

LITERATURE SURVEY ON STATE CAPTURE, GRAND CORRUPTION & POLITICAL CORRUPTION 1995-2010*

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* Updated April 28, 2010. This bibliography is compiled by Allan Bell under the guidance of Francesca Freccanati. **Sources of Information:** Theses, books and edited volumes, journal articles and media articles are from public sources, catalogues and major university presses, World Bank Publications, JSTOR, NBER Working Paper Series, FACTIVE©, Center for Economic Policy Research Publications and Social Science Research Network Databases.



PUBLIC SECTOR GOVERNANCE
POVERTY REDUCTION & ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT (PREM)
THE WORLD BANK



DEFINITIONS

State Capture, Grand Corruption & Political Corruption

State Capture

The European Union Regional Anti-Corruption Initiative defines “state capture” as the phenomenon in which outside interests (often the private sector, mafia networks, etc.) are able to bend state laws, policies and regulations to their (mainly financial) benefit through corrupt transactions with public officers and politicians. The notion of state capture deviates from traditional concepts of corruption, in which a bureaucrat might extort bribes from powerless individuals or companies or, politicians themselves steal state assets as in a kleptocracy. State capture is recognized as a most destructive and intractable corruption problem, above all in transition economies with incomplete or distorted processes of democratic consolidation and insecure property rights.

The U4 Anti-Corruption Research Centre in Norway defines state capture as the capacity of firms to shape and affect the formation of the basic rules of the game (i.e., laws, regulations, and decrees), through undue influence like private payments or gifts to public officials and politicians. The traditional image of corruption is a situation of kleptocracy. If interests outside of the state-private business interests, in particular mafia like organized crime groups, are the stronger party and able to shape the laws, policies, and regulations to their advantage, this is indicative of state capture.

It has also been posited that state capture is most likely to occur when the concentration of economic and political power is high and the development level of civil society in a given jurisdiction is low.

Omelyanchuk defines State Capture as the systematic activity of individuals or groups to influence to their own advantage the activity of the principle state institutions using nominally legal mechanisms and to influence to their own advantage the activity of the high level politicians as the result of illicit and non-transparent provisions of non-transparent benefits to them. For a useful examination of state capture, see Oleksiy Omelyanchuk, “Explaining State Capture and State Capture Modes: the Cases of Ukraine and Russia” pages 2-8.

Grand Corruption

The U4 Anti-Corruption Research Centre defines high level or “grand corruption” as corrupt acts that take place at the policy formulation level of political operation. It refers not so much to the amount of money involved as to the level at which it occurs - where policies and rules may be unjustly influenced. The kinds of transactions that attract the label of grand corruption are usually large in scale - and therefore involve more money than bureaucratic or “petty corruption”. Grand corruption is sometimes used synonymously with political corruption.

Grand corruption typically involves exchanges of resources, access to rents, or other advantages for high-level officials, privileged firms, and their networks of elite operatives and supporters. The size of transactions is usually significant. (USAID Anti-Corruption Strategy January 2005).





The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) Anti-Corruption Unit defines grand corruption as corrupt acts that often involve prominent persons in both the private and public sectors who exercise influence over large government contracts. Large sums of money and other remunerations are involved for decisions made in one's favour. It has been argued that grand corruption has a more negative impact on the economy than petty corruption and thrives where there are discretionary powers and unchecked authority of senior bureaucrats without corresponding transparency and accountability. Grand corruption can be difficult to detect as it may take place under the guise of legally constituted processes, thus making it less visible to the ordinary person until a crisis occurs or after it is exposed.

George Moody-Smith notes that "grand corruption", involves senior officials, ministers, and heads of state, and "petty corruption", which entails immigration officials, customs clerks, policemen, and the like. He makes the following useful observation: "This is not simply a difference of scale. Petty corruption is usually about getting routine procedures followed more quickly or not followed at all. Grand corruption involves influencing decision makers. To focus on grand corruption is not in any way to condone petty corruption, which can seriously damage the quality of life of the ordinary citizen, particularly that of the most vulnerable members of society. But grand corruption can destroy nations: where it is rampant, there is no hope of controlling petty corruption."

Political Corruption

According to the U4 Anti-Corruption Research Centre, the term "political corruption" is conceptualized in various ways through the recent literature on corruption. In some instances, it is used synonymously with "grand" or high-level corruption and refers to the misuse of entrusted power by political leaders. In others, it refers specifically to corruption within the political and electoral processes. In both cases, political corruption not only leads to the misallocation of resources, but it perverts the manner in which decisions are made.

The Dictionary of American History focuses on three major areas of political corruption that are worth noting. First, bribery - the prominent manifestation. Second, patronage. Some Analysts claim that certain government practices such as patronage, while legal, might be suspect. This definition sets a very high standard for political propriety. Third, conflict of interest. The conflict-of-interest definition embraces use of public office for personal gain which is typically money but can be other inducements. This is an ethical issue dealing with the premise that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely, as first proscribed by Lord Acton. Political corruption, therefore, is a catchall expression for illegal as well as ethically questionable behaviors. Since power corrupts, the challenge is to require accountability at all levels of government and to create virtuous and ethical citizens.

The World Bank defines political corruption as corruption that influences the formulation of laws, regulations, and policies, such as an manufacturing company having all its competitor's licences revoked, and gaining for themselves the sole right to operate in a given sector.

For a useful analysis of definitional issues see: Robert Harris Political Corruption: in and Beyond the Nation State, chapter 1, "The idea of political corruption I: conceptual and definitional issues" and Arnold J. Heidenheimer, Michael Johnston, editors. Political Corruption: Concepts & Contexts, Chapter 1: "Terms, Concepts & Definitions".



ABSTRACTS of DISSERTATIONS on CORRUPTION, 1995-2009

State Capture, Grand Corruption & Political Corruption

Essays on political corruption and media freedom

Piero Stanig Ph.D.

Columbia University

2009, 152 pages; AAT 3375488

Abstract

This dissertation focuses on the role of the media in the provision of information that citizens can use to monitor the behavior of politicians and bureaucrats.

The first chapter presents a formal model of electoral control that takes into account campaign finance and personal consumption as motives for corruption, and analyzes the role of the press in helping voters hold politicians accountable. The theoretical model predicts that the corruption-reducing effect of a free press is conditional on the proportion of voters affected by campaign messages.

The second chapter presents a general theoretical framework to understand when the media are able and willing to provide information regarding political malfeasance. Competition among a generic number of publishers and newspapers is modeled. Politicians can affect media content in two ways: through legal sanctions against editors, or through pressure on publishers. If a politician sues a journalist, the case is decided by a court that might be more or less independent from the politician.

The third chapter shows empirically how legal regulation of speech affects how newspapers report sensitive political information. Many articles on corruption are "missing" in newspapers from states with more punitive defamation law. Instrumental variable models--in which the severity of criminal statutes for unrelated offenses is used as an instrument--estimate the causal effect of regulation. Restrictions to media freedom significantly reduce coverage of corruption.

Limitations

The dissertation does not thoroughly explore the most obvious outcome a media fully captured by private sector rent-seekers, specifically media industry conglomerates.



**From *state capture* to state capitalism:
A political economy of Russia's transition (1991--2007)**

Aleksandr Shkolnikov Ph.D.

George Mason University

2008, 185 pages; AAT 3338540

Abstract

This dissertation traces the evolution of Russia's political and economic institutions since the early 1990s. Early reformers argued that Russia has successfully put in place a market economy with market liberalization and democratic elections after the collapse of the Soviet Union. I argue that it was not a market economy that appeared on the ruins of the Soviet empire - rather, a *state capture* system riddled with institutional deficiencies emerged. The institutional weakness of the country was eventually exposed in the 1998 financial crisis when the *state capture* system collapsed. In its place, under the leadership of Vladimir Putin, a state capitalism system was put into place, with Russia once again missing out on a chance to move closer to establishing a functional democratic market economy. I trace Russia's transition utilizing the tools of public choice and institutional economics, developing important linkages between democratic governance and market economies often mistakenly discarded as non-existent. Russia went from one form of political economy damaging to growth and development (state capture) to another (state capitalism) in less than two decades. Market economy remained a missing link in this transition. However, I propose that just as state capture proved unsustainable in the 1990s, so is state capitalism today. What will be the next step in Russia's development? Will a market economy come to replace state capitalism or will Russia move further into authoritarianism? The dissertation concludes by addressing these issues.

Limitations

Because of the unique nature of Russian culture and economy, both historical and contemporary, the lessons learned about corruption and capitalism in this dissertation may be limited to general applicability in the Russian and CIS context.



The attitudes of political elites toward political corruption: A case study of Thailand

Sayamon Saksmerprome Ph.D.

The Claremont Graduate University

2008, 280 pages; AAT 3351228

Abstract

This study examines the attitudes of Thai political elites toward political corruption. Results from surveys completed by 98 political elites and in-depth interviews with 28 leading political figures in Thailand during the summer of 2007 reveal variation in the pattern of tolerant attitudes toward corruption by political elites. This study finds that three factors--party affiliation, regional subcultures, and political experience--explain this variation.

The combined results from the surveys and interviews show that party affiliation has the strongest impact on the attitudes of political elites on corruption, while regional cultures have a lesser impact and political experience the least.

Regional subcultures is the second factor considered and is shown to have mixed effects on elite attitudes toward corrupt acts. Political elites from southern Thailand view less severe forms of corruption, such as petty corruption and gift-giving, as more acceptable than do politicians from other regions.

The third factor, party affiliation, shows the strongest impact on elite attitudes toward political corruption. The interview results reveal that political elites affiliated with the three major Thai political parties (Democratic Party, Chart Thai Party, Thai Rak Thai Party) perceive political corruption differently. While Democratic Party members view the current political corruption situation as a major national problem that needs to be solved immediately, members of Chart Thai and Thai Rak Thai parties view it as a normal problem that does not warrant urgent attention. Moreover, party affiliation has a positive impact on views of many severe forms of corruption (from nepotism and campaign finance corruption to grand corruption).

Limitations

The attitudes of Thai political elites may share some commonalities with the attitudes of political elites of other states in the region, including propensities towards nepotism and rent seeking. However, the Thai political party system is deeply if uncomfortably tied to the nation's relationship with its royalty, military and economic elites, which has resulted in numerous coups in recent history. This is all played against a backdrop of comparatively stable economic development. Such characteristics are not typical of other states in this region and the analysis may therefore, not be immediately applicable outside Thailand.



**Taiwan domestic politics:
Political corruption, cross-strait relations, and national identity**

Jason Hunter, M.S.

Oklahoma State University

2007, 84 pages; AAT 1443034

Abstract

This thesis examines domestic politics of Taiwan with a particular focus on periods from 2000, when Chen Shui-bian was elected as president, to 2007. Sources for this thesis were mainly derived from written literature government documents, academic journals, newspapers, and other primary and secondary resources.

This author purports that in general people make choices biased on rational thought. People look for solutions that benefit not only themselves but also those around them. The author assesses that there is more opportunity for positive-sum gain. Although a situation may not be seen as positive-sum gain two parties or more may in fact reap benefits. Through better understanding the political parties, the political process, and peoples' perception of politics/national identity in Taiwan this author hopes to contribute to the on going research regarding Taiwan's identity, its political recognition/or lack there of, and predict or at least highlight key variables that may influence the future of Taiwan and cross-strait relations. Political corruption is this viewed through this context.

In this paper, the author attempts to demonstrate how Taiwan and China both have the potential to benefit from cross-strait relations regardless of any change in the status quo. This is not to say whether Taiwan or China should act unilaterally to change the status quo, doing so might create an international disaster, rather it is to say that a gradual change in status quo in either direction could mutually benefit both Taiwan and China over the long-term. Rational decisions will also ensure the security and stability of a nation over time. Through political and social motivating factors the people of Taiwan are undergoing a gradual shift in identity.

Limitations

The author limits discussions of political corruption to their influence on cross-strait relations between China and Taiwan. Further, the author has predetermined views on the practical benefits of “corruption” which deserve detailed treatment and a more critical analysis.



Bandits or rulers? Sources of perceived political corruption in sub-Saharan Africa

Paul Iroghama Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Dallas

2005, 175 pages; AAT 3176128

Abstract

There has been substantial research on the causes of political corruption cross-nationally in sub-Saharan Africa. Debates, seminars and conferences have been organized as to why perceptions of political corruption are pervasive, notably in sub-Saharan Africa. There is a general consensus in the literature that perceptions of political corruption produce a variety of pernicious effects, including undermining the legitimacy of government. Yet, we know little about the possible role of individual- and societal-level characteristics on perceptions of political corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa. This dissertation examines the impact of both individual- and societal-level characteristics on perceptions of political corruption in this region of the world.

