

مستويات الفساد وتأثيرها في أشكال الثورات العربية لعام 2011 والنتائج المترتبة عليها (2011-2017)

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ملخص

هدف الدراسة: تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى اكتشاف درجة تأثير اختلاف مستويات الفساد في تشكيل الثورات العربية لعام 2011 في كل من (تونس، ومصر، وسوريا، وليبيا، واليمن، والأردن، والمغرب). فقد حاولت هذه الدراسة الإجابة عن السؤال المحوري التالي: إلى أي مدى أسهمت مستويات الفساد في توجيه أحداث الثورات العربية في دول الدراسة إما نحو الإصلاح، أو الثورة أو الدخول في حرب أهلية؟ **المنهجية:** اعتمدت الدراسة على حساب مؤشرات مدركات الفساد، ومؤشرات الدولة الهشة المنشورة من قبل المنظمات الدولية، كما عمدت إلى استخدام المناهج العلمية التالية: الوصفي التحليلي، والإحصائي، والمقارن. وقد قسمت الدراسة إلى فترتين زمنيتين، الفترة الأولى وتمتد من (2005-2011)، أما الفترة الثانية فتمتد من (2011-2017). **النتائج:** لقد أظهرت الدراسة أن الدول العربية سارت في ثلاثة اتجاهات رئيسية كنتيجة لثورات الربيع العربي، الاتجاه الأول ويضم مجموعة الدول التي شهدت ثورات دموية وحروباً أهلية طاحنة وهي: ليبيا، واليمن وسوريا، وقد سجلت فيها مستويات عالية جداً من الفساد، أما الاتجاه الثاني فيضم الدول التي شهدت ثورات دموية كمصر، وتونس، ولم تشهد حروباً أهلية، وكانت مستويات الفساد فيها مرتفعة وبنسب أقل من سابقتها، أما الاتجاه الثالث فيضم مجموعة الدول التي حصلت فيها احتجاجات كبيرة دون الإطاحة بالرؤساء (الأردن، المغرب)، وهي دول ملكية، ودرجة الفساد فيها أقل من المجموعتين السابقتين. **الخلاصة:** أظهرت الدراسة أن هناك علاقة ارتباط قوي بين ارتفاع مؤشرات الفساد في الدول العربية وبين اتجاهها نحو الإصلاح، أو قيام الثورة، أو الدخول في حرب أهلية. **المصطلحات الأساسية:** مستويات الفساد، الثورات العربية لعام 2011، الدولة الهشة، الشفافية.

Corruption Levels and Their Impact on the Forms of the 2011 Arab Uprisings and Their Consequences (2011 to 2017)

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Abstract:

Objective: This study aims at exploring the impact of corruption levels on the forms of the 2011 Arab Uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Jordan, and Morocco. The study also aims at answering the following central question: Have the corruption levels played a major role in forming the 2011 Arab Uprisings toward reform, violence, or civil war. **Methods:** It is based on quantitative indicators published by International Institutions. Analytical descriptive, statistical, and comparative methods were used in this research. This study is divided into two periods: The first period extends from 2005 until 2011 and the second one from 2011 to 2017. **Results:** The study revealed that the 2011 Arab Uprising countries can be divided into three groups, the first group is still facing a civil war (Libya, Yemen, and Syria). The levels of corruption are very high. The second group witnessed bloody Uprisings without civil wars, and their presidents were overthrown, such as Egypt, Tunisia. The levels of corruption are less than the first group. The third group witnessed major protests without overthrowing the presidents (Jordan, Morocco). These countries are monarchies, and the levels of corruption are less than the previous groups. **Conclusion:** The results of this study show that there is a strong correlation between the corruption levels based on *CPI and FSI* in forming of the 2011 Arab Uprisings toward reform, violence, or civil war.

Keywords: Corruption levels, The 2011 Arab uprising, Fragile states, Transparency.

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1 - Introduction

In December 2010, an Arab uprising started in Tunisia after a young man set himself on fire, sparking a series of unexpected demonstrations. The success of the protests led to a wave of unrest, which spread to Jordan, Morocco, Yemen, Syria, Egypt, and Libya.

The outcomes of the mass demonstrations varied; while some demonstrations succeeded in effecting a democratic transition of power, others were brutally suppressed by governments and in some cases led to the collapse of the state.

The 2011 Arab uprisings were motivated by tragic preconditions such as corruption, unjust political and economic systems, and the lack of political freedom and public accountability. This study encompasses two periods: The first period starts from 2005, when the first report of Failed States Index (FSI) was published, and it extends to 2011. The purpose for choosing this specific period is to examine the corruption level that preceded the 2011 Arab uprisings. The second period, which extends from 2011 to 2017, was particularly chosen to measure the degree of improvement made with regard to the corruption level after the outbreak of the Arab uprisings. The report of 2018 was not included because it had not been released by the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) when this research began.

