Combatting Corruption in Post-Revolutionary Countries (PRC): A Case Study on Political and Social Stability

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Questions ???

- What does corruption look like in Post-revolutionary and Post-conflict countries?
- What are paths and patterns of corruption ? Forms and scenarios ? impacts on the society ?
- Why perceptions of corruption increase:people tend to suspect corruption everywhere
- How to deal with ?

Impacts of Corruption :In general

- The way in which corruption can impact on the society are many and varied
  - Corruption Retards Growth
  - Impact on inflation and public budget deficit
  - Hinders economic development
  - Increase social disparities, inequality and poverety
- Political and social instability :accounts for about **53%** of the total effect of corruption

Impacts of corruption in PRC

- In general effects of corruption are tangible on medium and long terms
- In specific contexts consequences are immediate and severe :
- Its major impacts are on political and social stability
- Minor incident could set the country in flames leading to violence : Dominant mindset
- Transformation of economic landscape from legal to underground economy

I: Corruption in post-revolutionary countries

Tunisia

Area	
• Total	163,610 km^2

Population	
2016	11,304,482[(79th)

GDP (PPP)
• Total
$144.195 billion
• Per capita
$12,588

Inequality and Corruption: Drivers of Tunisia's Revolution in 2011

Urgent Measures to meet people expectations

- Provisional Government established the commission of inquiry into misappropriation and corruption
- Prosecution of former regime‘s key figures
- Initiate legal and diplomatic processes to recover stolen assets
- Promise to undertake major reforms to end corruption

Emerging hopes and expectations raised revolution

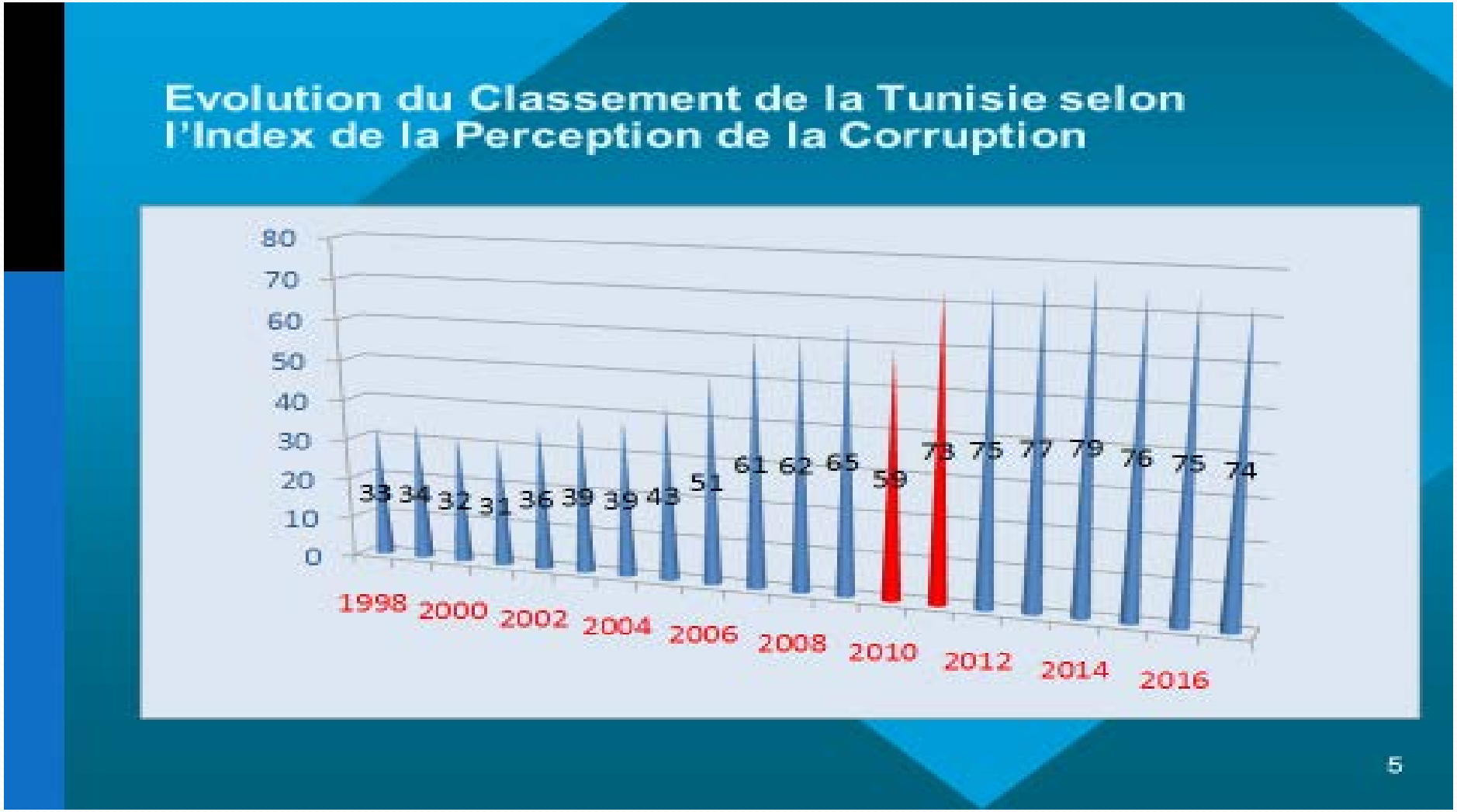
- Collective imagination: Corruption tied to totalitarism
- with the Advent of freedom of expression and democracy : corruption will automatically disappear
- The most common cause of corruption was believed to be a combination of **enormous discretionary power** and its consequences : low accountability and opacity
- Democracy will bring transparency, accountability and ROL
- **Corruption is too complex !!!!!!!**

