, at the same time that this community worked to produce and reproduce the local culture. In fact, the desired process of criticism requires freedom from the bonds and constraints of traditional culture, which has led us to explore the components of traditional culture and the knowledge systems it establishes (authoritarian male societies, hierarchical societies, non-recognition of the other, absence of a culture of tolerance and legitimacy of difference, the unthinkable...), The elder is not only in power and position (king/president) but an enlarged picture of the father in the family with his actions, his perception of himself, and his relationship with those below him, where he finds the authority each of us experiences first in the family before he lives it to the end of his life in the community. The terror, oppression and submissiveness that each of us suffers in society is the same that we experienced in our childhood and in our upbringing and education. In addition, family and school education aims to mold the individual as desired by society and determined by the dominant culture to ensure the continuity of society as it is.

What does thinking by a culture mean?

Whether we consider culture to encompass various types of physical and spiritual production and different patterns of social and moral behaviour, there are, in any case, data that constitute or reflect the cultural specificity of one or the other people, a specificity that is due to the geographical, social and cultural environment in which a people or human group is defined which goes back to the history of this culture.

Thus, thinking through a culture means thinking through a system of references whose basic coordinates are composed of the determinants and components of this culture foremost among which is the cultural heritage, the social environment and the outlook for the future, as defined by the components of that culture. Indeed, if man carries with him his history, then the thought carries with him the traces of its components and the imprints of the civilizational reality in which it was formed and through it (1).

2- External factors: which it is due to the cultural problems we inherited from French colonialism.

2-1- cultural problem Interactions during the French occupation

The core of Algeria's intellectual and cultural political conflict with French colonialism seems to be in action and reaction: centered around Algerian personality and its cultural identity: history, language and social customs.

The Algerian personality, which did not have a unified accession center or bloc, arose after the remnants of the Ottoman regime were wiped out, and the state of Emir Abdelkader did not leave an institutional legacy, since its inception the new Algerian Government has been sent through various basic organizations: the Masali El Hadj

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movement, which calls for equality and reform of the Algerian situation, the federalism of the people elected under the leadership of Ferhat Abbas and the Islamic Reform Movement, for which scholars have guaranteed cultural and even political leadership.

Even each renewal almost became a similarity of the other, which is his denial. In fact, in this context of deadly confrontation and intense controversies about the Algerian personality fraternity competes within the same society, within the framework of the mutual cultural influence of Ben Badis movement and political organizations (Movement for the Victory of Democratic Freedoms and later the National Liberation Front), most of the leaders will hold the country's fate after independence, hence the back and forth we find today in the current conflicts.

The barbaric movement among Francophone Algerian immigrants in France, that is immigrant mergers within the banned organization of the Algerian People's Party (PPA) and the Movement for the Victory of Democratic Freedoms (MTLD), was aimed at the idea of uniting the region whose inhabitants speak the Berber dialect, that had worked in France in 1948 to establish a movement, which led to a crisis in the spring of 1949 known as the Crisis of the Barbaric Cause, which was created by this movement inside (PPA and MTLD) organizations, which had a barbaric tendency and opposes the cause of Muslim Arab Algeria this prompted the militant base of the two organizations to rebel against its leadership and to declare its protest against what it describes as atheist elements fighting Islam and Arabism. Patriots resisted the strikes of supporters of the barbaric movement, ending with some members of the barbaric movement becoming isolationist and rushing to join the Algerian Communist Party and the French Communist Party (2).

2-2- Cultural problem Interactions after independence

The cultural problem soon began to reappear after independence and life returned to the idea of barbarism as a language and belonging. If the Arabic language is the ideology of liberation, emancipation and belonging to an Arab-Islamic civilized space, Berber is a front for camouflage from the French and political, social and cultural subordination, here the hotbeds of conflict are emerging today. In fact, the occupying reality in Algeria had brought a cultural problem of amazigh, political, intellectual and social nature, the elements of which had begun to interact to be complicated after independence.

3- The Berber-Amazigh issue (1949-2001)

The first stage in the development of the barbaric issue was in 1949 and after independence, the Berber Academy was officially established in Paris in 1967 under French auspices, using elements of Algerian origin: dual nationals (French-Algerian) to stand up to Arabic and Arabization in the first place in education and management, one of its edited publications on 20/01/1973 stated the following: "The Berber language is threatened in all aspects... sometimes the policy of Arabization is aimed at eradicating barbarism from its roots, at times at neglecting the Berbers themselves for their language... The Berbers must unite against a heinous crime called Arabism... we rely on your understanding... so that we can retain their cultural heritage for the Berbers... long live to the barbaric language", this Academy then adds an article in one of its secret publications of the same year entitled: Berbers wake up, "Wake up from your deep sleep... They're trying to separate your sons from you... impose on you doctrines and principles that contradict your traditions and civilizations... resist the ongoing Arabization process before it is too late..." (3).

