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Corruption

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Contents

1	Introduction.....	2
2	Corruption: an overview	4
3	Measuring corruption	6
4	Governance and integrity	8
5	Economics and corruption.....	11
6	Politics and Corruption	13
7	Corruption and Development	15
8	Corrupt Places.....	17
9	Corruption in sectors	19
10	Police Corruption.....	21
11	Health Sector Corruption.....	24
12	Border Corruption.....	27

13	Combatting and Controlling Corruption.....	29
14	Blowing the whistle on corruption.....	32

1 Introduction

Corruption has been part of social interaction since the beginning of humanity. People have always wheeled and dealed, given and taken, sought position, benefits and privileges. In modern societies there are laws that prohibit public officials from receiving benefits other than salary, and an expectation that in the private sector business undertakings will be conducted with integrity. This does not always occur and there is considerable analysis of the causes and experiences of corrupt behaviour as well as of the mechanisms that could be used to prevent it. Rather than define corruption one might try to understand the suite of behaviours that are deemed corrupt, and these will vary from society to society, and will be treated differently in different types of societies. In essence corruption involves the abuse of public position or entrusted office in return for private gain. It involves the unauthorised trading of entrusted authority. It may manifest itself in different ways, in bribery, extortion, conflict of interest, a public official hiring one's own company for government contracts, hiring unqualified friends or family members for government jobs, and so on. Sometimes there is a corrupt person in an organisation, sometimes the whole organisation is corrupt, or sometimes the society tolerates corruption on a grand scale. These variations lead to different interpretations and analyses of the concept. When a public official does wrong things, or fails to do what s/he should do, or does something permissible, but purposely does it in an improper manner then there is a strong suspicion of corrupt behaviour. The World Economic Forum estimates that corruption costs about 5% of global GDP (about \$2.6 trillion), while the World Bank estimates that about \$1 trillion per year is paid in in bribes and about \$40 billion per year is skimmed or looted by political leaders. On an everyday basis corruption hurts the public and undermines government. The impacts of corruption severely and disproportionately affect the poorest and most vulnerable in any society, and when it is widespread, corruption deters investment, weakens economic growth and undermines the basis for law and order. In wealthier countries corruption pushes taxes to higher levels than they need be, and reduces services to lesser quality than they might be.

2 Corruption: an overview

Corruption is best understood by examining the variety of contexts and behaviours that shape behaviour that allows private gain to be extracted from public office. Rose Ackerman (1999) provides a comprehensive overview while Klitgaard (1988) examines and applies approaches to the control of corruption. One useful framework is the TASP analysis - types, sectors, activities and places developed in Graycar and Prenzler (2013). Johnston (2005) reminds us that not all corruption is the same and Ulsaner(2008) focuses on inequality and trust as drivers of corruption. Kaufmann (1997) and Tanzi (1998) delve into issues of causes and consequences of corruption, while Tiiesman (2000) takes us on a broad journey through time and through several systems .

Rose-Ackerman, Susan. 1999. *Corruption and government: causes, consequences and reform*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

This is a classic introduction to the topic. Dissects corrupt behaviour types and blends economics and politics, richly illustrated with pertinent examples.

Klitgaard, Robert E. 1988. *Controlling corruption*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Another classic which outlines the dynamics of corruption and approaches to its control

Graycar, Adam, and Tim Prenzler. 2013. *Understanding and preventing corruption*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

An analysis of types and activities of corruption and sectors and places in which it is prevalent. Discusses how to measure corruption and applies an analytical framework to the prevention and control of corruption.

Johnston, Michael. 2005. *Syndromes of corruption: wealth, power, and democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

All corruption is not the same. This comprehensive analysis of the different forms of contexts of corruption in different types of societies is penetrating and analytical.

Treisman, Daniel. 2000. "The Causes of Corruption: A Cross-National Study." *Journal of Public Economics* no. 76 (3):399-457.

<http://search.proquest.com/docview/56919978?accountid=8330>

Why is corruption--the misuse of public office for private gain--perceived to be more widespread in some countries than others? This article analyses some historical and structural issues such as colonialism, federalism, democratisation that explain variations in corruption,

Uslaner, Eric M. 2008. *Corruption, inequality, and the rule of law*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press.

This book argues that the roots of corruption lie in economic and legal inequality and low levels of trust. High inequality leads to low trust and high corruption, and this is demonstrated with considerable statistical analysis.

Two older publications, Tanzi (1998) and Kaufmann (1997) are highly authoritative in that they survey the scene and discuss scope of corruption, causes and consequences, costs and possible countermeasures are

Tanzi, Vito. 1998. "Corruption around the World: Causes, Consequences, Scope, and Cures." *International Monetary Fund Staff Papers* no. 45 (4):559-594.

This comprehensive overview is a few years old, but it is an excellent starting point for an understanding of causes, consequences, scope, and cures. It emphasizes the costs of corruption in terms of economic growth. Corruption is costly, and so too are attempts to counter corruption.

Kaufmann, Daniel. 1997. "Corruption: The facts." *Foreign Policy* (107):114-131.

An analytical overview that lays out basic arguments and is most useful for analysis.

3 Measuring corruption

It is important to measure corruption so we can have an indicator of how well a society is performing in terms of a government's contract with its citizens, and then, if we know how much corruption there is within a country and the nature and quantity of those corrupt events, then remedial actions can be put in place and preventive measures can be implemented. There are few statistics on corruption as the behaviour is so often covert, and not something that can be easily measured like health, disease, transport events, or even crimes such as burglary and homicide. Some analyses of the challenges of measurement (Hodess and Heinrich 2011) and of various techniques and processes (Sampford et al 2006) set the scene for careful measurement, and a broad overview is provided by Langseth (2006), while a specific focus on integrity violations is provided by Huberts et al (2006). Some of the main sources of data are listed here, and these are found on websites that are updated from time to time

Heinrich, Finn, and Robin Hodess. 2011. "Measuring corruption." In *Handbook of Global Research and Practice in Corruption*, edited by Adam. Graycar and Russell G. Smith, 18-33. Cheltenham UK: Edward Elgar.

An analysis of three generations of measurement tools, their purposes, the main output and the characteristics of the data.

Sampford, C., A. Shacklock, C. Connors, and F. Galtung, eds. 2006 *Measuring corruption* Burlington VT: Ashgate.

This is an edited volume which is a comprehensive account of philosophies and techniques of measuring corruption in different contexts

Two chapters in this book are of particular interest

Langseth, Petter. 2006. "Measuring corruption." In *Measuring Corruption*, edited by C. Sampford, A Shacklock, C Connors and F Galtung, 7-43. Burlington VT: Ashgate

This chapter is an overview of corruption types and contexts and it specifies different types of measurement, and the techniques and challenges associated with each measurement type.

