

学校编码: 10384  
学号: 25520120154074

分类号\_\_\_\_\_密级\_\_\_\_\_  
UDC\_\_\_\_\_

厦门大学

博士学位论文

阿拉伯之春的政治、经济和社会因素探究——  
以突尼斯和埃及为例

Political, Economic and Social Causes of Arab Spring Revolution:  
Case of Tunisia and Egypt

MOHAMED EL HACEN SIDI

指导教师：廖大珂教授

专业名称：政治学理论

论文提交日期：2017年04月

论文答辩时间：2017年05月

学位授予日期：2017年05月

答辩委员会主席：\_\_\_\_\_  
评阅人：\_\_\_\_\_

2017年05月22日

# 阿拉伯之春的政治、经济和社会因素探究-- 以突尼斯和埃及为例

**Political, Economic and Social Causes of Arab Spring Revolution:  
Case of Tunisia and Egypt**

**MOHAMED EL HACEN SIDI**

Doctor of Philosophy  
Theory of Political Science

Research School for Southeast Asian Studies

**Xiamen University**

2017

This copy of the dissertation has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognize that its copyright rests with its author and that no quotation from the dissertation and no information derived from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

## **Xiamen University Declaration of Originality for Graduate Theses/Dissertations**

This thesis/dissertation presents the research that I have performed independently for my master's/doctoral degree under the guidance of my supervisor. Where the work of others is referenced or quoted in my thesis/dissertation, proper attribution is provided in conformance to the laws and the *Xiamen University Guidelines for Graduate Scholarly Activity (Interim)*.

In addition, this thesis/dissertation was a research endeavor of the \_\_\_\_\_ Research Group, received financial support from the funds of the \_\_\_\_\_ Research Group or Laboratory, and was completed at the \_\_\_\_\_ Laboratory. (If applicable, fill in the name of the research team or the chief investigator of the research team or the laboratory.)

Declared by: (signature)

Date:

## **Xiamen University Declaration of Consent to Grant Rights of Use for Graduate Theses/Dissertations**

I hereby give my consent for Xiamen University to retain and use copies of my thesis/dissertation in accordance with the *Interim Provisions on the Implementation of the Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Academic Degrees*, to send my thesis/dissertation (in both paper and electronic form) to educational authorities or designated institutions, and to include my thesis/dissertation into the Xiamen University Library and its databases for access by their users. I further give my consent for Xiamen University to include my thesis/dissertation into the joint national database of graduate theses and dissertations for indexing purposes, to publish the title and abstract of my thesis/dissertation in collections, and to reproduce my thesis/dissertation by photocopying, microfilming or any other reasonable means.

My thesis/dissertation constitutes:

1. A classified thesis/dissertation as assessed by the Confidentiality Committee of Xiamen University. It will be declassified on \_\_\_\_\_ (date) and my authorization above will become effective upon declassification.

2. A non-classified thesis/dissertation, and my authorization above becomes effective immediately.

(Please tick as appropriate or fill in the relevant information. A classified thesis/dissertation is one that has been assessed as such by the Confidentiality Committee of Xiamen University. Theses/dissertations which have not been assessed as classified by the Confidentiality Committee of Xiamen University are all open-access ones. If this form is left blank, the thesis/dissertation will be deemed an open-access one, and the above authorization will apply.)

Declared by: (signature)

Date:

*If, one day, a people desire to live, then fate will answer their call. And their night will j  
begin to fade, and their chains break and fall. For he who is not embraced by a passion for  
life will dissipate into thin air, At least that is what all creation has told me, and what its  
hidden spirits declare.*

Tunisian poet Abu al-Qasim al-Shabi

## CERTIFICATE

I have read this manuscript and recommend it for acceptance by the Xiamen University, P. R. China, as a dissertation titled “**Political, Economic and Social Causes of Arab Spring Revolution: Case of Tunisia and Egypt**”, in partial fulfillment for Doctor of Philosophy in theory of Political Science.

---

Supervisor: **Professor Liao da ke**

Date: 2017/04/07

Research School for Southeast Asian Studies

Xiamen University

Xiamen, Fujian

P.R. China.

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that apart from the sources cited, this dissertation is my own work undertaken in the supervision of my supervisor, Professor Liao da ke, Research School for Southeast Asian Studies, Xiamen University, P. R. China.

The materials of this dissertation have not been presented and will not be presented to any other university other than Xiamen University for similar or any other degree.

---

Candidate: **Mohamed El Hacem Sidi**

Date: 2017/04/07

Research School for Southeast Asian Studies

Xiamen University

Xiamen, Fujian

P.R. China.