The goal of this research is to test the implicit hypothesis that characteristics of individual and/or of society contribute immensely to perceptions of political corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa. Data on the Sub-Saharan countries were obtained from Afrobarometer Survey Group, Kaufmann, Kraay, and Zoido-Lobaton (KKZ) index, and various United Nation Annual Reports. I performed analysis on five separate Sub-Saharan countries, then on to all Sub-Saharan nations of which data were available to see if there are differences or similarities in perception within and among nations.

All analyses indicate that higher levels of educational attainment, media consumption, political fragmentation, personal well-being, economic well-being of a nation, and political situation all help to increase perception of political corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa. For example, on average, those with higher education are more likely to perceive political corruption, whereas those that are highly satisfied with their economic condition perceive low corruption.

Limitations

The attempt to examine the impact of both individual- and societal-level characteristics on perceptions of political corruption in sub-Saharan Africa may suffer from lack of reliable data which has not been adequately addressed.



Corruption and democratization in the Republic of Korea: The end of political bank robbery

James C. Schopf, Ph.D.

University of California, San Diego

2003, 544 pages; AAT 3115449

Abstract

The perception is prevalent that corruption in Korea has increased with democratization, according to the Business International Index. Scholars have submitted several explanations for this apparent trend, including the decline of the autonomous developmental state, pressure to purchase votes, lobbying from social groups, and under-developed institutions.

Advanced, systematic statistical analysis at a high level, and focused on 'Grand' corruption, is now possible through the first release of previously sealed National Assembly data under the Korean Freedom of Information Act, reveals that, contrary to popular perception, Grand Corruption markedly declined following the democratic transition.

The documents provide insight into the political logic underlying Chun's unchecked authoritarian corruption, indicating the allocated of rents through industrial rationalization programs and government contract procurement to consolidate support and receive bribes from ruling coalition members. Chun also corruptly abused government authority, threatening private property rights to extract further bribes and reallocate assets and property to allied firms.

The more active National Assembly and independent courts upheld private property rights, making corruption through extortion more difficult.

Limitations

The question of benchmark data has not been established. Further, the statistical analysis could benefit from a comparative assessment of current conditions of corruption perceptions in Korea, as well as the record of the courts in dealing with corruption issues.



"Don't buy another vote. I won't pay for a landslide": The sordid and continuing history of political corruption in West Virginia

Allen Hayes Loughry II S.J.D.

The American University

2003, 467 pages; AAT 3107834

Abstract

This study documents the long and sordid history of corruption--both perceived and corroborated--in the West Virginia political process. The researcher explores the considerable amounts of money spent by wealthy individuals for election or re-election. It documents the effect of high-cost elections, an effect which in many instances has spawned criminal activity. The author relates ostensibly ceaseless measures of corruption at the executive, legislative, and judicial levels. The findings indicate the existence of problems in West Virginia politics since the State's inception in 1863, including vote buying, vote rigging, hindered by geographical barriers and lawlessness, leading to numerous declarations of martial law. The data attests that the ongoing practice of corruption has not been confined to one level of government as city, county, state, and even federal candidates have been subject to well warranted scrutiny, including the nationally pivotal 1960 West Virginia Primary involving victorious candidate John F. Kennedy, Jr. The author examines *Clean Money* legislation as one potential avenue to reform providing that no reform will be successful without the elimination of the many advantages available only to incumbents.

Limitations

The survey would benefit from a deeper analysis of the role of the federal government in the origins as well as the continuing problem of corruption in West Virginia, as well their possible role in remediation – such as an intensive clean-up campaign in which the federal government participated.



Political corruption in Japan: A study of the theory, causes and effects with particular reference to the Yakuza factor in banking scandals and prolonged recession

Eric Thomas Messersmith Ph.D.

University of Miami

2003, 196 pages; AAT 3096355

Abstract

The reasons behind a nation's economic decline are multifarious and complex and these events are often cyclical, as in nature--having to do with natural boom and bust periods, overproduction, shrinkage of export markets, loss of consumer confidence, etc. However, when a nation's economy does not recover on a cyclical up-curve, such as the one experienced in the mid- to late-nineties by most of the industrialized world, then one has to start to look for more specific and particular reasons--internal government policies, mismanagement of the economy, or errors in decision-making.

One of the most insidious and difficult to detect reasons for an economic slump is corruption. For corruption to affect an economy on a massive enough scale to cause recession that corruption has to be widespread and at very high levels of policy making, part of the very fabric of the governing process. Those factors make it much more difficult to identify and to root out for, in many cases, those actually doing the investigating may themselves be tainted with the same brush--or may be frightened into keeping everything under wraps, fearing for their own lives or those of their families.

The danger is even more keenly felt within an economy such as Japan's where the private and public sectors are so interwoven as to be practically indistinguishable or inseparable in some cases, and where the direction taken by the economy is very carefully planned (a result of the continuation of pre-Second World War policies when the Japanese government saw the positive results of the Soviet experiments in planned economies). It is also an economy that still runs on family or group dynamics rather than the rule of law or free market forces and one in which most disputes are settled on a personal level because of the lack of trust in the judiciary. This makes it very difficult to set up regulatory institutions to monitor the affairs of the various sectors of the economy.

Limitations

The unique role and place of the yakuza mafia in Japanese society may only be rivalled by the role and place of the Italian mafia in that society, although there are significant differences in their respective *modus operandi*. Such roles can be better contrasted with the more organized and ritualized mafia-like cultures in other parts of the world, particularly those that operate in the Balkans.



Political corruption: Theory and evidence from the Brazilian experience

Kara Elizabeth Norlin, Ph.D.

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

2003, 124 pages; AAT 3086147

Abstract

In the classic principal-agent model of corruption, citizens cannot observe the public servant's corrupt behavior. Corruption results from the combination of asymmetric information and the opportunistic behavior of the public servant. The assumption that voters observe politicians is introduced and a model of political corruption with a heterogeneous electorate is developed. Middle class voters pay taxes and prefer politicians who spend tax revenue on public goods. Lower class voters do not pay taxes, and prefer public and private goods. Private goods are given from individual politicians to individual voters and typically take the form of basic necessities, such as foodbaskets. To get elected, politicians need campaign contributions, which come from clients and interest groups. Clients provide illegal kickbacks from income received from over-invoiced government contracts. Interest groups provide legal campaign contributions. It is shown that the introduction of a lower class that values private goods decreases the costs of corruption. The model also highlights that the costs and benefits of corruption depend on the relative sizes of the middle and lower class voters.

The model is tested with data collected during a year of field research in Brazil. The statistical work is supplemented with qualitative evidence received from interviews. In the empirical analysis the data is segmented data by education levels, which are my proxies for economic classes. The dependent variable is percentage of the electorate by district who voted for known corrupt politicians. The data come from elections in 1998 from two regions in Brazil, one election determining a senator and the other a governor. The empirical results in both cases are consistent with the hypothesis that corrupt politicians receive more votes in electoral zones characterized by lower class voters. In particular, illiterate voters overwhelmingly voted for the corrupt candidate. Middle class zones characterized by relatively higher levels of education voted for the non- or relatively less-corrupt candidate.

Limitations

The data pool on which the model was tested may be too small to adequately represent the experience of electorates throughout the whole of Brazil or to make reasonable extrapolations.



Assessing the impact of trade, foreign direct investment, and foreign aid on political corruption

Michelene D. Cox Ph.D.

The University of Alabama

2002, 167 pages; AAT 3051975

Abstract

This study investigates the impact of trade, foreign direct investment, and foreign aid on perceived levels of political corruption across a broad cross-section of countries. Defining political corruption as the abuse of public power for private gain, this study proposed that closed economies would breed political avarice while greater economic openness would deter it. Hypotheses were tested using bivariate and multi-variate regressions. The latter tests controlled for a number of other variables linked to corruption including level of economic development, and sociopolitical and geographic factors. The analyses demonstrated a statistically significant and inverse relationship; that is, more trade, investment, and aid all contribute to lower levels of corruption. A final test to determine causality, however, exposed different linkages and suggested that the relationship between economic integration and political corruption is not in fact one-directional but reciprocal.

Limitations

The standard limitations of statistical analysis apply to this paper, particularly given the enormous scope of the analysis. Broad, generalized conclusions may be of little or no value in contributing to existing knowledge.



Impact of political corruption on system support in Nicaragua: 1996--1998

Maria Pia Scarfo Ph.D.

University of Pittsburgh

2002, 164 pages; AAT 3066987

Abstract

This study focuses on the impact of political corruption on system support in Nicaragua and is based upon citizens' experiences, whether direct or indirect, with acts of corruption. To measure these direct and indirect experiences with corruption, I relied upon public opinion surveys conducted by the University of Pittsburgh Latin American Public Opinion Project in 1996 and 1998, and data personally collected in Nicaragua in 2000. I combined two interrelated levels of analysis: direct experiences with political corruption (micro-level) and the influence of socio-economic variables (macro-level) to look at individual behavior within the socio-political environment.

The study focused on corruption--perhaps the most important variable shaping system support--at the municipal level, the crossroads where this support--vital for any democratizing nation--is generated. The results suggest that experiences with corruption lower support for the political system, but they are not the only factors affecting system support: from time to time other elements emerge as contributing factors. First, an increase in attention to media in 1996 decreased Nicaraguans' support for the system; second, the support for the municipal government in the poorer areas indicates the persistence of a patronage system difficult to eradicate and third, voter abstention as an indicator of political alienation at the municipal level reflects the exclusion of an important part of the society from the political life and decreases the individual system support.

The implication of these findings carry importance for scholars, who should pay more attention to the impact of corruption on system support, and for leaders of democratizing regimes in Latin America and the third world, who should realize that political support for the new regime will not be won without effective and drastic measures to fight political corruption.

Limitations

The wide sweeping findings of this study do not seem to be supported by the research.



Institutional roots of China's political corruption in the reform era: An empirical study

Cheng, Wenhua Ph.D.

Yale University

2002, 226 pages; AAT 3046133

Abstract

The biggest puzzle about political corruption in contemporary China, lies with the fact that it has grown steadily throughout the reform period. This phenomenon raises two interrelated questions that must be answered. First, why are public officials at all levels able to abuse their power in the first place? Second: why does the state fail to contain the spread of corruption?

For the first question, the author argues that public officials need to have sufficient power, strong incentives for corruption, and ample corrupt opportunities to commit corrupt practices. In the reform era, although the state has loosened its control over the economy and the society, local government agencies have obtain a substantial amount of power that the central government has decentralized, and they themselves have also created more power in order to further improve their power status. These factors have greatly increased the scarce resources controlled by local officials, who can then trade these resources for private gains. Meanwhile, the reform process, and the economic and social changes it caused, has opened up various kinds of opportunities for officials to abuse their power safely and profitably. Under these circumstances, many officials would develop strong incentives to abuse their power.

The state could not prevent the situations from deteriorating, because it failed to identify and remove the major corrupt opportunities that have made possible various corrupt practices. To make things worse, certain institutional arrangements have almost crippled China's anti-corruption agencies, which are not able to resist the political disturbance from the local party and government leaders. This has lowered the risk that official face when they abuse their power.

Based on the above facts, China should launch a comprehensive anti-corruption campaign that aims to eradicate the institutional roots of corruption. It should also improve the power status of anti-corruption agencies at all levels.

Limitations

The author's conclusion could have more deeply addressed the local control v central power issues that work to hinder or neutralize the effects of comprehensive anti-corruption campaigns in China, as well as the likely outcomes of specific attempts to improve the power status of anti-corruption entities at all levels. Also, the role of 'local' victims of corruption, including peasants dislocated by land grabs orchestrated by local officials, could enhance the understanding of the systemic nature of the problem as well as possible solutions



Political corruption in Congo Zaire: Its impact on development

Clement Bata Bamuamba, M.A.

Saint Mary's University (Canada)

2002, 133 pages; AAT MQ65726

Abstract

In the past decade or so, the "Great Lakes Region" of Sub-Saharan Africa attracted considerable attention from many observers and scholars. In this part of Africa, events have been always influenced by both the political and economic structures led down by the Belgians as colonizers of this region, but also, by the current changes and shifts in the global political economy. As a result, Congo-Zaire, found itself trapped in one of the worst and consistent crisis ever experienced since it became independent from Belgium in 1960. This study however, will investigate the sources of the "Dire" political corruption and whether there could be any co-existence of corruption and development. The thesis of this study is that the political corruption in Congo-Zaire has been exacerbated by the support of Mobutu's regime by the West during the Cold War era in Africa. Specifically it is argued that the massive in flows of loans received from the World Bank/IMF in the same period, created an opportunity for the government officials to deviate funds, thus making the state more dependent on the West and legitimizing corruption practices in that country.

