CHAPTER FOUR
CORRUPTION: CONSEQUENCES AND CHECKING
CHAPTER IV

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4.1 CONSEQUENCES OF CORRUPTION

4.1.1 Introduction

One of the primary aspects of the significance of an interpretative study on corruption lies in evaluating its consequences and measuring its effects. The issue of the consequences of corruption has provoked discussion and controversies among social scientists. These controversies and debate have intensified since some scholars have advanced some arguments on the possible positive impact of corruption especially on economic growth and political development. But what feeds the vigorous debate between those who argue the negative vis-a-vis the positive effects of corruption, is the fact that the arguments advanced by the former are grounded in the moralistic view point; whereby corruption impedes society, politics, economy, and bureaucracy in both the short and long term. In contrast, the arguments of the latter are grounded in merely economic and political viewpoints; whereby corruption is claimed to have some benefits on economic growth and political development. However, a review of the theoretical and empirical works on the consequences of corruption clearly shows that the effects of corruption on the economy, politics and bureaucracy have received more attention than its effects on society and individuals. Although the social costs of corruption are probably very high and grave in the long as well as the short term, very little data is available on this subject. Moreover, based on previous research, the researcher found a number of claims as to the consequences of corruption in particular countries and cases and in specific fields rather than a systematic theory for understanding it. In this part of the research, the consequences of corruption will be systematically examined through a study whose scope is to discuss the views that corruption is functional and to highlight the negative effects of
corruption on society, politics, the economy and bureaucracy. This is in order to understand the range of grave consequences that can occur in the short as well as the long term.

4.1.2 Review of the Theoretical Arguments of the Functions of Corruption

Despite the recent fairly widespread condemnation of corruption, there is a line of thought quite evident in certain social science works, which emphasizes the positive effects of corruption notably on the economy and politics. Since the 1960s, the views on corruption have been more divergent and some social scientists such as Levi, Huntington, Nye have claimed some redeeming value in it. Throughout the decades up to the end of the 1990’s, a number of social scientists, especially economists, argue that within certain circumstances and specific conditions and at certain stages of development corruption may play a positive role in economic and political development. Furthermore, until the 1997 economic crisis in Southeast Asia, some countries like Indonesia and Thailand seemed to prove that corruption might contribute to economic development. Thus, these countries and others were often mentioned as countries growing fast despite, or even due to, high levels of corruption. The foregoing discussion is basically meant to outline some of the major views of the above line of thinking, and to comment on the basic arguments of the so-called ‘function of corruption’, before moving on to discuss the negative consequences, or dysfunction, of corruption. In doing this the researcher will be referring particularly to the writings of Levi, Nye, Bayley, and Huntington. I will also be completing them with ideas and arguments that have been developed over the last two decades, which set out to weigh the benefits of corruption against its costs.
In 1964, Leff was, perhaps, the first to speak out and criticize those who argue the negative effects of corruption, and discredit their findings. He said: “Many of the negative attitudes toward corruption are based upon special viewpoints and interests. We should also realize that the background material available on the subject is both scanty and one-sided.”¹ Leff, further advanced the view that corruption may have significant positive implications on the economic development that are often overlooked. He pointed out that “Corruption can help economic development by making possible a higher rate of investment than would otherwise be the case. [Therefore] the consequences of corruption for development are not as serious as is usually assumed.”² Leff’s argument seemed to have provoked more discussions, and thus got much attention in later years. The claimed positive effects of corruption on economic development had been further emphasized and broadened in their scope in the writings of Nye (1966), Bayley (1966) and Huntington (1968).

In his discussion of the relationship of corruption to development, Nye set out to weigh the benefits of corruption against its costs. He argued that: “Corruption can be beneficial to political development, by contributing to the solution of three major problems involved: economic development, national integration and government capacity. If corruption helps promote economic development, which is generally necessary to maintain a capacity to preserve legitimacy in the face of social change, then it is beneficial for political development.”³ This implies that in order to maintain legitimacy, a regime must enhance certain forms of corruption that serve to promote the three broad rubrics listed above.

² Ibid., pp. 514, 518.
David H. Bayley, who is a student of political development, wrote an article entitled “The Effects of Corruption in a Developing Nation”, which was published in 1966. In this article Bayley tried to argue that corruption in developing nations is not necessarily an obstacle to the development of modern economic and social systems. He pointed out that corruption serves in part at least a beneficial function in developing societies. In order to sustain this thesis, Bayley advanced nine (9) arguments most of which are to be seen primarily in the sphere of politics. He argued that corruption may serve as a means for impelling better choices in decision making, it may constitute a supplemental mechanism that drains resources away from corruption toward investment for the corrupted is a consumer by nature and the corruptor is an investor. Thus the act of corrupt civil servants, who divert funds from famine relief or inefficient cottage industries into investment in manufacturing or engineering works for private gain, is seen as beneficial to economic growth. In Bayley’s thesis, nepotism can be looked upon as a substitute for a public works system since it provides employment while at the same time securing the employees’ support for the government. Corruption may help soften the new bureaucratic system in traditional societies struggling to imitate the Western. It may also provide means for reducing the harshness of an elite-conceived plan for economic and social development. More importantly, in the realm of politics corruption may act as a solvent for uncompromisable issues of interests or ideology among politicians.4

Huntington is one of the theorists who advanced the view that corruption can often stimulate economic growth and enhance political development. He argued that corruption “oils the mechanism” or “greases the wheels” in both spheres. In his

article 'Modernization and Corruption' (1968), Huntington agrees that corruption can often promote economic development. He supported his view by the notorious corruption of state legislators and city authorities by business interests and those seeking franchises for public utilities, which was widely held to have accelerated the growth of the American economy. It is understood, however, that corruption enhances efficiency for it removed government-imposed rigidities that negatively affect investment and interfere with other economic decisions and policies favorable to economic growth in America during its 'gilded-age' in the 1870s and the 1880s. Huntington's approach had also been further clarified when he argued that just as the corruption produced by the expansion of political participation helps integrate new groups into the political system, so also the corruption produced by the expansion of governmental regulation might help stimulate economic development. Corruption may be one way of surmounting traditional laws or bureaucratic regulations, which hamper economic expansion. He pointed out that some forms of corruption could contribute to political development by helping to strengthening political parties according to the rule 'corruption of one government is the generation of another'. 5

Vito Tanzi, who is an expert in economics, working at the International Monetary Fund (IMF), has reviewed other approaches on the functions of corruption that had emerged in the 1980's. For example, Tanzi pointed out that in the 1980s some writers like Graziano, Lui, Beck, Maher and Lien advanced some arguments and developed models that show that corruption has a positive impact on economic growth in terms of improving the allocation of resources, promoting efficiency by assigning projects to the most firms that can offer the highest bribe, and saving tame,

by getting favorable decisions quickly, for those whom time is most valuable. In the political arena, corruption can be useful in terms of allowing corrupt politicians to get funds, which may help national unity.\(^6\)

The line of thinking that favors the benefits of corruption against its negative effects has again been manifested in a recent social scientist’s writings. For instance, in the late 1990’s John Girling supported the assumption that under certain conditions corruption is functional in promoting economic development against political and bureaucratic obstacles. He argued that corruption is functional when it overcomes the rigidities of an over-regulated economy, where it allows ethnic or other minority business communities to bypass politically imposed obstacles, and where it improves welfare services to clients subject to an inadequate or oppressive political regime as such were the cases of Indonesia and Thailand.\(^7\)

Having outlined the major arguments that have been advanced by prominent social scientists throughout the last four decades, it is necessary in the following discussion to present the major critiques and challenges that would show its weaknesses and inconsistency.

The majority of the social scientists have made it clear through both their theoretical and empirical studies that corruption has grave consequences on all aspects of life in both developing and developed countries, in the past and at present. Moreover, the international organizations such as the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Transparency International (TI) together with the law

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\(^7\) Girling, Corruption, Capitalism and Democracy, op. cit., pp. 24-30.
enforcement and anti-corruption agencies, politicians and statesmen throughout the world consider corruption as a very complicated problem that threatens society, the economy, politics and bureaucracy and usually take it as a primary obstacle to economic and political development.

Simpson mentions that Rowntree and Sherwell, writing at the end of the nineteenth century, describe the negative consequences of corruption as "a general degeneration in public life" and "a contempt for the public service." ⁸

Writing at the beginning of the 1960's, Wraith and Simpkins made corruption in Africa similar to the bush and the weeds, they said: "In Africa corruption flourishes as luxuriantly as the bush and the weeds which it so much resembles, taking the goodness from the soil and suffocating the growth of plants which have been carefully and expensively, bred and tended." ⁹ These general statements with regard to the effects of corruption associated with what is happening in reality makes it, as Theobald puts it, "difficult for us to assume other than that its consequences are always bad" ¹⁰ and its effects on development are disastrous.

A review of the writings of those who see possible positive effects of corruption would suggest that they suffer from much inconsistency, contradictions and many theoretical and methodological weaknesses. Leff, Nye, Bayley and Huntington's approaches presented above are open to challenges from many aspects. From a theoretical point of view, Theobald has challenged Leff's argument in a sense that it does not contain a clear distinction between 'economic growth' and 'economic development'. Theobald further argues that Leff's conclusion is not convincing because it is not applicable to those developed countries, which are assumed to have

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low or negligible levels of corruption. 11 Left’s theoretical argument that corruption contributes to economic growth by providing informal techniques, especially ‘speed money’; bribes, paid to government clerks, for reducing delay due to bureaucratic red tape and excessive regulations has been directly challenged by Myrdal who cites the empirical evidence of the Indian Santhanam Committee, which reported that the speed money practice was indeed the direct cause of administrative delay and inefficiency. Because corrupt civil servants intentionally hold back all files from the public and deliberately delay the process of documents until bribery is paid. 12 Based on his empirical study, Paolo Mauro concluded that: “the association between corruption and low economic growth remains broadly unchanged when estimated for a group of countries with extensive red tape. Therefore, there is no support for the claim that corruption might be beneficial in the presence of slow bureaucracy.” 13 Nye’s cost-benefit analysis of corruption together with Huntington’s theses and Girling’s approach can be seen as bold and provocative. For the economic and political developments have not been seen in many countries in Africa and Asia, where corruption is rampant and had already penetrated the social fabric of society. Only poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, economic disability, debts, conflicts, political instability, inefficient bureaucratic systems etc. have been undoubtedly noticed. Thus, as Theobald pointed out, “far from promoting political development, corruption leads to serious political decay in that it weakens administrative capacity and undermines democracy, stability and national integration.”14 Furthermore, the above writers’ views seem to be suggesting that corruption can be considered as

11 Ibid., p. 113.
14 Theobald, Corruption: Development and Underdevelopment, op. cit., p. 125.
contributive to the public interest. This, if true, creates two problems: (1) theoretical
difficulties in defining corruption, because an act is corruption when it is done in
favor of private gain before or against the public interest; and (2) methodological
difficulties as to what extent we will be able to distinguish between upright and
corrupt actions in business and politics, and between proper use and misuse of public
office for private interest. To trace a clear distinction between corrupt networks and
primary relationships and the family obligations will also be very difficult, if not
impossible.