Huberts, Leo, Karin Lasthuizen, and Carel Peeters. 2006. "Measuring corruption: exploring the iceberg." In *Measuring Corruption*, edited by C. Sampford, A. Shacklock, C. Connors and F. Galtung, 266-293. Burlington VT: Ashgate.

This chapter focuses on integrity violations and shows how the number of corruption events diminishes if one moves from reports to investigations to criminal cases. This looks like a pyramid with very few cases at the apex. The chapter illustrates with measures of integrity violations in the Dutch police, and examines measurement issues.

The following data sources are useful in trying to assess quantities and perceptions of corruption. They help shape the analysis and discussion of corruption

Corruption Perception Index (Transparency International)

<http://www.transparency.org/research/cpi/overview>

A global ranking of about 180 countries, annually conducted since 1995, and the most widely cited source of corruption data. It is however a measure of perceptions and not behaviour.

Bribe payers Index (Transparency International) <http://bpi.transparency.org/bpi2011/>

Measures of the perceptions of different sectors (agriculture, aviation, petroleum etc) as sectors in which bribery is common, and the countries in which these operate

Governance and corruption diagnostic survey (World Bank)

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/WBI/EXTWBIGOVANTCOR/0,,contentMDK:20726148~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:1740530,00.html>

A comprehensive World Bank analysis of governance issues in a large number of countries, backed by in-country data.

World wide governance indicators (World Bank)

<http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#home>

The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) project reports aggregate and individual governance indicators for 215 economies over the period 1996–2012, for six dimensions of governance:

- Voice and Accountability
- Political Stability and Absence of Violence
- Government Effectiveness
- Regulatory Quality
- Rule of Law
- Control of Corruption

Global corruption barometer (Transparency International)

<http://www.transparency.org/research/gcb/overview>

This very large data set has been published frequently since 2003 and surveys the experiences of everyday people around the world in confronting corruption

International Crime Victims Survey

http://www.unicri.it/services/library_documentation/publications/icvs/

This survey is published by UNICRI, the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute. Each time the survey is conducted it has varying coverage, but it provides a comprehensive data set of comparative crime data, as well as data on white collar crime and corruption.

4 Governance and integrity

Corruption flourishes when governance structures are deficient, where impartiality in government takes a back seat, and where there is no ethical underpinning, and where quality in government is not valued. More often than not the state becomes the plaything of powerful interests, known sometimes as “state capture”. Lessig (2011) sees big governance lapses in the way money buys policy in the United States, while Rothstein (2011) takes a very expansive global view of institutions and impartiality as structuring hopeful and promising mechanisms of government. Overall, a lack of political will to counter corrupt forces often explains how ethical lapses prevail. However, too many rules and regulations stifle government, and people try to find their way around seemingly mindless bureaucratic restrictions Anechiarico, (2009). Many public organisations have done what they have been asked in terms of corruption prevention. They have developed a robust code of conduct and implemented a range of policies, procedures, governance structures and compliance measures. A common response to corrupt conduct in this situation is for organisations to focus on the emergent

corruption risks and apply more governance and compliance controls to address them. It is important therefore to understand processes, best practice and political will. Kaufman (2008) outlines how a scorecard might be developed, while innovations in building trust and social movements and business yield results Bjørnskov, (2011) and Luo (2006). Johnston (2012) argues that we are not doing as well as we might be, and Berkman et al (2008) pull together a set of observations from people who have a great deal of experience on the ground in the anti-corruption activities of international NGOs .

Lessig, Lawrence. 2011. *Republic, Lost: how money corrupts Congress and a plan to stop it*. New York: Hachette.

A thoughtfully analytical book that outlines how corruption has two elements, bad governance and lost trust. Outlines how these have come about and processes to overcome these deficits in the United States.

Rothstein, Bo. 2011. *The quality of government*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.

A global analysis which places corruption within the context of institutional structures, economic growth, social trust, democracy, and demonstrates that impartiality in government is a key feature in quality government

Kaufmann, Daniel. 2005. "10 Myths about Governance and Corruption." *Finance and Development* no. 42 (3):41-43.

Outlines a transparency reform scorecard to improve governance and curb corruption around the world

Bjørnskov, Christian. 2011. "Combating Corruption: On the Interplay between Institutional Quality and Social Trust." *The Journal of Law and Economics* no. 54 (1):135-159. doi: 10.1086/652421..

Explores conditions under which institutional quality leads to lower levels of corruption.

Johnston, Michael. 2012. "Building a Social Movement Against Corruption." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* no. 18 (2):57.

Argues that corruption control has not been as successful as might be expected because too often there has been a lack of broad-based, lasting social and political support for reform

Berkman, Steve, Nancy Z. Boswell, H. Brüner Franz, Mark Gough, John T. McCormick, Pedersen Peter Egens, Jose Ugaz, and Stephen Zimmermann. 2008. "The fight against corruption: international organizations at a cross-roads." *Journal of Financial Crime* no. 15 (2):124-154. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/13590790810866863>

A survey of anti-corruption experts' personal assessments of the progress international organizations have made in fighting corruption. Focuses on international NGO activities in this area and their contribution to governance.

Anechiarico, F. (2009). "The Ethical Pothole: Tolerable Corruption?" *Public Manager* 38(3): 41-44.

Too many anti-corruption controls are counterproductive. Should we accept some corruption o keep government operating rather than being tied up in red tape.

Luo, Y. (2006). "Political Behavior, Social Responsibility, and Perceived Corruption: A Structuration Perspective." *Journal of International Business Studies* 37(6): 747-766.

This study unites three lenses - political behaviour, corporate social responsibility, and corruption and argues that when perceived corruption in the business segment increases, multinational enterprises that focus more on ethics have a greater propensity to use arm's length bargaining to deal with the government, whereas those focusing less on ethics have a greater propensity to use social connections to deal with the government. Uses empirical examples from China.

5 Economics and corruption

Corruption occurs where wealth and power overlap. Economics provides tools for the better understanding of the precursors and distributional effects that flow from corruption. Two large handbooks (Rose Ackerman 2006 and Rose-Ackerman & Søreide 2011) provide excellent overviews, while specific studies of topics like economic growth and corruption (Ali & Said 2003, Blackburn and Powell 2011, Swaleheen 2011) focus on the relationship of economic growth and development and how these growth factors explain differences in corruption. Regulatory behaviour and financial liberalisation create opportunities for corruption, but also mitigating factors, and Johnson et al. (1998) Blackburn and Forgues-Puccio (2010) help explain corruption from these points of view. Fisman and Miguel (2008) provide an optimistic argument for the use of economics in countering corruption. . A good start in the economics of corruption is to examine some of the collations of papers that introduce the topic and scan the major issues.

Rose-Ackerman, Susan. ed. 2006. *International handbook on the economics of corruption*. Cheltenham UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

and

Rose-Ackerman, Susan, and Tina Søreide, eds. 2011. *International Handbook On The Economics Of Corruption, Volume Two*. Cheltenham UK: Edward Elgar.