II- Study questions

This study attempts to address the following major question:

Is there any significant correlation between corruption levels and the forms of the 2011 Arab uprisings (violent uprisings, peaceful protests, overthrowing regimes, and civil war), based on both the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), and Fragile States Index (FSI)?

To answer this major question, four sub-questions need to be addressed, mainly:

- 1 - What is the role of corruption levels in forming the 2011 Arab uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Jordan and Morocco?
- 2 - What are the ranks of Arab countries on the scales of CPI and FSI?
- 3 - Have "the 2011 Arab uprisings" contributed towards exacerbating or lessening the levels of corruption in the Arab countries according to the indicators published by International Institutions?
- 4 - How reliable are both of CPI and FSI in predicting the future of stability in the countries under study?

III- The purpose and significance of the study

This study aims at identifying the impact of corruption levels on the forms of the 2011 Arab uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Jordan and Morocco. It is based on the quantitative indicators published by International Institutions (The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), and Fragile States Index (FSI) which include questions related to the bribery of public officials, kickbacks in public procurement contracts, embezzlement of public funds, and the degree of effectiveness of public anti-corruption efforts.

This study gains its significance from tackling and investigating the very important issue of corruption and providing a new insight into its consequences. Corruption has become one of the most prominent problems that face several countries worldwide, and it is believed to have detrimental impacts on economic development and social welfare.

IV- Research hypothesis

The study assumes that there is a positive correlation between corruption levels and the forms of the 2011 Arab uprisings, based on both the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), and Fragile States Index (FSI). While some Arab countries have witnessed mass peaceful demonstrations calling only for regime reforms, as in Jordan and Morocco, other countries such as Syria, Yemen, and Libya witnessed bloody protests demanding regime change or overthrowing of the governments. In Egypt and Tunisia, the situation was more stable and there was a relatively peaceful transition of power.

It is worth mentioning that there are several variables that might have played a role in shaping the 2011 Arab uprisings, such as conflicting interests of international and regional powers in the region and their interference in the 2011 Arab uprisings to serve their interests. However, this study attempts to focus just on the relationship between corruption levels based on the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), and Fragile States Index (FSI) and their role in forming the 2011 Arab uprisings.

V- Study methodology

To achieve the objective of this study, analytical descriptive, statistical, and comparative methods were implemented. The analytical descriptive method, which was employed in the first part of the study, was used to show the extent to which corruption had influenced the

direction of the 2011 Arab uprisings. It was used to describe and analyze the important factors that have been responsible for the growing concerns about corruption worldwide now, and the causes and consequences of corruption in recent decades. It was also used in the second part of the study to give a general picture of the political, economic, and social challenges faced by the Arab countries. The statistical method was used in the third part of the study. Arab countries were ranked according to their perceived levels of public sector corruption, according to CPI and FSI. The averages were calculated for every country, and the comparative method examined the corruption levels in the Arab countries that witnessed uprisings in 2011, and illustrated their averages before the uprisings and in the aftermath.

VI- Study concepts

- **Corruption:** Theoretically, this conception refers to the abuse of public power for private benefit and to the dishonest or illegal behavior that is specially practiced by influential people such as government officials. According to Transparency International, corruption can be classified as grand, petty or political depending on the amounts of money lost and the sector involved. The most dangerous type of corruption consists of acts committed at top government levels that deform the central functioning of the state and enable leaders to benefit at the expense of public interest.

The procedural definition of corruption: Corruption is considered a multifaceted concept as it varies between different societies and economic and political systems, which embrace either the broad concept of corruption or its narrow legal concept of bribery. In this paper, the following procedural definition shall be adopted: The use of public office in the Arab countries for private gain, which includes the manipulation of policies, institutions, and rules of procedure in the allocation of resources and financing by political decision makers, who abuse their position to sustain their power, status, and wealth.

- **The 2011 Arab uprisings:** These uprisings represent a revolutionary wave of protests that sparked in Tunisia in December 2010 and swept across the Arab countries. Within a year, these uprisings induced major changes: The downfall of regimes in each of Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya; a civil war in Syria and Yemen; major protests in Jordan, Morocco and Bahrain; and minor protests in other Arab countries such as Kuwait and Oman.

Procedurally, the 2011 Arab uprisings refer to the events that sparked in Tunisia on 17th December, 2010. The success of the protests led to a wave of unrest that spread across Jordan, Morocco, Yemen, Syria, Egypt, and Libya.