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my Parents, to whom I am extremely grateful for priceless love and sacrifice. Without them, I would have been unable to accomplish this task. They are my treasure and everything for me in this world.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of people have provided support and encouragement throughout my best and worst moments during my PhD program. I have attempted to remember and recognize everyone who helped me to accomplish this dissertation. If I fail to acknowledge someone, it does not mean that his/her contribution was insignificant but it is failure of my ephemeral memory.

I wish to express deep gratitude to my advisor, Professor Liao da ke, who always played a key role for the last four years, during my PhD program. I am very lucky to have an exceptionally great advisor. In 2012, when I started my work with Professor Liao da ke, enduring in a totally new field of my study, I was overwhelmed and doubted my ability many times to complete my tasks, but my advisor was always very much supportive, encouraging, extremely helpful, and exceptionally patient with me for which I will forever be grateful to him.

I am also very much thankful to my absolutely incredible and supportive committee and all my teachers. I am also thankful to all my classmates who gave me good piece of advice and always gave me confidence, I am very grateful to them for their kind help. I have wonderful time with all my classmates and fellow students and learnt a lot from them during our conversations.

I also very gratefully acknowledge the granting of a scholarship by the Chinese Scholarship Council, which enabled me to undertake my postgraduate studies at Xiamen University. I thank all my friends who always supported me and cheered me throughout my studying program. Finally, I would like to thank the most important people in my life, my family. I am very lucky to have such a supportive and loving family, without their support, I could not have ever accomplished this study. I wish to express my heart-full gratitude and prayers for my parents Mrs. FATIMETOU, and Mr. SID'AHMED, who blessed me to work hard and complete this thesis; they always had faith in me and I am thankful to them.

I wish to express my gratitude to my elder sister Ms. AMINETOU, and younger sister KHADIJETOU, younger brother Mr. BRAHIM, other siblings and family members for their encouragement, understanding, love, kind support, and help during the course of my study. Moreover, I am highly thankful to my beloved wife, LALLE, and very young kids, AHMEDOU and SID'AHMED for their patience during my pursuit of studies in great China.

I am enormously grateful to all individuals from whom I have learnt even a single word in terms of new knowledge.

Above all, I want to dedicate this work to my mother who always encouraged and supported me. She has so much faith in me and her final words to me were “Try your level best and I know you will achieve whatever you want”.

厦门大学博硕士学位论文摘要

## PUBLICATIONS

- 1) Mohamed El Hacem Sidi (2015). “Economic Inequality and Revolutions: Exploring Unattended Economic and Non–Economic Factors of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution”, *International Journal of Business and Management Study*, Vol. 2, Issue, 2, pp: 1-6 [ISSN: 2372-3955].
- 2) Mohamed El Hacem Sidi, “Economic Inequality and Revolutions: A Survey of Socio-Economic Factors of the Arab Spring: Case of the Tunisian Revolution” pp: 22-28, (2015), DOI: 10.15224/ 978-1-63248-041-5-57, ISBN: 978-1-63248-041-5.

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

International Conference on Advances in Economics, Social Science and Human Behavior Study - ESSHBS'15 (21-22 FEB2015) Bangkok, Thailand. (The IRED Institute of Research Engineers and Doctors).

a) Mohamed El Hacem Sidi, Economic Inequality and Revolutions: Exploring Unattended Economic and Non-Economic Factors of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution” (Oral presentation)

b) Mohamed El Hacem Sidi, Economic Inequality and Revolutions: A Survey of Socio-Economic Factors of the Arab Spring: Case of the Tunisian Revolution”(Oral presentation)

## ABBREVIATIONS

AHDR	Arab Human Development Report
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CSF	Central Security Forces
EFITU	Egyptian Federation of Independent Trade Unions
EHDR	Egypt Human Development Report
ETUF	Egyptian Trade Union Federation
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GINI	Gazette International Networking Institute
GWOT	Global War On Terror
HDR	Human Development Report
HIROR	The Higher Authority for Realisation of the Objectives of the Revolution, Political Reform and Democratic Transition
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MB	Muslim Brotherhood
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MIBCC	Military Industrial Business Commercial Complex
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDP	National Democratic Party (Egypt)

NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
QOG	Quality of Government
RCD	Rassemblement Constitutionnel Démocratique (Democratic Constitutional Rally, Tunisia)
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SCAF	Supreme Council of the Armed Forces
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
UCGT	(General Confederation of Tunisian Labor)
UGTT	Union Générale Tunisienne du Travail (Tunisian General Labour Union)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WAEMU	West African Economic and Monetary Union
WB	World Bank

## 摘要

当一个政体或国家政权没能够为这个国家的人民过上好生活提供最基本的社会和经济的保障，变革或动乱经常不可避免。“阿拉伯之春”的发生或多或少与此相关。“阿拉伯之春”实际是阿拉伯国家国民走上街头抗议政府、要求进行大的和广泛的政治变革得大规模反抗或起义的运动。本论文以发生在突尼斯和埃及的两个事件为例，研究发生事件发生的原因、动机、做法和策略。重点分析这两个事件背后的政治、经济和社会因素。针对问题，采用公认的研究方法和标准，获得研究结论并提出建议。

