## 博士学位論文要約

論 文 題 目 : Lessons from the Revolution of Smiles: Popularity, Civism & Pacifism in the Algerian Hirak (微笑みの革命からの教訓 アルジェリアのヒラクにおける大衆性、 市民性、平和主義)

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要約:

Since its struggle for independence in 1962, Algeria has followed a steady radicalization process that evolved into the bloody civil war known as the Black Decade. In early 60s Algerian society was euphoric, united, and ambitious. Yet by 1988 Algerians had struggled their way into a society that was polarized, alienated from the state and its institutions, and heavily politicized. In addition, all of this occurred during a massive oil price crash.

Later in 2010, the whole MENA region rose against their regimes and brought most dictators to their knees. However, this attempt at democratization was met with staggering violence. The violence ranged from the rise of radical Islam, with the emergence of ISIS as a main symbol, to civil wars in Libya and Yemen that have been shaped in part by foreign interventionism. Even Egypt did not escape the violence as a coup plunged the country back into dictatorship.

The wave of uprisings in the Arab world was characterized by two elements: violence and representativeness. Tunisia is the success story of the region but had a strong labor union capable to accompany the transition. Egypt, which had begun a democratic transition, had an opposition political party to do so. The Algerian legacy of uprisings itself displayed similar characteristics. During the war of independence, it was the FLN that represented the movement. During the Black Decade, it was a religious party that represented the civil war. Both these instances were also characterized by a staggering violence.

Fast forward to 2019, and it is Algeria that rose to request Bouteflika's regime to abandon his candidacy to a fifth mandate. Not to omit that in the ten years prior to the hirak (movement in Arabic), Algeria had known thousands of riots, demonstrations, road obstructions, civil unrests, and strikes. These were caused by local issues, and thus targeted local changes such as water and power access, better education, roads...etc. Such events were motivated by regional needs and never threatened the political establishment, as they never wanted power and never carried a national reach. Indeed, these remained secluded geographically, ethnically, or even ideologically. Finally, they (often) carried a violent component or at least an uncivil nature, such as burning tires or closing roads as well as violent assaults to administrative property or opposing (ethnic) groups.

In this context, the hirak is a true novelty, not only in Algeria but also in the region. Indeed, this movement expressed magisterial resilience to all attempts to radicalize it and never accepted violence to reach its objectives. Furthermore, it prevented the regime from using violence in order to put an end to the movement. The hirak stood in total contrast to what Algeria, and indeed the region, had known because it transcended all regional and ideological factions to form the most popular materialization of Algerian social enterprise since the celebration of independence. While Tunisia can be compared to the hirak due to its pacifism and popularity, this movement distinguished itself by a categorical refusal to be headed by any form of institution, be of a civil or political nature. These elements, i.e., pacifism, popularity and the absence of representativeness are the core of the uniqueness of the hirak within the region.

This research investigates the origins of such uniqueness: why was the movement that popular? What made it resilient to violence? Why has it refused to be represented by civil society or a political opposition party? The hirak refused even a mix of these latter two entities and did not even allow them to act as an intermediary between the people and the regime.

To highlight the uniqueness of the hirak this research travels throughout the country's long series of revolts. However, instead of simply listing events in any given order, this researched uses the Exit, Loyalty, Voice framework as it puts forward the fact that when facing a dissatisfying situation, individuals have more than one option. Through such a framework, the reader will grasp a better understanding of the Algerian context.

In order to address the vast popularity of the movement that has drawn millions to the streets, the researcher uses the (arguable) Push/Pull theory, not in order to explain why so many joined the movement but to structure the list of events that have led to such a magnitude. Indeed, this research argues that it is not only negative elements that pushed people to take the streets, but it is also positive, attractive pull elements that have magnetized so many to opt for a revolution. Indeed, as expressed above, exit or loyalty were also an option.

Furthermore, this research outlines the theoretical frameworks on violence and radicalism in order to explain this movement's resilience to both. Via primary data collected during the revolution (in June 2019), the researcher highlights the sources of resilience of the hirak. The roots of such pacifism are diverse both in terms of origins and impacts. However, it remains certain that a united, skillful and inclusive form of uprising has seen light in a north African authoritarian state. The hirak allowed Algerians to walk in peace and end a violent and corrupt regime. The free men and women of February 2019 were united by a strong purpose: to end Bouteflika's shameful regime. They were skilled in the use of social media as well as the management of the masses thanks to football fans' know-how. They were equipped with wisdom passed down from the civil war of the 90's as well as the recent events in neighboring countries and, finally, the hirak stood inclusive, whether in terms of gender, social class or age.

Finally, the researcher investigates the conscious decision of the hirak to not be represented by civil society. This research argues that the third sector had been largely co-opted and has, for decades, provided the regime with a popular base which prompted any genuine civil society initiatives to be met with skepticism.

The thesis is composed of four main chapters plus an introduction and a conclusion. Each of the four main chapters are divided into two parts: secondary based research that serves as the theoretical basis to the chapter and primary research that tackles the Algerian case while contrasting differences with the theory and highlighting the hirak's unique characteristics.

In chapter two, the objective was to address Algeria's long history of confrontation, uprisings, and ideological movements so that the reader would be able to grasp the nuances of the hirak in comparison to Algeria's past. However, instead of plainly listing events in any given order this research adapted the exit, voice, loyalty theory to paint a more complete image. Indeed, according to this theory, uprisings or revolutions, represented by voice, are only one of the three alternatives for people faced with a dissatisfying situation as emigration (exit) and loyalty could also be an option.

In chapter three, numerous pull/push factors were used to frame the popularity of the hirak. The pull push theory is widely used in business to explain entrepreneurial motives and customer behavior. In the field of sociology, it is commonly used to address migration by suggesting that push factors spring from socioeconomic or security based issues from the country of origin whereas pull factors emanate from the host country and exhibit a positive alternative to the issues encountered in the country of origin.<sup>1</sup> In both fields, business or sociology, push factors are associated with negative factors whereas pull factors refer to positive ones. In this chapter this framework has been adapted not to explain but to structure the events that urged Algerians to take the streets (push factors) as well as elements that drew them in masses and for an extended period of time (pull factors.) The push pull factor theory is discussed in chapter three before addressing Algeria's context.

Chapter four addresses another particularity of the hirak, that is the movement's resilience to radicalization and violence. This chapter was divided into two parts, the first dives into the vast literature on radicalization but within the Algerian context. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 1Kirkwood, J. (2009). Motivational factors in a push - pull theory of entrepreneurship. Gender in Management: An International Journal. Retrieved May 5, 2021, from https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/

second mainly relies on primary data, showcasing testimonies that point at the hirak's outstanding pacifism.

Chapter five explains why civil society has failed to represent the hirak and why it has not even been able to mitigate between the regime and the hirak. However, before discussing the regime's dismantlement of Algerian civil society, this chapter addresses the issue of civil society understanding by restructuring it in the Algerian context.