- **The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI):** It is an index that has been published annually by “Transparency International” since 1995, and it ranks more than 180 countries and territories by their perceived levels of public sector corruption according to experts and business people.

- **The Fragile States Index (FSI):** It is an annual report (formerly the Failed States Index) that has been published by “The Fund for Peace” since 2005. This index is an annual ranking of 178 countries based on their levels of stability and the pressures they face.

VII- Literature review

Most of the related studies focused either on the causes and consequences of the events of the 2011 Arab uprising, or on the levels of corruption in the Arab countries in a general manner, without mentioning any specific figures to correlate between the levels of corruption and their impact on the Arab uprisings.

- 1 - In their study titled “Growth and Corruption in Arab Countries: What Type of Relationship Connects Them?”, Ghoneim & Asmaa (2016) tried to investigate the relationship between corruption and the economic growth in the Arab countries. According to this study, it is necessary to fight corruption and to improve governance quality in order to achieve better growth performance. The positive impact of reducing corruption on economic growth depends on a number of factors (variables), such as making institutional reforms, ensuring accountability, preventing conflicts of interest, and enhancing the role of civil society. The empirical analysis of the study showed that the relationship between corruption and economic growth is not linear.
- 2 - According to Mnawars (2015) article, “Corruption and the “Arab Spring”: As One of the Main Elements Leading to Revolutions”, corruption in the Arab world in general and in the “Arab Spring” countries in particular is considered one of the most important hidden elements that led to the uprisings. It was concluded that although the “Arab Spring” countries had a large arsenal of laws,

there had been many gaps that did not make the legislative framework sufficiently active in the fight against corruption.

- 3 - In their study titled “Social Justice and the Arab Uprisings”, Jamal & Robbins (2015) tried to investigate whether the protests of the Arab uprisings were also fueled by citizens frustration with endemic corruption that plagued their societies. The study pointed out that the vast majority of citizens in the region believed that corruption remained widespread. Nearly all Lebanese (96%) held this view, (89%) in Egypt, (84%) in Yemen, (83%) in Jordan and (82%) in Morocco.
- 4 - Chalcrafts (2015) study titled “The Arab Uprisings of 2011 in Historical Perspective”, discussed the Arab uprisings of 2011 from a historical perspective and addressed the questions of change and continuity by comparing and contrasting these uprisings with previous cases. This study argued that the mass uprisings had their surprising and creative dimensions as they emerged without any preceding state breakdown and constituted people as a sovereign, rights-bearing, and diverse subject in a way distinctive from anticolonial nationalism.
- 5 - Blitzs (2014) study titled “The Arab Spring: A Parsimonious Explanation of Recent Contentious Politics”, tried to explore the features of society that could explain the large-scale protests in the Arab Spring. The conjunctions of four variables were used: oil production, high unemployment, absence of press freedom, and no recent and severe political violence. The study concluded that the case study of Egypt provided an understanding of how these four variables could explain the occurrence of protests, while the case study of Oman showed how oil income made it the exception to this regularity.
- 6 - Touatis (2014) study titled “Determinants of Economic Corruption in the Arab Countries: Dangers and Remedies”, highlighted corruption-related issues in terms of their definitions and different perceptions with respect to some economic theories, with a focus on the specific factors lying behind the spread of such practice in the Arab world. This paper concluded that a statically-significant relationship really existed between the rising development size in corruption measured by the CPI as a dependent variable, and the

human development index, press freedom index and inflation rate as independent variables.

- 7 - Abdulsattars (2015) study titled “Acritical Analysis of the Arab Spring: Case Studies of Tunisia and Egypt”, reached the following conclusion: the events of 2010-2011 marked in the long term a fundamental turning point setting the region on course for the ultimate realization of eventual democracy.
- 8 - The study “Arab States: Corruption and Reform” carried out by Alissa (2008) tried to answer the following major question: Are economic and political reforms considered effective ways to combat corruption, or do changes such as privatizing state industries actually increase opportunities for corruption? The study concluded that the causes of corruption vary across Arab countries, but they are often linked in one way or another to state intervention and the structure of economies and public sectors.

The literature of this study leans towards the idea that corruption has a negative impact on growth and development in the Arab countries. However, there were no scientific attempts to study the impact of corruption level on forming the 2011 Arab uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Jordan and Morocco, based on both The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), and Fragile States Index (FSI). This study makes a specific attempt to explore the correlation between corruption level and the forms of the 2011 Arab uprisings in view of international figures.