Awakening call

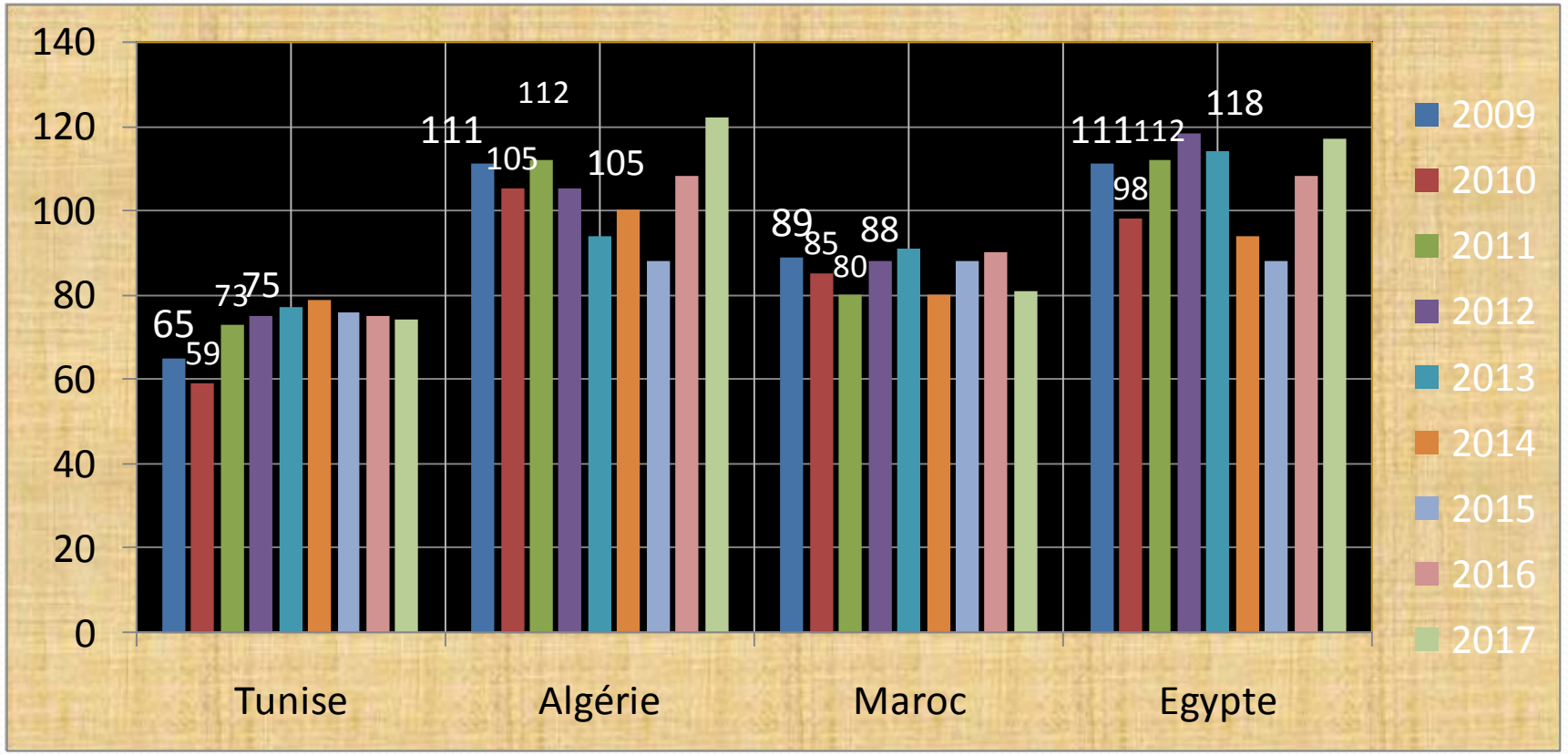
Major disappointement
Tunisia ranking dropped to 73(59 in 2010)