Bayley's analysis, though it looks systematic, when it is put under
investigation proves to be weak and firmly rejected. Bayley seemed to be not aware
that some of the processes upon which he based his argument can work the other way
to support the assumption that, for example, the diversion of public funds and
nepotism and bribe practice in the bureaucratic system constitute major obstacles to
economic growth. It is obvious in the behavior of the corrupt civil servants and high
rank officials that they spend their money on nightclubs, entertainment, and show-off
affairs rather than investing it in light or heavy industries, as Bayley claims. In
contrast with Bayley's analysis, nothing, perhaps, is as harmful to economic growth
and administrative efficiency as bribery and nepotism, because it supplies the
bureaucracy with unqualified officials and sometimes burdens the administration
with officials without jobs. These officials, in turn, will increase inefficiency and
corruption, which for sure will block any development, deeply affecting the quality
of services, making the public lose faith in the integrity of the public administration,
and leading to a lack of support for the political system. Bayley's argument that
uncompromisable political issues can be solved through corruption is also rejected,
because in many countries, as modern political history proves, for example in Italy,
in Algeria, in Iraq, in Afghanistan, in Indonesia, in The Philippines and in many other countries throughout the world, uncompromisable issues of interest and ideology among politicians are actually worsened and not solved at all giving rise to many serious social, economic and political problems, and if apparently solved it is not necessarily through corruption. It might be solved through negotiations, election, treaty, or even through imprisonment or assassination of the political or ideological opponent, violence or even war.

The claim that corruption assists business or fosters entrepreneurial abilities is also rejected. On the contrary, experts argue that corruption "represents a serious cost for business interest, and a draining away of scarce resources which could have been put to more productive use, investment decisions are distorted by corrupt interest, development projects are sited not where they are most needed but according to the machinations of politicians, tenders for government contracts are accepted not according to economic criteria but on the basis of who will offer the largest bribe."\textsuperscript{15} Brooks advanced another argument that deserves to be mentioned in this concern, that "corruption does not make business good in any solid and permanent way when morals and political as well as financial values are thrown into the scale."\textsuperscript{16}

Finally, Alatas's conclusion that "so far no trend encouraging and promoting corruption as an ideal has emerged among social scientists. Even those who claimed to see some positive aspect of corruption have not recommended it for development but only tolerated it"\textsuperscript{17} is proven to be true. Bayley, for instance, who based his essay

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., pp. 126-127.
Transaction Books, p. 503.
\textsuperscript{17} Alatas, The Sociology of Corruption, op. cit., p. 17.
on the assumption that corruption promotes economic growth, concludes it by emphasizing three strategies that can be employed to reduce corrupt practices.\textsuperscript{18} Similarly, Huntington acknowledged that corruption weakens administrative capacity and is, in fact, incompatible with political development.\textsuperscript{19}

Having approached this issue, now the following discussion will place much emphasis on the grave consequences of corruption on society, politics, the economy and bureaucracy. This is in order to argue the negative effects of corruption against the positive, which would strengthen the assumption that corruption is toxic rather than a tonic.

4.1.3 The Grave Consequences of Corruption on Society

Corruption is highly detrimental from the point of view of its negative effects on the individual and society. Despite the fact that very little data is available on the grave consequences of corruption on society, the following analysis provides some important insights on the subject. These insights include three major areas that are: (a) the negative effects on the social system and institutions, (b) the negative effects on the social structure, and (c) the negative effects on the moral and intellectual standards of the public.

a) The negative effects on the social system and the social institutions

In a society where corruption is rampant and the corrupt practices have become the daily food of the people, and everyone is guided by nothing except his own benefit and cares only about his self-interest, and puts it above everything else, no social system, as Chapra pointed out, can work.\textsuperscript{20} Moreover, when principles and

\textsuperscript{18} Bayley, The Effects of Corruption in a Developing Nation, op. cit., pp. 532-533.
\textsuperscript{19} Huntington, Modernization and Corruption, op. cit., p. 499.
\textsuperscript{20} Chapra, Islam and the Economic Challenge, op. cit., p. 220.
loyalty are being sold, patriotism and national pride are being compromised with treachery, the image of society is degraded and its fabric destroyed and the very core of social life is attacked. Corruption is a crime against society, because a corrupt social actor in society is like the goalkeeper who betrays the team and the supporters by letting in goals for monetary considerations. The corrupt social actor takes and society suffers. A politician who gets millions for granting some privileges to some people is in fact robbing the very citizens who voted for him. Similarly, if a high-ranking bureaucrat gets millions for approving land for development he is also affecting his society since not everybody has an equal chance of getting such an approval. So the bureaucrat takes and society suffers. In his influential analysis of the bad consequences of injustice on society and civilization, Ibn Khaldun, has broadened the scope of injustice to include corrupt behaviors such as the collection of unjustified taxes, infringement upon property, denying people their rights, taking away any property either by force or through extortion, and imposing upon a person a duty not required by the religious law. He argues that both the society and the civilization suffer from these acts and disorder prevails, because people have lost all incentives.\textsuperscript{21}

Corrupt practices deeply affect social institutions and organizations. In the Holy Qur'an, for example, it is clear that had corruption remained unchecked, social institutions such as the religious would have been destroyed.\textsuperscript{22} This is due to the fact that social activities and the religious obligations together with the rules and regulations that help maintain these institutions, which in turn through their interrelations and functioning maintain the social order, are subject to corrupt

\textsuperscript{22} The Holy Qur'an, 22:40, 2:251.
influences. The religious law, for example, loses its power if corrupt people break it and commit corruption even though it is forbidden. Similarly, if what the religious law emphasizes and wisely aims at preserving, such as things which are assumed to be necessary in any human community like the preservation of religion, the soul, the intellect, progeny, and property, and people go against it following their desire to take, for example, the property of others without right through corruption especially through bribery and extortion, the religious institution is destroyed since its commandments are not observed and its status weakened before corrupt dealings. For this it was obvious that wherever and whenever there is duty to be shirked or improperly performed for motives of more or less immediate advantage, corruption may come in and impede the situation. Brooks maintains that the Church, the family, educational associations, clubs and so on throughout the whole list of social organizations are the spheres besides business and politics that have been affected by corruption.23

b) The negative effects on the social structure

The theoretical arguments advanced by social scientists together with the empirical studies on quite a large number of countries throughout the world assert that corruption drastically affects social justice and social equity among the classes, groups and individuals. The difference in ranking between social groups and individuals in terms of income, prestige, power and other factors could, in part, be attributed to corruption. Huntington argues that corruption tends to accentuate already existing inequality because those who have access to political power are more privileged to get access to the resources of wealth that are usually controlled by

the government, or through collusion with those who control wealth. In fact corruption, notably bribery and extortion, not only accentuates the existing social inequality, but also feeds the gap between the rich and the poor to help it to grow wider. This could be proven through the evidence furnished by a statesman. Dato’ Sri Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad, Malaysian Prime Minister, maintains that assuming that the government policies prosper and the government has insufficient funds, because of corruption in the form of tax evasion or thefts, social services like health, education, public utilities and others cannot be provided by the government. These services would normally help reduce the expenses shouldered by the poor. In this situation the poor will grow poorer for not being able to bear the cost of the facilities and the services like the rich. Worse than this, because of the ‘imposed poverty’ the poor are unable to offer bribes, thus they cannot obtain the services of the officials. This not only makes the progress of the nation impossible, but also the gap between the rich and the poor grows wider.

Empirical research provides evidence that corruption increases income inequality. For instance, in a cross-section study of 37 countries in 1998, Gupta, Davoodi and Alonso argued that corruption has a significant impact on inequality. They find further evidence that corruption increases inequality in education and land distribution. They pointed out that since these variables contribute to income inequality, the overall impact of corruption on income inequality might be even stronger. This could be explained in the context of the sources of social change and mobilization. Where, in most traditional societies and developing countries the lower and the middle classes usually depend on land and

agricultural revenues or in the case of the middle class depend on the administrative job income obtained through educational degrees, if these classes are deprived of the above sources or do not have proper and adequate access to good income because of corruption which takes the form diversion of lands to those who are in power or to their supporters, or to the rich for being able to give bribes, or in the case of nepotistic appointments in which positions are given not based on merit and qualifications but on clan, family and friendship networks, they are indeed deprived of adequate income and thus exposed to more poverty. Meanwhile, the rich or the powerful politicians and bureaucrats will have more income and become even richer.

Another aspect of the impact of corruption on social inequalities is as highlighted by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) when “infrastructure investment will be biased against projects that aid the poor. In a state where corruption is pervasive, officials will design public projects to maximize bribery receipts and to minimize the chance of detection.” 27 It is obvious in corrupt affairs that corrupt returns and benefits generated from projects designed to help the poor are very minimal and risky comparing to those, which are excessively large and complex. The immediate result, therefore, is that the situation of the poor worsens and the wealth of the rich increases. This situation creates inequality, which in turn creates more corruption. In corrupt societies the poor will face additional tax burdens and reduction of quality of goods and services. The UNDP stresses that “the poor will face higher tax burdens and fewer services. If corruption pervades the collection of the total tax bill imposed on those without the power and wealth to pay off tax collectors will increase.” 28 In societies where corruption prevails, poor people are

28 Ibid.
required to pay the cost of the services, the government taxes and bribes to grease the wheels and speed the process of obtaining some goods and services needed. Thus, bribery takes the form of an additional tax burden. Therefore, there is no doubt that corruption broadly damages the social structure by creating and increasing inequalities between people and undermining the right of the poor for social justice and a happy life.

e) The negative effects on the moral and intellectual standards of the public

Beyond the cruelty to the social system and social structure, corruption damages the moral and intellectual fiber of the public in many important ways. The following discussion pays much attention to the effects of corruption on: (1) the moral attitudes and behavior of the public, (2) the psychology and intellectual attitudes and personality of individuals, and (3) the process of socialization of the younger generation.

1) The effects of corruption on the moral attitudes and behavior of the public

One of the most obvious arguments advanced by anti-corruption social scientists is that no civic virtue could be sustained in the presence of corruption. Theobald argues that corruption "engenders a climate of greed, selfishness and cynicism." If a corrupt individual or group resorts to corrupt affairs in order to obtain goods or services or money beyond his legitimate means, he is selfish, simply because he, as Chandra Muzaffar pointed out, puts self-interest above everything else and cares only about 'ME, ME, ME'. If selfishness intensifies, social inequalities and conflicts will be encouraged and institutional anarchy and disorder prevail. What

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29 Theobald, Corruption: Development and Underdevelopment, op. cit., p 112.
feeds the attitude of selfishness is the human greed and avarice, which know no limit. Dato' Sri Dr. Mahathir furnishes a striking example in this concern. He said: "Though the economy of a country may be ruined by corruption, officials and others involved in corrupt practices will not desist." The result of selfishness and greed is cynicism and social disunity. All these immoralities, as many social scientists argue, reduce the willingness of the public to make the necessary sacrifices for the society’s social and economic development and affect the public improvements. Frisch's quotation might suffice in this regard. He quotes: "Generally, corruption kills the development spirit. Nothing is as destructive to society as the rush for quick and easy money, which makes fools of those who can work honestly and constructively." Corruption, therefore, becomes one of the major direct causes of underdevelopment and poverty in general and at the same time contributes to the extension of corruption.