Part1. Corruption: conceptual framework

From a scholars perspective, corruption can be defined in several ways: It can be defined as the use of public office for private gain, or the use of official position, rank or status by an office bearer for his own personal benefit. Examples of corrupt behavior would include the following: bribery, extortion, fraud, facilitation payment, embezzlement, influence peddling, collusion, patronage, clientelism and nepotism (Ackerman, 1997; DID, 2015). According to the World Bank [Tanzi (1998, 8)], the simplest and most popular definition of corruption is that it is an abuse of public power for private benefit.

There are several important factors responsible for the growing concerns about corruption worldwide now, including:

- 1 - Corruption is universal; it exists in all countries, both developed and developing, in the public and private sectors, as well as in non-profit and charitable organizations.
- 2 - Nowadays, the charges of corruption play a major role in politics more than ever before.
- 3 - Corruption can be a major obstacle in the process of economic development and modernization of a country (Ackerman, 1997).

There has been a wave of scientific studies on the causes and consequences of corruption in recent decades. According to Dimant and Tosato (2017), there are twenty two causes of corruption that include: bureaucracy and inefficient administrative and political structure, absence of civil participation, press freedom, low levels of economic freedom, absence of economic growth, increasing ethnic division and favoritism, gender (many empirical studies show how parliaments with a greater representation of women tend to be less corrupt), lower levels of globalization leading to increased levels of corruption, size of government, centralization of government, degree of democracy, historical drivers, legal systems, market and political competition, high concentration of natural resources, political instability, poverty, property rights, religion, trade (Openness), transparency, urbanization, and wages (Dimant & Tosato, 2017).

Forms of corruption vary among countries and societies, and they include bribery, extortion, cronyism, nepotism, parochialism, patronage, influence peddling, graft, and embezzlement. Corruption can be rare, widespread or systemic, and the worst case of all is when it becomes systemic, taking hold of countries, institutions, rules and peoples behavior, and becoming a way of life. Systemic corruption is very difficult to overcome, and it can have a detrimental effect on economy (Ackerman, 1997) and social welfare (Dong, 2011, 7).

Corruption can be categorized into three main types: political corruption, economic corruption, and public administration corruption. Political corruption is considered a systematic corruption and a major obstacle to democracy and the rule of law. Offices and institutions lose their legitimacy when they are misused for private advantage. It is extremely challenging to develop a political accountable leadership in a corrupt climate. Corrupt leaders invest scarce public resources in projects that will line their own pockets rather than benefit their communities

(transparency.org, 2018). The political indicators of corruption also include the crackdown on political dissent, free speech, independent media, and civil society organizations by dictatorship regimes.

Part2. The 2011 Arab uprisings: the beginnings

On December 17th, 2010, an Arab uprising started in Tunisia, when a young man Mohamed Bouazizi set himself on fire. This event sparked a series of unprecedented demonstrations in Tunisia. The success of the protests led to a wave of unrest that spread across Jordan, Morocco, Yemen, Syria, Egypt, and Libya (Rosiny, 2012).

The 2011 Arab uprisings were described as spontaneous and they erupted as a result of many socio-economic and political problems. The demonstrations started without political leadership, religious motivation, or ideology, and they were directed against their own governments and not against external powers. The mass protests of the 2011 Arab uprisings resulted in overthrowing two presidents, namely Zine el-Adin Ben Ali of Tunisia on 14th January 2011, and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt on February 11th, 2011. These developments have not been expected in the Arab world which has been ruled by authoritarian regimes for decades. In both of Egypt and Tunisia, Muslim Brotherhood gained power and formed governments (Alsoudi, 2014).

An obvious decline in socio-economic conditions was observed in the Arab uprising countries during the last decade, and this was in fact accompanied by an increase in authoritarianism, repression and limitation of basic freedoms. This, in turn, led to an unprecedented growth in popular grievances (Paciello, 2011).

Most Arab countries suffer from massive legitimacy deficits and a number of substantial socio-economic and political problems (Rosiny, 2012). Most corruption exists in the political-economic sectors, where it is practiced during multi-million-dollar contract negotiations between state officials and business leaders to secure business deals; political corruption based on the use of economic deals and benefits to reward political allies leads to diminishing public resources (Alissa, 2008). The totalitarian nature of the Arab regimes also profoundly influenced the socio-economic developments by inhibiting the capacity of these economies to deliver a well-balanced and inclusive development. Reforms meant to liberalize the economy and thus became a main instrument in the hands

of regimes to consolidate their authority and control over the country (Paciello, 2011).

Many Arab countries began to adopt new measures to control the protests, such as partially meeting the demonstrators demands, replacing unpopular governments, issuing new laws, making constitutional reforms, conducting or promising political and economic reforms. In Jordan, for instance, the government responded to the mass protests by taking a combination of security and economic measures to calm the protesters (Alsoudi, 2014).

