

# Definition of Corruption

- abuse of public authority for private gain
  - illegal payment
  - public agent
  - avoid loss or procure benefit

# Broad Classification

- collusive
- extortionary

# Collusive

— shrouded in secrecy

— both bribe giver and taker benefit

— public loses — money — contracts etc

indirect costs

pollution

poor quality work / service

eroded competition

# Extortionary

- open
- citizen is a victim
- public agent benefits
- public loses
  - direct – money / cost
  - indirect costs – harassment, humiliation, delay, culture of corruption

# Two Alibis

— culture issue

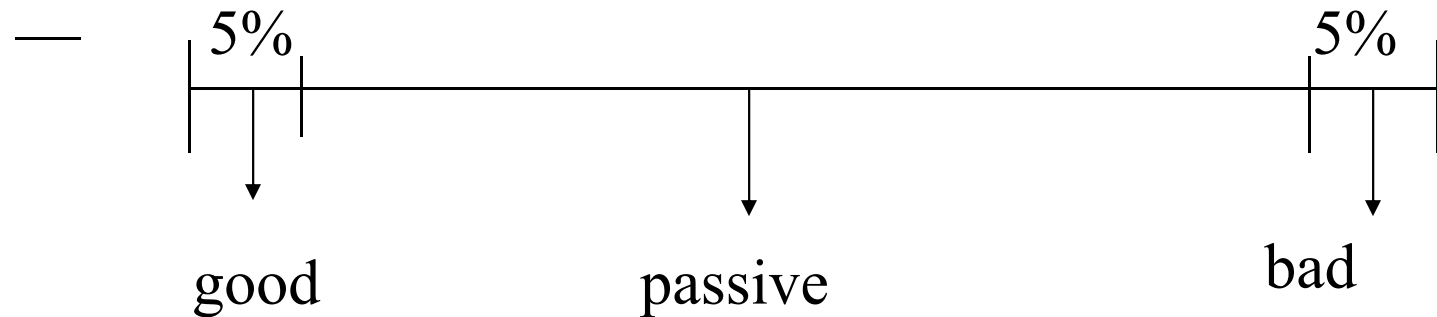
— values issue

# Culture Issue

- distinction between public domain / private domain
- more an issue of evolution / stage of political development
- all nations had similar problems
- institutional mechanisms change culture

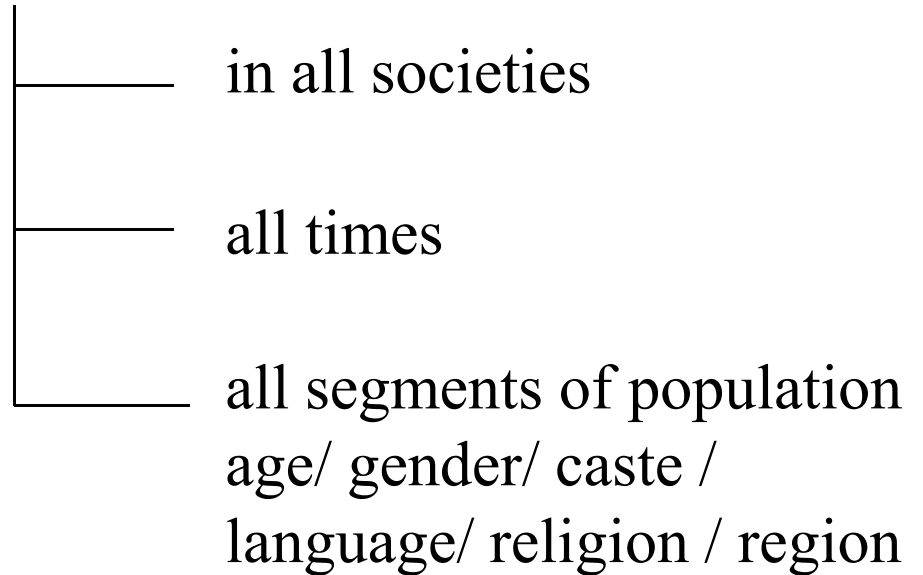
# Values Issue

- human nature vs. behaviour
- nature cannot be changed



# Values

values are universal





# Behaviour Changes with Risks and Rewards

- this insight is critical in fighting corruption
- high risk & low reward  $\Rightarrow$  corruption is curbed
- low risk & high reward  $\Rightarrow$  corruption thrives