This is based on some concrete steps initiated by the regime, such as the Arabization of the judiciary, and civil status documents of direct daily relevance to the citizen.

3-1- The Berber or Amazigh Spring Movement

April 1980 in Tizi Ouzou consisted of a strike in the high schools and their university center and then demonstrations against the state authorities preventing Mouloud Maamri from giving a lecture at the university.

This movement was supported by active wings of the regime that included high-ranked people and ministers during President Chadeli Benjedid's reign to reconsider the barbaric issue, where a month-long meeting was held to discuss barbaric culture at the mountain tourism complex in the village of Aikorn and it came up with recommendations, some of which mention:

- The search for a true Algerian identity;

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- Promotion of the national languages (Amazigh and Algerian Arabic);

- The official definition of the identity of the Algerian people certainly does not include the Amazigh truth. The reason why Amazigh is removed from this definition is due to the Algerian national movement, which was characterized by the domination of Arab-Islamic ideology at the expense of every Amazigh dimension of the nation.

- Use of Algerian Arabic, Algerian and Amazigh languages in the media system;

- The development of popular languages into official languages is a condition of social progress... " (4).

This fabrication of the barbaric cause found its climate in the regime's policy after the 1989 constitution, which permitted the establishment of associations with a political nature, and did not call them parties, but the regime was subject to pressure groups, and political associations became called parties, for which the constitution was amended to declare them as parties. As a result, regional parties emerged, the most important of which were: the Front of Socialist Forces (FFS), the Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD) and the Amazigh Cultural Movement (MCB), who fought to disrupt the law on the use of the Arabic language promulgated by the National People's Assembly (Parliament) under the pretext of empowering the Berber language, in fact this was done in the days of Mr. Boudiaf, who was brought to power by the coup plotters in 1992 after Chadeli's removal.

Despite the regime's acquiescence and suspension of the Law on the Circulation of the Arabic Language, adopted by Parliament, and its response to the establishment of the Amazigh province of Samia, the Berber parties and associations insisted on resisting every step at the expense of the French language in administration and education under the cover of the demand for Amazigh as an official national language. Hence the pressure on the President of the Republic Liamine Zeroual when he decided to lift the freeze or to suspend the Arabic language law, beginning 06 July 1998, so The barbaric reaction reached a provocative form and as a result of that acts of violence and destruction broke out in Tizi Ouzou. The Berber movement called for an international conference on Amazigh in 1996 in the Berber region of Algeria (Aures, the cradle of the liberation revolution). The men of the Aures refused, as Bejaia herself refused. The movement went to Paris to finally hold their conference in the Canary Islands in August 1997 and then their second conference in Lyon, France, on 13-15 August 1999, in which various associations of the world participated.

3-2- Events in the Kabylie region (Movement of larouch) April 26th, 2001

The citizenship movement "larouch" emerged in the context of public discontent in the Kabylie region with the failure of the two main party organizations (FFS, MCB) to effectively argue for the region's identity, social and economic demands, by embracing citizenship claims, the Amazigh issue has become a national one, for the new generation of Amazigh cause enthusiasts is to re-raise the issue in a broader political context, for that the demands of the Palace Regulation have generally expressed national preoccupations. In fact, the situation is now different from that of the Amazigh Spring of the 1980s, led by university professors, lawyers and engineers who raised the demand for democracy, fulfilling the aspirations of the people within the framework of a comprehensive reform and democratization of the system, where the language of peaceful demonstrations prevailed. What we are currently witnessing is violence led by desperate young people, raising the slogan of self-government for tribes instead of the slogan of democratization of the state (5).

After the concessions made by the Authority beginning with the establishment of the High Governorate of the Amazigh Language, the inclusion of Amazigh education in the educational system by President Liamine Zeroual, and the amendment of the Constitution to include the Amazigh dimension among the components of national identity by President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the ball was in the hands of the Amazigh movement.