Transparency Perception Index 2011 : Tunisia is most corrupt than in 2010

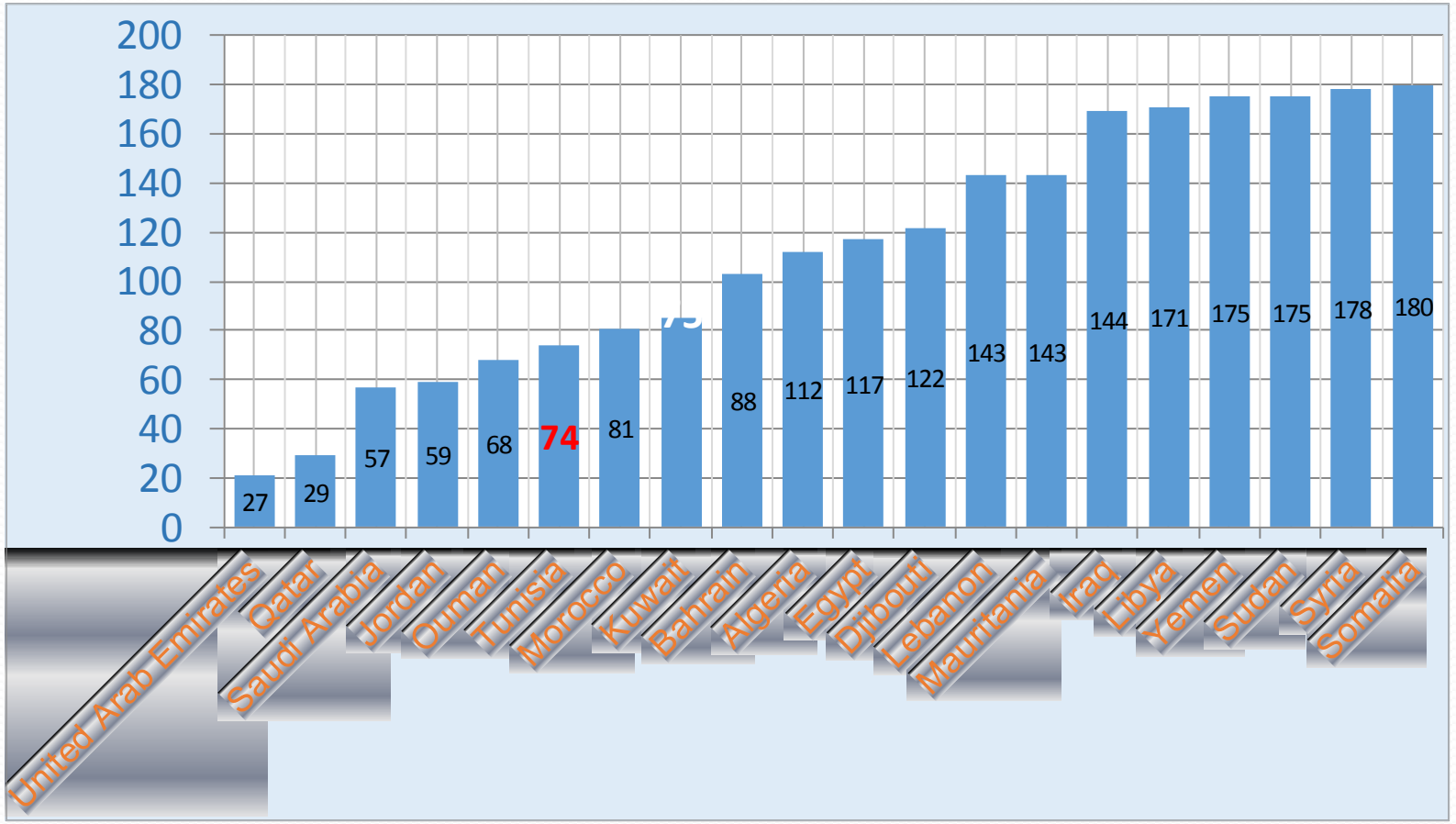
Tunisia ranking over time



With neighbouring countries

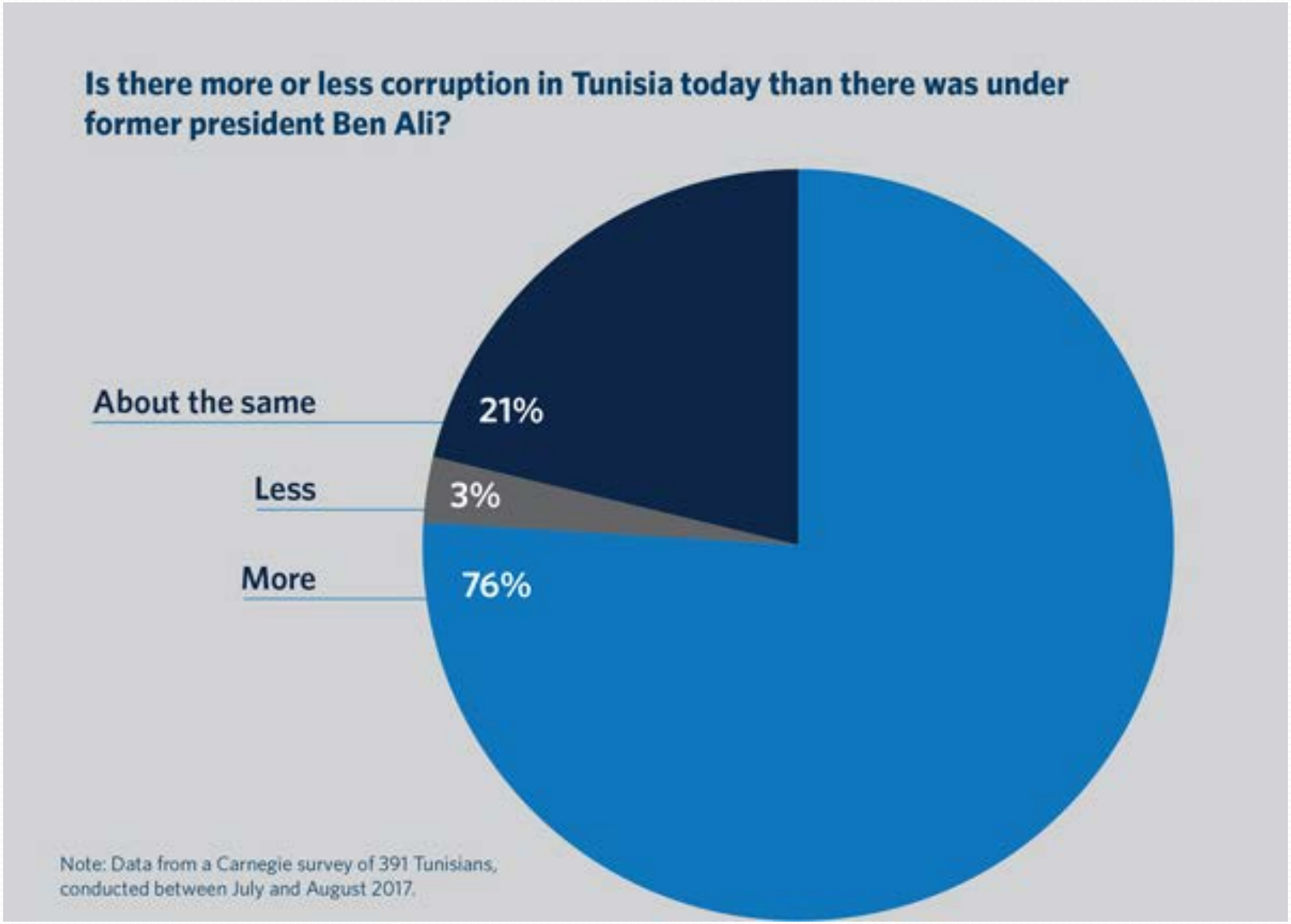


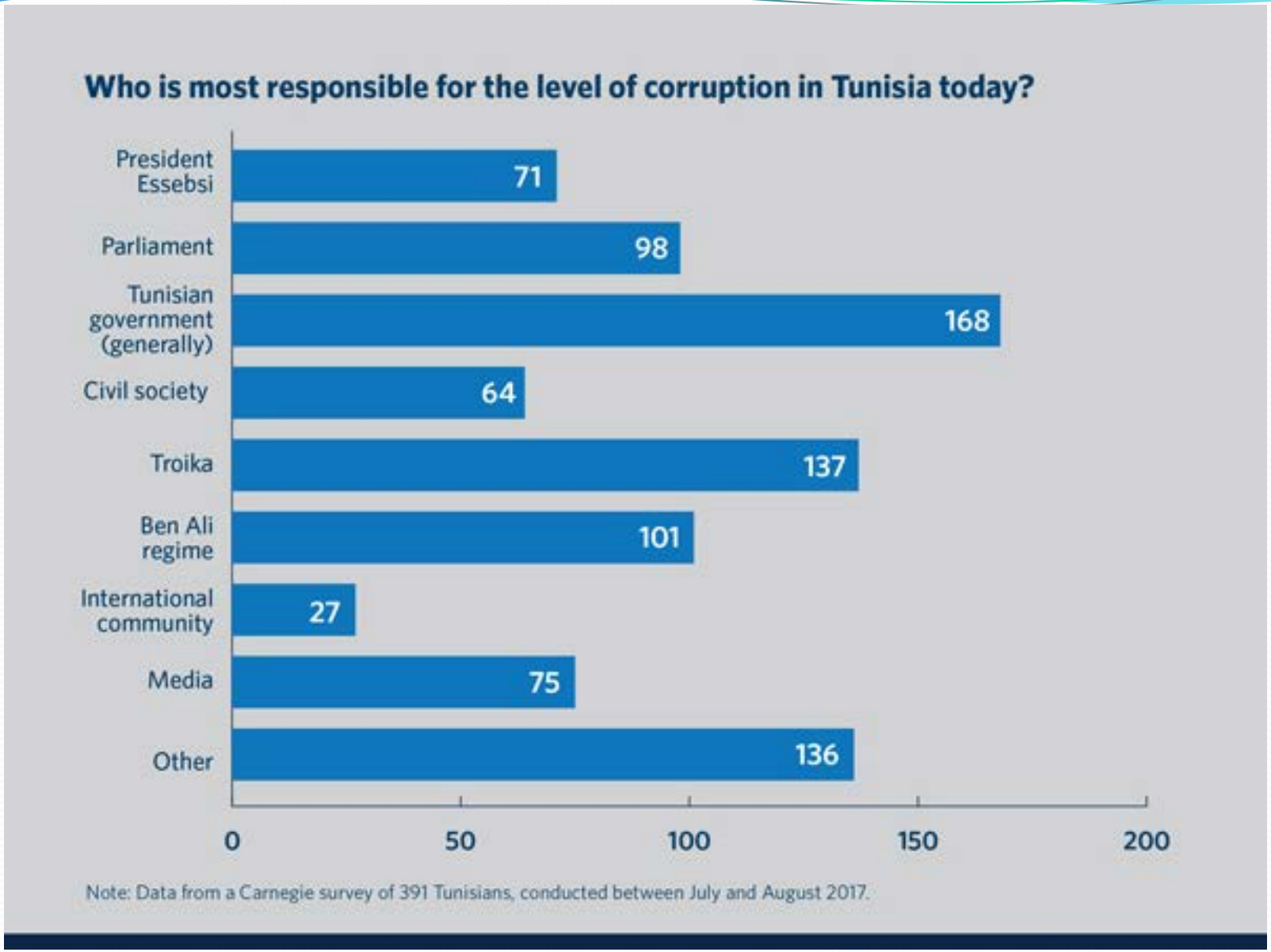
In the Arab region



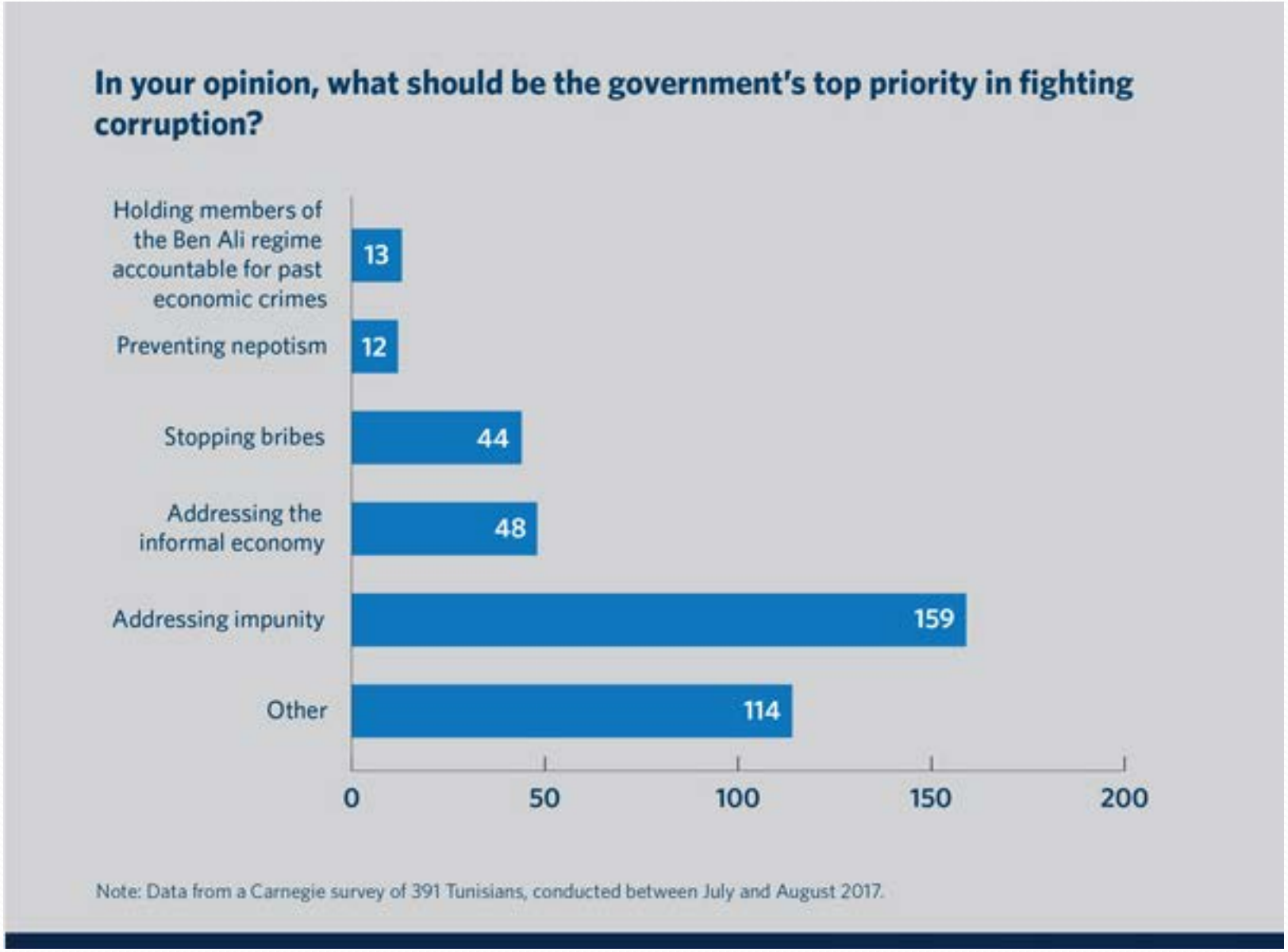
Major impact : **Erosion of Trust**