Another aspect of the negative effects of corruption is on the life-styles of individuals. Many sectors of society resort to corruption to satisfy the demands of unhealthy customs and expensive or luxurious life-styles. Ibn Khaldun furnishes an adequate analysis that explains the background and mechanism of the nature of the relationship between corruption and life-styles. He pointed out that when the expenditure of the rulers increases, because of their adoption of luxurious living, and their ordinary income does not meet such a life-style, they resort to sophisticated techniques to keep money flowing from taxpayers. But luxury continues to grow and spending increases on account of it. Thus the need for appropriating people's

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property, of course through corrupt and illegal means, becomes stronger and stronger. However, the immediate result is that the rich will grow rich and lead luxurious and extravagant life-style, and the poor perishes. This, finally leads to sudden disintegration, decay and disturbances, lack of opportunities to make a living and injustice, which leads to the complete distraction of the society and civilization.  

In addition to the above social costs of corruption, the increase of crimes and criminal behavior is a clear consequence of corrupt practices. Corrupt politicians, bureaucrats, law enforcement officials, judges and persecutors through their involvement in bribery and nepotism, to some extent, protect criminals and cover up their crimes. Worse than this, they themselves commit crimes and protect themselves. Some illustrative and comprehensive examples have been cited by Benson, some of which will be quoted here as lengthy as they are. He said:

"A striking example of the cost of a corrupt police department to people is found in the East St. Louis race riot of 1917. In this riot perhaps 100 innocent blacks and whites were killed...The Chicago police force was sharply criticized by a grand jury for spying on people, failing to prevent the October 1969 riots, with resultant damage to citizens...The Libbey Commission, investigating the 1967 riots in New York, concluded that the general atmosphere of corruption in New York city government was a major reason for those unfortunate riots...Organized crime, which lives by corruption, hits the poor hardest. In 1969, the Chairman of New York State’s Joint Legislative Committee on crime stated that $223,000,000 was siphoned out of the Central Harlem, South Bronx, and Bedford-Stuyveson ghettos by numbers bankers and narcotics during 1968, while Federal state and city welfare funds pumped into the same communities totaled $ 272,000,000. The Knapp Commission found that police, in addition to

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taking bribes, were themselves selling confiscated heroin. The estimated 15,000 narcotics addicts in Washington are said by Williams to be in part a result of a corruptible police force...many addicts resorted to crime to support their habits".35

2) Effects of corruption on the psychology, intellectual attitudes and personality of the individuals

Grave consequences of corruption on the psychology of the individuals could be seen in many respects. One of the effects of corruption on psychology is the loss of motivation to fight corruption and the acceptance of it as an unavoidable evil. Alatas maintains that this psychological situation “manifests itself in various forms such as resignation to the climate of corruption, attempts to relate it to preceding institutional and cultural norms or to rapid development.”36 Girling and Soley have also emphasized the above assumption. However, the latter furnish us with empirical evidence, which deserves to be mentioned here, that the Nigerians have lost hope in the virtues of honesty, integrity and hard work.37 Alatas further argues that among the psychological effects of corruption, is the rise of a pessimistic attitude, uncertainty about the future, mistrust in law and ethical norms, loss of trust that honesty, hard work and self-development are the means of happiness and welfare. Thus, the result of these effects is that the people become passive and inert until they lose any sensitivity to moral ideals. Moreover, the inability of the people to express their dissatisfaction, condemnation, anger towards corruption, directly affects their

36 Alatas, Corruption and the Destiny of Asia, op. cit., p. 69.
In the same line of analysis, corruption attacks human personality in many important ways and might even transfer its nature to a destructive type. All individuals who participate in corrupt affairs whether as recipient or initiator will lose self-respect and ultimately will be dehumanized.\textsuperscript{42} With such a personality, these individuals in the long run, as Levine argues, will have the sense of unwillingness to be mobilized to great ends.\textsuperscript{43} Therefore, any effort made to effect growth and prosperity will fail. Alatas pointed out that the sense of powerlessness and self-abasement is also another kind of effect on the personality. He concludes that the most alarming danger of corruption is that of the conversion of the personality into a destructive type.\textsuperscript{44} Such a personality will be guided by selfishness, greed, envy, aggressiveness, hatred and hypocrisy. Thus no development and prosperity could be achieved. Moreover, there will be continuous destruction and complete degradation and decay.

3) The effects of corruption on the socialization of the younger generation

One of the most dangerous effects of corruption in the long-term is its damage to the building up of the young generation. In a society where corruption prevails, the children grow up with anti-social attitudes, for being socialized with corrupt practices everywhere and not seeing any role model before them who not only condemns corruption, but also sticks to integrity and transparency at all costs. The young men, then, become accustomed to corruption and adopt it as a character trait, leaving no place for good qualities and attitudes like honesty and accountability. The concern about the effects of corruption on the younger generation has been voiced


\textsuperscript{43} Le Vine, Political Corruption: The Ghana Case, op. cit., p. 104.

\textsuperscript{44} Alatas, Corruption and the Destiny of Asia, op. cit., pp. 72-73.
for a long time. Wraith and Simpkins, writing in the early 1960's, express their worry about the future of the young men from the secondary schools and universities who enter the public service and see a jungle of nepotism and temptation through which they must hack their way unaided. The values that they have learned that merit will be rewarded and integrity will be their greatest asset becomes merely ideals, and their enthusiasm turns to cynicism and despair of any change of the situation. In view of the fact that a person starts absorbing the social values and the cultural norms from his society from the early stages of his childhood, he is exposed also to adopt many values and manners that promote corruption or at least tolerate it. Alatas provides a systematic analysis of this issue, which deserves to be cited, as lengthy as it is, in this concern. He said:

"In a corrupt society, corruption enters into our lives at frequent interval intersections. The child is already exposed to its damaging effects while in primary school. Corruption becomes part of the visible scenery. An entire generation of children grows up under its shadow. What this would do to the personality of the individual is certainly something to worry about...corruption becomes such force that it conditions the socialization process of the younger generations towards a negative direction".46

Due to such process of socialization, a person starts to belong to a strong system where corruption will bring about more corruption and corruption will be inherited from one generation to another, whereby the latter will be more skilled and gifted in corrupt practices and merciless to the victims of corruption. This is shown by the experience of some countries including India, Pakistan, Zaire and many others. This situation, indeed, represents a serious challenge in any anti-corruption strategy and reform.

45 Wraith and Simpkins, Corruption in Developing Countries, op. cit., p. 13.
46 Alatas, Corruption and the Destiny of Asia, op. cit., p. 62.
4.1.4 The Grave Consequences of Corruption on Politics

The negative effects of corruption on politics are numerous and terrible. However, the following analysis will highlight the most important negative consequences on the legitimacy of the political structure, democracy, political development, and political stability and national integration.

a) The negative effects of corruption on the legitimacy of the political structure

In politics the first set of harmful effects of corruption concerns the losses of legitimacy and credibility of the government, political leaders, and the political institutions. In measuring the negative effects of corruption on legitimacy, the research takes into consideration the basic factors of legitimacy, notably the legality of the political structure and its accountability before the people, the prevalence of a general atmosphere of democracy, and equality of all people before the law. The accountability of the political structure before God, who is the Lawgiver and the primary source of Shari'ah, is an additional essential factor of legitimacy in Muslim societies. The theoretical and the empirical research proves that systematic corruption undermines the legitimacy of the government, political leaders and the political institutions in, probably, all types of political systems. Waquet said: "corruption in reality, affects more or less all types of political systems: Tyrannies and Monarchies, Oligarchies and Democracies, Socialist dictatorship and Military governments."47 It is generally admitted among social scientists that when the citizens become aware of the corrupt practices and the wrong doings of the government and the political leaders and the political institutions they will lose confidence and trust in them. Consequently, they disobey and disrespect the

authorities and all their representatives. They might also be urged to commit corruption since they are being guided by the perception: If corruption is legal for them, why not for us? Are they better than us? Hence, the public loses faith in the government and loses trust in the political leaders.48

Empirical studies prove that in many cases the citizens are aware that corruption is widespread in the political arena and it gravely affects the legitimacy of the political structure. For instance, in a poll conducted in South Africa towards the end of 1997, 92% of the respondents thought politicians the most corrupt, closely followed by the local government and provincial government employees.49 In another poll conducted by Transparency International, Italian Chapter, in 1998, very important information has been provided about the attitudes of the Italian citizens concerning corruption. In this poll, 76.2% of the respondents do not have trust in their government that it is adequately protecting the public from corruption. Moreover, a majority of about 95% of the respondents believes that major forms of corruption such as illegalities and thefts are rarely punished. 84.8% of the respondents also believe that corruption in politics, is stronger than in other areas, and it represents a very high cost for the citizens.50 Both polls show that the public is conscious of the presence of corruption in the political sphere where the government and the political leaders are involved in corruption instead of performing their duties.

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50 Transparency International Italy (T1-T), A one-page paper distributed at the International Conference on Strengthening Integrity, Ibid.
Therefore, the demand for legality is high and the faith in the political structure is very weak, if not destroyed.

b) The negative effects of corruption on democracy

Corruption undermines democracy in many forms. It is considered the primary source of political influence. The violation of elections, electoral fraud of various kinds, such as graveyard registration, ballot box stuffing, and coercing politicians and judges, illegal financing of the electoral campaigns, buying votes, solving parliamentary conflicts in illegal manners, lobbying, forcing political opponents 'out of business', through threat of persecution, conspiracy, and even assassination and many others, all fall under the rubric of anti-democratic practices. Illustrating this aspect of the negative effects on democracy, Theobald pointed out that "once in power the victors do everything they can to stay there from ballot rigging to censorship, from the imprisonment of political opponents to death squads and terror". If corrupt political leaders succeed in coming to power and maintaining it through corrupt means, democracy will be undermined and the basic democratic rights will be neglected.

Rose-Ackerman argues that corrupt political leaders and undemocratic governments will use corruption to maintain power by spreading the benefits of corruption. In the atmosphere of 'hypocrite democracy' the enemies of democracy, as Thomas argues, within the state itself verbally profess allegiance to democracy and yet by their deeds display no such commitment. They talk of democracy but act anti-democratically. Huntington advanced some arguments that in such a "hypocrite' corrupt political atmosphere "enfranchised masses or recently arrived

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51 Theobald, Corruption: Development and Underdevelopment, op. cit., p. 128.
53 Thomas, Political Corruption and the Law in the United Kingdom, op. cit., p. 11.
immigrants (to America) use their new power of the ballot to buy themselves jobs and favors from the local political machine there is thus the corruption of the poor and the corruption of the rich. The one trades political power for money the other money for political power."  

