

CORRUPTION AND ITS DISCONTENTS

Assessing the impact of corruption on people living in poverty



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Corruption and its discontents

Assessing the impact of corruption on people living in poverty

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The main photo on the front cover is inspired by one of the euphemisms for bribery in Zambia – *Ponya ni pondopo* which means 'Drop something and I will step on it'.

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on people living in poverty

Corruption leads to uncompleted projects in our community and it brings problems for people's livelihoods. It also means that communities lose confidence and trust in their leaders.

Chibuluma, Kitwe, Zambia – Female respondent

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Executive summary

Corruption affects the development in our community because the resources that come from the government are not used for the intended purpose. So roads that are supposed to be built do not get completed, because the government officials take the money and do not do the work.

Phnom Penh, Cambodia

The impact of corruption on the communities where Tearfund's partners are working has highlighted the need to tackle corruption as one of the key barriers to development. As shown by the above testimony, often resources aren't used for what they should be and communities suffer because of a lack of infrastructure and services.

This report explores these and many other impacts of corruption on people living in poverty in developing countries. It is based on field research conducted by Tearfund partner organisations in Cambodia, Peru and Zambia and the communities with whom they work. It presents the experiences of people whose voices are seldom heard: those in the communities whose lives are most affected by corruption. It also suggests how these experiences should be taken into account in donor efforts to combat corruption.

Corruption can be understood as the abuse of entrusted power for private gain at the expense of others or of society as a whole. It undermines the well-being and quality of life, particularly for the poorest and most vulnerable people, and is a product of dysfunctional relationships between the actors, institutions and systems of the state and its citizens. It happens in the public as well as private spheres, and in all societies, as illustrated by the alleged corrupt arms deal by British arms manufacturer BAE Systems in 2006 and the bribery scandal involving the German engineering group, Siemens, in 2008, as well as the now infamous UK MPs expenses scandal in 2009.

Many donor strategies have focused on building the capacity of state institutions through financial and technical assistance. While this is essential, this report argues that to respond to the needs of the poorest people and for anti-corruption strategies to be effective, there need to be other complementary approaches.

- Firstly, donors need to strengthen civil society organisations so that they can participate in initiatives to strengthen governance and combat corruption.
- Secondly, donors need to seek to strengthen relationships of trust and social cohesion between state and citizens in societies that have little faith in their authorities. Without trust there will be limited participation and any anti-corruption strategies will be ineffective.
- Thirdly, as many donors have now recognised that there is no one-size-fits-all solution, it is necessary to deepen the analysis of the complex political, economic and cultural relationships in each context and to facilitate the development of governance and anti-corruption strategies in a 'bottom-up' way. Corruption is perceived in different ways in different societies and issues such as gift giving need to be addressed in sensitive ways. Solutions need to be based on an understanding of the political economy in each setting and developed with the participation of all stakeholders, particularly those who are most affected. While some donor policies are starting to consider these approaches, we have yet to see significant changes in practice.¹

Impacts of corruption

It is estimated that corruption costs African economies more than \$148 billion per year, and that African countries lose 7.6% of their annual GDP in the form of illicit capital flows.² A 2006 study by the American

1 Unsworth S (2007) *Rethinking Governance to Fight Corruption*

2 UN (2007) *Economic Development in Africa, Reclaiming Policy Space: Domestic Resource Mobilization and Developmental States*, p29

Society of Civil Engineers estimated that 10%, or \$400bn, spent on construction worldwide is lost to corruption.³ The World Bank has identified corruption as among the greatest obstacles to economic and social development, arguing that it has an especially severe impact on the poorest sections of society.⁴

Corruption undermines progress towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).⁵ For example, where women are sexually exploited to obtain basic services from public officials or private service providers, this undermines Goal 3: to promote gender equality and empower women. Diversion of funds that should have been used for building health centres, as was mentioned in one village in Zambia, undermines efforts to achieve Goal 4 – to reduce child mortality – as the children have fewer opportunities to be weighed, vaccinated and monitored. Goal 2, to achieve universal primary education, is also affected due to misuse of money through corruption:

Corruption means lower levels of education because the money that gets sent to the district is not well used. Teachers are not trained, and the infrastructure at our schools is terrible. The conditions in the bathrooms and toilets are horrible; the classrooms too.

San Juan de Lurigancho, Lima

Tearfund's research shows that corruption is an issue of great concern in the communities surveyed. Ninety-one percent and 87% respectively of respondents in Peru and Zambia said that it was a serious or very serious issue, and in Cambodia it was still over half the sample at 56%. Experiences of a household member being asked to pay a bribe (just one form of corruption) in the past year was 15% in Cambodia, 18% in Peru and 37% in Zambia.

Bribery is such a common form of corruption that a whole language of euphemisms has developed around it from expressions such as *buying talk time* and *facilitation funds*, to leading questions such as *what will I eat from this?*, *what's my share?* and imaginative imagery like *drop something and I will step on it* in Zambia or *my pen is nearly out of ink* in Cambodia (see Appendix B).