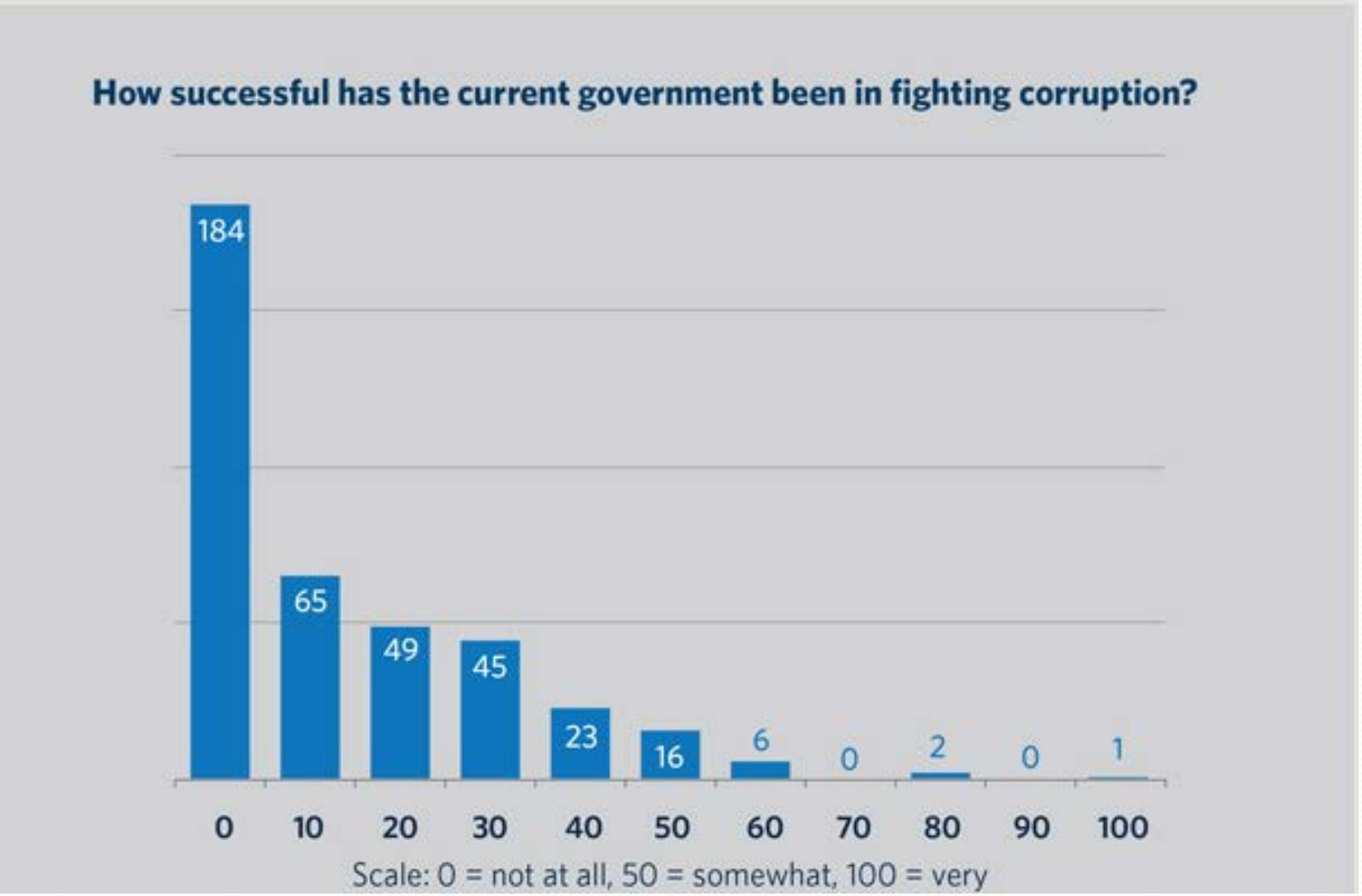
- Studies and Polls: trust in government fell from **62%** in 2011 to **16%** in 2016 (Carnegie Endowement for International Peace)
- **76%** of respondents said there is more corruption , particularly young people
- Consequences on social and political stability : **64%** of respondents lost trust on the seriousness of government in fighting corruption