Part3. Corruption levels in the Arab States according to CPI and FSI

1- Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI)

In this part, the study will be based on the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) that is annually published by “Transparency International”(TI). The index, which ranks more than 180 countries and territories by their perceived levels of public sector corruption according to experts and businesspeople, uses a scale of (0 — 10/0-100), where 0 is highly corrupt and 10 is very clean (CPI, 2017). This index draws on assessments and opinion surveys carried out by independent and reputable institutions. They include questions related to the bribery of public officials, kickbacks in public procurement, embezzlement of public funds, and the degree of effectiveness of public sector anti-corruption efforts. The CPI results focus on inequality that creates a vicious circle between corruption, unequal distribution of power in society, and unequal distribution of wealth. According to CPI, corruption can be defined as "the abuse of public power for private gain and can be classified as grand, petty, and political, depending on the amounts of money lost and the sectors involved (transparency.org, 2018).

Global governments have been asked by Transparency International (TI) to take the following actions to reduce corruption:

- 1 - Encouraging free speech, independent media, political dissent and an open and engaged civil society.
- 2 - Minimizing regulations on media, to ensure that journalists can work without fear of repression or violence.
- 3 - Promoting laws that focus on access to information to enhance transparency and accountability.
- 4 - Governments must ensure access to information and the protection

of fundamental freedoms and align these with international agreements and best practices.

- 5 - Disclosing relevant public interest information in open data formats by governments and businesses, which include government budgets, company ownership, public procurement, and political party finances to enable journalists, civil society and affected communities to identify patterns of corruption (transparency.org, 2017).

Over time, this index has proved to be a reliable estimate of corruption. For instance, according to the CPI of 2016 and 2017, over two-thirds of the countries and territories in these years index fall below the midpoint of the scale of 0 - 100. The global average score is about 43%, which refers to endemic corruption in the public sector (Transparency.org, 2017). Table 2 below shows the ranks of Arab countries according to CPI from 2005 until 2011.

Table 2. Ranks of Arab countries before the Arab uprisings (2005-2011)

COUNTRY CPI Score	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	AVG
Oman	6.3	5.4	4.7	5.5	5.5	5.3	4.8	5.3%
United Arab Emirates	6.2	6.2	5.7	5.9	6.5	6.3	6.8	5.3%
Qatar	5.9	6	6	6.5	7	7.7	7.2	6.6%
Jordan	5.7	5.3	4.7	5.1	5	4.7	4.5	5%
Tunisia	4.9	4.6	4.2	4.4	4.2	4.3	3.8	4.3%
Kuwait	4.7	4.8	4.3	4.3	4.1	4.5	4.6	4.47%
Egypt	3.4	3.3	2.9	2.8	2.8	3.1	2.9	3.02%
Saudi Arabia	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.5	4.3	4.7	4.4	3.8%
Syria	3.4	2.9	2.4	2.1	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.6%
Morocco	3.2	3.2	3.5	3.5	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.35%
Lebanon	3.1	3.6	3	3	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.8%
Algeria	2.8	3.1	3	3.2	2.8	2.9	2.9	2.9%
Yemen	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.3	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.3%
Libya	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.2	3.2	2.6%

Cont/ Table 2. Ranks of Arab countries before the Arab uprisings (2005-2011)

COUNTRY CPI Score	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	AVG
Iraq	2.2	1.9	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.8	1.6%
Somalia	2.1	-	1.4	1	1.1	1.1	1	1.1%
Sudan	2.1	2	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.7%
Bahrain	5.8	5.7	5	5.4	5.1	4.9	5.1	5.2%
Mauritania	-	3.1	2.6	2.8	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.2%
Djibouti	-	-	2.9	3	2.8	3.2	3	2.9%
Palestine	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Comoro Is-lands	-	-	2.6	2.5	2.3	2.1	2.4	2.3%

The Arab countries listed according to the CPI report of (2005-2011)

This table was prepared by the researchers

By analyzing the figures listed in Table 2, the following results can be reached:

- 1 - There was a sharp drop in most Arab countries from 2005 to 2011, as 75% fell below 5 %(15 out of 20 countries), and this is considered a failing grade.
- 2 - Seven Arab countries (i.e. Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Mauritania, Sudan, Yemen and Syria) were among the ten most corrupt countries in the world. These countries are also inflicted with political instability, civil war, internal conflicts and terrorism, which stresses the fact that war and conflict fuel corruption and in particular political corruption (transparency.org, 2017).
- 3 - Qatar was considered the least corrupt Arab country with an average of 6.6%, followed by Oman (5.3%), the United Arab Emirates (5.3%), and Bahrain (5.2%). It can be noticed that the Arab uprisings had no significant impact on all these high-income countries from the Gulf States. It can be concluded, that there is a positive correlation between the average income and the degree of stability.
- 4 - Somalia appeared to be the most corrupt Arab country with an average (1.1%). Table 3 below illustrates the ranks of Arab uprisings countries (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria, Jordan, and Morocco) according

to the CPI for the period (2012 - 2017). The figures explore the levels of corruption after the outbreak of the 2011 Arab uprisings.