Significant overviews, each contain 19 chapters that cover topics such as institutional arrangements, procurement, service delivery, governance, transitional economies, privatisation, regulation and much more

Fisman, Raymond, and Edward Miguel. 2008. "How economics can defeat corruption." *Foreign Policy* no. 168:66-77

Shows how economic analysis can expose some of the detrimental effects of corruption.

Blackburn, Keith, and Jonathan Powell. 2011. "Corruption, inflation and growth." *Economics Letters* no. 113 (3):225-227. doi: 10.1016/j.econlet.2011.06.015.

Examines how corruption distorts tax policy and raises inflation.

Johnson, Simon, Daniel Kaufmann, and Pablo Zoido-Lobaton. 1998. "Regulatory discretion and the unofficial economy." *The American Economic Review* no. 88 (2):387-392.

Explores the economics of regulation and discretion, two factors in the corruption pot.

Swaleheen, Mushfiq. 2011. "Economic growth with endogenous corruption: an empirical study." *Public Choice* no. 146 (1):23-41. doi: 10.1007/s11127-009-9581-1

Explores the effect of corruption on economic growth

Blackburn, Keith, and Gonzalo F. Forgues-Puccio. 2010. "Financial liberalization, bureaucratic corruption and economic development." *Journal of International Money and Finance* no. 29 (7):1321-1339. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jimonfin.2010.05.002>.

This is a study of the effect of international financial integration on economic development when the quality of governance may be compromised by corruption

Ali, Abdiweli M., and Isse Hodan Said. 2003. "Determinants of economic corruption: A cross-country comparison." *Cato Journal* no. 22 (3):449-466.

This paper studies determinants of corruption, and examines the extent to which factors such as education, political regimes, the type of the state, ethnicity, judicial efficiency, political freedom, and the size of government explain differences in corruption across countries

6 Politics and Corruption

Politics and corruption are synonymous in the minds of many observers, and for many in the general public there is a perception that politics is always corrupt. Corruption can distort political and policy outcomes, it can benefit some people unfairly, and can undermine the legitimacy of elections and legislatures. A significant overview of almost every facet of corruption in politics can be found in Heidenheimer and Johnston (2008). Items range from minor irregularities, to corrupt domination of political processes in place and time such as the legendary Tammany Hall process of New York City politics in the mid to late 19th century (Allen, 1993) through to capture of the state by vested interests. Rich countries and developing countries face political corruption alike, and lessons about corruption can be learned from a broad political overview of politics, culture and society (Larmour 2012). Political parties have been dominated by corrupt interests and in some non-democratic regimes corrupt and kleptocratic rulers dispense with parties altogether, though social trust is fundamental to minimising political corruption (Catterberg and Moreno 2006). How voting is organised is important (Kunicova and Rose- Ackerman 2006) as is the nature of federalism and decentralisation (Fan 2009). There are particular challenges in trying for political stability in a period of post-war reconstruction or peacekeeping (Rose-Ackerman 2008).

Heidenheimer, Arnold J., and Michael Johnston, eds. 2008. *Political corruption: concepts & contexts*. Transaction Pub.

This comprehensive overview of concepts, definitions, history, politics and place comprises 48 chapters covering rich and poor countries alike, democratic and non-democratic and virtually every aspect of political corruption.

Larmour, Peter. 2012. *Interpreting corruption: culture and politics in the Pacific islands*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Although all examples come from the Pacific Islands this is a thorough and clear analysis of how corruption is interpreted and dealt with in different political settings. Several types of corruption are examined: administrative corruption, vulnerable branches of government, distribution of cash, guarding the guards, political corruption, sovereignty sales.

Allen, Oliver E. 1993. *The tiger: The rise and fall of Tammany Hall*. Addison-Wesley New York

Examines the nature of “fix-it” corruption in New York City. Shows how the local political machine achieved results for local residents, and in return manipulated the political process and gave huge financial benefits to insider politicians.

Kunicova, J. and S. Rose-Ackerman 2005. "Electoral rules and constitutional structures as constraints on corruption." British Journal of Political Science 35(4): 573-606.

Some electoral systems provide more opportunities for corruption than others. This paper demonstrates that proportional representation (PR) systems are more susceptible to corrupt political rent-seeking than plurality systems. It also examines the interaction between electoral rules and presidentialism, and using data from 94 democracies supports the hypothesis that PR systems, especially together with presidentialism, are associated with higher levels of corrupt political rent-seeking.

Catterberg, G. and A. Moreno 2006. "The Individual Bases of Political Trust: Trends in New and Established Democracies." International Journal of Public Opinion Research 18(1): 31-48.

This paper, comprising a statistical analysis of data from the World Values Survey & the European Values Survey, demonstrates that political trust is positively related to well-being, social capital, democratic attitudes, political interest, and external efficacy, and suggest that trust responds to government performance. However, political trust is generally hindered by corruption among other things.

Fan, C. S., et al. 2009. "Political decentralization and corruption: evidence from around the world." Journal of Public Economics 93(1-2): 14-34.

In countries with a larger number of government or administrative tiers and a larger number of local public employees, reported bribery was more frequent. This study uses an original cross-national data set on particular types of decentralization as well as data on bribe paying by firms in 80 countries.

Rose-Ackerman, S. 2008. "Corruption and government." International peacekeeping 15(3): 328-343.

Reconstruction after a period of war, civil or international, is a political challenge which also creates opportunities for corruption. Many people may engage in illegal activities, such as smuggling or illicit trade in arms, and may need the protection of public authorities to continue to operate. A great deal of economic activity is generated by the granting of monopoly powers to get the economy back on track, and this creates corruption risks. Although it may be risky and difficult to counter corruption in post-conflict peacebuilding, if the problem is allowed to fester it can undermine other efforts to create a stable, well-functioning state with popular legitimacy.

7 Corruption and Development

As noted in the introduction corruption most severely affects the poorest people and the poorest communities. Many of these are in developing nations. As stated it deters investment and weakens institutions that are developing and upon whose strength transitions in fortune depend (Nye 1967; Kahn, 2006). The main contributors to the debates on corruption and development have been economists (see Kahn, 2008, for example), though political scientists and criminologists are debating significant issues. While most corrupt acts are damaging to development it can be argued that at times there can be some beneficial effects, though that has to be carefully analysed within legal frameworks (Kahn, 2006), and the ethical debate takes place about development at any cost. One example from a rich country shows the changing fortunes of development aid (Breman, 2011). There are overviews of the corruption/ development nexus with suggestions for control mechanisms (Cookey, 2012; Dominique and Jean Pierre, 2012). Issues of accountability are paramount (Wenar, 2006), and a special dimension which is not brought forward here is corruption following natural disasters, or in post-war reconstruction (see, for example Doig and Tisne, 2009).