- **Undermine the ability** to undertake reforms

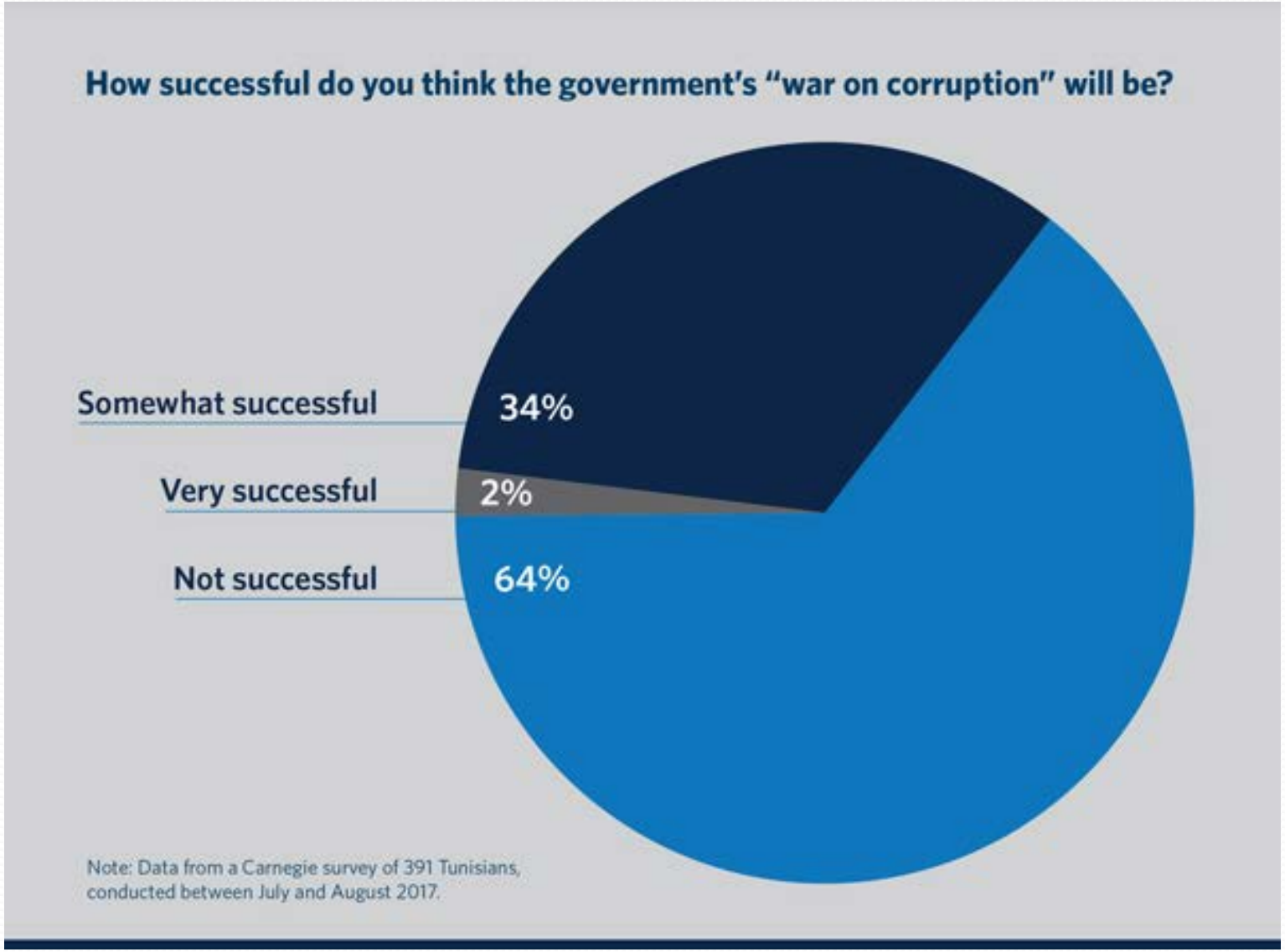

Is there more or less corruption in Tunisia today than there was under former president Ben Ali?
About the same
21%
Less
3%
More
76%
Note: Data from a Carnegie survey of 391 Tunisians, conducted between July and August 2017.