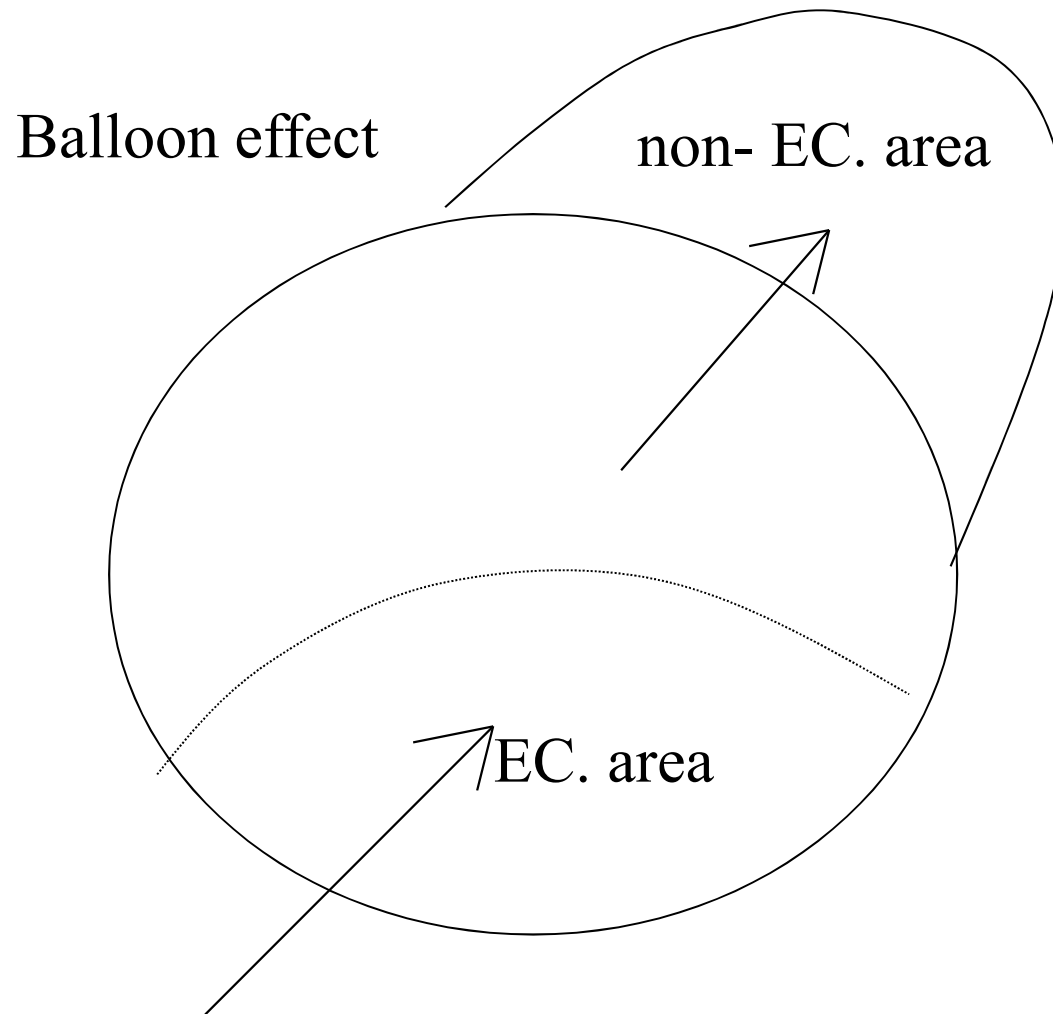
# How do we Increase Risks & Minimise Rewards?