Political socialization

In his book Political socialization, Hayman says that it is: "the process of learning the individual social norms through different institutions of society, and political upbringing is also a means of correcting the perverted political culture of society, creating a new and civilized civic culture to cross society from underdevelopment to progress." (6).

Since political socialization is a rehabilitation, cultural and educational process to which the individual is subjected in order to give effect to his role in society, the responsibility for the political development of the individual should be borne by the institutions of civil society as a middle ground between the State and society, through the role it

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assumes within society and its relation with the State. When civil society institutions abandon their role in educating political socialization, political competition for power positions and partisan conflicts gains their constituencies a culture of exclusion-based nervousness and political socialization is based on a culture of violence and marginalization, thus deviating from its proper course aimed at restoring the values of citizenship and democracy. Indeed, this deviation in the process of political upbringing paves the way for the emergence of political violence, thus making society politically and security unstable.

Civil society role in political socialization

Civil society is based on diverse political, economic, social and cultural institutions, which are free volunteer organizations that act as mediators between citizens and the State in order to achieve their interests, in accordance with the standards of social values and cultural and intellectual pluralism. The role of civil society is to promote awareness and social and political education by spreading the culture of political socialization, which contributes to raising the political awareness of members of society and attracting them to the political arena so that politics is not the exclusive preserve of the ruling groups, as it is one of the most important channels for public participation.

Political socialization effects on society

In authoritarian dictatorships, the elements of political culture are centered on fear and terror of power, and society is weak in its tendency to participate in politics, due to the loss of confidence in rulers and presidents, and the domination of regimes does not allow the opposition to emerge within the framework of the State, as a result of oppression and marginalization due to the absence of the principle of citizenship. In democracies that believe in citizenship and human rights, proper political culture and socialization have a clear impact, these regimes sanctify human dignity even if the threat comes from the ruling authority itself. In fact, it is keen to build trust between the ruler and the ruled in a democratic political climate based on the idea of acceptance of the other irrespective of his orientation and believes in the existence of political opposition operating within the framework of the State within objective political norms and frameworks that monitor the conduct of the ruling authority in society.

The concept of political culture

With the early 1960s and with the emergence of the so-called behavioral revolution, the field of political science defined the emergence of the concept of political culture as a powerful indicator of a fundamental shift from the study of formal institutions to the study of informal behaviour that energizes these institutions, This concept heralded the possibility of standardizing this science by linking the behaviour of individuals to the system in which they live and form part of it. The concept of political culture is thus closely linked to the democratic transition and political stability of a group of States.

"Gabriel Almond believes that any culture includes three aspects, one's cognitive aspect of one's knowledge of the political system, one's emotional aspect of personal attachment to leaders and institutions, and one that includes evaluative judgments and opinions about political phenomena" (7). The political culture in this perspective is thus the sum of the individual's knowledge of the political system, positive or negative feelings towards leaders and institutions, and evaluative judgments on political phenomena and processes. Political culture reflects the interaction of individuals as social agents who, in the words of Bourdieu, are mutually interaction and impact within the boundaries of the political field.

Political culture and stability

In their 1963 book Civic Culture, based on surveys conducted in the United States, Britain, West Germany, Italy, and Mexico, Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba answered in their study an important question: Why did interwar democracy live in the United States and Britain, while it was collapsing on the European continent? The answer was: a stable democratic system requires a balanced political culture that combines all orientations. The core idea in the Book of Almond and Verba, is that democracy has proved to be more stable in societies where limited and subjugated cultures are provided with a counter-weight in substance to the culture involved. This mixture is called Civil Culture.

In 1993, Putnam developed the approach of Almond and Verba using Italy as an example. He explained how a supportive political culture directly promotes the functioning and stability of any political system (8).

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Political culture and rehabilitation

The first works to link political culture and socialization date back to 1959, when Herbert Hyuman asserted in his book Political socialization that individuals learn political positions very early in life, where they are fully educated, and then emerge and manifest. This means that adult political attitudes are the same as those they received when they were young through political socialization (9). The main influence in adolescents' lives is in the realignment of the child's conceptual perception based on the information he or she has obtained. In the three stages of rehabilitation: early childhood, late childhood and adolescence, the child is eligible for political participation in the political life of adults (10). Political culture is the knowledge stock of a society, relating to authority matters and the political and linguistic vocabulary used in a society at some point in time toward authority.