Nye, J. S. 1967. "Corruption and Political Development: A Cost-Benefit Analysis." *The American Political Science Review* 61:417-427.

This pioneering article set the scene for future debates and analyses of corruption and development. Much of the work to that time had been built around economics, and this seminal article brought in a significant political science dimension

Khan, M. 2006. Determinants of corruption in developing countries: the limits of conventional economic analysis. *International Handbook on the Economics of Corruption*, 216-44. Editor Susan Rose Ackerman - Edward Elgar

A comprehensive overview of corruption and economic growth, and many examples of damage caused by bribes in developing countries. Also discusses beneficial outcomes of statist corruption which use legal mechanisms to further development. Constructs a four part typology which includes legal and illegal on one axis and beneficial and damaging on the other.

Khan, F. 2008. "Understanding the Spread of Systemic Corruption in the Third World." American Review of Political Economy 6(2): 16-39.

This paper moves from the principal – agent analysis of corruption, which focuses on analysing individual actions to a focus on social interactions and shows how in economies characterized by relatively under-developed formal institutional checks and balances, 'non-arm's-length' dealings and leadership corruption can rapidly lead to systemic corruption.

Dominique, D. and S. Jean Pierre 2012. "Promoting good governance through development aid: the European Commission's approach." Crime, Law and Social Change 58(5): 551.

This paper focuses on the European Commission's approach to move beyond controls and to adopt a larger framework enabling to promote good governance to fight corruption in order to achieve sustainable results in terms of poverty reduction.

Wenar, L. 2006. "Accountability in International Development Aid." Ethics & International Affairs 20(1): 1-23.

Poor accountability in international development aid has often been seen as a major weakness. This article examines the state of accountability within and between international development agencies: aid NGOs, the international financial institutions, and government aid ministries, and notes that increasing accountability is desirable, but not always a simple solution to corruption.

Cooksey, B. 2012. "Aid, governance and corruption control: a critical assessment." Crime, Law and Social Change 58(5): 521-531.

Continued rapid growth in aid transfers is likely to contribute to further aid absorption problems, as well as institutional atrophy and deteriorating governance and corruption control among aid recipients. This article considers aid for good governance and anti-corruption, using Tanzania as an example.

Breman, J. 2011. "A Change for the Better? Dutch Development Aid in Good Times and Bad Times." Development and Change 42(3): 833-848.

Important overview of fluctuations in policy and outcomes as seen from the perspective of a rich donor country.

Doig, A. and M. Tisne 2009. "A candidate for relegation? Corruption, governance approaches and the (re)construction of post-war states." Public Administration and Development 29(5): 374-386.

Post war reconstruction offers many opportunities for corrupt behaviour. This paper uses examples from a set of country reports to demonstrate the divergence between the rhetoric and reality of donor-led initiatives. In many cases donors are not willing to face the evidence of corruption because they want to get on quickly with fixing the many tragedies and significant destruction caused by war. This is especially the case in working in countries that have been war torn and which are on a development trajectory.

8 Corrupt Places

While corruption is a global phenomenon (Luminita, 2011) some places are more corrupt than others. Some countries are enormously corrupt, and league tables such as the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) list the standings, and the changes in standing. There is a lot of analysis of developing countries being more corrupt than developed countries (Gerasimova,, 2008). Often variations in corruption are observed at lower levels than the nation state. Some workplaces are more corrupt than others, some municipalities are more corrupt than others, some police forces are more corrupt than others. The reading listed here are some examples of variations on the global scene, as well as a quick journey through some countries (Becker, 2008; Cheng, H. and L. Ma 2009;

Deniz, 2012; Clarke, 2011; Frank, 2010) to show differences in diagnosis, differences in the scale of the problem, differences in cause and difference in solutions.

Luminita, I. 2011. "the construction of corruption as a global problem." Contemporary Readings in Law and Social Justice 3(1): 166-171.

This is an analysis of corruption's negative impacts in developing countries. While the benefits and costs of anti-corruption come up against each this paper analyses the importance of the relation between powerful antidotes to corruption, the complexity of anti-corruption measures, the economic and social costs of corruption, the impact of corruption and governance on development, and corruption in a political economy context

Gerasimova, K. 2008. "Can corruption and economic crime be controlled in developing countries and if so, is it cost-effective?" Journal of Financial Crime 15(2): 223-233.

Flowing on from the previous reference this one aims to assess international efforts in combating corruption and their implications for developing countries by looking at money laundering and bribery. Overall the assessment is bleak and many places that are corrupt continue to be so even after international interventions.

Turning now to some country studies

Becker, J. 2008. "Tackling Corruption at its Source: The National Corruption Prevention Bureau." Journal of Chinese Political Science 13(3): 287-303.

China's problems with corruption are endemic, and in December 2013 new stringent measure were announced. This paper takes us back 6 years the PRC announced the establishment of a new organization called the "National Corruption Prevention Bureau" (NCPB). The article first examines the origins of the NCPB and its position in the current Chinese anticorruption regime.

Cheng, H. and L. Ma 2009. "White collar crime and the criminal justice system: Government response to bank fraud and corruption in China." Journal of Financial Crime 16(2): 166-166.

Many types of corruption persist in china and this paper focuses on combating bank fraud and corruption in China and their policy implications. This research finds that a major problem of

bank fraud and corruption in China is the gigantic web of government officials, bank insiders and criminal businesses in committing fraud. Tough law have not solved the problem, and argue that deterrence, prevention and education are the key ways forward.

Deniz, T. 2012. "Endemic corruption in the Iraqi public sector." Journal of Money Laundering Control 15(4): 458-482.

This paper focuses on the growing problem of public sector corruption in Iraq. Considering the widely acknowledged nexus between corruption and money laundering, a robust anti money laundering (AML) regime is seen as a specific entry method and a part of the deterrence process.

Clarke, G. R. G. 2011. "How Petty is Petty Corruption? Evidence from Firm Surveys in Africa." World Development 39(7): 1122-1132.

Petty corruption is everywhere in Africa. This paper tries to estimate how petty corruption creates burdens for small businesses, and finds that there are notable measurement issues.

Frank, W., et al. 2010. "Corruption In The Baltic State Region." The International Business & Economics Research Journal 9(2): 109.

This paper uses the European bank data to examine the perceptions of corruption in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland, and finds illegal, immoral, or dishonest acts undermine economic and government activities. The issues coalesce around the "underground economy" where participation is high and data weak.

9 Corruption in sectors

Many researchers examine a particular sector. Many of these studies are very particular, such as corruption in public infrastructure in Karachi for example (Rafi et al, 2012), or corruption in the judiciary (Priks, 2012). What follows here are sources that will lead readers to a wide range of research papers. Researchers at the World Bank produced a volume entitled *The Many Faces of Corruption*.