- fair competition – public scrutiny
- rule of law – liberty of citizens
- independent crime investigation
- transparency in public appointments
- effective judicial process

# Is Economic Liberalization Enough?

- liberalization necessary, but not sufficient
- licence-permit-quota-raj (LPQ) dismantled
- replaced by liberalization-privatization-globalization raj
- corruption in economic fields on the decline

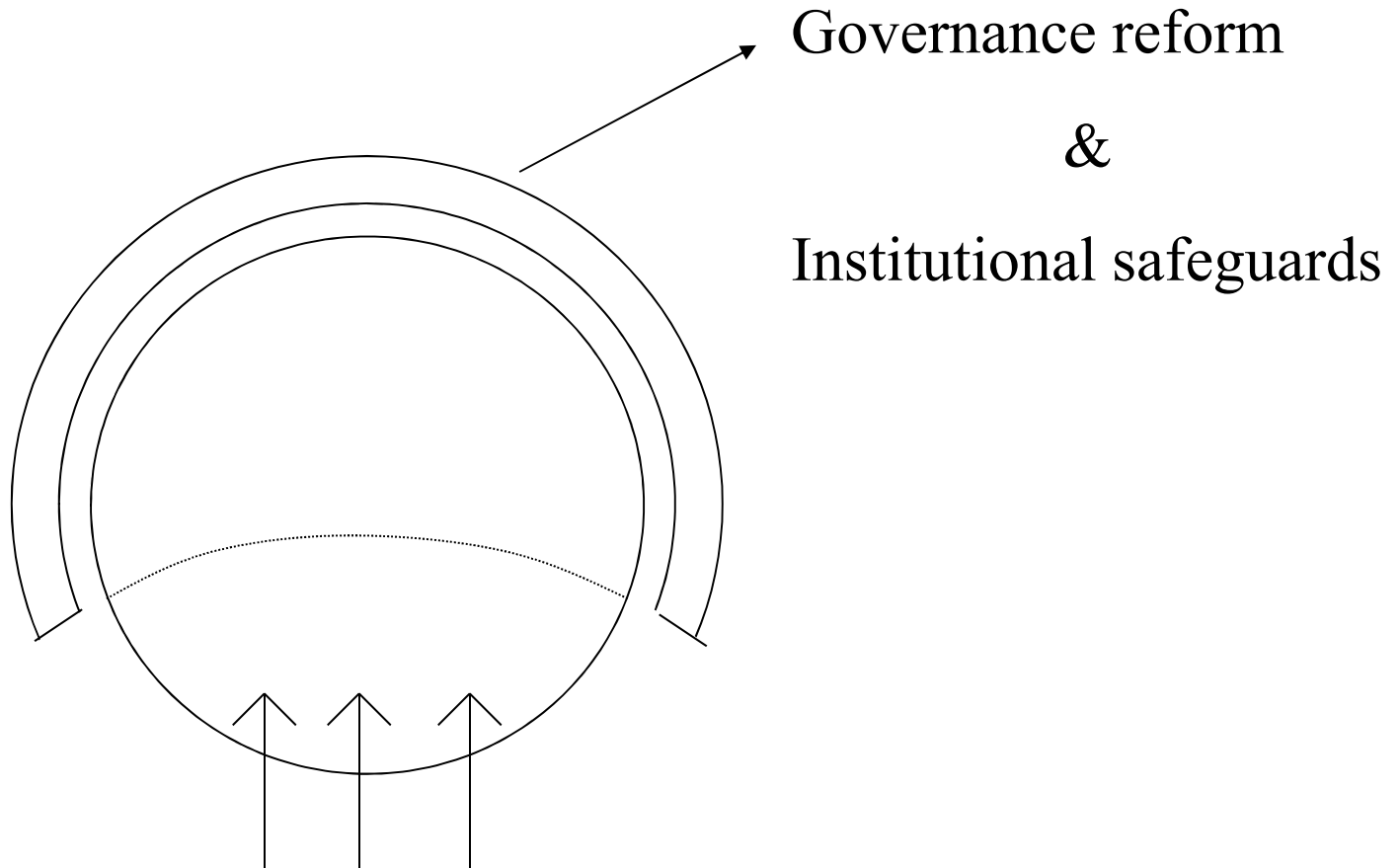
# Corruption Increases Elsewhere



# Corruption Increases

- defense purchases
- one time corruption
  - PSU privatization
  - power purchase agreements with private power plants
- corruption in policing
- corruption in justice administration
- rise of criminalization and mafia