Social scientists argue that corruption impedes the democratic process in decision-making. For corruption promotes inefficiency, inertia as well as irrationality. It also causes decisions to be weighed in terms of money, not in terms of human needs and the efficiency of the project. What should be emphasized in this respect, is that democracy is affected if there exists a true democratic system, but if there exists no democracy, corruption may prevent its existence and establishment. In democratic systems where little corruption exists, democracy will be at risk if corruption is not eradicated and the public gives up on democracy. Thomas expresses his extreme worry about the loss of democracy, he said: “If people give up on democracy, then democracy is lost. If democracy is lost, we are lost, we must not allow that to happen.” Corruption, being in fact anti-democracy should be perceived as the most dangerous enemy of human political achievement, because democracy is the best political system produced by mankind.

c) The negative effects of corruption on political development

Corruption’s drastic attack against the basic aspects of political development was not out of sight. This is because corruption undermines the government’s capacity and the enforcement of laws and regulations throughout the territory under its jurisdiction. Corruption decreases the government’s capacity in the sense that the

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54 Huntington, Modernization and Corruption, op. cit., p. 494.
55 Breyler, The Effects of Corruption in a Developing Nation, op. cit., p. 528; Girling, Corruption, Capitalism and Democracy, op. cit., p. 25.
56 Thomas, Political Corruption and the Law in the United Kingdom, op. cit., p. 30.
government is not able to formulate and implement the policy decisions. Corruption supplies the government with inefficient and irrational politicians and bureaucrats who will usually act in favor of private interest and neglect the public interest, and if the policies exist already they will block their implementation and take the budget away, of course, to their personal accounts. Corrupt political leaders and bureaucrats may contribute to a decrease of government capacity through embezzlement and waste of government funds, graft from tax revenues, misuse of the national resources and the like. Hence, they incapacitate the government from implementing the policies and enforcing its rule over the population. Ultimately, the government will fail to perform its general duties to protect the lives, health, morals, and well-being of its people and develop the nation. In Thailand, for example, the government has lost funds ranging from 25% to 100% of the allotted appropriation in government’s purchase and procurement practices alone because of corruption. Furthermore, for bulk purchases, the government may pay 67% to 100% more than the ongoing market price. Other instances of losses of government revenues could be cited here. “A Filipino revenue collector was found to have amassed over P 3 million through systematic manipulation of official receipts.” These examples and others only represent hints of the reality since nobody can ascertain the full amount being lost. In such corrupt societies, the estimated amounts detected as being corrupted may represent only a small portion of what has been grafted in reality. This, for sure, reduces the government capacity to cope with the challenges it must face, which in turn engenders loss of legitimacy. Levine has viewed the reduction of the government capacity as “the most serious in newly independent countries because

57 Alfiler, The Process of Bureaucratic Corruption in Asia: Emerging Patterns, op. cit., p. 54.
their governments carry a greater burden of popular expectation than older regimes.\textsuperscript{59}

d) The effects of corruption on political stability and national integration

Political instability and national disintegration result, in part, directly from corruption. Theobald as well as Dato’ Sri Dr. Mahathir advanced arguments that corruption is behind the downfall of the government in many developing countries.\textsuperscript{60} Many examples could be cited here, however the following might suffice to support the above assumption. Corruption is behind the fall of the government of Bettino Cracsi in Italy, the government of Suharto and Abdurrahman Wahid in Indonesia, the Government of Joseph Estrada in the Philippines and Carlos Monem in Argentina. If the government falls the end of the corrupt leaders and their supporters and allies, politicians and bureaucrats will be terrible. The abovementioned statesmen have experienced this terrible end to various extents. Removal from office, facing corrupt charges, imprisonment, exile etc. In Japan it was reported that many Prime Ministers committed suicide because they were disclosed as corrupt leaders. These incidents show that corrupt political leaders are not conscious that they destroy themselves, their careers and their future by themselves. The Holy Qur’an stress this idea, God says: “Thus have We placed leaders in every town its wicked men, to plot therein, but they only plot against their own souls and they perceive it not.”\textsuperscript{61}

In addition to the above, the most voiced justification for the involvement of the military in politics and coup d’état is the intention and resolution to eradicate corruption and replace it with rectitude and justice. However, the experience of many countries like Pakistan, India, and most of the African countries where military

\textsuperscript{60} Theobald, Corruption: Development and Underdevelopment, op. cit., p. 9; Mahathir, The Challenge, op. cit., p. 143.
\textsuperscript{61} The Holy Qur’an, 6:123.
takeovers became the daily routine, proved that even the new leaders rapidly turn their backs to fighting corruption and they themselves initiate corrupt practices in order to promote their political fortune and get power, prestige and luxury. This is also the case with some political leaders who came to power through legitimate means but who also break their promise to fight corruption and themselves become embroiled in corruption like Abdurrahman Wahid and Joseph Estrada. These downfalls of governments and coup d'état inflict many losses on society and the government as well; people being killed, disorder, terror, violence, instability, and even war and complete destruction of the nation.

Yet, in a general way, corruption counteracts political stability and undermines the national integration. These harmful effects are, so far, the negative consequences of corruption on the legitimacy of the political structure and on democracy and political development, which much of it happening in developing countries. In short, corruption leads to serious political decay.

4.1.5 The Grave Consequences of Corruption on the Economy

The toxic effects of corruption on the economy have been receiving much attention in the social science works particularly in economic writings. A review of the literature on this subject seems to be suggesting that only an overview that includes the major effects of corruption on the economy shall be presented. This is due to the fact that those writings are sufficiently comprehensive and systematic that they need no repetition. Corruption affects the economy in many ways. Most important are its effects on economic growth and investments, its effects on capital inflows, and its effects on domestic and international trade.
a) The negative effects of corruption on economic growth and investments

It is generally admitted among the experts in economics that corruption decreases economic activities and profitability. If projects are not sited properly but according to the desire of the corrupt political and bureaucratic leaders, and the tenders for the government contracts are accepted not according to strict economic criteria but on the basis of who will offer the largest bribe or based on nepotism and favoritism for family members and friends, no economic growth would be expected or achieved. When the revenues of the projects are for the benefit of the ‘Chiefs’, and the corrupt government contractors never work productively and efficiently, the quality of the dislocated projects will be very low. In Tunisia, for instance, during the late Bourguiba’s rule particularly in the 1980’s many bridges collapsed and many roads deteriorated very rapidly because of corruption of the government and the building contractors as well. This brought death and injuries to people and a big loss of money.62

Mauro argues that "corruption may tempt the government officials to choose expenditures less on the basis of public welfare than on the opportunity they provide for extorting bribes...one might expect that it is easier to collect substantial bribes on large infrastructure projects or high technology defense systems than on textbooks or teachers salaries"63

Taking into consideration the involvement of the government in the Developing Countries in the economy in terms of laying the foundation of infrastructure, controlling industries and services; transport, health, education etc., any diversion of public funds for private gain, no doubt, has far reaching negative

62 Being a Tunisian, the researcher witnessed the above incidents.
consequences for overall economic growth. In Zaire, during the late Mobutu's rule, it was reported that 60% of the national budget was allegedly lost. Meanwhile, Mobutu invested millions in building his chateaux in France and the Zairians suffered in all ways.⁶⁴ In the Republic of Moldova, it was reported that tax evasion rose from 4% of the consolidated budget revenues in 1994 to 32% in 1998; an 8 times increment. Furthermore, the total sum of losses for the economic agents and state, caused by illegal expenditure, lacks, and thefts amounted to 87.4% million Lei in comparison to 36.3 million in 1997; a 2.4 times growth.⁶⁵

One of the most important factors in economic growth is investment. Several empirical studies using cross-sectional analysis and corruption indexes such as the index of Transparency International (TI) and the index of Business International (BI), advanced important quantitative results that corruption reduces investments and consequently reduces the rate of growth. Such a reduction in investment is usually, in part, attributed to higher costs due to additional tax burdens (bribes), and the uncertainty that corruption creates since the less predictable the level of corruption the greater its impact on foreign investments. Corruption also reduces the productivity of public investment and the quality of infrastructure, because these types of projects lend themselves easily to manipulation by high-level officials to get bribes. Corruption also affects the industrial policy on investment, because corrupt political leaders, like Ministers and Deputy Ministers, exercise strong influence on the formulation and implementation of policies in order to divert their benefits to their personal bank accounts. So they implement their corrupt policy rather than the

written one. Corruption lowers the quality of the infrastructure and reduces the government revenue needed to finance productive spending and to implement the policies. Empirical evidence based on a cross-country comparison, shows that if a country improves its standing on the corruption index from, say, 6 to 8 (0 being the most corrupt, 10 the least) it will experience a 4% increase in its investment rate. For example, Mauro found that if Bangladesh improved the integrity of its bureaucracy to the level of that of Uruguay, its investment rate would increase by almost 5%.

Corruption is to be found behind the low incentives to invest for both local and foreign entrepreneurs, because they will normally be asked to pay bribes before enterprises can be approved, and also before they can be started. Moreover, corrupt officials may request shares in the proceeds of their investment. Therefore, it is concluded that the theoretical and empirical studies furnish numerous arguments that no economic growth can happen when corruption breeds more corruption and discourages legitimate business investment, and small business enterprises perish.66

b) The negative effects of corruption on capital inflows

Political corruption in its obvious form causes a capital outflow, usually to accounts of the political leaders and high-ranking bureaucrats and government officials into Swiss Banks. It is also well known that foreign capital, whether in the form of aid or loans or investments would not inflow into a country where corruption is rampant. For the aid-donors are not confident that their aid will be used properly

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and honestly. Those holding deposits or granting loans to such countries are not encouraged to flow in such capitals for fear of being spoiled by corrupt practices together with the expected benefits. Empirical studies prove the above analysis, for example, in a study about capital movements of American investors in 1999, Hines found that US investors prefer to locate their Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in less corrupt countries after 1997. Alesina and Weder, investigating the OECD countries' attitude in aid giving in 1999, found that Scandinavian countries and Australia have a significant tendency to avoid providing aid to corrupt countries. The increase in Colombia's level of integrity to that of the United Kingdom is found to increase the capital inflow by 3%.\(^67\) If a country is not capable of attracting foreign aid and investments, and the domestic fund and capitals flow out of the country because of corruption, the country's debts would increase, the local banks and the financial institutions would go bankrupt, and the economy would fall into crisis.

c) The negative effects of corruption on domestic and international trade

What has been seen in countries where corruption is the daily practice of the majority of business people is the sharp increase in the prices of goods and services as well as the unavailability of many goods and commodities, for smugglers and contrabandists are used to looking for more benefits in their 'tax free' illegal exportation transactions, leaving the domestic market short of those goods and services. At the same time, other business powers may assume complete control of the import-export transactions and raise the prices to the extent that people would suffer.