Some institutions were singled out by respondents as being especially corrupt across all three countries, namely the police force, judiciary, all levels of government and administrative bodies. This was associated with experiences of corruption within these institutions, or expectations that they were failing in their efforts to combat corruption.

Respondents clearly articulated the various impacts of corruption on their daily lives and these have been grouped in the following way:

- undermines the quality of, and access to, public services
- reduces access to justice
- perpetuates the abuse of women
- contributes to environmental degradation
- wastes financial resources
- makes people economically poorer
- undermines trust and social cohesion.

3 Construction Sector Transparency Initiative, (2010) *UK Pilot Consultation: increasing transparency and accountability in procuring infrastructure*, p5

4 <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPUBLICSECTORANDGOVERNANCE/EXTANTICORRUPTION/0,,contentMDK:21540659~menuPK:384461~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:384455,00.html>

5 www.undp.org/mdg/basics.shtml

You see corruption in the judicial powers, the local government and the police. They ask for bribes. They will provide services for the people who have money, but the poorest people do not have the resources to offer them, and so they miss out. They have no access to justice.

Moyobamba, Peru

It would be fair to say that perceived corruption in developing countries has led to a degree of scepticism in some quarters as to the efficacy of aid, often fuelled by high-profile media reporting of specific and notorious cases. It is important to mention that this report does not look specifically at aid and that in many cases it will not be clear to communities which activities are funded by aid money as opposed to other sources of finance. The impacts of corruption on the use of government money did come up in various answers, indicating that corruption and poor governance mean that all forms of revenue (aid, taxation, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) etc) may not always go as far as they could in tackling poverty. However, there are a vast number of examples of aid having been used very effectively to tackle the causes and consequences of poverty, and this report by no means seeks to undermine the case for aid. The outcomes of the field research suggest that donor support which enables local civil society, especially representatives of the poor, to hold public sector and domestic institutions to account, could actually help to tackle corruption..

The diverse range of impacts of corruption highlights the need for diverse solutions. Broad recommendations to donors and policy makers that came out of the research are:

- address corruption as a development issue
- acknowledge the complexity of relationships involved and that a one-size-fits-all approach will not be effective
- build trust and reciprocity between state and citizens
- facilitate civil society participation and voice in all initiatives to strengthen governance and combat corruption
- strengthen state institutions, particularly in the areas that will build trust between citizens and the state such as reform of the legal system
- develop transparency and accountability mechanisms at all levels that are accessible and responsive to the needs of the poorest sections of society.

Recommendations to UK Government and other donors

This report is primarily intended to magnify the voice of poor communities and does not include an in-depth analysis of existing donor policies – more work in this area will follow. However, summarised below are some recommended principles and actions that donors should consider both at home and overseas to combat corruption and support good governance. Also highlighted are some specific recommendations to the UK Government.

RECOMMENDATION 1

Donors need to invest more in listening to the poor and devising governance and anti-corruption strategies and programmes that take account of the actual experiences and perceptions of people living in poverty.

RECOMMENDATION 2

Donors should design governance and anti-corruption programmes that build trust and reciprocity between state and society and recognise the complex array of relationships involved, and therefore the variety and complexity of approaches needed.

RECOMMENDATION 3

Donor development policy should place greater emphasis on actions designed to strengthen the capability of citizens to hold their governments to account.

RECOMMENDATION 4

Donors must recognise that corruption is a development issue, not just an economic or bureaucratic issue, and tackling corruption should be central to all efforts to meet the MDGs.

RECOMMENDATION 5

The UK government should develop a cross-Whitehall anti-corruption strategy and accompanying accountability mechanisms that allow stakeholder participation both from home and overseas.

RECOMMENDATION 6

The UK government should push for the forthcoming round of reviews of progress on the implementation of United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) to include: country visits by independent reviewers; civil society participation; and production of full reports that are published and accessible to all stakeholders.

RECOMMENDATION 7

The UK Department for Business and Innovation and the Ministry of Justice must actively seek the views of people living in poverty when developing strategies to tackle foreign bribery.

RECOMMENDATION 8

The distinctive and important role of Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) has been recognised by DFID. Concrete actions to effectively engage these groups in the fight against corruption are needed, such as the development of detailed guidelines for DFID staff on how to engage with FBOs.

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

In recent years, Tearfund has undertaken a comprehensive scoping exercise involving local partners and frontline staff. A majority of those involved have highlighted the need to address governance and corruption issues, recognising that they are major barriers to overcoming poverty and promoting sustainable development.

This report, the first by Tearfund on the issue of corruption, seeks to contribute by bringing the voices of those who are most affected by corruption – namely those already in situations of poverty – to the forefront of the debate. The findings are based on interviews with nearly 1,000 people in Zambia, Peru and Cambodia. The study has also highlighted the need for further research in areas such as donor policies and existing good practice.