Limitations

The focus of the study on the impact of corruption on development limits what might have been a fruitful examination into how the work of international financial institutions could be more effective if, for example, recipient countries were assisted in mitigating incidences of state capture, inclusive of a discussion of the inherent issues therein.



Disciplining the state:

Political corruption, state-making and local resistance in modern China

Patricia Marie Thornton Ph.D.

University of California, Berkeley

1997, 378 pages; AAT 9803379

Abstract

How are normative conceptions of political behavior shaped, and how do such notions change over time? Do states fundamentally transform political ethics, and, if so, how? What forces drive our ideas about how political actors ought to behave?

In order to address the broader issue of the role political ethics play in political life, this study compares central state and local discourses of corruption and ethical conduct under three Chinese regimes over an approximate two hundred and fifty year span, during which Chinese leaders attempted to weed out and combat politically corrupt behavior on the part of government officials and local elites.

Using state documents and legal cases from each period, I outline the efforts of these regimes to define and limit political corruption among local-level officials under the rubric of different ideologies. Relying on unofficial and local historical sources from each period, I also reconstruct how local peasant populations viewed the conduct of these authorities and their own obligations to the state.

I argue that whereas "state discourses" of corruption were driven by the instrumental goals of the state-making process and vary over time, "local discourses" changed relatively little in substance and invoked a rhetoric of corruption and virtue that was generally at odds with the interests of central state authorities. These "local discourses," moreover, were not reducible to subsistence-based concerns, as the moral economists have argued; rather, they were used rhetorically both to build community solidarity and articulate a wide range of local political, social and cultural resistances.

Limitations

What role are the cultural resistances the author speaks of playing, and what role might they play, in current anti-corruption drives? This is a critical question which might, if it were investigated, provide further practical benefit to the treatment.



Who guards the guardians? The foundations of political corruption

Gabriella Rodriguez Montinola Ph.D.

Stanford University

1995, 209 pages; AAT 9602932

Abstract

The end of World War II marked a revolutionary period in history as numerous colonies achieved sovereign statehood and adopted democratic institutions. Sadly, the high hopes of many nationalist movements in the new states were soon dashed. The specific institutions that the new democracies adopted resembled those of different advanced states in form but not in performance. In practice, corruption, nepotism, bribery, and ultimately, *coups d'etat* and revolutions undermined the democratic principles espoused by nationalist movements.

What conditions underpin endemic corruption, and why does it persist more acutely in some countries than others? Why do democratic institutions, such as elections, often fail to curb corruption? Why do some authoritarian regimes develop into kleptocracies while others evolve into developmental states? In this dissertation, I build a theory based on insights from the literature on principal-agent relationships to explain the origins and persistence of corruption. I argue that the level of corruption in a polity is determined not only by the absence or presence of competitive elections, but also by the number of dimensions, or major cleavage issues, structure competition among forces attempting to influence public policy.

In particular, I suggest that non-corrupt behavior is self-enforcing when competition to influence policy is uni-dimensional for two reasons. First, competition along a single dimension prevents politicians from significantly deviating from their substantive campaign promises such that they sell out a large number of their constituents. Second, free from the problem of ensuring that politicians remain relatively faithful to their campaign promises, constituents can better focus on the agency problem of policing corruption.

The theory of corruption presented in the dissertation is applied to two countries, the Philippines and Chile, under both democratic and authoritarian regimes. The four cases are compared to each other in order to determine the influence of regime type and the structure of competition to influence policy on corruption.

Limitations

The study may have benefited more if the sample countries that were chosen had been more closely aligned in terms of geographical size and population size, natural resources bases, rural-urban population demographics, GNP and average annual incomes, independence struggles and length of time from independence and the like.



Political corruption:

A cross-national examination of public, judicial and legislative responses

David Black, M.A.

University of Windsor (Canada)

1995, 157 pages; AAT MM69871

Abstract

This thesis is a cross-national comparison of corrupt acts by members of the executive in Canada and West Germany. The paper is divided into three distinct sections. The introduction contains a discussion of the method of study that is utilized. An analysis of the definitions of corruption that are available follows, and the definition that is used in this paper is also specified. A brief profile of the two cases selected for the thesis is also presented.

The second section of this thesis presents the details of the Sinclair Stevens case in Canada and the Flick affair in West Germany. From the evidence that is available it will be explained how both cases constitute corruption as it is defined in the first section. How the cases came to be exposed by the media, the reports which initiated the legislative investigations into allegations of corruption, are also examined, followed by an investigation of public, judicial and legislative responses to the acts of corruption. In the third section the observed responses at all three levels (judicial, legislative and public) to the cases will be compared and contrasted.

Limitations

The study represent a simple analysis of two cases of political corruption in different countries and examines the outcomes which could have benefitted through further analysis of the implications of these scandals to the recent and very conspicuous Brian Mulroney-Airbus kickback investigations in Canada and the Helmut Kohl – CDU political slush fund and arms deals scandal in Germany.



DESCRIPTION of BOOKS on CORRUPTION, 1997-2007

State Capture, Grand Corruption & Political Corruption

The new golden age: the coming revolution against political corruption and economic chaos

Raveendra N. Batra

Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007

Description

Bringing the same insight and expertise as he did to his other much-talked-about books, this controversial economist takes on a host of problems facing the world economy, including the oil and housing bubbles, falling minimum wages, corporate scandals, gross ethical lapses, the rise of celebrity economists at the Federal Reserve and elsewhere, and political crises of all kinds. He is unflinching in his criticism of the global economic elites and the suffering and deprivation they have caused in the lives of ordinary men and women. At the same time, he also offers an expansive, optimistic vision of how the international community can overcome the many challenges before it and bring about something historically unprecedented: true global economic prosperity.

Contents

- A Globe in Poverty and Economic Chaos
- The Twin Bubbles: Housing and Oil
- The Cycles of Inflation and Money
- The Law of Social Cycle
- Western Society
- The U.S. Business Empire
- Lies, Damned Lies, and Economists
- The Muslim Civilization
- Contemporary Muslim Society
- Our Common Future
- Global Poverty: A Call for Voter's Revolution

Limitations

The broad thematic focus of the book - the role of elites in the global economy and the growing outrage against politicians and economic actors for corrupt conduct - limits the depth of analyses.



Comparing political corruption and clientelism

Junichi Kawata

Aldershot, Hampshire, England / Burlington, VT Ashgate, 2006

Description

Past modernization literature has assumed that corruption and clientelism reflect a pre-modern social structure and could be referred to as a pathologic phenomenon of the political system. Very few have considered corruption and clientelism as structural products of an interwoven connection between capital accumulation, bureaucratic rationalization, interest intermediation and political participation from below. This volume analyzes key aspects of the debate such as: Should corruption and clientelism be evaluated as a 'lubricant' in terms of administrative efficiency - legitimate demands from the margins of society to redress social and economic inequality or to readdress economic development? What would be the effect of strengthening policing to control political corruption? Could electoral reform or a decentralization of government power be a cure for all? These questions among others are answered in this comprehensive volume.

Contents

- Political Clientelism and Corruption: Neo-Structuralism and Republicanism
- A Typology of Corrupt Networks
- Political Corruption and Reform in Democracies: Theoretical Perspectives
- Anti-fraud Politics in the European Union: Multi-level Disjuncture of Legitimacy and Effectiveness
- Internal Party Organization in the Italian Christian Democrats and Japanese Liberal Democrats: Factional Competition for Office, Clienteles and Corrupt Exchange
- The End of the Conservative/Reformist Era and the Emergence of Corruption Politics
- Mafia, Corruption Violence and Incivism
- The Long Life of Clientelism in Southern Italy
- The Development of Political Clientelism in 20th Century France: Party Networks and Patterns of Voter Loyalization
- Clientelism's Electoral Connection and its Policy Effects: Comparison between Korea and Japan

Limitations

This is a collection of essays from various contributors. As such, the thesis - whether clientelism is a necessary evil which is complimentary to administrative efficiency - and the thematic link between chapters does not lead to strong thematically related conclusions.



Political Corruption in the Caribbean Basin: Constructing a Theory to Combat Corruption

Michael Collier

New York: Routledge, 2005

Description

The book focuses on the political corruption in the Caribbean Basin using historical and comparative approach.

Contents:

- Caribbean Political Corruption Issues
- Key Definitions
- Explanations for Political Corruption
- Research Design
- Limitations, Delimitations, Contributions
- The Constructivist Analytic Frame
- A Political Corruption Agency Analysis
- A Political Corruption Structural Analysis
- Corruption Across the Spanish Main
- Corruption in the Colonies of Spain's European Rivals
- US Caribbean Interventions
- Changing the Caribbean Political Corruption Rules
- Post-World War II Caribbean Structural Development
- Contemporary Caribbean Institutions
- Caribbean Political Corruption Behaviors
- Historical Setting
- Assessing Contemporary Jamaican Political Corruption
- Explaining Jamaican Political Corruption
- Historical Setting
- Assessing Contemporary Costa Rican Political Corruption
- Explaining Costa Rican Political Corruption

Limitations

Self-explanatory – see “delimitations”



Corruption by Design: Building Clean Government in Mainland China and Hong Kong

Melanie Manion

Harvard University Press, 2004.

Description

This analytically rigorous book contrasts experiences of mainland China and Hong Kong to explore the pressing question of how governments can transform a culture of widespread corruption to one of clean government. The book examines Hong Kong as the best example of the possibility of reform. Within a few years it achieved a spectacularly successful conversion to clean government. Mainland China illustrates the difficulty of reform. Despite more than two decades of anticorruption reform, corruption in China continues to spread essentially unabated. The book argues that where corruption is already commonplace, the context in which officials and ordinary citizens make choices to transact corruptly (or not) is crucially different from that in which corrupt practices are uncommon. A central feature of this difference is the role of beliefs about the prevalence of corruption and the reliability of government as an enforcer of rules ostensibly constraining official venality. Anticorruption reform in a setting of widespread corruption is a problem not only of reducing corrupt payoffs, but also of changing broadly shared expectations of venality. The book explores differences in institutional design choices about anticorruption agencies, appropriate incentive structures, and underlying constitutional designs that contribute to the disparate outcomes in Hong Kong and mainland China.

Contents:

- Anticorruption Reform in a Setting of Widespread Corruption
- Corruption and Anticorruption Reform in Hong Kong
- An Explosion of Corruption in Mainland China
- Problems of Routine Anticorruption Enforcement
- Anticorruption Campaigns as Enforcement Mechanisms
- Institutional Designs for Clean Government Notes

Limitations

The Chinese landscape is entirely different than that of Hong Kong, even prior to Hong Kong's intense reform campaign. Population and geography, legal systems, political history and the legacy of colonialism all conspire to make the Hong Kong story extremely distinct from China and very difficult to transpose between the two, despite the existence of similar cultures.



Anticorruption in Transition 2: Corruption in Enterprise-State Interactions in Europe and Central Asia, 1999-2002

Cheryl Gray & Joel Hellman, Randi Ryterman.
Washington, D.C., World Bank Publication, 2004.

Description

Analyzing patterns and trends in corruption in business-government interactions in the transition economies of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the work points to some encouraging signs that the magnitude and negative impact corruption exerts on businesses may be declining in many countries in the region. The long-term sustainability of recent improvements is not certain, however, and the challenges ahead remain formidable.

Contents:

- Patterns of Corruption, 1999 and 2002
- Understanding Corruption
- Summary and Conclusions: Are Changes in Corruption Sustainable?

Limitations

A limited survey based on short term trends which may have been influenced by a range of factors not possible to include in the scope of the research.



The Political Economy of Corruption in Sierra Leone

Kelfala M. Kallon

Lewiston, N.Y., Mellen Press, 2004.

Description

This book's overriding theme is that Sierra Leone's problem of endemic corruption is due to the fact that the net benefit from corruption has been consistently positive and high throughout much of the post-independence period, and that economic analysis can offer useful insights into the problem of corruption, generally, and Sierra Leone's problem, specifically. It follows a multi-disciplinary approach, drawing heavily on economics, history, and political science. It is directed at scholars and policy makers interested in the problem of corruption in LDCs, and its findings are applicable to other African countries and corruption studies.