Empirical studies furnish quantitative evidence that corruption impedes the international trade and export-import transactions. For example, in the Republic of Moldova the detected volume of smuggled goods grew from 2.7% of the total export-import in 1997 to 10.6 in 1998; a four times increment in one year! During the same period, the number of criminal files reaching the Court diminished continually under the effect of bribes, and from 28 open criminal files no one was investigated in 1998. This means that the situation would be worse in the future and the countrymen especially the poor would suffer. Another example of the effects of corruption on international trade could be taken from the empirical study that was conducted by Hines in 1999. Hines found that US aircraft exporters after 1997 decreased business in countries perceived to be corrupt. Moreover, the U.S.A in general has significantly smaller market share in corrupt countries than, for example, France and Italy. It has been concluded that US exporters are less willing to offer bribes. Those are some aspects of how systemic corruption undermines trading affairs locally and internationally.

4.1.6 The Grave Consequences of Corruption on the Bureaucracy

Corruption is detrimental to the bureaucracy in variety of ways. However, the following analysis would emphasize the negative effects of corruption on the efficiency of the bureaucrats and the bureaucracy and on the increase of administrative costs.

One of the most serious effects of corruption is the inefficiency of the bureaucracy. When nepotism, bribery and political patronage rule over the bureaucratic machine, the fundamental principles of bureaucracy notably rationality.

68 Carascine, Republic of Moldova: Economic Consequences of Corruption, op. cit., p. 11.
efficiency and qualification would be destroyed. Theobald pointed out that nepotism, political patronage and bribery all conflict with the fundamental principle of appointment and promotion according to universalistic criteria. Furthermore, they also deprive the public service of appropriately qualified and talented personnel. He concluded that they also reduce the incentives of the officials to work efficiently and honestly.\(^7\)

If people are employed in the public administration through nepotism, or because of offering bribes, or through the interference of the political leaders, the immediate result is the decline in the efficiency of the bureaucracy. This is due to the fact that these newly appointed officials are most of the time not qualified and in reality they do not merit the position they are in, based on their qualifications. Moreover, in many instances, the position itself is specifically created for them, and if this is not the case, they are appointed to work in a post unsuitable for them. In this situation the bureaucracy would be dampened by unqualified persons whose specific job is usually not well designated. Hence, the quality of service declines.

The inefficiency of the bureaucracy manifests itself in many aspects. The most obvious aspect includes interminable waiting in dealing with public or even private administration, the unavailability of the necessary forms, applications and information, the absence of system, the inability to find the department and the officer in charge or the one who has the authority to attend to the needs of the customers, and red-tape or, in other words, the ‘inexplicable’ delay in file processing. It should be, however, noticed that some forms of bureaucratic diseases particularly inefficiency and red-tape are purposely created by corrupt officials to extract illegal incomes especially bribes. Based on the findings of the report of the Santhanam

\(^7\) Theobald, Corruption: Development and Underdevelopment, op. cit., pp. 127-128.
Committee in India, Myrdal concludes that the custom of speed money “has become one of the most serious causes of delay and inefficiency.”\textsuperscript{71}

Benson argues that political machines often have disastrous effects on administrative quality by the appointment of incompetent officials.\textsuperscript{72} Besides, Benson and Simpson pointed out that police protection of the criminals for a benefit increases the number of crimes and damages the effectiveness of the police force in its ability in crime control and public order maintenance activities.\textsuperscript{73}

Corruption may also affect the efficiency of the bureaucracy by creating two parallel lines of authority: one for legal transactions and another for corrupt affairs. The efficient transaction, in the sense that a person gets what he wants, should go through corruption. This, in fact, would deprive the public from just administrative services, whereby only the rich and powerful can get services. The second line of authority, as Carino argues, would undermine and weaken the efficiency of the administration, and also displace goals, as employees would pursue their own economic interests rather than the objectives of the administration or organization.\textsuperscript{74}

The fact that corruption raises the cost of administrative services is beyond question. Worse than this it imposes prices for services, which are supposed to be free for the public. The officer or the employee, who commits graft or participates in corruption either as initiator or as recipient, increases the price of services, which are paid twice, the second payment being a bribe. In the case of tax collection, the taxpayer pays little tax to the government and gives bribery to the tax officer to protect and cover up on him and for not requesting him to pay the due tax. Bribes in such a context become an additional tax burden.

\textsuperscript{71} Myrdal, Corruption: Its Causes and Effects, op. cit., p. 541.
\textsuperscript{72} Benson, Political Corruption in America, op. cit., p. 193.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., p. 195; Simpson, The Literature of Police Corruption, op. cit., pp. 73-74.
\textsuperscript{74} Carino, Toxic or Tonic: The Effects of Graft and Corruption, op. cit., pp. 177-178, 192.
Cost-increasing corruption engenders unwillingness on the part of the public to deal with the administration. Meanwhile, as far as small enterprises are concerned, especially for the emerging enterprises, corruption creates trouble in the smooth running of their business.\textsuperscript{35}

Yet it has become clear that corruption entails inefficiency of the bureaucratic system and increases administrative cost through overpayment of supplies and materials and reduces government revenues.

4.2 THE CHECKING OF CORRUPTION

4.2.1 Introduction

The increasing scale of corruption around the globe together with the complicated matrix of causes and catastrophic consequences of corruption, has created many difficulties for the reformers. However, the checking of corruption\textsuperscript{76} has not been relaxed. Many countries and international institutions, notably the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and international organizations like the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Transparency International (TI) together with a number of social scientists have played a significant role in the process of checking corruption. They are now paying so much attention to the issue, and positively contributing to the ongoing debate, with a view to improving possible sound anti-corruption strategies.

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., p.179; Tanzi, Corruption Around the World: Causes, Consequences, Scope and Cures, op. cit., pp. 582, 584-585.

\textsuperscript{76} Social scientists have been using quite a number of terms to refer to the issue of solving the problem of corruption. Terms such as, control, fight, combat, eradicate, root out, eliminate, curb, overcome, curtail, shun, tackle, mobilize, repel, reduce, prevent, restrain, cure and check corruption have been largely used in the social scientists' works. This research will adopt the concept of "checking corruption" for it embraces the meaning of most of the abovementioned terms.
Yet, after having presented some theoretical understanding of the definition, forms, types, causes and consequences of corruption throughout the previous two chapters and the first part of the present chapter, in the analysis that follows, an attempt is made to provide considerable knowledge on the issue of the checking of corruption. Therefore, the present analysis begins with a comment on some weak and inefficient anti-corruption strategies and measures, then it proceeds to emphasize the role of the government and the political leadership, the mass media, the non-governmental organizations, the religious institutions and the public at large in the checking of corruption. It then concludes with setting up some fundamental guidelines that should be observed in making any sound and comprehensive anti-corruption policy or strategy.

4.2.2 Review of Selected Anti-Corruption Strategies and Measures

A review of the available literature on the checking of corruption, would suggest that some anti-corruption strategies and measures suffer from many weaknesses and inefficiencies. These weaknesses and inefficiencies need to be highlighted in order to develop strong and effective strategies and measures to achieve better results. The following examples of weak strategies and measures in the anti-corruption machinery are only illustrative rather than exhaustive. These examples include the nature of the strategy, the objectives, and the partial remedies.

a) The nature of the anti-corruption strategy

The examination of some anti-corruption strategies seems to suggest that the strategies have quite different natures. Each of them reflects the typical qualities and characteristics of the anti-corruption efforts, which usually lead to different results. The success or failure of the anti-corruption strategy, in part, depends so much on the
nature of the implemented strategy. In a review of the legal and administrative measures adopted by seven Asian countries, namely, Hong Kong, Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Nepal, The Philippines, Singapore and Thailand for checking corruption, Rafique Rahman identified four different types of anti-corruption strategy. They are: the Hesitant-Environmental, Determined-Environmental, Hesitant-Institutional, and the Determined-Institutional. The description of these four strategies could be summarized in the following table.

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<tr>
<th>TYPE OF STRATEGY</th>
<th>CHARACTERISTICS</th>
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<tr>
<td>1) Hesitant-Environmental</td>
<td>- It is marked by a high level of emotional commitment to the objective of eradicating corruption.</td>
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<td>- It is not institutional; it develops outside the modern bureaucratic-legal institutional frameworks</td>
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<td>- It is usually not planned and its various components are not well integrated.</td>
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<td>- Usually it includes programs of mass movement or campaigns aimed at raising moral abhorrence against corrupt practices and urging people to avoid and condemn corrupt behavior.</td>
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<td>- The prime movers of this strategy are usually charismatic or mass-movement leaders or religious preachers.</td>
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<td>2) Determined-Environmental</td>
<td>- Its environmental measures are well planned, well integrated and forcefully implemented.</td>
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<td>- It emphasizes moral and value aspects in raising moral awareness of individuals, groups and the total society against corruption.</td>
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<td>- Systematic efforts are made to instill anti-corruption values in various social institutions and structures.</td>
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<td>3) Hesitant-Institutional</td>
<td>- Essentially, it relies on institutional measures, which could be either strong or weak in its formulation or implementation.</td>
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<td>- It usually includes measures such as: the creation of anti-corruption laws, setting up of moderately powerful complaint’s bureau, the initiation of anti-corruption drives, campaigns and public educational programs through mass-media.</td>
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<td>4) Determined-Institutional</td>
<td>- It has systematic and coordinated measures to detect and punish corrupt behavior as well as to eliminate or reduce the various sources and causes of corruption.</td>
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<td>- The ruling classes are compelled by the social</td>
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circumstances to be fully committed to the complete
annihilation of corruption.
- The anti-corruption measures are more or less consistent
and permanent in nature.
- The anti-corruption agencies are independent from the
executive, legislature, and judiciary.
- It usually includes: the establishment of independent anti-
corruption agencies, a system of incentives and punishment
for forceful implementation of anti-corruption measures, an
open system of government with the least possible amount of
administrative secrecy, systematic efforts to reform systems,
procedures and practices in order to check corrupt practices,
and a free mass-media so as to subject the functioning of the
entire society, including the government institutions, to
complete popular vigilance and scrutiny.