Who is most responsible for the level of corruption in Tunisia today?
President Essebsi
71
Parliament
98
Tunisian government (generally)
168
Civil society
64
Troika
137
Ben Ali regime
101
International community
27
Media
75
Other
136
0
50
100
150
200
Note: Data from a Carnegie survey of 391 Tunisians, conducted between July and August 2017.

How often do you witness corrupt practices in your daily life?
52
14
14
17
29
108
31
39
24
31
32
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
Scale: 0 = not at all, 50 = sometimes, 100 = every day
Note: Data from a Carnegie survey of 391 Tunisians, conducted between July and August 2017.


In your opinion, what should be the government's top priority in fighting corruption?
Holding members of the Ben Ali regime accountable for past economic crimes
13
Preventing nepotism
12
Stopping bribes
44
Addressing the informal economy
48
Addressing impunity
159
Other
114
0
50
100
150
200
Note: Data from a Carnegie survey of 391 Tunisians, conducted between July and August 2017.


How successful has the current government been in fighting corruption?
184
65
49
45
23
16
6
0
2
0
1
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
Scale: 0 = not at all, 50 = somewhat, 100 = very


How successful do you think the government's "war on corruption" will be?
Somewhat successful
34%
Very successful
2%
Not successful
64%
Note: Data from a Carnegie survey of 391 Tunisians, conducted between July and August 2017.

Corruption in PRC : Paths and Patterns

-What does corruption look like in post-revolutionary countries

-How to explain the increase of corruption ?

- Problem of perceptions

Corruption in PRC : Paths and Patterns

- **In dictatorship**
- Corruption is usually centrilised within the regime inner circle
- Dictators rule with fear and repression: Everything is under control, including corruption
- Have the monopoly of economy, politic, media and .....corruption
- Corrupt people are known to a certain extent :protected or tolerated
- Being corrupt is a priviledge that dictators ditribute

Corruption in PRC : Paths and Patterns

- **In post-revolutionary period**
- The overthrow of dictatorship regime will lead to the dismantling of centralised powers and the emergence of a fragmented powers, (new forces and lobbies: media, trade union, political parties, terrorist fractions, smugglers, etc)
- Combined with low state capacity, due to absence or weak institutions (former institutions have no legitimacy : weak position)
- Institutions need time to redefine themselves to gain legitimacy :

Corruption in PRC : Paths and Petterns

- **Transitional period is very critical**
- Abuse of powers, more corruption opportunities, proportional to the numbers of new actors , forces (formal and informal): corruption is no longer a "**priviledge**"
- Risk for corruption to become endemic
- Grand corruption linked to government officials (procurment etc) may dimunish, but Petty corruption will flourish : Democratisation of corruption
- Emergence of new patterns corruption :
- Corruption nurtures social distrust towards governments and decision makers, social unrest

Impunity and **Insecurity**

Corruption in PRC : Paths and Patterns

- **New Forms of corruption**
- **Smuggling** and transboundary traffic is most dangerous : 2 reasons

1—Marginalised people rely on smuggling for their livelihood

2--Cracking it doing without providing sustainable alternative : further poverty and social unrest

3—Tolerating smuggling of legal good will enable smugglers of illicit goods (weapons , drugs etc) to flourish

→ Terrorist groups

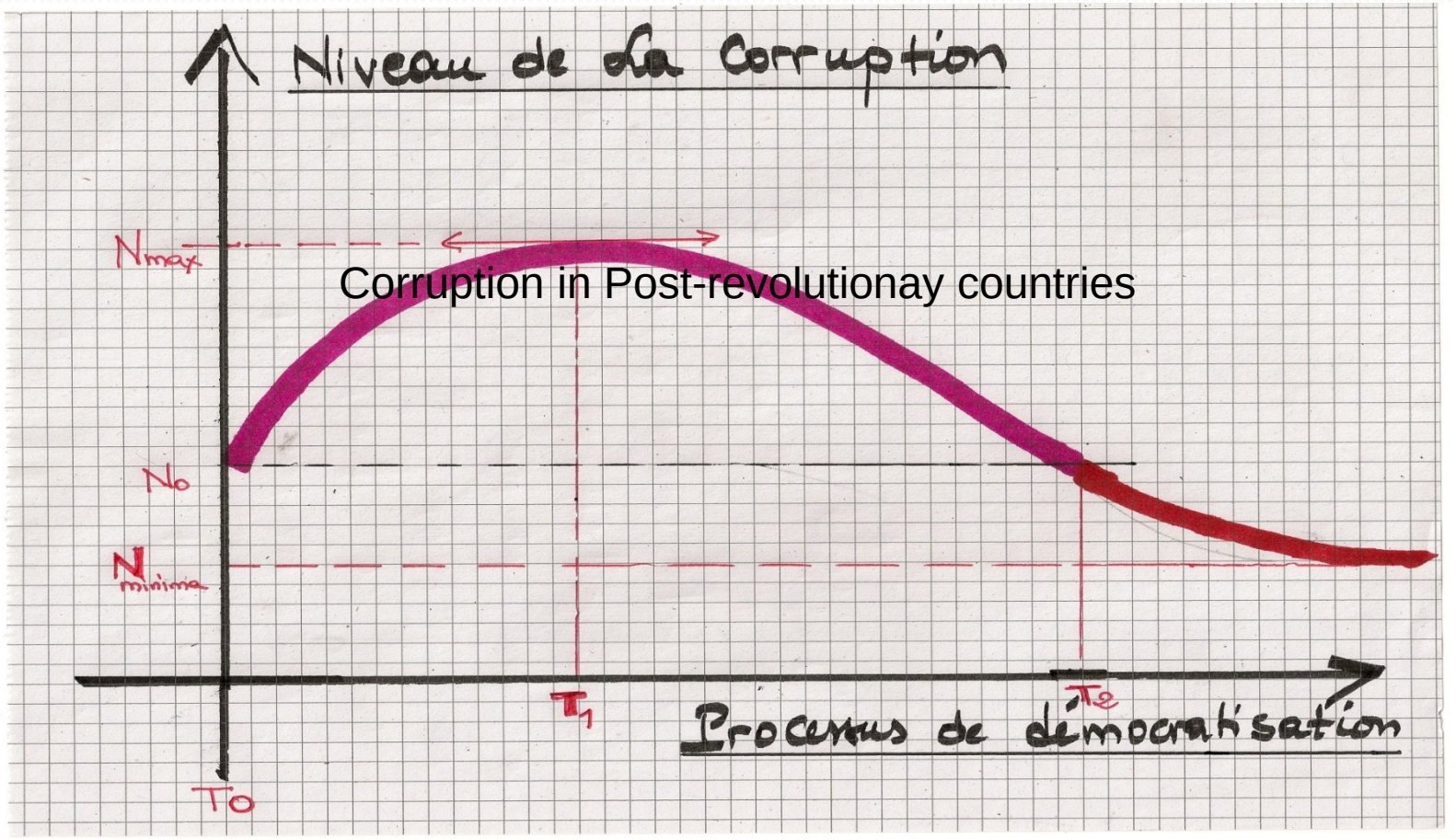
* **Corruption of political parties :** illicit funding