Table 3

	COUNTRY CPI Score	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	AVG
1	TUNISIA	4.1	4.1	4.00	3.8	4.1	4.2	-	4.05
2	EGYPT	3.2	3.2	3.7	3.6	3.4	3.2	-	3.2%
3	LIBYA	2.1	1.5	1.8	1.6	1.4	1.7	-	1.6%
4	YEMEN	2.3	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.6	-	1.6%
5	SYRIA	2.6	1.7	2.0	1.8	1.3	1.4	-	1.4%
6	JORDAN	4.8	4.5	4.9	5.3	4.8	4.8	-	4.8%
7	MOROC- CO	3.7	3.7	3.9	3.6	3.7	4.0	-	4%

Arab countries listed according to the CPI report of (2012—2017)

This table was prepared by the researchers

According to table 3, it can be concluded:

- 1 - The 2011 Arab uprising countries can be divided into three groups:
 - a - The first group represents the countries that witnessed deep uprisings that resulted in overthrowing the presidents. Corruption in these countries scored less than 3.2 % (Egypt Yemen and Libya), with the exception of Tunisia, which scored (4.05). All these countries are republics.
 - b - The second group represents the countries that witnessed major protests but didnt result in overthrowing the presidents (Jordan, Morocco). Corruption levels in these countries had an average score of (4.8% and 4% respectively). These two countries are monarchies.
 - c - The third group represents the countries that are still undergoing a civil war. Scores of corruption levels came less than (1.6%). These countries according to CPI are Libya, Yemen, and Syria.

Table 4 below illustrates the average of corruption levels in the 2011 Arab uprisings countries before the start of the uprisings and in the aftermath.

Table 4. Corruption averages in the 2011 Arab uprisings countries (comparison)

	COUNTRY CPI Score	2005-2011	2012-2017
1	TUNISIA	4.3%	4.05
2	EGYPT	3.02%	3.2%
3	LIBYA	2.6%	1.6%
4	YEMEN	2.3%	1.6%
5	SYRIA	2.6%	1.4%
6	JORDAN	5%	4.8%
7	MOROCCO	3.35%	4%

This table was prepared by the researchers

According to table 4, it can be concluded that there is no real improvement in anti-corruption efforts in these countries during or post-Arab spring periods, according to the following facts:

- A - Tunisia, Jordan, Morocco, and Egypt are among the most stable countries according to the anti-corruption averages that were relatively fixed. This reflects the credibility of the CPI in predicting the future of stability in these countries.
- B - The situations in Yemen, Libya and Syria deteriorated and developed into civil wars. The anti-corruption levels notably decreased from (2.3%, 2.6% and 2.6%) to (1.6%, 1.6% and 1.4 respectively) after the outbreak of the 2011 Arab uprisings. One can conclude that there is a positive correlation between the increase of corruption and the outbreak of civil wars.

2. Arab countries according to Failed (Fragile) States Index (FSI)*

This index is an annual ranking of 178 countries based on their levels of stability and the pressures they face. The scores are apportioned for every country based on twelve key political, social and economic

* The Failed States Index (FSI) is produced by the Fund for Peace (FFP in 2005). FFP collects thousands of reports and information from around the world, detailing the existing social, economic and political pressures faced by each of the 178 countries (See: <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/methodology/>).

indicators in addition to more than 100 sub-indicators that are the result of years of painstaking expert social science research (Reliefweb.int, 2012). The following factors are used by the “Fund for Peace” to ascertain the status of a country:

- 1 - Cohesion indicators: Security Apparatus, Factionalized Elites, and Group Grievance.
- 2 - Economic indicators: Economic Decline, Uneven Economic Development, Human Flight and Brain Drain.
- 3 - Political indicators: State Legitimacy, Public Services and Human Rights, and Rule of Law.
- 4 - Social indicators: Factionalized Elites and Group Grievance (fundforpeace.org, 2018).