Rafique Rahman pointed out that the first three strategies suffer from some
weaknesses. For example, both Hesitant and Determined Environmental strategies
put much emphasis on moral and societal measures and little or no emphasis on
bureaucratic measures, and on the formulation, development and strengthening of
anti-corruption agencies, devising measures of formal and informal control over top
political officials. Meanwhile, the notable weaknesses inherent in the Hesitant-
Institutional strategy are: low reliance upon comprehensive and fundamental
institutional, procedural and policy changes in the administrative set-up, prevalence
of inconsistency in the anti-corruption institutional, procedural and policy
measures.\textsuperscript{77}

Although Rafique Rahman’s study was restricted to the seven Asian countries
and limited to examining the legal and administrative measures, it could also reflect
the actual situations of the anti-corruption strategies of many other countries.
However, it should be noticed that though many countries may have instituted or
implemented a mixture of two or more types of the abovementioned strategies, the

\textsuperscript{77} A. T. Rafique Rahman, Legal and Administrative Measures Against Bureaucratic Corruption in
Asia, in Ledivina V. Carino (ed.). 1986. Bureaucratic Corruption in Asia: Causes, Consequences
challenge of checking corruption remained. For even the best strategy, like the Determined-Institutional, may suffer from the lack of concrete commitment of the government leaders, lack of cooperation from the society, and it may also be implemented only over the poor and the powerless citizens. Therefore, to ensure concrete commitment and support of the government leaders, the will and vigilance of the citizens, and impartial, just and effective implementation of the anti-corruption measures, are as necessary as instituting a comprehensive strategy.

b) The objectives of the anti-corruption strategy

Assuming that the policy makers have already agreed about the definition, forms, causes, and negative consequences of corruption, and the urgent need to check it, the problem of the precise objectives would emerge and may provoke some controversies. Taking into account that having well identified objectives is one of the most important key elements in any anti-corruption strategy, what could be observed in many strategies is that its objectives are either vague or not properly identified, or not genuine and realistic. For instance, policy makers and social scientists use different terms that have different connotations in setting up the anti corruption strategy, which could be seen as a sign of the vagueness of the objectives. While, for example, the objectives of the anti-corruption strategy are to reduce or control or restrain corruption, one may find in the detailed text of the strategy, terms such as eradicate, root out, fight, combat, and even cure corruption, which have different meanings and require different measures and means of implementation than the former ones, and vice-versa.

In many political events, particularly during the election campaigns, political parties, including the one in power may strongly condemn corruption and give many promises to root it out and establish transparency and enhance integrity. Hence, in
this case, the anti-corruption strategy is merely a part of the election manifesto meant to attract the votes of honest citizens to get or remain in power and, ultimately, business goes on as usual. Hypocritical political leaders may also resort to formulating a strong anti-corruption strategy, just to absorb the anger of the public and turn their attention away from the growing of corrupt affairs in the bureaucracy and the government institutions.

The objectives of an anti-corruption strategy may be too idealistic. This type of objectives could be attributed to the inefficiency of the contributors to the anti-corruption strategy. For their lack of knowledge, skills and experience, and even sometimes their corrupt attitude, do not help them to work out an effective strategy that takes into consideration all factors and has clear and determined objectives. It could also be attributed to the zealous and optimistic nature of the policy makers, which urges them to set up an unrealistic strategy. The objective of such a strategy is either beyond its means, or overlooks the social, political, economic, legalistic, and bureaucratic reality, or both. In both cases the result would be the failure in achieving the attained objective, and that corruption remains unchecked.

c) The partial remedies

Some theorists, policy makers and international institutions and organizations have suggested some measures and strategies for the checking of corruption. They hoped that such measures and strategies might work reasonably well either in the short run or the long run. However, it has been realized that these measures and strategies are merely partial remedies, which may not keep corruption unchecked, but may even increase corrupt practices. The primary argument that could be advanced in this concern is that corruption is a complex phenomenon caused by various factors and that it is almost never be checked by a single cause or strategy that depends
exclusively on a plan of action in a single area. Partial remedies manifest themselves in strategies that exclusively rely on economic or bureaucratic or legalistic or political or moral measures. Three striking examples of this phenomenon could be presented in the analysis that follows. They are: (1) creating or strengthening of anti-corruption bodies, (2) raising the salaries and reducing the number of the civil servants, and (3) increasing legal measures.

1) The creation and strengthening of anti-corruption bodies

Many people may think that the creation of an anti-corruption agency, or bureau of complaints, or a committee of control or investigations, or an institute for corruption studies etc. either on a permanent, temporary or occasional basis, would suffice in the process of checking corruption. Experts of the World Bank, though they are primarily concerned with the economic causes and effects of corruption and helping countries that request the Bank’s support in their efforts to reduce corruption, have realized that: “special anti-corruption bodies may have been turned into partisan instruments whose real purpose is not to detect fraud and corruption, but to harass political opponents.”\textsuperscript{78} It is not expected from an anti-corruption body whose top management is appointed by the political leadership and its budget from the government, to act independently far from the political influence of the ruling elite. So far it is very hard for a pro-government anti-corruption body to play its role in the checking of corruption efficiently. Worse than this, is what Dr. Mahathir has termed the ‘Corruption Dilemma’ where “the anti-corruption machinery may be transformed into the machinery for the promotion of corruption.”\textsuperscript{79} It has been observed in many countries that among the best means and tools to get rid of political opponents, the


\textsuperscript{79} Mahathir, The Challenge, op. cit., p. 150.
ruling elite may resort to set up the ‘sword’ of corruption over them, hence the anti-corruption body leads the conspiracy by fabricating corrupt charges and finally prosecutes them. In Court, corrupt pro-government judges will complete the second part of the conspiracy by putting them in prison or even executing them.

Anti-corruption bodies may face other problems such as lack of public support, lack of enforcement power and lack or negligence of the government. The public may not support the anti-corruption bodies for fear being victimized by the corruptible persons or parties, doubt as to the effectiveness and credibility of the body, lack of awareness of the functions and importance of the anti-corruption bodies, and in corrupt societies, where everybody is practicing corruption, the cooperation of the public is not expected.

Three examples can be cited to support the above analysis. First, in the Philippines, anti-corruption laws have been enacted since the 1930s, the first anti-corruption body which was called the ‘Integrity Board’ was set up by President Quirino (1948-53) in 1950, the Graft and Corruption Act was instituted in 1960, and the anti-corruption agencies have frequently been changed to finally create the Complaints and Investigation Office (CIO). Although, the Philippine experience in anti-corruption laws and agencies is quite rich, corruption has remained unchecked. The 2000 Corruption Perception Index (CPI) ranks the Philippines number 69 beginning with number 1 for Finland as highly clean and ending with number 90 for Nigeria as a highly corrupt country. The Philippines scored 2.8 with 10 being highly

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81 The CPI is a yearly index issued by Transparency International. It assesses the perception of corruption in the countries on a scale of 0 to 10. Ten refers to a corruption-free country (highly clean); Zero refers to a country where most transactions or relations are affected by corruption. What should be noted is that the CPI reflects the respondents’ perception of corruption and not the actual wide scope and mechanism of corruption.

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clean. Secondly, according to the 2000 CPI, Nigeria is ranked number 90, the last, with the score of 1.2 as being highly corrupt country. The paradox in the case of Nigeria is that its President General Olusagam Obasango has been a leading figure in the checking of corruption struggle at the international level. The former Nigerian government of General Abacha imprisoned him because of his anti-corruption views. He was also a former Advisory Council Chairman of TI. All this, and he was back to power for about two years, and his country is highly corrupt! Thirdly, the 2000 CPI has also ranked Romania number 68, with a score of 2.8 being a corrupt country quite similar to India, which scored in the same index 2.9, and worse than Zimbabwe which scored 3.0. It is hard to explain such a situation when the Defend Supreme Council of Romania adopted the proposal of establishing the National Institute for the Studies of Corruption and Organized Crime under the Academy of Romania, which has been operating for quite some time.

2) Raising the salaries and reducing the number of civil servants

Among the economic measures that could be viewed as a partial remedy to the problem of corruption is raising salaries of civil servants or reducing the number of the government employees. A long time ago, Myrdal had suggested that: “the remuneration of low-paid civil servants should be raised and their social status improved and made more secure.” The IMF and the WB have also put forward this suggestion as well. However, in many countries around the globe, the salaries of the civil servants have been raised many times, but corruption has remained unchecked. What was observed in this context is that in many instances the increment of the

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83 Ibid.
84 Ibid.
salary is usually accompanied with an increase in the prices of goods and services. Sometimes the increment of the latter is many times more than the increment of salaries. In this case, what Dato’ Sri Dr. Mahathir concluded is true that: “Raising salaries is not secure way of stopping corruption. In a country where corruption has become a common practice, raising salaries threefold will only raise corruption levels threefold.”

Corruption, indeed, has not been the practice of the low-paid civil servants only, but also the practice of the well-paid, rich and powerful individuals and groups. Therefore, if the problem is basically moral in nature, raising salaries would not change the morals of corrupt civil servants, and corruption remains unchecked. Since human greed has no limits, raising salaries will not cause corruption to disappear.

Likewise, reducing the number of civil servants is also a partial remedy, because it will increase unemployment, which in turn increases corruption and other crimes. Moreover, the criteria implemented in reducing the number of the government officers or even the private sector employees is usually selective and influenced by corrupt politicians and bureaucrats. The victims of such a measure are usually the honest, efficient and powerless employees, whereas, the corrupt employees, who are appointed by nepotism or by paying bribery, will continue their work, and corruption will grow unchecked. Besides this, these measures would certainly create social, economic and political instability in which corruption flourishes.

3) Increasing the legal measures

For long time ago, both religious and man-made laws have condemned corruption. History tells us that the Roman Empire was the greatest human administration the World has ever seen. Despite the effectiveness of the Roman

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legislations, and its continuous influence on the legal code of many countries, it failed to check corruption. Ultimately, corruption caused the downfall of the Roman Empire. Instead of looking at the issue of the checking of corruption from all aspects, some legislators, statesmen and policy makers believe that the best way to check corruption is by instituting new anti-corruption laws and measures, or increasing the penalty for corrupt offences. It is important to note that laws, legislation and legal measures and proceedings do indeed have a role to play in the process of checking corruption. However, they may suffer from many weaknesses. The words of Wraith and Simpkins are worth noting: “Laws are of little use unless the great majority of people respect them...the penalties of the law do not always appear to carry a stigma sufficient to deter the wrong doers from doing wrong again...the consequences of the law are evaded either by influence or by bribery.”

If the public does not respect the ant-corruption laws, the penalties are not effective, and the rule of law does not reign over everyone; the laws are enforced only on the poor and powerless, corruption would then be promoted rather than checked. In other words, some laws and legal measures may increase corruption and not decrease it. Another problem with the law is that it may seek to criminalize and punish only the bribe giver and leave the bribe receiver alone, or vice versa. Sometimes, only a large amount of bribery is considered an offence, elsewhere any other small payment may not be forbidden by the law. This situation would bring about more corrupt behavior. As the Arabic proverb says: “He who steals an egg today, will certainly steal a camel tomorrow”. In the context of corruption, this means someone who pays or accepts a little bribery or steals little from the government fund today, most probably, will accept large amounts of bribery and

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Wraith and Simpkins, Corruption in Developing Countries, op. cit., pp. 182-183.
steal as much as he can from the government funds in the future. Another aspect of the weaknesses in the anti-corruption laws and measures, is that it may punish the corruptible with long-term rigorous imprisonment and heavy fines but it does not consider the confiscation of his assets, or any other asset or property that he intentionally registers under the name of his wife or children or family members or any other person, to protect them from being discovered and confiscated. In many instances, the law does not debar or forbid corrupt officers from holding public office positions after serving their prison sentence. Even the increase of penalties itself is not a good solution to the problem. The increase of penalties, Dato' Sri Dr. Mahathir says: “cannot work, because when corruption becomes part of the system, nobody can take action, for everybody is involved in corruption, and to sack all government staff and recruit new ones is impossible.”