Campos, Jose Edgardo, and Sanjay Kumar Pradhan, eds. 2007. *The many faces of corruption: tracking vulnerabilities at the sector level*. Washington: World Bank Publications.

Available online (free access):

<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/6848/399850REPLACEM101OFFICIAL0USE0ONLY1.pdf?sequence=1>

This book describes and analyses corruption across the world in 14 chapters, seven of which cover specific sectors. There are chapters on corruption in pharmaceuticals, education, forestry, electricity sector, transport, petroleum, water and sanitation, and corruption in public financial management. The excellent descriptions are complemented by a long chapter on corruption in procurement, as well as challenges in combatting corruption. Each chapter has a significant bibliography.

Global Corruption Report

Most years the global anti-corruption NGO Transparency International publishes a *Global Corruption Report*. These reports are available free on line or in libraries and each covers a significant sector comprises research articles and analyses of the topic under consideration. The series, to date covers

2013 Global Corruption Report: Education http://www.transparency.org/gcr_education

2011 Global Corruption Report: Climate Change
http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/pub/global_corruption_report_climate_change

2009 Global Corruption Report: Private Sector
http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/pub/global_corruption_report_2009

2008 Global Corruption Report: Water Sector
http://www.transparency.org/research/gcr/gcr_water_sector

2007 Global Corruption Report: Judicial systems
http://www.transparency.org/research/gcr/gcr_judicial_systems

2006 Global Corruption Report: Health http://www.transparency.org/research/gcr/gcr_health

2005 Global Corruption Report: Construction and post-conflict reconstruction:
http://www.transparency.org/research/gcr/gcr_construction_and_post_conflict_reconstruction

2004 Global Corruption Report: Political corruption
http://www.transparency.org/research/gcr/gcr_political_corruption

2003 Global Corruption Report: Access to information
http://www.transparency.org/research/gcr/gcr_access_to_information

Each of these sector works has data and extensive bibliographical resources.

Rafi, M.M, S.H. Lodi, and N.M. Hasan. 2012. "Corruption in Public Infrastructure Service and Delivery: The Karachi Case Study." *Public Works Management & Policy* no. 17 (4):370-387.

A specific sector study focussing on public infrastructure

Priks, Mikael. 2011. "Judiciaries in corrupt societies." *Economics of Governance* no. 12 (1):75-88.

A specific sector study focussing on judicial corruption

10 Police Corruption

In democratic societies the state has the monopoly on the legitimate use of force and generally this force is exercised by one of two institutions – externally by the military and internally by the police. Breaches of trust can have dire consequences and corruption of this entrusted power is therefore a key problem for democratic governance. The problem of police corruption is compounded by police culture – one in which ranks are closed to outsiders (Skolnick 1994). Police culture generates its own ethical and moral framework in response to pressures to achieve a difficult role in the face of an often indifferent or hostile citizenry (Barker 2011). This can lead police misconduct – acting outside the law they are meant to uphold for a variety of reasons to varying degrees. Some misconduct has been termed ‘noble cause corruption’ whereby police take unlawful action – for example planting evidence or the violent coercion of confessions – to secure convictions to either meet targets or deal with

offenders they 'know' to be guilty (Barker 2011). In other instances police may avail themselves of goods and services from law abiding citizens as a top-up payment or doing what is a difficult, dangerous and often underpaid job (Sherman 1978). This can represent the thin of the wedge, once a police officer, his or her squad, department or even entire force is known to be up for sale, well financed criminal organizations will take advantage of this (Condon 2013). When corruption becomes organized and systemic within a police force, miscarriages of justice can often result (Martin 2001). When systemic police corruption is uncovered, blue ribbon commissions, public inquiries and royal commissions are used as part of the reform process (For examples of these commissions see Prenzler 2009; Sherman 1978). Reform recommendations often focus on better leadership for police (Huberts, Kaptein, and Lasthuizen 2007), more stringent ethical standards and testing for recruits (Prenzler 2009) or in the more extreme cases, the creation of external or civilian oversight bodies (Goldsmith and Lewis 2000).

Two classic studies of police culture and corruption help us understand the phenomenon and shape our analysis. Although many decades old, they have stood the test of time.

Skolnick, Jerome H. 1994. *Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society*. 3rd ed. New York: Macmillan College Publishing Company.

This is the third edition of what was originally published in 1966, and has been the foundational work in describing and analysing police culture. This volume only partially addresses corruption issues, although it does provide a useful comparison between two police services in the United States – one that has had corruption and misconduct issues and another that has not. The main utility of this volume for students of police corruption is providing grounding in police culture.

Sherman, Lawrence W. 1978. *Scandal and Reform: Controlling Police Corruption*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

The repetition of corruption scandals and misconduct by police means that this volume has not dated. Organized in three parts, this volume examines the problem of corrupt police departments, the social controls – including response to scandals, prevention and punitive controls – and the changes in police corruption.

Barker, Tom. 2011. *Police Ethics: Crisis in Law Enforcement*. 3rd ed. Springfield: Charles C Thomas Publisher Ltd.

This book provides examples of police codes of ethics, as well as multiple examples of breaches of these codes. Barker analyses an ethical code, detailing how and why it should apply in the role of policing, again using examples from the multiple failures of officers to meet the ethical standards of police.

Condon, Matthew. *Three Crooked Kings*. Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2013.

For decades, corruption flourished in the Queensland Police in Australia. This book describes how the corrupt police worked with organized crime, and in some cases ran criminal syndicates before the Fitzgerald Inquiry exposed the corruption and led to the jailing of a police commissioner (as well as several politicians).

Goldsmith, Andrew, and Colleen Lewis. 2000. *Civilian Oversight of Policing: Governance, Democracy and Human Rights*. Oxford: Hart.

Civilian oversight of complaints against police addresses the criticism that police should not investigate misconduct by other police. This edited volume brings together the experiences and lessons learned from various oversight bodies around the world as the trend toward oversight waxes and wanes.

Huberts, Leo W.J.C., Muel Kaptein, and Karin Lasthuizen. 2007. "A Study of the Impact of Three Leadership Styles on Integrity Violations Committed by Police Officers." *Policing-an International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* no. 30 (4):587-607.

The integrity of police can be subverted by different activities beside what is deemed corrupt in a strictly legal sense. These integrity violations undermine public confidence in the police and are often viewed by citizens as corruption – even if it is not in the eyes of the law. The authors describe nine types of integrity violations and analyze them against three aspects of leadership providing a more nuanced view of police integrity and corruption.

Martin, Dianne L. 2001. "The Police Role in Wrongful Convictions: An International Comparative Study." In *Wrongly Convicted: Perspectives of Failed Justice*, edited by Sandra David Westervelt and John A. Humphrey, 77-95. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

The wrongful conviction of individuals through 'noble cause' corruption is extremely problematic in a democracy as it circumvents the rule of law and can be endemic if such behaviour is

inherent in police culture. This study provides an international comparison of such cases within a valuable volume analysing wrongful convictions under various circumstances – including corrupt behaviour by police.