Political participation

Although political participation is a citizen's right in a democratic society, the true proportion of participation varies from one society to another and from time to time. This is why Milbrath argues that there are three distinctive categories, representing three positions with respect to regular political participation, which are the following:

A- Indifference: They are those who do not participate or who have withdrawn from the political process.

b- Spectators: They are the people who have little interaction with political processes.

c- Combatants: They are the positive or the fighters in politics.

The second segment is considered to be the majority of citizens, while the third is the lowest. According to Febra, individuals can be classified according to the degree of participation: individuals who play a full part in political life, and then those who are indifferent to citizens who do not participate or care about public matters.

Both Almond and Verba attempted to define the pattern of political culture, making it a kind of behavior associated with democratic political systems, which seek to create a kind of positive feeling among citizens, which encourages them to take their full part in the democratic process, so they identified three different patterns of political culture as follows:

A Tight culture

In this type of culture individuals do not have a good knowledge of political goals and objectives, so they cannot properly judge those political goals and objectives that exist in their society, as a result of which individuals cannot offer any kind of support or opposition to the public policies that their society aims at.

b- Submission culture

  Individuals in this kind of political culture are aware of what is going on around them in the political system, where they have some kind of sense, emotion and awareness, and they make a kind of judgment about the political system, but their attitude towards all of this is negative, while waiting for the system to offer them many public services and actions. In a culture of subordination, fear dominates individuals, believing that their role has no value, either because the regime does not recognize the importance of their participation, or because they recognize their modest abilities and the consequences of their influence in the political process, and they are afraid of the negative attitude in which they do not offer anything to be counted against them as a transgression of the system.

c- Culture of participation

  In this type of culture, citizens believe that they have more opportunities to participate in political life, and that they are able to change and modify the system according to the means at their disposal, such as elections, demonstrations, through parties and political lobbyists. The attitude of individuals in this type of culture is thus positive, in which the individual finds himself an important part of the political process.

Almond and Verba assert that each cultural pattern has a relation with political construction, while propaganda or tight culture is linked to traditional social structure, political subservience is linked to authoritarian political structure

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and participation is linked to the building of democratic political systems, as the process of political participation is an important element in the democratic process and the establishment of citizenship.

Political patchwork in the absence of a cultural dimension

Indeed, the plight of the present nation is a cultural crisis due to the absence of a cultural dimension in Algerian politics. We were interested in superficial education. We were not interested in building people culturally and socially. The World Health Organization (WHO) emphasized that "culture and history are an integral part of policy-making to build a strong society that helps one another" with awareness and wisdom and a civilized national responsibility.

The Law on Parties, which allows an individual to collect 15 individuals as quorum, declaring the formation of a party, to gain accreditation in the Ministry of the Interior and then to gain financial funding, has filled the scene with more than 60 parties.

The paradox we notice in Western countries with long experience of political participation and democracy has not reached 60 parties, while third world countries with a short history and experience in the political process have more parties than developed countries.

The same picture is almost repeated today in an attempt to run for President of the Republic, and it has opened the door for free candidates... the law gives them the right and guarantees them security protection, and provides them with financial cover in the process of seeking to collect personal sponsorship signatures (seventy-five thousand signatures) from (twenty-five states) of each state (one thousand and five hundred signatures).

Conclusion

Political culture is transmitted through the process of political upbringing of members of society, and the degree and level of political culture influence the willingness of the social environment to accept the culture of democracy.

The political culture crisis afflicting Algerian society is dominated by two major internal and external factors: The internal factor is primarily due to the weak political upbringing of civil society institutions based on a traditional culture of thought under the traditional culture inherited from within the community within which it moves, The reflection of the traditional cultural structure on behaviour and everyday life leads to the loss of citizenship and loyalty to tribe and clan at the expense of national loyalty, sole decision and authority and thus the deterioration of civil society institutions and becoming a replica of traditional society, This impedes the process of political development, which requires sound political upbringing, broad political participation, political awareness and culture... in order to achieve democracy.

The external factor is due to the cultural problems we inherited from colonialism, which continues to have negative effects on individuals and groups after independence, as sub-cultures, leading to conflicts that prevent peaceful coexistence. as any culture is an expression of the community to which it belongs, This has hindered the political development of the State. The external factor is due to the cultural problems we inherited from colonialism. which continues to have negative effects on individuals and groups after independence, as sub-cultures, leading to conflicts that prevent peaceful coexistence, as any culture is an expression of the community to which it belongs, This has hindered the political development of the State. The cultural problem in all its dimensions is at the heart of the conflict that has manifested itself in today's political practice.

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