Likewise, to punish a few persons in a corrupt department for example is not fair, for the whole department is corrupted and it will not solve the problem because the unpunished corrupt personnel will continue their corrupt practices and will be more careful and skilled at protecting themselves from the law.

Some anti-corruption measures and regulations may target the politicians and high-ranking officials in terms of forcing them to be accountable before the public. So they have to comply with these rules and disclose their assets and property. This will happen in a democratic political system, but the problem with such rules and measures is that they overlook questioning the politicians and high-ranking officials from where they have the wealth and properties. Besides, the hypocritical politicians and bureaucrats may manipulate the whole process of such accountability and make use of it to cover the ongoing corruption, so under the name of accountability

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corruption prevails. In order to cheat the public, they may manipulate their accounts and only disclose what should be disclosed and the reality remains unknown.

It was also observed that usually the laws and legal measures pay little attention or even sometimes no attention to nepotism as criminal behavior. Alatas reported that the great Chinese reformer Wang An Shih (d.1086) maintains that if officials are not the right men for their job, which means they are appointed by nepotism or political influence or by paying bribes, it is impossible to secure clean government by merely relying on the power of the law to control the government officials.90 The situation gets worse when the legislators, judges and law enforcement personnel and agencies disrespect and break the laws that they have made and are in charge of enforcing.

Good, effective and realistic anti-corruption laws and measures and penalties cannot be useful in the process of checking corruption unless they operate within a complete system that takes all factors into account. This system must be strengthened by a strong political and public will and resolution to check corruption.

4.2.3 The Role of the Government in Checking Corruption

There is much support for the argument that the role of the government is highly demanded in the process of checking corruption. There is a fair agreement among social scientists that checking corruption has to start from the top and proceed downwards.91 This has probably encouraged the international institutions such as the IMF and the WB and also the international organizations such as the OECD and TI.

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to join efforts with governments to reduce corruption and enhance integrity and transparency. The government commitment to the checking of corruption, however, varies from one country to another, but it is generally low, marginal or even non-existent in some cases. For example, in his study of the legal and administrative measures in fighting corruption in seven Asian countries, Rafique Rahman pointed out: "many a time we notice that much commitment by the government leaders exists only on paper, severe punishment has been prescribed against corrupt behavior, but these are hardly implemented...the cases involving corporate corruption or corruption by high public office holders are often left untouched."\(^{92}\) This would rightly stress that the establishment of true democratic and transparent government is at the heart of the checking of corruption and socio-political and socio-economic reform in general. A legitimate government and political leadership can play their role effectively in organizing and managing resources to ensure an effective drive against corruption. Amongst the important roles of such government is to formulate and execute a comprehensive strategic policy plan to check corruption. This strategic plan should involve a clear systematic theoretical and empirical understanding of the definition, types, forms, causes and consequences of corruption, and at least it shall also include measures to strike at the roots of corruption, to promote ethical and law-abiding behavior, to let social, institutional, legal and bureaucratic reform and incentives take place, and to establish an education system that brings into prominence good religious and civic values such as honesty, trustfulness, unselfishness, hardworking, obedience, courage and responsibility.

\(^{92}\) Rafique Rahman, Legal and Administrative Measures Against Bureaucratic Corruption in Asia, op. cit., p. 160.
The government should also ensure a genuine and just atmosphere for political competition and election campaigns. In addition, it should establish a just and effective judiciary system, and enforce the laws over everybody including statesmen and ministers.

Another important role of the government in the process of checking corruption is to cooperate closely with the private sector, political parties, non-governmental organizations, and the anti-corruption bodies in checking corruption. It should also coordinate their anti-corruption efforts and activities. The government should allow all parties concerned with the checking of corruption to participate in the formulation and execution of the comprehensive anti-corruption strategic policy plan and consequently consider their suggestions and views.

The creation of an atmosphere of freedom and responsibility is also a vital role of the government that it can play in the checking of corruption. In such an atmosphere, the political parties and NGOs can execute their anticorruption activities, the anti-corruption bodies can be really independent and capable of investigating and prosecuting any officer, politician, or department involved in corrupt affairs. The media can critically discuss government as well as non-government activities, and freely publish reports on all forms of corruption in all aspects of social life including the political.

It should be noticed that any program of checking corruption depends to a large extent for its success on the commitment of the government and the political leadership in power. This commitment should be viewed as a very important aspect
of the general duty of the government to protect the lives, health, and morals of its citizens.  

4.2.4 The Role of the Religious Institution

Sociologists in particular and the social scientists in general have long recognized the role of the religions, religious organizations, and religious leaders in the process of checking corruption. The five major World Religions; Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism Confucianism, and Hinduism, differ from one another in their system of beliefs and practices. For example, a cow is sacred for Hindus in India and must not be slaughtered, whereas for Muslims the cow is a farm animal and a source of food that can be slaughtered whenever and wherever necessary. Another striking example is their great difference in the image of God. Some religious communities perceive God as the Creator and the Master of the Universe, others perceive him as the Father, and others perceive him as a Judge or redeemer. Despite these radical differences the major world religions condemn corruption and prohibit it. Throughout human history the Prophets, religious leaders, preachers and reformer have communicated the religious anti-corruption teachings to the people. The words of Alatas are worth noting:

"It was sacral personalities like Mahavira, Buddha, Christ, Mohammed, Nanak, Kabir, Ramakrishna and numerous others, who inspired the scholars and sages to increasingly maintain ideals of rectitude. It would be a great mistake to ignore their contribution and their relevance to contemporary problems of restraining corruption in underdeveloped countries. Those aspects

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of their teachings touching upon corruption should be emphasized if the governments of the Underdeveloped Countries are really concerned with the problem of eliminating corruption and employing all means at their disposal against it."\(^{94}\)

It is observable that in most countries where corrupt practices prevail, religious, moral and spiritual values have declined and materialism and selfishness have increased. This, perhaps, could be attributed, in part, to the absence of religion and the implementation of the secular systems especially in politics and economics. The restriction of the Islamic religious teachings in the ritual practices such as prayers and fasting have lost their substance. This is in addition to the value-free education system and curriculums. But the so-called ‘Return to Religion or Return to the Sacred’ has also been voiced in recent years as a solution for the social problems including corruption. Consequently, religions are seen to provide an immense potential for the checking of corruption, and also possess a treasure of anti-corruption teachings. The following analysis is an attempt to provide some important insights of Islamic teachings and practices on the checking of corruption.

The Qur’an and Sunnah as the primary sources of Islamic teachings provide rich vocabulary and contexts within which the checking of corruption could be discussed. The Islamic approach to the checking of corruption could be better understood within the following three general guidelines: First, Allah (s.w.t) (God) has created the Universe and man in the best of conditions. He has set the Universe for Man to live in it and do good and righteousness and forsake corruption and evil.\(^{95}\) Second, corruption is a human product and the outcome of what men’s hands have

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95 The Holy Qur’an, 7:56; 2:205; 28:77.
wrought.\textsuperscript{96} Third, corruption is forbidden, and God does not love corruption and has threatened the corruptible with a heavy punishment unless they repent.\textsuperscript{97}

It is learned from the Qur\'an that the Prophets of God have been sent to educate men and guide them to work good on earth. All Messengers of God have shown good examples ‘Uswah Hasanah’ before people in their worldly and religious practices. One of their major tasks is to check corruption and enhance integrity, honesty and righteousness using the Words of God; Revelation. Among the most effective means that has been used by the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) to change corruption and corrupt behavior, is to sow the seeds of fear and worshiping of God in the hearts of his followers with regard to every action and saying in all situations. This has brought about the people’s total submission to the words of God, and encouraged them to follow the practice of the Messenger of God against all types of bad deeds and evil doings including corruption. The Words of God did, indeed, provoke radical changes in the hearts, souls, minds and behavior of the early Muslims. It has assaulted the materialistic notion of life; love of money, prestige, and the worldly life, which is the main source of corruption. Having established a new notion of life, and developed anti-corruption drives and incentives, corrupt behavior became rare and corruption disappeared during the Prophet Muhammad’s lifetime.

Among the strong measures provided by the Qur’an to check corruption is to command all Muslims to do good and forbid evil and enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong. This practice is termed as the system of ‘al-Amr bil Ma’ruf wa al-Nahiya an al-Munkar'.\textsuperscript{98} To comply with this system is a religious obligation for individuals as well as groups and governments. In the functioning of this system,

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., 30:41; 3:30.
\textsuperscript{98} The Holy Qur’an, 3:110.
righteous politicians, the intellectual elite, scholars and kind people play a vital role. For instance, God says: ‘Why do not the Rabbis and the Doctors of law forbid them from their (habit of) uttering sinful words and eating *ṣuḥt* (things forbidden). Evil indeed is their work.’ The word ‘ṣuḥt’ in the Qur’an denotes all types of illegal income that involves bribery, extortion, swindling, fraud, blackmailing, exploitation etc. These righteous people who stand firm for virtue and honesty and command to do good and forbid to do corruption have been described by the Qur’an as ‘Ulū *baghiyyah’ which means they are minded people who possess balanced good sense. The Qur’an made it clear that if corruption remains unchecked by the society it is a clear sign that the whole community has deviated from the path of God and disobeyed His command to enjoin good and forbid evil. Thus, the whole community deserves heavy punishment in this Worldly life and in the Hereafter. It should be noted here that the system of *al-Amr bi al-Maʿruf wa al-Nahi an al-Munkar* has caused other anti-corruption bodies to emerge, notably the office of the ‘Market Supervisor’. The market supervisor is a religious position of a qualified person whose task is to take care of the public interest and the affairs of the Muslims. He has the power to investigate corruption, fraud, deception and abuses and things that do not require the hearing evidence or a legal verdict and apply appropriate punishments or corrective measures. This office is usually subordinate to the office of the Judge.