Prenzler, Tim. 2009. *Police Corruption: Preventing Misconduct and Maintaining Integrity*. Boca Raton: CRC Press.

This volume represents a useful overview for students and handbook for practitioners interested in countering corruption within police services. The work summarizes the major commissions of inquiry into police misconduct in the United States, Britain, Canada and Australia over the past forty years. It then draws on the recommendations of these inquiries, as well as other material to present a framework to minimise corruption and misconduct by police.

11 Health Sector Corruption

Massive resources go into public health, and naturally the well being of the population depends on good health. This creates opportunities for corrupt actors to exploit patients, consumers and systems (Nishtar, 2010). Public health services can be exploited in the procurement of medical supplies, in influence peddling over prescription practices and drug testing, through poor service standards, and through over-billing and fraud. System vulnerabilities stem from excessive discretion, lack of scrutiny and transparency, and under-enforcement or non-enforcement of rules. Good governance is one key measure to combat corruption in health (Mackey and Liang, 2012; Huss 2011). Understanding opportunity factors is the key means to designing prevention systems and strategies. However as corruption is diminished, health outcomes improve. (Kim 2011). Perennial problems include procurement of health resources (Huff-Rousselle, 2012) and counterfeiting of drugs (Fayzrakhmanov, 2012). There are many specific area studies which focus on corruption as it affects health in a specific country or region (see for example Peragallo Urrutia, et al. 2012; and Azfar and Gurgur 2008).

Nishtar, S. 2010. "Corruption in health systems." Lancet 376(9744): 874-874.

This very brief overview shows that corrupt behaviours in health service delivery are the result of interplay between inadequate funding for the public system, a burgeoning unregulated role of the private sector, and lack of overall transparency in governance. There are times when poorly paid professionals resort to corrupt dealings merely to survive. At other times the state institutions are powerless to control powerful and corrupt forces in the health sector.

Kim, D., et al. 2011. "The contextual effects of social capital on health: A cross-national instrumental variable analysis." Social Science and Medicine 73(12): 1689-1697.

This detailed study shows that the higher the levels of trust in any society, the better the (self-rated) health of both men and women. Where corruption was lower, and trust higher there were significant health benefits, and the public health gains from raising social capital within and across countries may be large.

Mackey, T. K. and B. A. Liang 2012. "Combating healthcare corruption and fraud with improved global health governance." BMC international health and human rights 12(1): 23-23.

This article proposes a global health governance framework calling for international recognition of "global health corruption" and development of a treaty protocol to combat this crucial issue. It builds this on experiences showing that corruption is a serious threat to global health outcomes, and leads to financial waste and adverse health consequences.

Huss, R., et al. 2011. "Good governance and corruption in the health sector: lessons from the Karnataka experience." Health Policy and Planning 26(6): 471.

Another paper which focuses on good governance turns its attention to a public complaints agency in India. This case study analysed the scope and level of poor governance in the health sector, agency objectives and strategy, and factors which affected public health sector governance and the operational and health outcomes.

Fayzrakhmanov, N. F. 2012. "The Council of Europe Convention Medicrime and Its Role in the Fight Against International Crime." Internal Security 4(1): 55-62.

Globally many medicines are counterfeited and this poses serious danger to consumers. , The majority of counterfeit and substandard medicines are not detected and reach the final consumer. This paper argues that the falsification of medical products is due to global corruption within the pharmaceutical industry and is a serious international problem. One measure to counter this crime was the adoption of the Council of Europe Convention on the counterfeiting of medical products and similar crimes involving threats to public health.

Huff-Rousselle, M. 2012. "The logical underpinnings and benefits of pooled pharmaceutical procurement: A pragmatic role for our public institutions?" Social Science & Medicine 75(9): 1572.

Pharmaceutical companies operate across national boundaries and have enormous leverage in regulating supply and demand of medicines. Procurement processes are highly vulnerable to corruption, and this paper shows that pooled procurement models that consolidate purchasing across national boundaries result in better and less corrupt outcomes.

Azfar, O. and T. Gurgur 2008. "Does corruption affect health outcomes in the Philippines?" Economics of Governance 9(3): 197-244.

In the Philippines the authors find that corruption reduces the immunization rates, delays the vaccination of newborns, discourages the use of public health clinics, reduces satisfaction of households with public health services, and increases waiting time at health clinics. And this is just a start!

Peragallo Urrutia, R., et al. 2012. "Unmet health needs identified by Haitian women as priorities for attention: a qualitative study." Reproductive health matters 20(39): 93-103.

This study in Haiti, where corruption is rife, found that the most pressing health needs of women in the survey were accessible, available and affordable health care, potable water,

enough food to eat, improved economy, employment, sanitation and education, including health education. Institutional corruption, lack of infrastructure and social organization, the cost of health care, distance from services and lack of transport as barriers to care were also important themes. This is a microcosm of public policy and every one of these outcomes can be affected by corruption. Foreign organizations and local community groups, including grassroots women's groups who would work in the best interests of other women were identified as good options to deliver services and minimise corruption.

12 Border Corruption

Corruption at the border is different from corruption in other sectors because of socio-political settings and the multiplicity of legal jurisdictions. From a socio-political perspective, particularly at land borders, familial, ethnic and social ties often pre-date the political division represented by the border. Consequently, the loyalty of those entrusted with border security is vulnerable to conflicting interests (Gounev, Dzhekova, and Bezlov 2012). From the jurisdictional perspective, what is an illegal or highly taxed item on one side of a border, may not have the same legal / revenue status on the other side (Karras 2010). Another complication is the numerous agencies and organizations – both public (e.g. customs and quarantine authorities) and private (e.g. airlines and shipping companies) – with the capacity to facilitate illegal cross-border traffic (Brewer 2013). This is further compounded when trafficked goods transit countries with little capacity or interest in regulating the flow (Gounev, Dzhekova, and Bezlov 2012). Historically, smugglers and traffickers have enlisted the help of border officials to facilitate their illegal trade (Karras 2010) – a practice that continues today, with traffickers targeting border officials to enable them to utilize existing trade facilities to enjoy the quantities of scale in a globalized system (Naim 2006). Literature focussed on corruption at the border often examines the trade in profitable commodities – drugs, both licit (tobacco, alcohol etc.) and illicit (opiates, cocaine etc.); weapons ranging from small arms to nuclear material; artwork and antiquities; exotic and endangered flora and fauna; and people including men, women and children (Naim 2006, Efrat 2012). Illegal trade in tobacco, estimated to be worth over \$40 billion annually (Joossens and Raw 1998) demonstrates that border corruption erodes the effectiveness of a range of public policies – health, revenue and border control etc. When considering the effect of other illegal trades, border corruption takes on a higher relevance as a threat to the international system.