Corruption in PRC : Paths and Petterns

- Another factor which may have contributed to the rise of ranking: corruption is no longer a taboo, favourite subject
- Perceptions of corruption are consistently higher in PR and PC countries
- Major challenge is not to overthrow the dictatorship regime, but addressing corruption effeciently
- Transition is at risk and Transitional period may last longer : depending to internal forces and international assistance

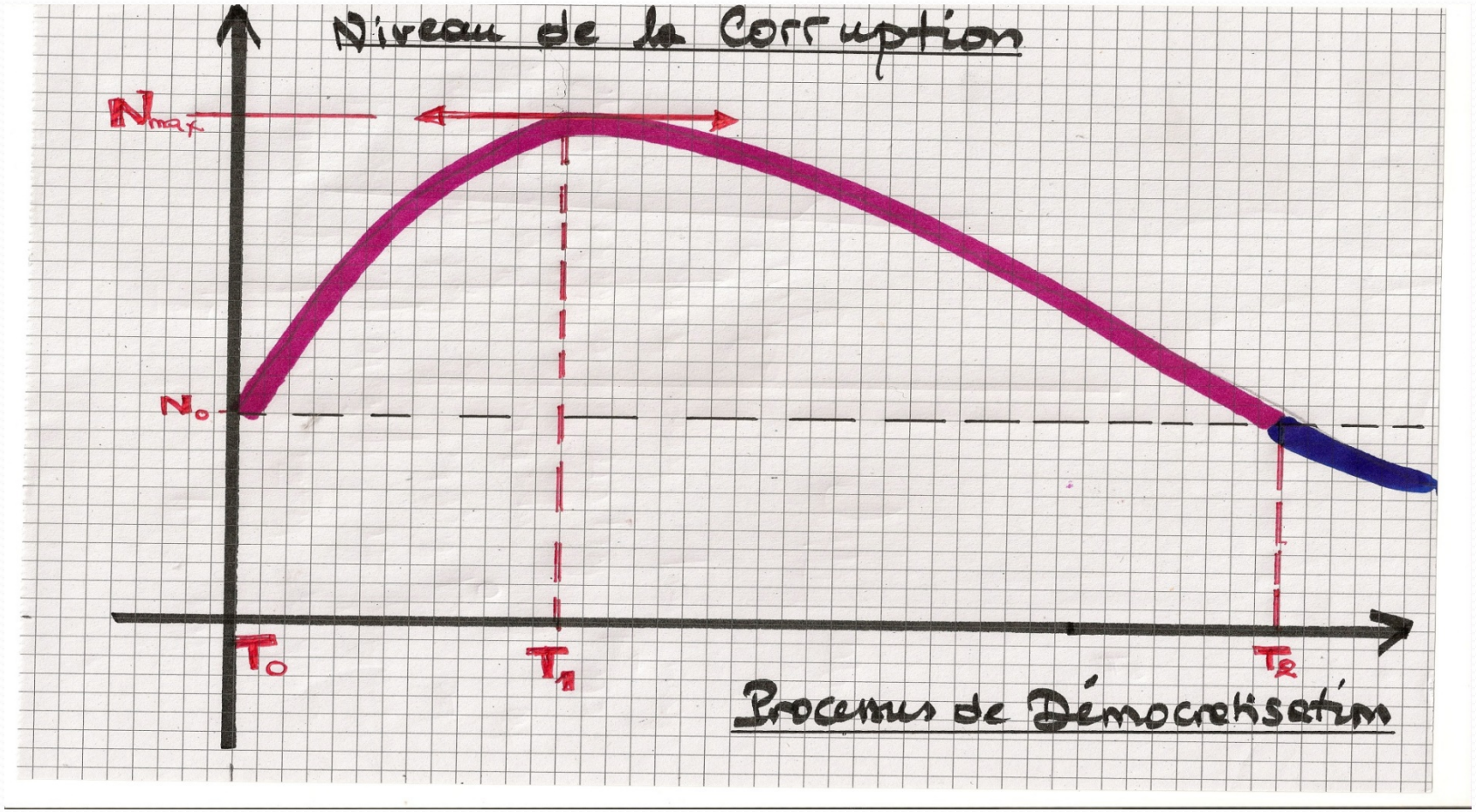
Corruption in PRC : Paths and Patterns

Scenario1 : the best



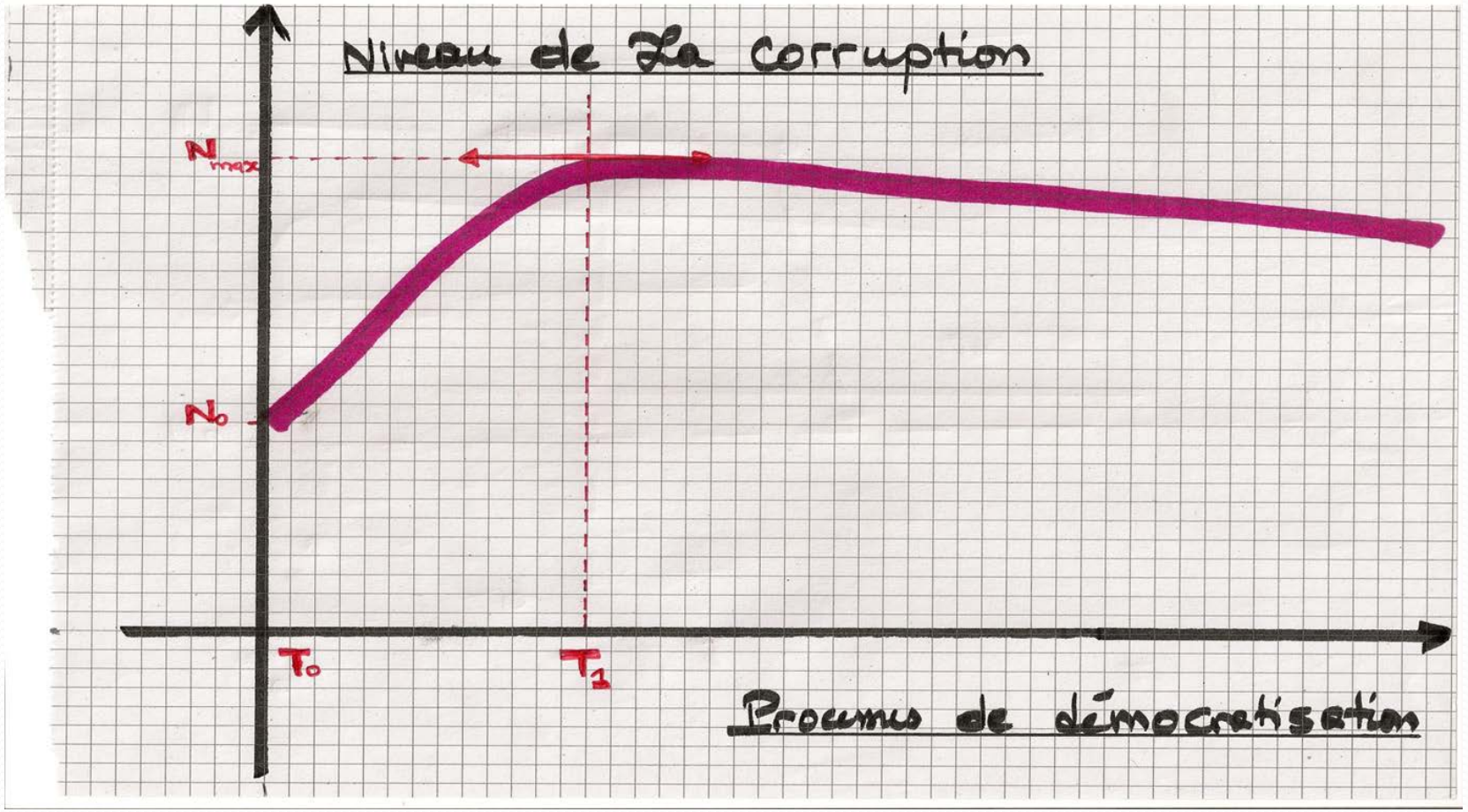
Corruption in PRC : Paths and Petterns

Scenario2 : good



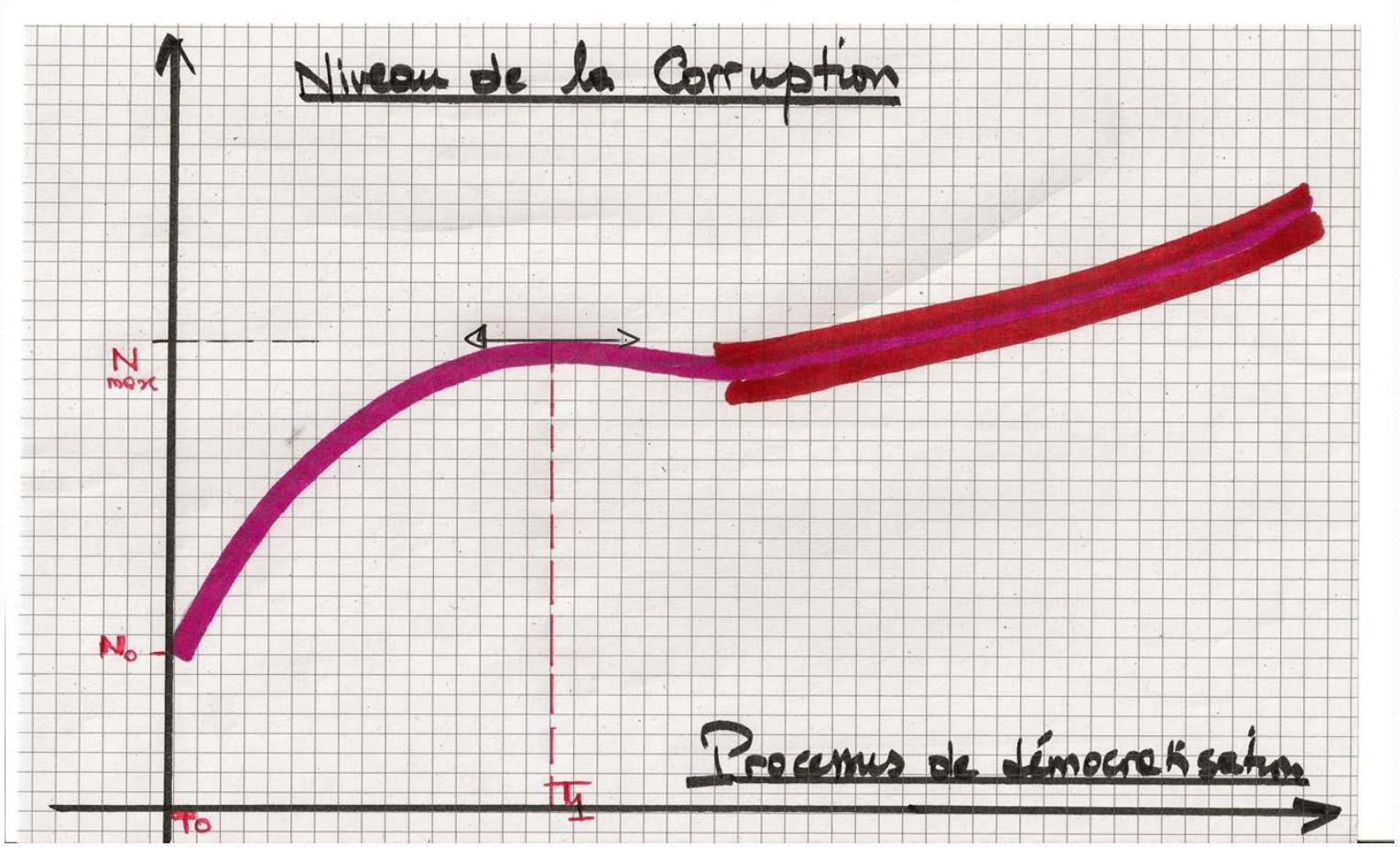
Corruption in PRC : Paths and Patterns

Scenario3: acceptable



Corruption in PRC : Paths and Patterns

Scenario4: the worst



Thank you for your Attention