Contents:

I: Causes and Consequences of Corruption

- The Causes of Corruption
- The Consequences of Corruption

Part II: Corruption in the Political Economy of Sierra Leone

- A Review of the Political History of Sierra Leone, 1947-67
- Did Corruption Cause the 1967 Constitutional Crisis?
- Corruption and State Politics in Post-1967 Sierra Leone
- The Impact of the Post-Colonial Regimes on the Economy

III: Economic Models of Corrupt Behavior

- Corruption between Firms and Public Officials
- Corruption in the Market for Government Services
- A Comparative Evaluation of Corruption-Abatement Strategies
- Corruption-Abatement in Sierra Leone: History and Recommended Strategies
- Corruption-Abatement in Sierra Leone: History and Strategies

Limitations

As an inter-disciplinary approach, the study may have benefited from comparison with an African success story such as Botswana, which also relies on natural resources, particularly diamonds..



Anticorruption in Transition -- A Contribution to the Policy Debate

Sanjay Pradhan, James H. Anderson, Joel Hellman, Geraint Jones, Bill Moore, Helga Muller, Randi Ryterman, and Helen Sutch
The World Bank, 2000

Description

Corruption is increasingly recognized as a central challenge for many transition countries, undermining the credibility of the state, impeding investment and growth, and inflicting significant costs to the poor. Confronting corruption in transition countries requires a new approach that recognizes the diverse factors underlying the persistence of corruption and provides a foundation for tailoring strategies to the particular contours of the problem in different countries. This Report provides an approach to meeting these challenges. It begins by unbundling the problem of corruption, recognizing that what is generally treated as a unidimensional phenomenon encompasses a range of different interactions within the state and between the state and society, each with its own dynamics. Corruption is unbundled into two broad types, state capture and administrative corruption. State capture refers to the actions of individuals, groups or firms both in the public and private sectors to influence the formation of laws, regulations, decrees and other government policies to their own advantage as a result of the illegal transfer or concentration of private benefits to public officials. While state capture encodes advantages for particular individuals or groups in the basic legal or regulatory framework, administrative corruption refers to the intentional imposition of distortions in the prescribed implementation of existing laws, rules and regulations to provide advantages to either state or non-state actors as a result of the illegal transfer or concentration of private gains to public officials. On this basis of state capture and administrative corruption, a new typology of corruption is developed for the transition countries, which is used to explore differences in the origins and consequences of corruption in distinct groups of countries. Specific policy recommendations are then tailored for each group drawing from a common set of institutional and policy reforms with emphasis on how to target anticorruption efforts, how to sequence reforms, and how to calibrate realistic expectations in different contexts.

Limitations

The study is limited to an analysis of state capture administrative corruption as a vehicle to ‘unbundle’ the corruption riddle in transition economies. While this provides certain advantages, it also presents issues with regard to oversimplification where input from other disciplines, including anthropology, could offer additional depth.



Corruption in Contemporary Politics

Martin J. Bull and James L. Newell., ed.

Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Description

Political corruption has recently emerged as a key area in the study of advanced industrial nations. Not only has it become more visible than in the past, its sheer scale in some countries has had a significant impact on the functioning of their political institutions. The book presents a series of case studies of political corruption in the liberal democracies of Europe—Spain, Italy, Greece, Germany, France, Belgium, Portugal, Sweden, the Netherlands, Ireland, and the United Kingdom—as well as Japan and the United States. Each of the chapters is identically formatted, with discussions of the newness, scale, and corruption; the causes and dynamics of corruption; anti-corruption measures; and the impact and exposure of corruption.

Contents

I. 'Quiet corrupt' countries

- Political corruption in Spain: Fernando Jiménez and Miguel Caínzos
- Political corruption in Greece: Kleomenis S. Koutsoukis
- Political corruption in Italy: James L. Newell and Martin J. Bull

II. 'Somewhat corrupt' countries

- Political corruption in Germany: Joanna McKay
- Political corruption in the United States: Robert Williams
- Political corruption in France: Jocelyn A.J. Evans
- Political corruption in Belgium: Lieven De Winter
- Political corruption in Japan: Albrecht Rothacher
- Political corruption in Portugal: José M. Magone

III. 'Least corrupt' countries

- Political corruption in Sweden: Staffan Andersson
- Political corruption in the Netherlands: Petrus C. van Duyne, Leo W.J.C. Huberts and J. Hans J. van den Heuvel
- Political corruption in Ireland: Neil Collins and Mary O'Shea
- Political corruption in the United Kingdom: Alan Doig

IV. Comparative, supra-national and international perspectives

- Political corruption in Central and Eastern Europe: Leslie Holmes
- International corruption: Jens Christopher Andvig
- Political corruption in the European Union: David Nelken
- Conclusion: Political corruption in contemporary democracies: Martin J. Bull and James L. Newell.

Limitations

The study would benefit from a discussion of the legal framework that has been established to mitigate corruption and the deficiencies of this framework.



Political corruption: in and beyond the nation state

Robert Harris

London; New York: Routledge, 2003

Description

In *Politics and Corruption*, Robert Harris argues that any analysis of political corruption focusing on the nation-state or on miscreant individuals has been rendered obsolete by developments in globalized finance and international organized crime. Rather, political corruption involves the extension of the normal processes of politics into illegitimate areas of activity where self-serving individuals are able to exploit the gaps between different parts of a country's political system, or between different political systems on the international stage. In light of these considerations the book explores political corruption, its economic and transnational dimensions, as well as its links with organized crime, money laundering, people smuggling and the drug trade.

Contents

- The idea of political corruption I: conceptual and definitional issues
- The idea of political corruption II: the contribution of political economy
- National political corruption I: the People's Republic of China
- National political corruption II: the United Kingdom
- Transnational political corruption I: international finance
- Transnational political corruption II: organized crime, smuggling and the global political economy of drugs
- Conclusion

Limitations

This overview of political corruption with a transnational focus attempts the difficult task of drawing links between rather nebulous and dispersed elements. A somewhat limited analysis on an important subject that could benefit from more detailed case studies.



Political corruption : concepts & contexts

Arnold J. Heidenheimer, Michael Johnston, editors.
New Brunswick, N.J., Transaction Publishers, 2002

Description

A consideration of political corruption, offering concepts, cases and evidence for comparative analysis. Building on a nucleus of classic studies laying out the nature and development of the concept of corruption, it also incorporates recent work on economic, cultural and linguistic dimensions.

Contents

- Terms, concepts and definitions
- Comparing across time and countries
- Perceptions and Distinctions
- Political Development
- Modernization and Corruption
- Corruption and Economic Growth
- Endemic Corruption and African Underdevelopment
- The Asian Exception? Corruption as a Lesser Handicap
- Reactions to Corruption in Authoritarian Regimes
- Corruption in the Levels of the American Government
- Political Parties and Political Corruption
- Corruption Inheritance: Entrenched or Transitional
- Corruption Terms, Measures and Methodologies
- International Efforts to Control Corruption

Limitations

This is a discursive collection of essays from various contributors taking a multi-disciplinary approach to the subject of corruption with limited depth and wide coverage.



Political Corruption in Transition: A Sceptic's Handbook

Stephen Kotkin and András Sajó

Central European University Press, 2002..

Description

This book, a wide-ranging comparative review of corruption during the transition from communism, is a strong statement against corruption. The real strength of the seventeen essays lies in their shared skepticism about superficial approach, including about external pressures on transitions states, like the much cited CPI (corruption perception index) of Transparency International. The seventeen authors were selected and invited in the frame of a joint Princeton-CEU project on the theme and have produced a carefully edited volume. Some of the chapters are more theoretical; others based on sociological surveys. The essays contain many anecdotal references on the issue such as the astonishing parallel of Korea and the Czech Republic, examples of rather clean low-level governance coexisting with massive corruption cases at the top; or the incidences of counter-effects of Soviet and post-soviet anticorruption campaigns; but the reader gets examples from Alaska as well.

Contents:

- Clientelism and Extortion: Corruption in Transition: Andras Sajo 1
I. Understanding and Misunderstanding Corruption 23
- Corruption: An Analytical Map: Diego Gambetta 33
- Political Corruption, Democratization, and Reform: Mark Philp 57
- Dilemmas of Corruption Control: James B. Jacobs 81
- The Bad, the Worse and the Worst: Guesstimating the Level of Corruption: Endre Sik 91
- The Impact of Corruption on Economic Development: Applying "Third World" Insights to the Former Second World: Paul Hutchcroft 115
II Corruption as Politics 139
- From Political Clientelism to Outright Corruption - The Rise of the Scandal Industry: Erhard Blankenburg 149
- Clientelism and Corruption in South Korea: Joongi Kim 167
- Russia's Distorted Anticorruption Campaigns: Virginie Coulloudon 187
- Kompromat and Corruption in Russia: Akos Szilagy 207
III. Case Studies and Effects 233
- Games of Corruption: East Central Europe, 1945-1999: Elemer Hankiss 243
- Corruption in Czech Privatization: The Dangers of "Neo-Liberal" Privatization: Quentin Reed 261
- Corruption and Administrative Barriers for Russian Business: Vadim Radaev 287
- The Impact of Corruption on Legitimacy of Authority in New Democracies: Lena Kolarska-Bobinska 313
- Structural Corruption of Party-Funding Models: Governmental Favoritism in Bulgaria and Russia: Daniel Smilov 327
- Post-Soviet Corruption Outburst in Post-Conflict Tajikistan: Tokhir Mirzoev 353
- Afterword 383
- Liberalism, Geopolitics, Social Justice: Stephen Kotkin





Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences and Reform

Susan Rose-Ackerman

Cambridge University Press, 1999

Description

Corruption is a worldwide phenomenon. Developing countries and those making a transition from socialism are particularly at risk. This book suggests how high levels of corruption limit investment and growth and lead to ineffective government. Corruption creates economic inefficiencies and inequities, but reforms are possible to reduce the material benefits from payoffs. Corruption is not just an economic problem, however; it is also intertwined with politics. Reform may require changes in both constitutional structures and the underlying relationship of the market and the state. Effective reform cannot occur unless both the international community and domestic political leaders support change.

Contents

- Introduction: The Costs of Corruption
- The Economic Impact of Corruption
- Corruption of High-Level Officials
- Reducing Incentives and Increasing Costs
- Reform of the Civil Service
- Bribes, Patronage and Gift-Giving
- Corruption and Politics
- Democracy and Corruption: Incentives and Reforms
- Controlling Political Power
- The Role of the International Community
- Domestic Conditions for Reform
- Conclusions

Limitations

This is a primer on corruption and touches the subjects of state capture and political corruption. Useful as an introduction and a practitioner's reference book, but limited in depth.



Corrupt exchanges : actors, resources, and mechanisms of political corruption

Donatella Della Porta

New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1999

Description

Political corruption has traditionally been presented as a phenomenon characteristic of developing countries, authoritarian regimes, or societies in which the value system favored tacit patrimony and clientelism. Recently, however, the thesis of an inverse correlation between corruption and economic and political development (and therefore democratic "maturity") has been frequently and convincingly challenged.

In *Corrupt Exchanges*, primary research on the Italian case (judicial proceedings, in-depth interviews, parliamentary documents, and press databases), combined with a cross-national comparison based on a secondary analysis of corruption in democratic systems, is used to develop a model to analyze corruption as a network of illegal exchanges. The authors explore in great detail the structure of that network, by examining both the characteristics of the actors who directly engage in the corruption and the resources they exchange. These processes of degeneration have caused a crisis in the dominant paradigm in both academic and political considerations of corruption.

Contents

- The Market for Corrupt Exchange: An Introduction
- The Resources of Corruption
- The Business Politicians
- Political Parties and Corruption
- Political Corruption, Bureaucratic Corruption, and the Judiciary
- Brokers and Occult Power
- The Market for Corruption and the Economic System
- Politics, the Mafia, and the Corruption Market
- The Dynamics of Political Corruption: A Conclusion

Limitations

The culture specific relationship between organized crime and its historical roots in some parts of Italy are compared and contrasted with organized crime in selected countries. While a useful examination of the Italian context, the context may not provide a sufficient basis on which to make extrapolations, while illegal exchanges model may require further tweaking.



Political corruption and political geography

Peter John Perry.

Aldershot : Ashgate, 1997

Description

This work aims to define, describe, and to expose political corruption in the context of global politics. The author also suggests "cures and controls" for corruption at varying levels, and offers afterthoughts on the future of political corruption.