Naim, Moises. 2006. *Illicit: How Smugglers, Traffickers, and Copycats are Hijacking the Global Economy*. Garden City: Anchor Books.

As with most of the volumes on border corruption, acts of corruption are peripheral to the focal point of illicit trade. However, this work covers a broad range of illicit goods, and corruption both within nations, and at the border is a practice used to facilitate and protect these globalized criminal business ventures.

Efrat, Asif. 2012. *Governing Guns, Preventing Plunder : International Cooperation Against Illicit Trade*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Since Naim wrote *Illicit* (2006), there has been a growing interest in illegal trade. This volume adds to the literature by analysing the cooperative efforts against illicit trade focusing on the underlying domestic and political conflicts related to the illicit traffick in small arms, antiquities and people.

Brewer, Russell. 2013. *Policing the Waterfront: Networks, Partnerships and the Governance of Port Security, Clarendon Studies in Criminology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

For centuries, crime has flourished on the waterfront, as transport and ports are exploited by opportunistic individuals for a variety of illicit purposes. Policing the waterfront poses a formidable challenge, with concerns over organised crime, smuggling, trafficking, pillage, and terrorism. This book explores the intricacies of crime control on the waterfront, and seeks to enhance current theoretical understandings of the policing 'partnerships' between state and non-state actors.

Gounev, Philip, Rosita Dzhekova, and Tihomir Bezlov. 2012. *Anti-Corruption Measures in EU Border Control*. Sofia: Centre for the Study of Democracy. Available from http://www.frontex.europa.eu/assets/Publications/Research/Study_on_anticorruption_measures_in_EU_border_control.pdf.

European border control is problematic, with entry to the EU possible by land, sea and air. This is further complicated by the disparity between those comparatively well paid customs officials in 'old' Europe and their counterparts in the newer nations from the former Soviet Union and those affected by recent financial crises. Aimed at practitioners in Europe, this report is also a valuable resource for students of border corruption.

Karras, Alan L. 2010. *Smuggling: Contraband and Corruption in World History*. Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield.

In this book, Karras explores the role of smuggling and associated corruption in the formation of the world as we know it. This is most graphically illustrated by the role smuggling and corruption had during trade related wars and other conflicts.

Joossens, L., and M. Raw. 1998. "Cigarette Smuggling in Europe: Who Really Benefits?" *Tobacco Control* no. 7 (1):66-71.

Joossens and Raw tackle cigarette smuggling in Europe in this paper, however the illicit cigarette trade is only one of any number of illicitly trafficked goods. Yet cigarettes differ from other goods in several respects – they are a lawful but highly taxed commodity, thereby representing a high profit, yet socially acceptable item of illicit trade. The social acceptability, as Gounev, Dzhekova and Bezlov (2012) also point out, contributes to the susceptibility of border control authorities to the corrupting influence of traffickers.

13 Combatting and Controlling Corruption

Like everything that has to do with corruption, the control of corruption is a multi-faceted activity (Mungiu-Pippidi, et al, 2011). Most obviously and commonly, governments pass legislation that makes it an offence to engage in corrupt behaviour (Johnston 2012). However, one cannot make a law to cover every type of corrupt behaviour. This is why a culture of integrity is important. Sometimes too many rules can be counterproductive (Anechiarico, and Jacobs, 1996). In the area of political lobbying and influencing legislation, it is necessary to have rules about behaviour that some might see a corrupt, or at least attempting to buy decisions (Cray, 2006).

Many countries have set up anti-corruption agencies (ACAs); some have been successful and some glaringly less so (de Sousa, 2010). The Hong Kong Independent Commission Against Corruption (Scott, 2011) is often cited as the gold standard in the ACA stakes, and many countries try to emulate its activities.

A crime prevention approach to combatting corruption (Gorta 1998) is one approach that focuses on specific activities. Making corruption harder to commit and riskier is part of a crime prevention approach (Graycar and Sidebottom, 2012). Another approach is build on values and political integrity. Business has a role to play and encouragement of businesses to behave more ethically can

be important in prevention (Branco and Delgado, 2012; Hess, 2009) . There is a range of activity from rule setting to adequate deterrence and control through investigations and prosecutions.

Mungiu-Pippidi, A. et al 2011. *Contextual Choices in Fighting Corruption: Lessons Learned*. Berlin, Germany: Hertie School of Governance. Retrieved December, 10, 2012, from <http://www.norad.no/en/tools-and-publications/publications/evaluations/publication?key=383808>

This comprehensive review concludes with ten lessons on corruption control, such as local rather than global strategies; success is more likely to be political processes than technical/legal processes; progress is slow, but sometimes steady; civil society has a major role to play; indicators that allow better measurement are important; transparency is paramount. The data and analysis from which these conclusions are derived fill the report.

Cray, C. 2006. "Combating the Culture of Corruption. Or Not." Multinational Monitor 27(3): 10.

This is a discussion of how to curb corruption in the United States in which political action committees (PACs) and lobbyists fund processes for specific outcomes and occasionally perform significant acts of bribery. The controls discussed here are about making the political system in a rich country more transparent.

Johnston, M. 2012. "Corruption control in the United States: law, values, and the political foundations of reform." International Review of Administrative Sciences 78(2): 329-345.

Another American study argues that corruption control in the US is more problematical than index scores suggest. Much corruption in the United States flies beneath the radar, and as such can be seen as 'influence markets'. Value-based controls, many applied through political processes, are crucial in combatting corruption.

de Sousa, L 2010. "Anti-corruption agencies: between empowerment and irrelevance." *Crime Law and Social Change* no. 53 (1):5-22.

This overview of the development of anti-corruption agencies examines their strengths and weaknesses, and outlines the challenges they face. It concludes that sometimes they are part of the solution, and sometimes part of the problem.

Scott, I. 2011. "The Hong Kong ICAC's approach to corruption control." In *Handbook of global research and practice in corruption*, edited by Adam. Graycar and Russell G. Smith, 401-415. Cheltenham UK: Edward Elgar.

The Hong Kong Independent Commission Against Corruption is hailed as a particularly effective ACA, and this chapter outlines its structure and the principles behind its operations. A valuable article on the structures that make for effective corruption control

Branco, M. C. and C. Delgado 2012. "Business, social responsibility, and corruption." Journal of Public Affairs 12(4): 357-365.

Business tries to influence politics, but there are also corrupt business practices which result in substantial harms to citizens and consumers. This paper examines international endeavours to strengthen corporate social responsibility, and behaviour in various industries.

Hess, D. 2009. "Catalyzing Corporate Commitment to Combating Corruption." Journal of Business Ethics 88(4): 781-790.

Another study from the business world which argues that a voluntary, corporate principles approach to self-regulation can deliver results. Such an approach should seek to encourage corporations to implement effective compliance and ethics programs and to disclose information related to their anti-corruption activities to relevant stakeholders.