# Answer: Barriers to Corruption



# Causes of Corruption

- unaccounted election expenditure
- centralization
- secrecy
- political control of crime investigation
- judicial failure

# Election Expenditure

— legal limit for parliament Rs 1.5 million

actual expenditure Rs 10 -50 million

— nation-wide expenditure (parliamentary + state leg)

Rs 70 billion

— For illegitimate purposes

— vote buying

— hiring musclemen

— bribing officials



## Expenditure - India vs US

<b>India 1999</b>	<b>US 2000</b>
total Rs 70 bn = \$ 1.5 bn (at current exchange value) = \$ 7.8 bn ( at ppp) unaccounted & undisclosed illegitimate	total \$ 3 bn  50% for issue advertising actual election exp. \$1.5 bn

Indian expenditure is 5 times the US expenditure

Indian per capita income in PPP terms is 1/20<sup>th</sup> of the US

# Consequences of High Unaccounted Expenditure

expenditure Rs 70 bn



returns needed Rs 700 bn



bribes through bureaucracy Rs.7000 bn



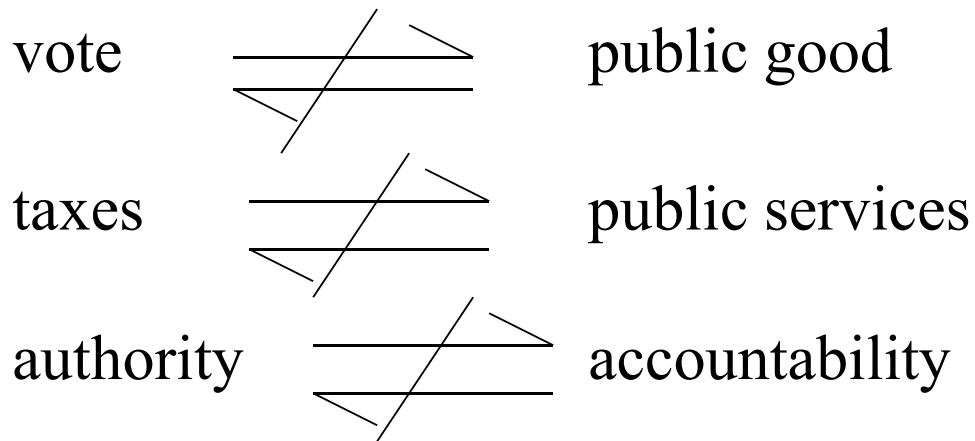
direct or indirect loss to public Rs.70,000 bn

## **Centralization $\Rightarrow$ Corruption**

- one corrupt link in a long chain is enough
- accountability is diffuse
- people do not vote sensibly
- organized govt.. workers vs people

# Why do people take money to vote?

In a centralized regime



change of governments does not change governance

people take money to vote to maximize short term gain

# Government Workers

- India - population : 1000m
- workers in organized sector - 28 m
- workers in government: 20 m
- people vs employees iniquitous power relationship
- therefore people easy victims

# Secrecy in Government

- obscure procedures
- secrecy in decision making
- non-disclosure of information

# Crime or Corruption Investigation

- controlled by political executive
  - charge sheets
  - police placements
  - launching prosecution
  - dropping a case

# Judicial Processes

- slow
- inaccessible
- expensive



# How to Combat Corruption

## Electoral reform

- disclosure
- incentive for funding
- severe penalties eg. German law  
Chancellor Kohl
- partial public funding
- PR instead of FPTP

# **Decentralization & Subsidiarity**

- funds
- functions
- functionaries
- stake-holder empowerment

## Other Steps

- right to information
- independent crime investigation
- judicial reforms
- ombudsman

# Civil Society's Role

- collective
- informed
- assertion