Contents

- Political corruption: introduced and discussed
- Defining political corruption
- What political corruption has to do with geography
- Political corruption: characterised and described
- Case studies
- What causes political corruption: prerequisites
- What causes political corruption: proximate
- The consequences of political corruption
- The functions of political corruption
- Cures and controls
- Afterthoughts: the future of political corruption

Limitations

There are inherent limitations in linking corruption to geography: while the former is dynamic, the later is static. While interesting, the theory will not likely endure.



Political Corruption

Paul Heywood – Editor

Oxford : Blackwell, 1997

Description

Political corruption is one of the central issues facing modern states, be they dictatorships or democracies. Once seen as a problem largely confined to the "developing world", the explosion of scandals in established western democracies over the last decade has demonstrated that no regime is immune to the corrosive impact of political corruption. This volume brings together established scholars and young researchers who approach the issue of political corruption from a variety of different analytical perspectives.

In contrast to surveys based on narrow case-studies of political corruption in particular countries, the chapters in this volume are broad-ranging and comparative. Attention is devoted to such questions as how political corruption can be defined, how it operates in practice, what its impact is on different kinds of political systems, and why it generates such concern amongst both politicians and the public. Drawing on insights from the fields of political science, game theory, economics, sociology and law, this volume provides a rich and nuanced framework for analysis.

Contents

- Political Corruption: Problems and Perspectives / Paul Heywood
- Defining Political Corruption / Mark Philp
- Corruption Networks, Transaction Security and Illegal Social Exchange / Jean Cartier-Bresson
- Corruption Cycles / Cristina Bicchieri, John Duffy
- The New Economics of Corruption: a Survey and some New Results / Alberto Ades, Rafael Di Tella
- The 'Perverse Effects' of Political Corruption / Donatella Della Porta, Alberto Vannucci
- Regulating the Conduct of MPs. The British Experience of Combating Corruption / Dawn Oliver
- The European Union: Pooled Sovereignty, Divided Accountability / John Peterson
- The Transition to the Market and Corruption in Post-socialist Russia / Federico Varese
- How Citizens Cope with Postcommunist Officials: Evidence from Focus Group Discussions in Ukraine and the Czech Republic / William L. Miller, Tatyana Koshechkina, Ase Grodland
- Understanding Political Corruption in Contemporary Indian Politics / Gurharpal Singh
- The Politics of Privilege: Assessing the Impact of Rents, Corruption, and Clientelism on Third World Development / Paul D. Hutchcroft

Limitations

This is a collection of essays by contributors, as such it is more useful for its breadth rather than for depth of analysis of the concept of political corruption.



JOURNAL/RESEARCH ARTICLES, 1995-2006

State Capture, Grand Corruption & Political Corruption

Rotten to the Core: Project Capture and the Failure of Judicial Reform in Mongolia

Brent T. White

East Asia Law Review Fall, 2009

Abstract

Despite claims by international donor agencies that judicial reform efforts in Mongolia have been a great success, this Article argues that Mongolian courts continue to grossly lack integrity, transparency, and accountability--and are perceived by the Mongolian public as more corrupt today than when donor-funded judicial reform efforts began almost a decade ago. This Article further argues that the failure of judicial reform in Mongolia stems in significant part from the "capture" of donor-funded judicial reform efforts by elites within the Mongolian judicial sector. It concludes that the inherent tendency for project capture (effectively state capture) in the "institution-building" approach to judicial reform that international donor agencies favor should add to calls to limit the approach in favor of bottom-up efforts to push for meaningful judicial reform.

Fifteen Minutes of Shame: The Growing Notoriety of Grand Corruption

Mary Evans Webster

31 Hastings Int'l & Comp. L. Rev. 807, Summer 2008

Abstract:

Despite billions of dollars expended on rule of law and good governance programs, corruption maintains a tight grasp on many developing countries. ... Asset recovery is a major issue for countries where grand corruption has resulted in the loss of millions of dollars that could be used for poverty alleviation and development of civil services. ... Leaders involved in the negotiations for the UNCAC recognized that asset recovery was fundamental to the Convention and a significant indicator of the political will of states to truly work together to fight **grand corruption**. ... The resolution called for the establishment of an interim open-ended intergovernmental working group to continue global cooperation in asset recovery; there was particular emphasis on the importance of the exchange of information, and "with a view to tracing financial flows linked to corruption, seizing assets derived from corruption and returning such assets." ... Such a refocus of efforts requires creating projects that resist manipulation by government leaders and their cronies, by supporting decentralization and increased economic competition and introducing targeted transparency and accountability reforms. ... While the United States has indicated a dedication to fighting grand corruption through a number of policy and spending initiatives, political and economic realities can supersede the priority of ending grand corruption and limit the role the law is permitted to play. ... In particular, "know your customer" regulations require banks to "ascertain the identity of the nominal or beneficial owners of, and the source of funds deposited into, the account, and report any suspicious transactions."



Grand Corruption in Utilities

Charles Kenny, World Bank - Information and Communications Technologies Department (ICT)

Tina Søreide, World Bank

World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 4805 (2008)

Abstract

This paper discusses mechanisms of grand corruption in private sector utility provision in developing countries. By the term "grand corruption," the authors abstract from the petty corruption that consumers experience - for example, when firms and individuals pay bribes to get water delivery or an electricity connection. The paper focuses on decisions made at the government level involving private sector management, ownership, and provision of utility services. Corruption at that level may influence the pace and nature of private sector involvement and competition in utilities, as well as the level and form of investments, subsidies, and prices. On the basis of a literature review and interviews with firms and regulating authorities in two countries, Tanzania and the Philippines, this paper discusses the levels and determinants of grand corruption in utilities. The paper concludes by discussing a research program to extend this knowledge through a cross-country survey instrument.

Facing the Challenge: Corruption, State Capture and the Role of Multinational Business

Nikolay A. Ouzounov*

Pacific McGeorge Global Business & Development Law Journal 2007

20 Pac. McGeorge Global Bus. & Dev. L.J. 263

Abstract:

Corruption awareness has exploded in recent years. ... Because the goal of this article is to address state capture and grand corruption in general, the article uses the terms corruption and bribery interchangeably, although as commentators note, studies of corruption should not be limited solely to the payment of bribes. ... " The following sub-section divides corruption in two distinct categories, based not only on the size of the bribe, but also on the motive behind the bribe. ... Although the Guidelines do not focus exclusively on combating corruption, chapters II, III, and VI address bribery and practices of corporate disclosure. ... Although chapter III of the Guidelines does not specifically deal with corruption, its focus on corporate transparency is extremely important in combating bribery and state capture. ... One corporate code approach recommended by Dunfee and Hess is the Combating Corruption Principles ("C2 Principles"), which focuses on disclosure and transparent practices in corporate action without trying to "define" the different types of corrupt behavior. ... The third essential element of a "portfolio approach" against corruption and international bribery is the active awareness and participation of the public. ...



Why the Private Sector is Likely to Lead the Next Stage in the Global Fight Against Corruption

Ethan S. Burger & Mary S. Holland
30 Fordham Int'l L.J. 45 (2006-2007)

Abstract:

Corruption exists in all countries, and its deleterious impact is clear: "Corruption distorts markets and competition, breeds cynicism among citizens, undermines the rule of law, damages government legitimacy, and corrodes the integrity of the private sector. ... I. DEFINING CORRUPTION AND BRIBERY ... Despite the lack of an explicit right of action, however, some corporations, with the assistance of resourceful plaintiff's counsel, have utilized FCPA violations as bases for civil damage suits. ... The COE adopted the Civil Law Convention on Corruption in 2003. ... The COE Criminal Law Convention on Corruption covers criminal activity in both the public and private sectors (principally bribery, "trading in influence," and money laundering) and envisioned signatory State prosecution of violators under domestic criminal law adopted to implement the Convention. ... D. United Nations Convention Against Corruption ... Thus, the U.N. Convention, the COE Civil Law Convention on Corruption, and the OECD Convention support private remedies for the effects of bribery. ... German law provides a private right of action for parties injured by bribe-paying corporations. ... Germany's private right of action against bribery of foreign officials is likely to lead to such a right of action in other OECD and COE nations, as required under the COE Civil Law Convention on Corruption and the OECD Convention. ... MDBs are in a position to play a key role in the fight against certain forms of corruption. ...

Economic reform, state capture, and international investment in transition economies

Nathan Jensen
30 Fordham Int'l L.J. 45, December, 2006

Abstract

The inflows of foreign direct investment (FDI) in transition economies are affected by political factors. This paper examines the empirical effects of two factors: (i) the level of economic reform; and (ii) the level of capture of the state by political and economic elites, on the level of FDI inflows using both OLS and Tobit models for 18 countries from 1993-97. Both of these factors have large and statistically significant effects on FDI inflows. Copyright © 2002 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.



The Evolution of Business: State Interaction in Russia: From State Capture to Business Capture?

Andrei Yakovlev

Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 58, No. 7 (Nov., 2006), pp. 1033-1056

Abstract

This article discusses two basic strategies of Russian companies-isolation from, and close cooperation with the state. The author analyses several ways in which companies realise these strategies, drawing analogies with the 'exit' and 'voice' strategies suggested by A. Hirschman. It is shown that under the conditions of a weak state these strategies lead either to an expansion of the shadow economy or to 'state capture'. Both the privatisation of the state and the lack of its privatisation result in budget crises as well as drastic social and political shocks, leading to calls for a 'strong hand' in the business community itself. However, as there is little political competition and the mechanisms of democratic control are weak, state consolidation takes place as a bureaucratic consolidation accompanied by new opportunities for informal 'business capture' by the authorities. Nevertheless, the high degree of openness of the economy and the remaining heterogeneity of political actors provide business with a wide range of possible strategies of interaction with the state. This article explores how these strategies are becoming more formal and public compared to the 1990s. Strategies of isolation from the state now take place as legal strategies of internationalisation. Cooperation strategies, on the other hand, currently seem to be more efficient when switching from the traditional lobbying of private interests to more rational and collective actions aimed at providing the necessary conditions for sustainable economic development.

Political Corruption as Duplicitous Exclusion

Mark E. Warren

PS: Political Science and Politics, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Oct., 2006), pp. 803-807

American Political Science Association

Abstract

While not the worst of political pathologies, corruption is the one most likely to be found thriving in electoral democracies. Not as dangerous as war, nor as urgent as terrorism, some have even argued that the little bit of corruption that comes with democracies makes them work better-by lowering transaction costs, reducing the inefficiencies of cumbersome rules, and generally making things happen (Anechiarico and Jacobs 1996; see also Leys 1965; Huntington 1968). But a strong consensus is emerging that political corruption is neither a benefit to democracy, nor an insignificant irritant: it corrodes the meanings and mechanisms of democracy itself (Della Porta and Vannucci 1999; deLeon 1993; Johnston 2005; Rose-Ackerman 1999; Rothstein 2005; Thompson 1995; Elster 1989, 263-72; Warren 2004; 2006). Corruption breaks the link between collective decision making and peoples' power to influence collective decisions through speaking and voting, the very acts that define democracy. Corruption reduces the effective domain of public action, and thus the reach of democracy, by changing public agencies of collective action to instruments of private benefit.



Corruption: Definition and Concept Manifestations and Typology in the Africa Context.

Dr. Abubakar H. Kargbo

Presentation at the Training for Members of parliament and members of Civil Society from English speaking West Africa: Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, Aberdeen, 4th to 8th September 2006.

Abstract

The topic for presentation is entitled Corruption: Definition and Concepts; Manifestation and Typology in the Africa context. The main thrust of the paper will be centered on the financing of political parties and elections as a recipe for corruption; contracts and public works as interface for corrupt practices, and the consequences of corruption in the Socio –economic, political and institutional domains. The paper will be divided into three parts with an introduction.

The Introduction will deal with the definition of the concept Corruption. An attempt will be made to look at various definitions of corruption and a working definition will be provided to help us have a better perspective as to what corruption presupposes.

The first part will look at the financing of political parties and elections. A critical analysis will be made aimed at bringing out the negative impact of such a practice on good governance in the Africa continent. Perhaps, the need for political parties and elections to be funded by an independent body or even from the National Budget will be looked at.

The second part will take a critical look at contracts and public works as an interface for corruption practices. An attempt will be made to assess the cost of corruption in construction and infrastructure as a whole. The effects on governance of payments to obtain major contracts and concession will be analysed.

The third part will contain an in-depth analysis of the consequences of corruption in the body politic of a state, including the Socio-economic, Political and institutional domains. This part will also include the consequences of corruption as a whole on the governance process of Africa States. The conclusion will be a critical synthesis of the three parts and the way forward.



