



***Dealing with the past:***  
**former authoritarian elites after democracy's onset**

**Guadalupe Martínez Fuentes**  
**University of Granada**  
**gmart@ugr.es**



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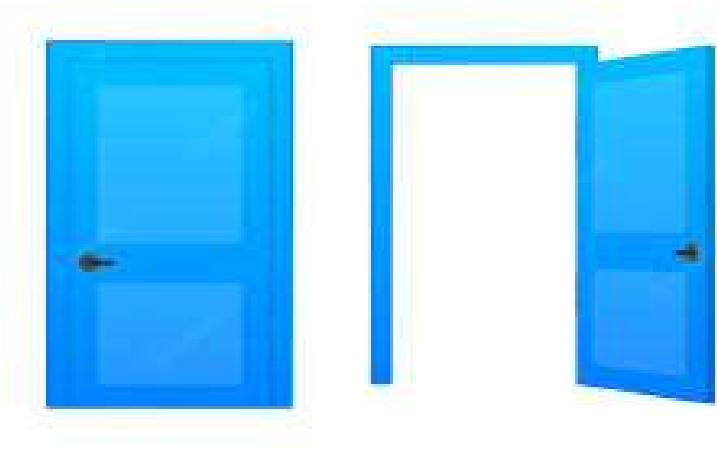


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## THE QUESTION

***Why do former authoritarian elites return to power  
throughout elections  
in some democratic transitions  
but not in others?***





## CONTENTS

- **Conceptual approach**
- **Comparative perspective**
  - Dilemmas about the fate of former authoritarian elites in democratic transition.
  - Favorable contexts for re-integration.
  - Electoral vehicles.
  - Determinants of concentration/dispersion in elections and post-elections.
  - Consequences for democratic quality/stability.
- **Debate on the Tunisian casuistry**



## CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

- **‘Former authoritarian elites’ (*where/when?*):** in an scenario of transition from dictatorship to democracy, we refer to those people specifically groomed for political life or with specialized, portable expertise accumulated in the authoritarian regime
- **‘Politically relevant former authoritarian elites’ (*who?*):** we refer to those who made strategic decisions or participated in decisionmaking on a national level, contributed to defining political norms and values, and directly influenced political discourse on strategic issues
- **Practice of politics (*how?*):** exercise of power using personal patronage to award personal favours and bolster popular support among certain societal groups (in Latin America, Africa, and Middle East).



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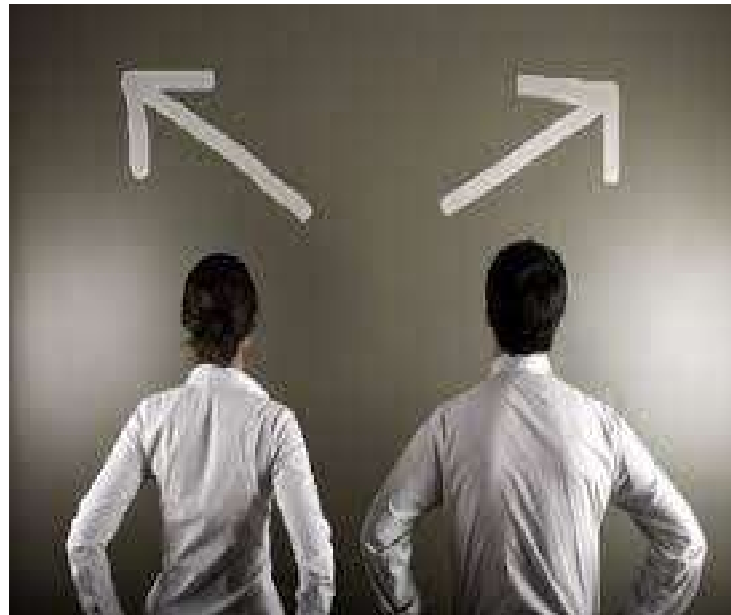


# FORMER AUTHORITARIAN ELITES IN DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

## Dilemma 1: role in the new regime?

**Re-integration?**

**No re-integration?**





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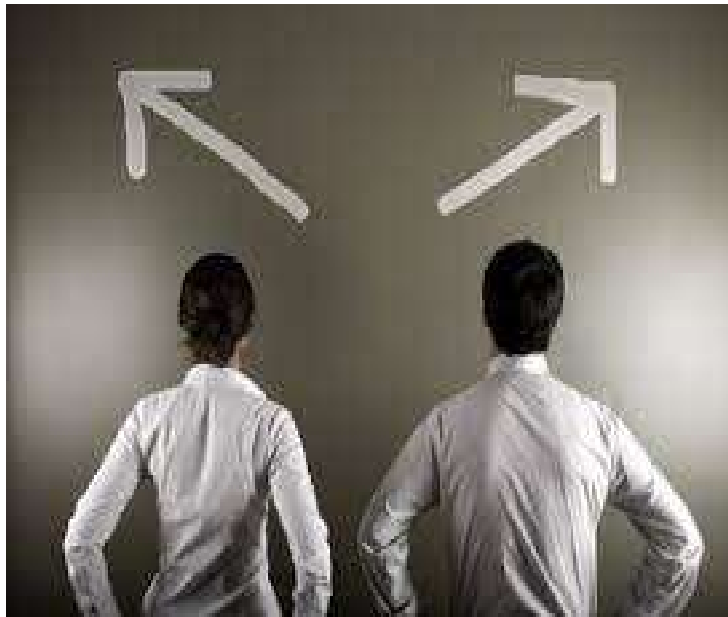


## FORMER AUTHORITARIAN ELITES IN DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION Dilemma 2: role in the new regime?