In the Qur’an and Sunnah there are many incentives for people to do good and forsake corruption. There are also numerous threats and prohibitions and preventive measures from corrupt affairs. These incentives and threats have been termed by

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99 Ibid., 5:63.  
100 Ibid., 11:116.  
101 Ibid., 5:78-79.  
Muslim scholars as the system of ‘al-Targhib wa al-Tarhib’, which means to awaken one’s desire for God’s reward and frightening him with His heavy punishment. Sometimes they term it the system of ‘al-Khawf wa al-Raja’, which means being God fearing and the hope to get His pleasure and reward. This system is very effective in checking corruption if the corruptible have faith in God and the punishment prescribed for them is really frightening and the reward is also very attractive.\(^{103}\) There are many examples that can be cited in this regard. However, the following instances from the Qur’an of Tarhib, Tarhib and Targhib and Tarhib respectively may suffice to illustrate this system. God attracts people to be incorruptible by promising them the best reward in the Hereafter. He says: {That House of the Hereafter We shall give to those intent not high handedness or mischief (corruption) on earth and the End is (best) for the righteous.}\(^{104}\) On the other hand, those who are involved corruption on earth have been threatened by the curse in the Hereafter and the terrible End. God says: {But those who break the covenant of Allah, after having plighted their word thereto, and cut asunder those things, which Allah has commanded to be joined, and do mischief in the land, on them is the Curse, for them is the terrible Home.}\(^{105}\) In a single verse the Qur’an combines al-Targhib and al-Tarhib to attract people to be honest and forsake corruption. God says: {But seek with the (wealth) that Allah has bestowed on thee, the Home of the Hereafter, nor forget thy portion in this World, but do thou good, as Allah has been good to thee, and seek not (occasions for) mischief (corruption) in the land, for Allah loves not those who do mischief.}\(^{106}\)

\(^{103}\) Ibid., 28:83; 28:77; 13:25.
\(^{104}\) The Holy Qur’an, 28:83.
\(^{105}\) Ibid., 13:25.
\(^{106}\) Ibid., 28:77.
The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) summarized the message of Islam and his duty in the following few words: "I was sent but to complete good morals and character". Hence, his practice and teachings have encouraged the corruptible to leave their way of life and change their way of thinking. It also replaced greed with unselfishness and corruption with rectitude and righteousness. The Islamic teachings together with the leadership of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and his legacy have created a transparent atmosphere where a good generation of honest individuals and groups had emerged. Likewise, throughout history, other honest statesmen, religious scholars, judges and personalities have been standing firm for virtue and fighting corruption. The words, experience, contributions and works of great personalities like the five Muslim Caliphs; Abu Bakr al-Siddiq, Umar bin al-Khattab, Othman bin Affan, Ali bin Abi Talib, Omar bin Abd al-Aziz, the four Imams; Abu Hanifah al-Nu'man, Malik bin Anas, Muhammad bin Idris al-Shafeec’ and Ahmad bin Hanbal, scholars like Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali, Ahmad ibn Taqmiyah and Abdul Rahman ibn Khaulid and many others will leave a rich legacy from which many measures for checking corruption could be derived.

4.2.5 The Role of the Media

The brave and effective commitment of the media in the process of the checking of corruption is beyond question. A free, professional and independent media can stand firm to virtue, to expose to and sensitise the public against all types of wrong doings and vices including corruption. For instance, Rafique Rahman maintains that: "a free press can explore corrupt behavior and mobilize public opinion against such activity. Moreover, it can act as an educator for the general
public." Alatas also argues that the press plays a significant role in the checking of corruption. He says: "The press has a vital role in keeping the memory alive and the spirit burning. But a more analytic and investigative spirit is required than mere publications of news items." Television and radio programs can contribute immensely to the checking of corruption. These two means of information should not exclusively focus on news and entertainment and forget about corruption. They should reserve a portion of their programs to address the issue of corruption and participate in a total checking of corruption. What Television and Radio programs can do, in terms of influencing the behavior of old people and children, is tremendous, because they spend much time in following and interacting with those programs.

One of the most important functions of the media; TV, Radio and the written press, is to play the role of the Watchdog for all activities, and keep politicians particularly and government employees generally aware that their involvement in corruption can be quickly disclosed and communicated to the public without fear or favor. Monteiro stressed: "reports on all aspects of government should be published freely and discussed critically. Government plans and activities must be ground analytically in the mills of scholarly criticism and debated in the public forum."

Many times the media has been leader of reform and the prime mover of the checking of corruption. In many cases if the media is not the initiator of the fight against corruption it is the feeder and the explorer. The media has played a significant role in the removal of many statesmen from their offices. Richard Nixon

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108 Alatas, Corruption and the Destiny of Asia, op. cit., p. 74.
of the U.S.A, Suharto and Wahid of Indonesia, Carlos Monem of Argentina, Joseph Estrada of the Philippines and many others are the most obvious examples.

In order for the media to play its expected noble role in the checking of corruption it should enhance professionalism by substantiating the knowledge and training of the journalists and personnel. It should also be supplied with better equipment. The government should enhance the freedom of expression and publication. It should also not interfere in the functioning of the media or influence the journalists or threaten them. The independence of the media in its functioning and budget from the dominance of the government, political parties including the one in power, the politicians and bureaucrats, or even business groups is indispensable for a better role in the checking of corruption. Furthermore, brave, truthful, incorruptible individuals and professionals should find their way to the positions such as manager and editor. If all these have been achieved, the media certainly becomes a veritable instrument at the vanguard of the checking of corruption.

4.2.6 The Role of NGO’s

The Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have immense potential to channel the anti-corruption values and measures, and participate effectively in the checking of corruption. Among the primary roles of the NGOs is to mobilize public opinion against corruption. This fundamental role includes the organization and execution of programs and activities such as seminars, workshops, civic education and training. At the grass-root level of the public, NGOs should aim to correct the public perception of right, responsibility, good, bad etc. and try to upgrade the level of awareness of the public about corruption. NGOs should also strengthen the citizens and encourage them to act against any form of corrupt behavior and demand
accountability from the political leadership, their representatives and the government employees in general. As effective agents of development, NGOs should not restrict their activities to a specific group of people or to big cities and disregard rural areas. They should not also focus only on cultural and humanitarian programs. Aalo argues that: “NGOs should extend their roles to the economic spheres of rural and urban poor by assisting them to initiate and organize economic activities. NGOs have to work with the economically marginalized individuals and groups; unemployed, the rural dwellers, women, children, poor. NGOs can initiate public action against corruption and other economic offences.”\(^{110}\)

The importance of the NGOs in checking corruption lies in their close connection to the civil population, and also in being centers of power outside the government, political parties, and bureaucracy. Their success in checking corruption depends so much on the quality of their programs and activities, the commitment of the government and political leadership, the support of the media, the cooperation of the anti-corruption bodies and the full commitment of the public.

### 4.2.7 The Role of the Public

The rational commitment and vigilance of the public is the basis of any anti-corruption strategy. Throughout history, the public has been the safety valve against corrupt practices and all forms of injustice in many countries. In many cases the public has generated pressure to remove corrupt political leaders from their offices. This pressure may take the form of revolution against all types of injustice and corruption like the French Revolution in 1789, and the Iranian Revolution in 1979.

The public pressure may also take a peaceful form by using the power of the votes to change governments and remove corrupt political leaders. In democratic political systems, it is obvious that the public holds tremendous power to check corruption through elections. If the ruling elite is not willing to check corruption and do not commit itself to the process, the public can easily remove it by voting for honest and efficient candidates. In turn, these candidates will use their authority to check corruption and bring more progress, justice, and peace to the nation. Also argues that among the important roles of the public in the checking of corruption are: (1) the support of an independent, courageous, fair and responsible judiciary system especially in respect of public action against embezzlement and economic crimes, (2) the support of the separation of power between the legislative, executive and judiciary, and (3) the support of an independent press and mass-media.  

The public cannot play its fundamental role in checking corruption unless the system of values of society is effective, the attachment of the masses to religious teachings in general and anti-corruption religious teachings in particular is very strong, and “there is a sufficient numbers of individuals of high principle occupying key positions.” In Muslim societies, the public has an emotional attachment to Islamic teachings and generally admits that corruption is forbidden in Islam. However, in many instances when opportunities arise to benefit from corruption, people indulge themselves in corrupt affairs, so there is a yawning chasm between what is said or believed and what is done. Chapra argues that: “Islam has an immense potential for socio-economic reform and development. What is needed, however, is mechanism to mobilize this potential by rekindling the flame of faith in the hearts of the people and to inculcate in them the characteristics of a true

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111 Ibid., pp. 86-87.
112 Alatas, Corruption and the Destiny of Asia, op. cit., p. 35.
Muslim." To achieve these goals, the government should provide moral leadership (Qudwah Hasanah) and all types of support that the public needs for a healthy and transparent social life especially an effective education system. This is because one of the most important factors in the checking of corruption is, as Alatas said, "an educated public with sufficient intelligence to appraise and follow the course of events." Further, the anti-corruption bodies, NGOs, and the media can do an excellent job in educating the people, gathering and coordinating their efforts and focusing them in an anti-corruption strategy of actions. It is also very important to stress the role of mass-leaders in mobilizing public opinion against corruption. For instance, Alatas stresses the role of sacral personalities in being the vanguards of moral reform and the mediators of the formation of anti-corruption public opinion in Asian societies. He says: "These saintly and charismatic religious personalities have been the most important single factor mitigating corruption throughout Asian history, during periods when no other resistance were available. Whether it is in Islam Hinduism or Buddhism, these people were those who kept alive the tradition of organizing thought and actions in terms impersonal, universal and achievement-oriented values."

In order for the public to be the safety valve in the checking of corruption, it should be well prepared in terms of education in general and civic education in particular. It should also be endowed with strong moral values such as honesty, unselfishness, and courage in mercilessly exposing and opposing corrupt practices. The public awareness about the size of sacrifices in checking corruption and its noble

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115 Ibid., pp. 67-68.
role in maintaining durable vigilance against it and enhancing clean and transparent atmosphere is also vital.

4.2.8 General Guidelines for a Sound Comprehensive Checking of Corruption

In any attempt to formulate and execute a sound comprehensive policy of checking corruption the following general guidelines should be observed:-

1) Corruption should be systematically studied from all academic angles; it should be well defined, and its scope, forms, types, and causes should be well identified. Its negative and destructive consequences should be recognized by all anti-corruption powers.

2) The anti-corruption strategy must include clear objectives and effective means and a reasonable period of time of execution.

3) The anti-corruption measures should operate on all fronts; political, economic, societal, cultural, bureaucratic and administrative, educational and legalistic.

4) The religious teachings in general and the anti-corruption religious teachings and instructions in particular should be the pillar of the anti-corruption strategy and all types of reforms especially the moral and the curriculum reform.

5) The anti-corruption strategy should not ignore the social reality or overlook the difficulties and the factor of time in the process of changing the hearts and behaviors of the corruptible.

6) The anti-corruption strategy should place much emphasis on the systematic checking of corruption rather than case-by-case.
7) The anti-corruption strategy should be driven from within society and must fit into the relevant socio-political, socio-economic, administrative, and legalistic contexts.

8) The anti-corruption strategy should consider the international anti-corruption efforts, for corruption has international dimensions.

9) All anti-corruption powers, government, political parties, NGOs, media, scholars, religious personalities and the public, should concur and cooperate in the formulation and execution of the anti-corruption strategy.

10) The anti-corruption strategy should enhance the belief in accountability before an All-Powerful and All-Knowing Being, who is Allah (God) in the Islamic context.

11) The government should lead the anti-corruption powers and coordinate their efforts and be role model. If the case is otherwise, the anti-corruption powers have to generate pressure on the government or chose their own leadership.

12) The anti-corruption strategy and measures should be continuously reviewed, perfected and ameliorated.

13) The anti-corruption policy makers should be aware that the checking of corruption is not an easy task that can be performed by a simple plan of action in one day or two or by the efforts of one individual or group. They should also be aware that checking corruption is a noble job, which requires tremendous sacrifices, spending and patience.