South Africa: Corruption and the role of donors (2006)

David Pedley

U4 Theme: Donor coordination in anti-corruption

http://www.u4.no/themes/coordination/role_of_donors_south_africa.cfm

Abstract

This essay uses projects listed in the U4 Project database plus three others as the "evidence base" for what donors are doing to help fight corruption in South Africa. Whilst recognising that this is not a complete list of activities, the projects included form a sample large enough for a number of observations to be made.

This sample reveals that donors generally contribute to anti-corruption measures in South Africa through indirect routes aimed at increasing transparency, reducing rents, and reducing discretion. The efforts focus on strengthening "institutions of democracy" and service-delivery, which seems reasonable given that South Africa is still a "young" democracy. On the other hand, donors can be criticised for their relative neglect of projects aimed at strengthening the "advocacy role" of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). There is also scope for greater impact through improved coordination.

Do Neoliberal Policies Deter Political Corruption?

John Gerring and Strom C. Thacker

International Organization, Vol. 59, No. 1 (Winter, 2005), pp. 233-254

Published by: Cambridge University Press on behalf of the International Organization Foundation

Abstract

This article probes the relationship between neoliberal economic policies and political corruption, focusing in particular on the impact of trade and investment policies, regulatory policy, and the overall size of the public sector on corruption. Using a large cross-national data set from the mid- to late 1990s, we test the neoliberal hypotheses that market-oriented economic policies are associated with lower levels of political corruption, and state intervention in the economy with higher levels.

Consistent with the neoliberal argument, we find that open trade and investment policies and low, effective regulatory burdens do correlate with lower levels of political corruption. However, we find no consistent relationship between the aggregate size of the public sector and political corruption. While the neoliberal hypothesis on political corruption has initial empirical support, its lessons cannot be applied wholesale. Market-oriented states may be less corrupt, but interventionist states, as measured by public spending, are not necessarily more corrupt.



Political Corruption: Before and after Apartheid

Jonathan Hyslop

Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 31, No. 4, Fragile Stability: State and Society in Democratic South Africa (Dec., 2005), pp. 773-789

Taylor & Francis, Ltd.

Abstract

Since South Africa's 1994 political transition, a major feature of the country's new politics has been the centrality of issues of corruption in public controversy. This article aims to analyse how the administrative and political legacies brought to the present by both the old South African state structures and the new political leadership produce varying types of corruption. The article takes three paths to this goal, considering the issues conceptually, comparatively and historically. First, it argues that most writing on South African corruption has failed to use the analytically necessary distinctions between concepts of rent seeking behaviour, patron-client relationships and corruption as such. Second the article points to the comparative frameworks that may usefully be adopted to examine the question, with particular attention to the work of Chabal and Daloz. Third, the article attempts a historical overview of corruption questions in South Africa. It contends that there was a high degree of variability in the levels and nature of rent-seeking activities in the state during the century of white domination in Southern Africa. The legacies of forms of rent seeking, patronage and corruption existing within the former white state, the Bantustans, and within the liberation movement itself have all combined to affect the politics of the post-apartheid state.

Perceptions of Political Corruption in Latin American Democracies

Damarys Canache and Michael E. Allison

Latin American Politics and Society, Vol. 47, No. 3 (Autumn, 2005), pp. 91-111

Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the Center for Latin American Studies University of Miami

Abstract

Political corruption poses a serious threat to the stability of developing democracies by eroding the links between citizens and governments. Using data on national levels of corruption (Transparency International 1997 CPI index) and individual opinion (1995-97 World Values Survey), this study finds that Latin Americans are quite aware of the seriousness of corruption in their countries. The ensuing question is whether citizens can connect their views about corruption to appraisals of their authorities and institutions and of democracy more generally. Collectively, the findings suggest that they can, and that the necessary ingredients for accountability are present in Latin America. The possible dark side of mass opinion on corruption is that pervasive misconduct may poison public sentiment toward democratic politics. On this score, the analysis found that this attitude affected only support for specific administrations and institutions.



Electoral Incentives for Political Corruption under Open-List Proportional Representation

Eric C. C. Chang

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 67, No. 3 (Aug., 2005), pp. 716-730

Cambridge University Press on behalf of the Southern Political Science Association

Abstract

Despite the considerable attention paid to the aggregate-level determinants of political corruption, until recently little empirical work has attempted to understand what systematic factors drive individual politicians to corruption. To reduce this gap, this paper hypothesizes that under open-list proportional representation in which personal votes are expensive yet critical for politicians to win election, politicians' electoral uncertainty regarding their chances of winning election drives them to corruption in order to finance campaigns. The hypothesis, running against the conventional view that suggests an anticorruption effect of electoral uncertainty, receives substantial empirical support by individual-level data from pre-1994 Italy.

The Context for Political Corruption: A Cross-National Analysis

Xin, Xiaohui, Rudel, Thomas K

Social Science Quarterly 85, 2 (June 2004): 294-309.

Abstract

How do we explain variations across nations in the incidence of political corruption? Recent theoretical work locates the causes for corruption in a combination of institutional conditions: monopoly power, little accountability, and wide discretion. This focus on the form of political institutions clarifies the micro-scale causes of political corruption, but it leaves unanswered questions about the macro-scale causes of corruption. This article addresses these questions about the macro scale through an analysis of perceived levels of corruption across nations. Our work identifies poverty, large populations, and small public sectors as contextual causes of corruption. Historically-based differences in political cultures across broad geographical regions also affect the perceived incidence of corruption in nations. Further research should attempt to link micro- and macro-scale causes together in a single, multi-scalar model of corruption.



Colonial Rapacity and Political Corruption: Roots of African Underdevelopment and Misery

Emmanuel O. Iheukwumere and Chukwuemeka A. Iheukwumere

Chicago-Kent, Journal of International and Comparative Law, Spring 2003, Vol.3.

Abstract

Although well-endowed with abundant mineral and human resources, Africa is a continent in distress. In many instances, the departing colonial powers perpetuated their rape of the continent through the imposition of constitutions which preserved the privileges of the immigrant European population at the expense of the native inhabitants. ... The culmination of the debauchery of colonial rule, and the unpreparedness and greed of many early African leaders, and their successors is the current situation in the continent where corruption is endemic, and has thrust the overwhelming majority of the populace into abject poverty and suffering. ... However, the most brutal, vicious, licentious, and genocidal example of colonial rule in Africa certainly is the Belgian and King Leopold II's rule of the area that came to be known as the Congo free state. ... Although corrupt rule had fostered an economic and social tragedy upon Nigeria during and after independence, the Abacha regime was a complete nightmare of killings and unparalleled looting of the national treasury. ...



Explaining State Capture and State Capture Modes: the Cases of Ukraine and Russia

Oleksiy Omelyanchuk Ph.D. Candidate

Central European University, Hungary, Budapest

Stasiuk Program on Contemporary Ukraine

Paper presented in the seminar of the Stasiuk Program on Contemporary Ukraine,

Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

30 November 2001

Abstract

More than a decade into the simultaneous political and economic transition in Central Eastern Europe has produced different outcomes in different countries. Media reports throughout the region have been telling of powerful "oligarchs" buying off politicians and bureaucrats to shape the legal, policy and regulatory environments in their own interests. Preliminary inquiries of the scholars showed that these interests radically contradict the interests of societies and national economies.

Some important progress has been made in understanding the phenomenon under discussion called "state capture". The given project is intended to contribute to advancing the theoretical and empirical knowledge about state capture and to combating the phenomenon in the transition countries. Specifically, the project is intended to answer two crucial questions. What are the causes of the state capture? What explains for the different state capture modes?

The first part of the project explores the hypothesis that state capture as such can be explained by two structural variables that deserve analytical primacy. These are the correlation of the concentration of economic and political power and the level of development of civil society.

The second part of the research suggests that channeling of state capture is determined by the explanatory variable of distribution of powers between the President, Assembly and Cabinet in the presidential systems. The project explores state capture on the cases of Ukraine and Russia.



Public Corruption: A Comparative Analysis of International Corruption Conventions and United States Law

Peter J. Henning

18 Ariz. J. Int'l & Comp. Law 793, Fall 2001

Abstract

This Article analyzes the International Conventions that address public corruption and compare their approaches with the structure of United States laws applied to prosecute corruption. The focus is on the federal government rather than the states because the international agreements on corruption apply to the national governments in the first instance, and it is the federal law that will provide guidance to, and be influenced by, the development at the international level of a coherent body of law on the subject.

Measuring Corruption, Governance and State Capture: How Firms and Bureaucrats Shape the Business Environment in Transit

Hellman, Joel S.; Jones, Geraint; Schankerman, Mark; Kaufmann, Daniel

www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance, April 2000

Abstract

In a new approach to measuring typically "subjective" variables, BEEPS - the 1999 Business Environment and Enterprise Performance Survey, the transition economies component of the World Business Environment Survey - quantitatively assesses governance from the perspective of about 3,000 firms in 20 countries. The survey finds that corruption thrives where the state is unable to reign over its bureaucracy, to protect property and contractual rights, or to provide institutions that support the rule of law.

Furthermore, governance failures at the national level cannot be isolated from the interface between the corporate and state sectors, in particular from the heretofore underemphasized influence that firms may exert on the state. Under certain conditions, corporate strategies may exacerbate misgovernance at the national level. An in-depth empirical assessment of the links between corporate behavior and national governance can thus provide particular insights.

After introducing the survey framework and measurement approach, Hellman, Jones, Kaufmann, and Schankerman present the survey results, focusing on governance, corruption, and state capture. The authors pay special attention to certain forms of grand corruption, notably state capture by parts of the corporate sector - that is, the propensity of firms to shape the underlying rules of the game by "purchasing" decrees, legislation, and influence at the central bank, which is found to be prevalent in a number of transition economies.

The authors provide a new test for this potential bias, finding little evidence of country perception bias in BEEPS. This paper - a joint product of Governance, Regulation, and Finance, World Bank Institute, and the Chief Economist's Office, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development - is part of a larger program to measure governance and corruption worldwide. A companion working paper that econometrically analyzes the effects of state capture is forthcoming.





The Concept of Corruption in Campaign Finance Law

Thomas F. Burke

Cornell International Law Journal 2000, 33 Cornell Int'l L.J. 159

Abstract

In *Buckley vs. Valeo*, the Supreme Court put the concept of corruption at the center of campaign finance law. ... The money may be a bribe for personal use or a campaign contribution. ... The three standards of corruption - quid pro quo, monetary influence and distortion - have been jumbled together in the corpus of campaign finance law. ... The truth is that the contribution limits the Court upheld in *Buckley* were aimed at far more than quid pro quo corruption. ... But what is it about monetary influence - or for that matter quid pro quo trading - that is so corrupting? On what basis can we say that public officials who are influenced by contributions are corrupt? Because the Court does not develop its own account of what makes an action corrupt, we must go beyond the campaign finance cases to answer these questions. ... And this suggests an important difference between trustee/delegate theories of representation and deliberative theory: Where the trustee/delegate dichotomy focuses on the level of the individual representative, the deliberative theory leads us to look at what is happening to the institution as a whole. ... If politics is nothing more than a market, and politicians nothing more than retailers, then there is no need for deliberation, and no necessary problem with "bribery" through the campaign finance process. ...

Holding Public Officials Accountable in the International Realm: A New Multi-Layered Strategy to Combat Corruption

Brian C. Harms

Duquesne Law Review 36 Duq. L. Rev. 107, 2000

Abstract

As slavery was once a way of life and now...has become obsolete and incomprehensible, so the practice of bribery in the central form of the exchange of payment for official actions will become obsolete. ... The international community must give citizens the opportunity to hold bribe-takers accountable for the damage corruption causes. ... The confluence of the FCPA regulating U.S. MNCs, the OAS Convention seeking criminalization of corrupt activity, and NAFTA's North American Development Bank (NADB) requiring companies seeking loans to certify that they have not engaged in bribery or been convicted of bribery in the last five years, suggests a strong anti-corruption sentiment in the Americas. ... Domestic initiatives targeting the demand side of corruption naively ask corrupt leaders to judge themselves. ... This section proposes two legal initiatives that target the accountability of public officials: the criminalization of indigenous spoliation in the international realm and the creation of international machinery to bolster current international and domestic anti-corruption initiatives. ... Criminalization sends the powerful message that citizens will no longer accept corruption, that local laws criminalizing corruption will be supported internationally, and that the international community cannot tolerate the repercussions of indigenous spoliation on the international realm. ... Mainly, the Anti-Corruption Commissions would hear disputes concerning possible corrupt practices by domestic officials. ... A treaty criminalizing indigenous spoliation deters corrupt activity and bolsters domestic support in fighting corruption. ...