Gorta, A. 1998. "Minimising Corruption: Applying Lessons from the Crime Prevention Literature." Crime, Law and Social Change 30(1): 67-87.

There has been a substantial literature in crime prevention and some authors have used these principles and applied these to corruption prevention. This literature advocates, among other things, taking an informed approach to corruption minimization by developing an understanding of the process of engaging in corrupt conduct. Those seeking to minimize corruption ought to identify how and where to intervene to optimize the likelihood of prevention and hence be able to tailor prevention techniques to individual types of corruption. The article uses six specific lessons from the crime prevention literature and applies them to corruption.

Graycar, A. and A. Sidebottom 2012. "Corruption and control: a corruption reduction approach." Journal of Financial Crime 19(4): 384-399.

Grounded in situational crime prevention and related criminological theory, the paper argues that opportunities in the immediate environment play a causal role in generating corruption. It proposes that corruption can be minimised by removing or reducing opportunities which are conducive to corrupt behaviour. In total, five cases are chosen as illustrative examples of how situational crime prevention might usefully be applied to corruption, focussing on the Type, Activities, Sectors and Places (TASP) that comprise corruption events.

Anechiarico, Frank, and James B Jacobs. 1996. *The pursuit of absolute integrity: how corruption control makes government ineffective*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Comprehensive case study of corruption in New York City and argues that much of the corruption is due to attempts to control corruption and attempts to circumvent these controls.

14 Blowing the whistle on corruption

A whistleblower is somebody who 'blows the whistle' on a person or activity, especially from within an organization. There are many individuals with the moral fortitude to stand up against organizations and systems that are corrupt. There are always risks in blowing the whistle for the activity invariably is a straining of the relationship between the individual and their organization (Jubb 1999). In recent decades, whistleblowing has become a substantive panacea for combatting corruption as insiders often prove more effective at uncovering malfeasance than outside scrutiny (Dworkin and Baucus 1998). Codes of conducts and procedures to handle whistleblowers – who are often subjected to bullying and harassment by those they are informing on (Alford 2002) – are now commonplace within private organizations and public authorities (Roberts, Brown, and Olsen 2011). Research into whistleblowing has provided a theoretical basis for the concept (Jubb 1999) as well as recommendations for remedial action (Roberts, Brown, and Olsen 2011). In some instances, accounts of whistleblowers and their experiences provide textbook cases, which help explain more broadly the actions of whistleblowers (Ellsberg 2003). What motivates a person to blow the whistle is a mixture of

moral imperatives often found in the public sector (Gorta and Forell 1995), and more recently financial incentives in the private sector (Dyck, Morse, and Zingales 2010). However, despite these motivations, organizational culture remains a barrier for many would-be whistleblowers – those who witness corrupt activities, but are socialized within an organization into taking no action, accept it as the status quo, or are fearful of organizational retaliation (Mesmer-Magnus and Viswesvaran 2005). Thus whistleblowing research remains an important element of our understanding of corruption and how to counter it.

Jubb, P. B. 1999. "Whistleblowing: A Restrictive Definition and Interpretation." *Journal of Business Ethics* 21, no. 1 (Aug 1999): 77-94.

This article presents a structured definition of whistleblowing being an act with of six necessary elements – an act of disclosure, an actor, a disclosure subject, a target, the disclosure recipient, and an outcome. This article examines the ethical dilemma of competing loyalties within the whistleblower.

Alford, C. Fred. 2002. *Whistleblowers: Broken Lives and Organizational Power*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Whistleblowing is often a case of David (the whistleblower) against Goliath (their organization) – but unlike the biblical tale, Goliath often triumphs. Using an analysis of the narrative structure of whistleblowers' experiences, the book explores at two questions from the perspective of the whistleblower - the most important, according the Alford, is what have whistleblowers learned from their actions and the second question that inspired the research is why the whistleblowers did it.

Dworkin, T. M., and M. S. Baucus. 1998 "Internal Vs. External Whistleblowers: A Comparison of Whistleblowing Processes." *Journal of Business Ethics* 17, no. 12 (Sep 1998): 1281-98.

The reporting path a whistleblower chooses can determine the level of retaliation visited upon them by their organization. Those choosing an outside route - reporting to external authorities suffer more than their colleagues who choose to blow the whistle through internal channels.

Dyck, Alexander, Adair Morse, and Luigi Zingales. 2010. "Who Blows the Whistle on Corporate Fraud?" *Journal of Finance* no. 65 (6):2213-2253.

In an analysis of fraud in large US companies between 1996 and 2004, Dyck, Morse and Zingales found that monetary incentives helped to explain employee whistleblowing. While money is not the only motivator, its prevalence in cases of private sector whistleblowing presents a contrast to public sector whistleblowers.

Ellsberg, Daniel. 2003. *Secrets: A Memoir of Vietnam and the Pentagon Papers*. New York: Viking.

Ellsberg presents an autobiographical account of one of the most celebrated cases of whistleblowing in recent US history – the disclosure of over 7,000 documents related to US policy in relation to the Vietnam War, collectively known as the Pentagon Papers. This account gives not only a whistleblower's perspective for why they acted, but contextualizes the effect such an act can have on a country.

Gorta, Angela, and S. Forell. 1995. "Layers of Decision - Linking Social Definitions of Corruption and Willingness to Take Action." *Crime Law and Social Change* no. 23 (4):315-343.

Perceptions of what is, or is not misbehaviour is critical to the disclosure of wrong-doing by whistleblowers. This empirical work links the views of 1300 public employees as to what they believe constitutes corruption with the actions they would undertake to curb it.

Mesmer-Magnus, Jessica R., and Chockalingham Viswesvaran. 2005. "Whistleblowing in Organizations: An Examination of Correlates of Whistleblowing Intentions, Actions, and Retaliation." *Journal of Business Ethics* no. 62 (3):277-297.

Those who intend to act with integrity do not always do so, which makes understanding why people do, or do not blow the whistle important. This is especially true when it is realised once a corrupt activity is publicly aired, a large number of people who are not directly involved tend to have prior knowledge, but were fearful of retaliation.

Roberts, Peter, A.J. Brown, and Jane Olsen. 2011. *Whistling While They Work: A Good-Practice Guide for Managing Internal Reporting of Wrongdoing in Public Sector Organisations*. Canberra:

Australian National University E Press. Available from http://epress.anu.edu.au/titles/australia-and-new-zealand-school-of-government-anzsog-2/whistling_citation.

In this work, Roberts, Brown and Olsen translate four years research as a best-practice guide for public sector organizations to manage whistleblowing. The result is a framework consisting of five elements: organizational commitment to good management of whistleblowing; facilitating reporting; assessing and investigation of reports; internal witness support and protection; and an integrated organizational approach.