**If re-integration is the solution...**

**Total re-integration?**

**Limited re-integration?**





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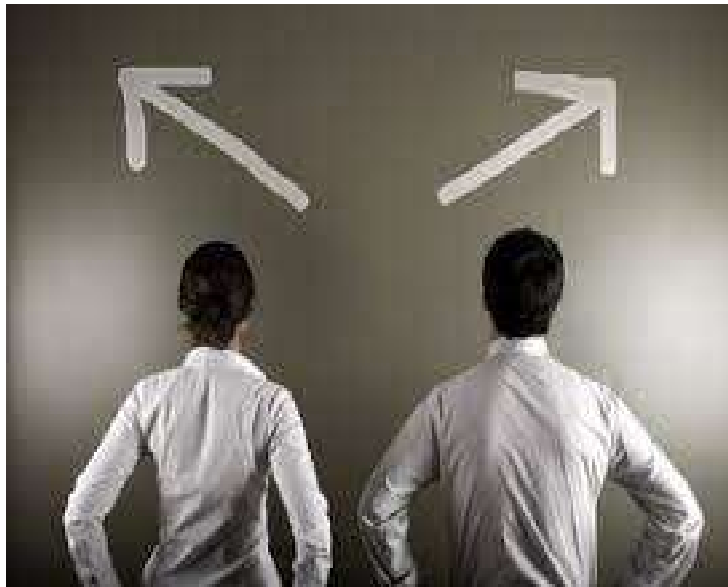
## **FORMER AUTHORITARIAN ELITES IN DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION**

### **Dilemma 3: role in transitional elections?**

**Candidacy allowed?**

**Candidacy not allowed?**

**Candidacy with limitations/conditions?**





## FAVORABLE CONTEXTS

More likely to experience re-integration in elections and politics  
Less likely to face exclusion and/ or punishment

### **PACTED TRANSITIONS**

- Recognizing each other as legitimate political actors
- A mutual commitment not to resort to violence or to encourage intervention by outsiders
- An agreement to share offices.
- Amnesty

### **INHERITED CONSTITUTIONS**

- Constitutions designed under dictatorship and imposed on a nascent democratic regime





## ELECTORAL VEHICLES

### LOYALTY

- Concentration in a single former authoritarian ruling party

### DEFECTION

- Emigration from the former authoritarian ruling party to multiple political parties: (***authoritarian diaspora***)
  - Creation of *reactive authoritarian successor parties* (either breaking with the past of apologizing the past)
  - Colonization of existing opposition parties
  - Running in elections as independent candidates



## DETERMINANTS OF CONCENTRATION/DISPERSION

- Are *politics of lustration* implemented in the transition?
- Is the authoritarian legacy understood as *inheritance* or *baggage* ?
  - party brand: governing performance of the authoritarian regime
  - party territorial structure
  - clientelistic networks forged under the old regime
  - Sources of party finance
- Are there pre-existing divisions within the regime? (e.g. ideological, regional, ethnic, and/or other cleavages).
- Are there high or low barriers for new party entry?
- Is the political capital of defectors personal and portable?
- Is there post-transition *authoritarian nostalgia* among the citizens?



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## CONSEQUENCES FOR DEMOCRACY

The more fragmentated is the diaspora of former authoritarian elites (among successor authoritarian parties, colonization of existing and new parties, and independent candidatures), the less harmful for the stability of democracy .



## DEBATE ON THE TUNISIA CASUISTRY

### Work in groups and share you point of view

- **Context:**
  - Is the Tunisian transitional context favorable or unfavorable for the re-integration of former authoritarian political elites?
  - Is there is a difference in political perceptions between young people belonging to Generation Y (now aged between 26 and 35), who lived through and participated in the 2011 Revolution, and Generation Z (now aged between 18 and 25), who grew up during the democratic transition, when it comes to the Old Regime?
- **Electoral vehicles and diaspora fragmentation:**
  - How many authoritarian sucesor parties there is in Tunisia? Are they equally popular among voters?
  - Does Generation Z, has a more positive perception of authoritarian successor parties than Generation Y?
- **Consequences for democracy.**
  - Has the post-authoritarian political culture (*bargained competition*) produced a lack of democratic quality in Tunisia?



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**MANY THANKS FOR  
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