Seize the State, Seize the Day: State Capture, Corruption and Influence in Transition

Hellman, Joel S., Jones, Geraint, and Kaufmann, Daniel.

World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series: 2444, (2000)

Abstract

In a decade of transition, fear of a leviathan state is giving way to increased focus on oligarchs who "capture the state." In the capture economy, the policy and legal environment is shaped to the captor firm's huge advantage, at the expense of the rest of the enterprise sector. This has major implications for policy. The main challenge of the transition has been to redefine how the state interacts with firms, but little attention has been paid to the flip side of the relationship: how firms influence the state--especially how they exert influence on and collude with public officials to extract advantages. Some firms in transition economies have been able to shape the rules of the game to their own advantage, at considerable social cost, creating what authors call a "capture economy" in many countries. In the capture economy, public officials and politicians privately sell underprovided public goods and a range of rent-generating advantages "a la carte" to individual firms. The authors empirically investigate the dynamics of the capture economy on the basis of new firm-level data from the 1999 Business Environment and Enterprise Performance Survey (BEEPS), which permits the unbundling of corruption into meaningful and measurable components. The authors contrast state capture (firms shaping and affecting formulation of the rules of the game through private payments to public officials and politicians) with influence (doing the same without recourse to payments) and with administrative corruption ("petty" forms of bribery in connection with the implementation of laws, rules, and regulations).

'Grand' Corruption and the Ethics of Global Business

Susan Rose-Ackerman

Yale Law School, Program for Studies in Law, Economics and Public Policy

Working Paper No. 221, October 1999

Abstract

Corrupt payoffs frequently involve multinational corporations operating alone or in consortia with local partners. The persistence of corruption involving such important economic actors suggests that their managers and owners believe that it is economically beneficial, in spite of the costs to host countries and the costs to the reputation of global businesses. To understand why the avoidance of corruption is an ethical issue for business one needs to understand, first, why it often appears to be a value-maximizing strategy.

The paper thus first presents the business firm's justification for paying bribes to get business--a justification that depends both on a notion of the proper role of the business firm and on a claim of little or no harm to the country involved. Second, the paper critiques this position by isolating the costs of high-level or Grand Corruption in developing and transitional economies.

The paper next considers the ethical obligations of multinational businesses and their managers when they operate in a corrupt environment. Finally, acknowledging the free rider problems facing multinationals, the paper summarizes the international efforts currently underway to limit corruption



and suggests some additional responses. It stresses the interaction between external constraints on business, such as international treaties, and the internal structures and policies of firms.



Political Corruption and Democracy

Susan Rose-Ackerman

14 Conn. J. Int'l L. 363 (1999)

Abstract

Recent payoff scandals have implicated elected politicians in many countries. A competitive political system can be a check on corruption. ... Often the quid pro quo is something the corrupt politician would not have done without the payoff. ... The debate over campaign finance reform in the United States has focused mainly on the undue influence afforded to large givers. ... Campaign financing reform needs to be carefully designed if it is not to introduce new incentives for malfeasance by closing off formerly legal alternatives. ... They may then face what Geddes calls the "politicians' dilemma" where the country as a whole would benefit from an end to patronage, but no individual politician or political party has an incentive unilaterally to institute a merit system. ... A politician who advocates reform gains political support that can be balanced against the losses from the reduction in patronage jobs. ... No political grouping benefited disproportionately from its access to patronage, and all shared in the benefits of reform. ... In particular, reform is much easier if the domestic and international business communities believe that they will benefit from a reduction in corruption and patronage and if ordinary citizens see gains as well. ...



Political Corruption in South Africa

Tom Lodge

African Affairs, Vol. 97, No. 387 (Apr., 1998), pp. 157-187

Published by: Oxford University Press on behalf of The Royal African Society

Abstract

Public opinion suggests that political corruption is entrenched in South Africa. Comparative experience does not indicate that the historical South African political environment was especially likely to nurture a venal bureaucracy; as a fairly industrialized and extremely coercive state the apartheid order may have been less susceptible to many of the forms of political corruption analysts have associated with other post-colonial developing countries.

Democratization has made government less secret, inhibiting corruption in certain domains but through extending government's activities opening up possibilities for abuse in others. Today's authorities argue that the present extent of corruption is largely inherited and indeed certain government departments, notably those concerned with security and the homelands, as well as the autonomous homeland administrations themselves, had a history of routine official misbehaviour.

After describing the distribution and nature of corruption in South African public administration this article concludes that a substantial proportion of modern corruption occurs in regional administrations and certainly embodies a legacy from the homeland civil services.

A major source of financial misappropriation in the old central government, secret defence procurement, no longer exists but corruption is stimulated by new official practices and fresh demands imposed upon the bureaucracy including discriminatory tendering, political solidarity, and the expansion of citizen entitlements. Though much contemporary corruption is inherited from the past, the simultaneous democratization and restructuring of the South African state makes it very vulnerable to new forms of abuse in different locations.



Awash in Soft Money and Political Corruption: The Need for Campaign Finance Reform

Brent A. Fewell

Hamline Journal of Public Law & Policy, 19 Hamline J. Pub. L. & Pol'y 449, 1997

Abstract

The potentially corrupting influence of large campaign donations on this nation's highest elected offices, particularly the presidency, threatens to unravel the very fabric of our democratic system. ... Steinfeld had never been a major contributor to the DNC in the past; records indicate his only prior donation was \$ 500 to a congressional candidate in 1987. ... As long as the advertisement does not expressly endorse the election or defeat of a particular candidate, the cost of the ad is not counted against FECA's expenditure or contribution limits. ... The Buckley Court also struck down FECA's provisions limiting "independent" campaign contributions or expenditures made without coordination between the donor and the candidate. ... Quid pro quo is tacitly understood and need not involve direct coordination between a candidate and potential donor; indirect contributions through a party are sufficient. ... Rather, campaign finance reform must focus on preventing and exposing the most egregious and blatant forms of corruption by making quid pro quo risky and difficult for both candidate and donor. ... A substantial soft money contribution, when solicited by a candidate and combined with that candidate's knowledge of the specifics of that donation, encourages political payback and creates an environment ripe for corruption. ...

Actors in corruption: Business politicians in Italy

Donatella della Porta

International social science journal, vol. 48, no. 3, September 1996

Abstract

Argues that the development of political corruption brings about important changes in the political system and in the characteristics of the political class. Describes the emergence and activities of a group of "business politicians" in Italy who have transformed political parties into socializing agencies for illicit activities.



The Costs of Grand Corruption

George Moody-Stuart

Economic Reform Today Number Four, 1996

Abstract

What are the costs of corrupt practices on economic decision-making and democratic practices in the developing world? As this critically important question gains international attention, substantial breakthroughs have occurred recently to curtail corrupt practices, from Latin America's enactment of an anti-corruption code (see p. 24) to growing acceptance of anti-bribery provisions in public sector contracts. In Brazil, CIPE recently held an international conference on how bribery drives up transaction costs, with key legislators, business leaders, and media representatives in attendance. This article was written by George Moody-Stuart, one of the conference's keynote speakers. His analysis and recommendations on how countries can reduce corruption have worldwide applicability.

The Judges and Political Corruption in Italy

David Nelken

Journal of Law and Society, Vol. 23, No. 1, The Corruption of Politics and the Politics of Corruption (Mar., 1996), pp. 95-112

Published by: [Blackwell Publishing](#) on behalf of [Cardiff University](#)

Abstract

In the two years following April 1992, all the established parties of government in Italy were swept away in the course of judicial investigations, which revealed centrally organized systems of illegal financing of political parties and corrupt agreements between politicians and businessmen. Some of these parties, founded as long as a hundred years before, had played notable parts in the construction of the Italian Republic but, since the Second World War, they had formed an apparently immovable bloc which kept the opposition parties and especially the Communists from any hope of taking power.

The judges' campaign to remoralize Italian public life came to be known as 'mani pulite' (clean hands), a code-name given by the policemen involved in the earliest investigations. Because these investigations radiated out from cases of corruption uncovered in Milan, where the 'pool' of most active judges was based,² the whole process also came to be known by the collective term 'Tangentopoli' (kickback-city).

This paper will discuss some of the issues raised for the student of political corruption by the remarkable success of these investigations. Does Tangentopoli represent a victory for the 'rule of law' against widespread 'crimes of the powerful' and what was it about the institutional framework of law in Italy which allowed this to happen? What do these investigations reveal about the place of judges and the role of law in Civil Law countries as compared to those of the Common Law? What politics of corruption were at work here? Why, for example, were politicians rather than businessmen singled out as the main targets of investigation? After saying something more about how these events unfolded, this paper shall then offer some analytical reflections which may help to throw light on these and other questions.



The Business Politicians: Reflections from a Study of Political Corruption

Donatella Della Porta, Alessandro Pizzorno and John Donaldson

Journal of Law and Society, Vol. 23, No. 1,

The Corruption of Politics and the Politics of Corruption (Mar., 1996), pp. 73-94

Published by: Blackwell Publishing on behalf of Cardiff University

Abstract

Political corruption has not disappeared with modernization, as some scholars believed would happen. On the contrary, corruption in Western democracies is often described as 'systemic', 'institutionalized' or 'diffuse'. At the same time, the political class is said to have undergone considerable change: catch-all parties and 'media power' have changed the structure of political careers and created new types of professional politician.

Little thought, however, has been given to the specific consequences of corruption for the political class. How do the careers of corrupt politicians evolve? What are the capabilities required of a politician who participates systematically in corrupt exchange? What are the motivations which push individuals, in situations of widespread corruption, in the direction of politics? These are the questions with which the present article proposes to deal. In the first section some hypotheses will be presented on the alterations caused in representative democratic regimes by corruption.

In particular, the ideal-type of the 'business politician' will be defined as one possessing the abilities necessary for the functioning of the system of corruption. Thereafter, an application of these hypotheses to empirical research will be proposed. The results of an investigation of a number of cases of political corruption in local government in Italy will be used to illustrate some of the attributes of the 'business politician': in particular the skills in illegality enabling the organization of corrupt exchange (part II), the networking abilities corrupt politicians utilize to create support and complicity (part III) and, lastly, the fact that politics is their only available route to upward mobility (part IV). In part V, a contribution to the theory of political corruption will be offered, starting from the concept of 'moral cost'.

Proceeding deductively, we will discuss the conditions which reduce the moral cost of participation in illegal activities and therefore increase willingness to participate in corrupt dealings.



Political Corruption and Presidential Elections, 1929-1992

Tim Fackler and Tse-min Lin

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 57, No. 4 (Nov., 1995), pp. 971-993

Published by: Cambridge University Press on behalf of the Southern Political Science Association

Abstract

We develop an aggregate model of the presidential vote based on the appropriation of political as well as economic information by a rational voter. We argue that, depending on historical context, information about political corruption is relevant to individual, and hence aggregate, vote choice. In preindustrial, community-oriented machine politics, the rational voter exchanged votes for particularistic benefits. As the social and political perspective shifted to a universalistic standard, information about corruption has become for him or her one of the criteria by which to evaluate the performance of the incumbent party. By including information about corruption alongside information about the economy, our model significantly improves upon conventional economic voting models in explaining post- New Deal presidential election outcomes.

Does Political Corruption Really Help Economic Development? (Yucatan, Mexico)

Margaret Goodman

Polity, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Winter, 1974), pp. 143-162

Published by: Palgrave Macmillan Journals

Abstract

This article takes a close look at the new look at corruption, which views corruption amorally and functionally, on the premise that it is a transitional phenomenon and one occurring in a competitive political-economic system. The article examines the effects of corruption in modernizing, authoritarian regimes, with the hypotheses, among others, that corruption inhibits evolution toward universalistic norms and protects incompetence rather than rewarding the efficient producer. The state of Yucatan, Mexico, nicely uncompetitive and corrupt, is used to test the hypotheses.

In Yucatan, "the persistence of political corruption reinforces the unequal distribution of political and economic power within the society." Corruption in Mexico serves those who already have; it is not a dynamic, humane, or democratic force.



Grand Corruption in Transition Economies-Triangular of Circular Setting of the Play?