The Failed States Index (FSI) was produced to highlight the normal pressures that all states experience and to identify when those pressures are outweighing a state's capacity to manage those pressures (fundforpeace.org, 2018). According to FSI (the rank order of the states is based on the total scores of the 12 indicators. For each indicator, the ratings are placed on a scale of 0 to 10, with (0) being the most stable and (10) being the least stable. The total score is the sum of the 12 indicators and is on a scale of 0-120. From 2015 onwards, the countries were classified as follows:

- 1 - Countries that have scored between 90.0 and 120.0, which are classified in the red “Alert” category.
- 2 - Countries that have scored between 60.0 and 89.9, which are classified in the yellow-orange “Warning” category.
- 3 - Countries that have scored between 30.0 and 59.9, which are classified in the green “Stable” category.
- 4 - Countries that have scored between 0.0 and 29.9, which are classified in the blue “Sustainable” category (fundforpeace.org, 2018).

According to FSI records, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) were among the best 18 nations, and 16 of the top 20 were Western European (reliefweb.int, 2012).

Table 5 illustrates the scores of Arab countries according to the Fragile States Index (FSI) from 2005 until 2011, before the Arab Spring.

Table5. Arab countries according to the FSI of (2005-2011)

COUNTRY FSI Score	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	STD
Oman	*	43.8	45.5	47.4	47.2	48.7	49.3	120
United Arab Emirates	*	*	51.6	51.2	51.8	52.4	50.4	120
Qatar	*	*	53.6	52.7	51.9	51.8	4905	120
Jordan	*	77	76.6	77.3	77.9	77	74.5	120
Tunisia	*	65.4	65.6	65.6	67.6	67.5	87.1	120
Kuwait	*	60.8	62.1	62	63.4	61.5	59.5	120
Egypt	*	89.5	89.2	88.7	89	87.6	86.8	120
Saudi Arabia	*	77.2	76.5	76.9	77.5	77.5	75.2	120
Syria	*	88.6	88.6	90.1	89.8	87.9	85.9	120
Morocco	*	76.5	76	75.8	77.1	77	76.3	120
Lebanon	*	80.5	92.4	95.7	77.9	90.9	87.7	120
Algeria	*	77.8	75.9	77.8	80.6	81.3	78	120
Yemen	*	96.6	93.2	95.4	98.1	100	100.3	120
Libya	*	68.5	69.3	70	69.4	69.1	68.7	120
Iraq	*	109	111.4	110.6	108.6	107.3	104.8	120
Somalia	*	105.9	111.1	114.2	114.7	114.3	113.4	120
Sudan	*	112.3	113.7	113	112.4	111.8	108.7	120
Bahrain	*	*	57	56.8	59	58.8	59	120
Mauritania	*	87.8	86.7	86.1	88.7	89.1	88	120
Djibouti	*	*	80.3	80	80.6	81.9	82.6	120
Palestine	*	79.4	79.6	83.6	64.6	84.6	84.4	120
Comoro Islands	*	*	77.8	79.6	86.3	85.1	83.8	120

This table was prepared by the researchers according to FSI

According to table 5, it can be concluded:

- 1 - There are no Arab countries that have scored between 0.0 and 29.9, which are classified in the blue “Sustainable” category.

- 2 - There are four Arab countries (i.e. Somalia, Sudan, Iraq and Yemen) that have scored between 90.0 and 120.0 according to FSI. These countries are classified in the red “Alert” category. According to FSI, among the ten most significantly “worsening” situations in 2012, six were experienced by Arab countries, namely Libya, Syria, Yemen, Tunisia, Egypt and Bahrain, as a result of the Arab Spring (reliefweb.int, 2012).
- 3 - There are thirteen Arab countries (i.e. Libya, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Algeria, Djibouti, Palestine, Comoros, Syria, Egypt, Tunisia, Lebanon, and Mauritania) that have scored between 60 and 89 according to FSI. These countries are classified in the yellow-orange “Warning” category.
- 4 - There are five Arab countries (i.e. Oman, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Kuwait) that have been classified in the green “Stable” category as their scores ranged between 30.0 and 59.9. It can be noticed that all these countries are from the Gulf States that were not affected by the Arab Spring.

Table 6 shows the ranks of the Arab Spring countries according to the FSI from 2012 until 2018, during the Arab uprisings and in the aftermath.

Table 6. Arab Countries according to the FSI of (2012-2018)

	COUNTRY FSI Score	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	STD
1	TUNISIA	74.2	76.5	77.5	75.7	74.6	74.2	72.1	120
2	EGYPT	90.4	90.6	91	89.9	90.2	89.8	88.7	120
3	LIBYA	84.9	84.5	87.8	95.3	96.4	96.3	94.6	120
4	YEMEN	104.8	107	105.4	108.2	111.5	110.1	112	120
5	SYRIA	94.5	97.4	101.6	107.8	110.8	110.6	111	120
6	JORDAN	74.8	75.7	76.7	76.9	78	78,7	76	120
7	MOROC- CO	76.1	74.3	74.4	74.6	74.2	74.9	74	120

This table was prepared by the researchers according to FSI

According to table 6, it can be concluded:

- 1 - There are three Arab uprising countries (i.e. Yemen, Syria and Libya) that have scored between 90.0 and 120.0 according to FSI. They were classified in the red “Alert” category. These countries are still suffering from civil wars and political conflicts.
- 2 - Three Arab uprising countries (i.e. Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia) have scored between 60.0 and 89.9 and they are classified in the yellow-orange “Warning” category.