另外，本文包括了一些相关的采访以及通过数据收集和分析，对文献回顾、讨论、比较以及学术资料进行梳理。本文采用的研究方法有结构主义研究方法，分析发生在突尼斯和埃及的两场革命构成要素以及酝酿这场革命的几十年的政治经济因素。本文另外采用比较研究的方法，找出其他几场革命的普遍规律。

最后，在宏观结构和国内结构的层面上分析阶级之间、阶级与国家之间以及国与国之间的关系。对革命的原因分析，本文主要从斯考切波的关于革命的发生国家层面结构脆弱伴随外部压力的结果的假设出发，追溯引起国家层面矛盾的统治阶级和生产阶级以及统治阶级与国家的关系中结构脆弱性的部分。提出人格主义、极权主义以及压制政体容易产生政治矛盾以及依赖式发展是引起国家层面的经济矛盾的观点。

本文试图先用现有的关于革命的理论回答问题。从当代关于革命的论述中寻找什么变量能够用于分析当前阿拉伯世界的形势，哪一种结构因素具有国际层面上的内在重要性。本文将应用这些变量对埃及和突尼斯的两场革命之间进行比较研究。通过布尔真值量表分析在两个案例中潜在的变量情况。发现经济不平等，包括失业、腐败、违反人权以及限制公众自由，是推动这两个国家全民反叛行政当局的主要因素。

因此，本论文的贡献在于用充分的案例和材料和证据有力证明了经济不平等已经，也许将会继续，在 2010 年以来的阿拉伯世界不断动荡中起关键作用。在“阿拉伯之春”中使用的工具本文也做了探讨，认为抗议者广泛使用的新信息技术对组织，鼓动和宣传仇视政府方面发挥了重要的作用。更具体地说，本文的研究结论显示响应者如何理解大多数革命积极分子和同情者。最后，本文增加了通过细致观察突尼斯和埃及暴乱前夕的国家社会关系的生动案例对不同案例进行说明。

**关键词：**革命 阿拉伯之春 突尼斯 埃及 政治 经济 社会

## ABSTRACT

Change or revolt becomes often inevitable when the reigning system or regime of a country fails to provide the minimum level of social and economic needs for decent life for the inhabitants in a country. This is more or less what happened with the Arab Spring revolutions. They were actually massive revolts or uprisings aimed at bringing about great and widespread political changes, with nationals in various Arab countries going down to the streets in protest against their own governments.

In this dissertation I examine the case of two of these revolutions i.e. in Tunisia and Egypt. Generally, I look at the foundations, motives, practices and tactics of the individuals who participated in the Egyptian and Tunisian revolts. More particularly, this exploration goes for discovering the political, economic and social reasons that incited those revolutions. As for stating the problem, research questions and bringing hypotheses and proposed answers, the dissertation used academically recognized methodology steps and criteria, and arrived at a number of conclusions and recommendations. Besides, the exploitation through review, discussion, comparison and analysis of scholarly references and available documentation, the work also used other means of data collection and analysis. Thus, the information was partly acquired by investigating accessible formal writing in addition to some interviews. Thus, I first use a structuralist approach, because in this research I want to analyze if we can draw general conclusions on the structural causes of the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt. In my analysis I will employ a long range temporal focus, because I believe the political and economic contradictions characterizing the Tunisian and Egyptian state before the revolutions have been in the making for decades already.

Furthermore, I used nomothetic method of comparison, as I try to make generalizations also applicable to other instances of revolutions. Lastly, I focused on the macro-structural and domestic structural level at the cost of the micro-level, as the emphasis lies on the relations between classes, classes and the state, and between the state and other states. In analysing the causes of revolutions we will depart from Skocpol's hypothesis that revolutions come about as a consequence of structural vulnerabilities on the state-level, accompanied by external pressures. These structural vulnerabilities can be traced back to the relation between the dominant class and the producing class, and the relation between the dominant class and the state, which cause political and economic contradictions on the state-level. In addition, Foran has built on this premise by developing variables with what the extent of the presence of these



Degree papers are in the "[Xiamen University Electronic Theses and Dissertations Database](#)". Full texts are available in the following ways:

1. If your library is a CALIS member libraries, please log on <http://etd.calis.edu.cn/> and submit requests online, or consult the interlibrary loan department in your library.
2. For users of non-CALIS member libraries, please mail to [etd@xmu.edu.cn](mailto:etd@xmu.edu.cn) for delivery details.

厦门大学博硕士学位论文摘要