Milka Janakieva

(No Citation Available)

<http://www.10iacc.org/download/w2-02.pdf>

Abstract

Usually, it is considered that public officials are those who abuse their office, and the state is the one that should defend the society from the negative impact of bribery, which affects their well being. It is presumed that it is the state's role to fight against corruption. But when talking about 'the state' we should always keep in mind that we deal with people again, as the state authority is inevitably represented by humans. Hence, they are exposed to the same temptation, which is namely the so-called 'grand' corruption. In this sense, the greatest problem occurs when the one that should lead and consolidate the anti-corruption fight is missing, reluctant or ineffective in this field. This is the fundamental fault in transition countries – the weakness of the state and its still reforming institutions, that create fertile ground for the corruption to thrive in these countries.



NEWS ARTICLES, 2009-2010

State Capture, Grand Corruption & Political Corruption

Oligarchs and Economic Development, or How to be a Failed State

24 February 2010, Baltic Times

Abstract

The economic model adopted by the Baltic States was based on the belief that the state has no role promoting economic development and market forces would always result in development, thus in full employment. After almost 20 years of transition, the fear of the leviathan state gave way to a permanent condition of **state capture**, where oligarchs manipulate or are politicians themselves, shape State institutions, and try to control the media to protect and advance their own empires at the expense of social and economic underdevelopment. Their names are widely known.

Institutionalized corruption next president's big challenge

Philip Tubeza DJ Yap

24 February 2010, [Philippine Daily Inquirer](#)

Abstract

The 2009 TI Global Corruption Barometer surveyed Filipinos and the reply was that they “strongly believe” that corruption affected Filipino public officials and civil servants. “The Barometer asked 1,000 people in the Philippines to grade civil servants and the average score was 4 out of 5, with 5 being extremely corrupt. Seventy-seven percent said government actions to counter corruption were ineffectual,” Samantha Grant, program coordinator of TI South East Asia said. She said TI also conducted a National Integrity Study of the Philippines in 2006 but, four years later, the recommendations it made remained relevant. “In any country with institutionalized corruption, integrity pillars (the judiciary, the executive, the police, and the press) themselves are continually compromised,” Grant said. “According to the report, collusion, **state capture**, and leadership incapable of crushing vested interests are all areas that still need to be addressed,” she said.

Global Corruption Barometer 2009

Transparency International’s 2009 Global Corruption Barometer reveals a growing distrust of business, the daily struggle of the world’s poor with petty bribery and public unconvinced of governments’ anti-corruption efforts.

A global public opinion survey, the 2009 Barometer reflects the views of more than 73,000 people from 69 countries and territories around the world.

Full report: http://www.transparency.org/news_room/in_focus/2009/gcb2009#dnld



Corruption Diverting Funds Intended for Development

17 February 2010, Daily Outlook Afghanistan

Abstract

Based on available indicators, Afghanistan appears to fall near the bottom internationally in terms of the seriousness of its corruption problem. The very large opium economy is widely considered to be the most important source of corruption in the country. However other illicit activities as well as the unprecedented large inflows of international assistance and the pressures to spend money quickly, carry associated vulnerabilities to corruption. Other, more normal sources and forms of corruption, related to government roles in service delivery and regulation, appear to be increasing as state activities and capacity are being scaled up. As the political system is progressively developed, there is a serious risk of **political corruption**. There are important contextual issues about the definition and scope of corruption in Afghanistan, and Afghan perceptions must be taken into account in designing and implementing an effective anti-corruption strategy that is suited to the country.

Kinshasa's Missing Millions - Evidence of Grand Corruption Mounts in Beijing?s Showcase \$6 billion Barter Deal with the Kinshasa Government

16 February 2010, AllAfrica

Abstract

Feb 15, 2010 (Africa-Asia Confidential/All Africa Global Media via COMTEX) -- Over US\$23 million in signature bonuses payable on China's \$6 billion Sino-Congolaise des Mines (Sicomines) deal with the Kinshasa government have been stolen according to a probe by a commission set up by the National Assembly. The stolen monies were part of some \$50 mn. that Chinese companies were due to have paid to Congo's mining parastatal, Gecamines, the Commission Economique et Financiere reported in late January. These findings follow growing concerns in recent weeks about the accountability of natural resource deals by Chinese companies in Angola and Kazakhstan. Ahead of national elections in 2011, Congo's President Joseph Kabila is demanding better value for money: more jobs for Congolese workers and fewer imported Chinese workers.



Philippines risk: Government effectiveness risk

11 February 2010, The Economist Intelligence Unit Ltd.

Abstract

The Philippines is a bureaucratic market. Compared with its East Asian neighbours, it takes more time to start a business in the Philippines, while it is more difficult to hire and fire workers. However, the Philippines compares favourably with its neighbours when it comes to the time taken to export and import goods. The effectiveness of government is often constrained by difficult relations between the executive and the legislature (Congress). Some politicians say that reform of the country's 1987 constitution would make the passage of important legislation easier. However, opposition from the influential Roman Catholic church and a lack of support from the two leading candidates in the presidential election, mean that progress in this area is unlikely soon. Petty corruption remains widespread, while **grand corruption** can extend to the highest levels of government. Vested interests continue to influence decision-making.

Beyond Conspiracy Theory: Patterns of High Crime in American Government

Lance deHaven-Smith

American Behavioral Scientist, Volume 53, Issue 6, 1 February 2010

Abstract

This article explores the conceptual, methodological, and practical implications of research on state crimes against democracy (SCADs). In contrast to conspiracy theories, which speculate about each suspicious event in isolation, the SCAD construct delineates a general category of criminality and calls for crimes that fit this category to be examined comparatively. Using this approach, an analysis of post-World War II SCADs and suspected SCADs highlights a number of commonalities in SCAD targets, timing, and policy consequences. SCADs often appear where presidential politics and foreign policy intersect. SCADs differ from earlier forms of **political corruption** in that they frequently involve political, military, and/or economic elites at the very highest levels of the social and political order. The article concludes by suggesting statutory and constitutional reforms to improve SCAD prevention and detection.



Donors wary of political corruption

Nashira Davids

31 January 2010, The Sunday Times, Avusa Media Ltd.

Abstract

HAITI'S economy is doomed for years to come. Experts paint a grim picture of the island's future and say rebuilding the country could take decades, even with international aid. US economist Dr Gerald Wolman said Haiti survived on hand-outs before the disaster and had not "achieved much" since gaining independence from France. Wolman said the country's main source of income was tourism, but with its infrastructure destroyed, it would take years for the industry to recover. "Haiti's GDP — with the exception of two to three years — has always been negative. It is in a permanent state of depression. So the rebuilding of Haiti is going to take a long time and a lot of money — which it doesn't have. So it will rely on hand-outs from people who are petrified of the country." He said it was likely much of the aid would be diverted to corrupt officials.

Bribery by another name: Time to eliminate private money from political campaigns

Gordon S. Black

28 January 2010, The Washington Times

Abstract

We are faced with a new problem, with a different origin, but with the same corrupting influence over our politics. This time, it is occurring with the same impunity at the state and national levels of government. The problem is caused by a political class, called incumbents (of both parties), who have converted the campaign process into a system of unparalleled **political corruption** whereby special interests support the incumbents in return for enormous benefits in terms of subsidies and other preferences. If I pay a member of Congress \$100,000 for a political favor, the transaction is called bribery, and it is illegal. If I give a member of Congress \$100,000 for his re-election campaign and he does me a favor afterward, that is perfectly legal, even though the voters know full well that it simply is bribery by another name.



A U.S. Visa, Shouts of Corruption, Barrels of Oil

Ian Urbina

17 November 2009, The New York Times

Abstract

The Obiang family and Equatorial Guinea have been the focus of corruption accusations for years. In 2004, a Senate panel accused Riggs Bank in Washington of having "turned a blind eye to evidence suggesting the bank was handling the proceeds of foreign corruption" in accepting hundreds of millions of dollars in deposits from Equatorial Guinea. Committee investigators found dozens of irregular payments, multiple individual signatories to accounts and even deposits of millions of dollars in shrink-wrapped currency.

Riggs Bank was fined more than \$25 million for its handling of the Equatorial Guinean and other accounts, and several of the bank's directors were criminally prosecuted. But in more recent years millions of dollars of the country's money has found its way to other American banks, including the ones named in the Justice Department memo. Wachovia and Bank of America, according to the memo, filed suspicious activity reports to the authorities, and ultimately closed all accounts associated with Mr. Obiang and his associates, but not before tens of millions of dollars had already entered the United States. "These banks appear to have facilitated a **grand corruption**, and it may even have been done legally," said Gavin Hayman, director of campaigns for Global Witness. "Those that filed suspicious activity reports may have been complying with their regulatory obligations under the law, but at the same time they went ahead and forwarded transfers of tens of millions of dollars about which they already had suspicions. Effectively, the regulations are allowing banks to earn money from corruption."

Qatar: \$1 trillion paid in bribes every year

13 November 2009, Plus Media Solutions Pakistan

Abstract

DOHA: The World Bank (WB) estimates that an astronomical over \$1 trillion is paid in bribes every year and the proceeds of corruption stolen from developing countries alone range from \$20bn to \$40bn a year. A World Bank report on 'Stolen Asset Recovery' available at the venue of the UN anti-corruption meet going on here says grand corruption, asset theft and international flows of stolen and laundered money have an insidious and devastating impact on development.



Kikwete: more big Tanzania graft prosecutions soon

George Obulutsa

10 September 2009, Reuters Limited

Abstract

Tanzania's anti-graft agency will bring two or three big cases to court soon as part of a drive against corruption that has already claimed several senior officials, President Jakaya Kikwete has said. Kikwete is expected to stand for re-election at a poll towards the end of next year. He has placed fighting graft, especially in public procurement, among his top priorities. Speaking on local TV and radio late on Wednesday, the president said there were 578 graft cases currently before the Tanzanian courts, up from just 50 four years ago. Of those, Kikwete added, 27 involved individuals implicated in grand corruption, including senior civil servants.

A 'Captured' State is Not Inevitable

Sanusi Abubakar

15 May 2009, AllAfrica

Abstract

In the six years starting from Obasanjo's second term as President of Nigeria, we are witnessing a new era of "grand" corruption in which, in the name of "continuity of reforms", a number of businessmen and their political and bureaucratic backers were attempting to shape the rules of the game to their advantage through massive, illicit payments to officials and politicians. In simple, old-fashion corruption you try to influence specific decisions in your favour through payments to those taking the decision. Now they want to make sure they decide what laws are enacted, what executive or judicial decisions are passed, or what directives



VIDEO LINKS & WEB RESOURCES

State Capture, Grand Corruption & Political Corruption

VIDEO LINKS

PBS – FRONTLINE Black Money

A documentary series on corruption.

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/blackmoney/>

The FRONTLINE report on the Siemens bribery scandal and an interview with Reinhardt Siekaczek, a former midlevel executive at Siemens, and the man who eventually blew the whistle.

<http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/bribe/2009/02/at-siemens-bribery-was-just-a-line-item.html>

The FRONTLINE Global Corruption Roundup Report featuring updates on BAE, Mabey & Johnson, Siemens, and former Peruvian president Fujimori.

<http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/bribe/2009/10/global-corruption-roundup-2.html>

CBC – Fifth Estate

A Canadian investigative journalism newsmagazine produced a series on the Air Canada-Airbus scandal involving the then Prime Minister of Canada, the Hon. Brian Mulroney.

October 31, 2007

<http://www.cbc.ca/fifth/unauthorizedchapter/>

December 03, 2008

http://www.cbc.ca/fifth/2008-2009/the_chess_master/

April 10, 2009

http://www.cbc.ca/fifth/airbusaffair/the_elephant_in_the_room/main.html

Recent CBC news update:

<http://www.cbc.ca/world/story/2010/01/18/germany-schreiber-trial-100118.html>



WEB RESOURCES

U4

<http://www.u4.no/>

TI – Transparency International

<http://www.transparency.org/>

UNODC and Corruption

<http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/corruption/index.html?ref=menuside>

UNCAC

<http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/CAC/index.html>

Basel Institute on Governance

<http://www.baselgovernance.org/>

OECD, “Supporting the fight against Corruption in Asia and the Pacific:
The ADB/OECD Anti-Corruption Initiative”

www.oecd.org/corruption/asiapacific

The Lawyer – Bribery and Corruption: The New Legal landscape

http://www.centaur2.co.uk/emags/thelawyer/tl_bribery/

Kroll – Global Fraud Report: 2010

<http://www.kroll.com/about/library/fraud/Apr2010>

Times Online Bribery Poll

<http://link.timesonline.co.uk/t/XTDBHNG/9D72/RW4XH/CET5/16L5P/YT/h>