According to the comparison between table 5 and table 6, the following results can be noticed:

- 1 - Tunisia’s rank declined from 87.1 in 2011 to 74.2 in 2012, which means that the Arab Spring had a positive impact on Tunisia.
- 2 - Egypt’s rank rose from 86.8 2011 to 90.4 in 2012 and it peaked in 2014 to 91, which means that the Arab Spring had a negative impact on Egypt.
- 3 - Libya’s rank also went up from 68.7 in 2011 to 84.9 in 2012 and it peaked to 96.4 in 2016, which means that the Arab Spring had a strong negative impact on Libya..
- 4 - With regard to Syria, its score rose from 85.9 in 2011 to 94.5 in 2012, and it peaked to 111 in 2018, which means that the Arab Spring had a strong negative impact on Syria.

5#The figures for Jordan remained steady according to tables 5 and 6 showing that there was no real change, and it was marked as relatively stable, as its score rose slightly from 74.5 in 2011 to 74.8 in 2012.

6#Morocco’s rank witnessed a little drop from 76.3 in 2011 to 76.1 in 2012, which means that the Arab Spring had a little positive impact on Morocco.

Conclusion

The following findings were revealed:

- 1 - With regard to the main question, the study concluded that there is a strong correlation between corruption levels and the forms of the 2011 Arab uprisings, based on both CPI and FSI. The uprisings turned into civil wars inside the countries that had experienced high levels of corruption like Yemen, Syria and Libya.

- 2 - With regard to the first sub-question, the study revealed that the 2011 Arab uprising countries can be divided into three groups:
 - A - The first group represents the countries that are still undergoing a civil war (i.e. Libya, Yemen, and Syria) in which the levels of corruption are very high, scoring less than 1.6%.
 - B - The second group represents the countries that witnessed bloody uprisings and their presidents were overthrown as a result. All these countries are republics, namely Libya, Egypt, and Yemen.
 - C - The third group represents the countries that witnessed major protests without overthrowing the presidents (i.e. Jordan and Morocco). These countries are monarchies.
- 3 - With regard to the second sub-question, the study concluded that from 2005 to 2011 seven Arab countries ranked among the top ten most corrupt countries in the world (i.e. Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Mauritania, Sudan, Yemen, and Syria). The study also concluded that there was no Arab country that was classified as a “Sustainable” state, and most of them (13 countries) were listed under the “Warning” category.
- 4 - With regard to the third sub-question, the study concluded that there was no real improvement in anti-corruption efforts in these countries during or post-Arab spring periods. This reflects the credibility of the CPI in predicting the future of stability in these countries.
- 5 - With regard to the fourth sub-question, the study confirmed that both CPI and FSI were credible in predicting the future of stability in the concerned countries. There is a positive correlation between the rising of corruption and the outbreak of civil wars, and there is a strong correlation between the levels of income and stability; Gulf States were not affected by the Arab Spring, which is a record.
- 6 - Most Arab countries suffer from massive legitimacy deficits and many socio-economic and political problems. The massive corruption is in the political-economic sectors. The deterioration of socio-economic conditions observed in the Arab uprising countries during the last decade was accompanied by an increase in authoritarianism and limitation of basic freedoms.
- 7 - Arab uprisings were fueled by the citizens frustrations with the

endemic corruption that plagued their societies. The demonstrations started without political leadership, religious motivation, or ideology. They were described as spontaneous and they erupted as a result of many socio-economic and political problems.

- 8 - Corruption is considered a complex social phenomenon and a result of interactions at all levels. It has great impacts on the economic and societal development, and it is closely related to the official activities of the state.

Last but not least, one can conclude that whenever a country is prone to corruption, it will be heading towards uprising, taking into consideration that corruption is one of the main variables and not the only one that leads to uprising.

The forms of corruption vary among countries and societies. The worst form of corruption is the systemized one that takes hold of the state. Arab governments should take many steps to reduce corruption, such as encouraging free speech, supporting independent media, strengthening political opposition, reinforcing an open and integrated civil society, and disclosing relevant public interest information in open data formats issued by governments and businesses that include government budgets, company ownership, public procurement and political party finances in order to enable media, civil society and affected communities to identify patterns of corruption and suggest ways to reform them.

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