Corruption has been recognised as a key development issue by donor governments and inter-governmental institutions alike. The World Bank has identified it as among the greatest obstacles to economic and social development, having an especially severe impact on the poorest sections of society. Corruption also threatens to undermine global efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.

Corruption happens in the public as well as private spheres, and in all societies, as illustrated by the alleged corrupt arms deal by British arms manufacturer BAE Systems in 2006 and the bribery scandal involving the German engineering group, Siemens, in 2008, as well as the now infamous UK MPs expenses scandal in 2009.

As a signatory to the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Convention on Combating Bribery, and with the passing of the Bribery Act earlier in 2010, the UK has taken important steps to tackle corruption. The Department For International Development (DFID) has also identified governance as a key factor in development. However, there is much more still to be done.

The UK has an important opportunity to take a lead internationally and to learn from the voices of those most affected by corruption. This must be a priority of the UK government if they are serious about overcoming poverty.

1.2 Structure of the report

Section 2 looks at the different ways of categorising corruption (grand, petty and quiet) and recognises that while it is hard to show the direct impacts of corruption on poverty, it does have a direct impact on governance, economic and social anthropological factors that in turn produce poverty.

Section 3 outlines Tearfund's approach to governance and corruption, arguing that for governance to contribute to the well-being of all people it must rest on the three core principles of participation, service and social justice. Attempts to combat corruption and strengthen governance therefore need to take these principles into account.

Section 4 discusses the results of the field-research undertaken at community level in the three different countries of the study. It includes findings on how people experience and define corruption, as well as perceptions of the most corrupt sectors and the people most affected by corruption. The bulk of the chapter is given over to testimonies and explanations of how corruption impacts on participants lives. Finally, there are suggestions from the field on how to combat corruption.

Section 5 builds on the findings in Section 4, applying them to some donor policies. These are then distilled into conclusions and specific recommendations towards the UK government.

2 Framing the issue

This chapter looks at some of the different ways of categorising corruption (grand, petty and quiet) and recognises that while it is hard to show the direct impacts of corruption on poverty, it does have a direct impact on governance, economic and social anthropological factors that in turn produce poverty.

2.1 What is corruption?

Defining corruption is no easy task. Indeed, there is no international consensus on the meaning of corruption. This is in part because corruption assumes many different guises. It operates at different levels, in different sectors or spheres and is likely to manifest itself very differently according to the setting in which it is found. The boundary that separates what is considered acceptable behaviour or practice from that which is deemed to be unacceptable or 'corrupt' can, on occasions, appear very blurred.

One of the simplest and perhaps most commonly used definitions of corruption is 'the misuse of public office for private gain.'⁶ However, this concept is too narrow, for it limits the acts and activities of corruption to the public sphere, whereas clearly it is not just politicians and public sector officials who are capable of abusing authority and power. It also assumes a clear distinction between public and private, which is not the case in many societies.⁷

For Tearfund, corruption is understood as 'the abuse of entrusted power for private gain at the expense of others or of the society as a whole.'⁸ This enables us to recognise from the outset the human costs and relational aspects of corruption. It recognises the wide range of actors involved. It also allows us to see that corruption and governance are inextricably linked as they have to do with the use and abuse of power.

Corruption manifests itself in many forms. These include: bribery; money laundering; diversion of licit financial flows such as aid money or company payments; nepotism and favouritism in relation to employment, contracts, land or resources. It involves individuals and groups of people within given systems and structures including government officials, the private sector, foreign public officials and banks who are working for their own good as opposed to the good of the whole population.

It is estimated that corruption costs African economies more than \$148 billion per year, and that African countries lose 7.6% of their annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the form of illicit capital flows.⁹ The World Bank estimates that cross-border flows from developing countries for criminal activities, corruption and tax-evasion are \$1-\$1.6 trillion each year.¹⁰ Another report summarises the effects of corruption as follows:

When multinational companies bribe foreign public officials, it undermines the rule of law and the principle of fair competition and entrenches bad governance in developing countries, hindering their efforts to alleviate poverty and often contributing to instability and human rights abuses. Corruption, including bribery, impedes the delivery of vital public services, denying millions of people access to water, health and education across the developing world.¹¹

6 See, for example, World Bank, 1997. The World Bank was apparently the first institution to operationalise this definition.

7 Haller D, Shore C (2005) *Corruption, Anthropological Perspectives*

8 This builds on the definition developed by Transparency International www.transparency.org/news_room/faq/corruption_faq (accessed 27/10/2009).

9 UN (2007), *Economic Development in Africa, Reclaiming Policy Space: Domestic Resource Mobilization and Developmental States*, p29

10 World Bank (2007) *Stolen Asset Recovery (StAR) Initiative: Challenges, Opportunities, and Action Plan*. Available at <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/NEWS/Resources/Star-rep-full.pdf>

11 Statement by CAFOD, Christian Aid, Global Witness, One World Action, Tearfund, The Corner House and Transparency International UK, 9 December 2009.

2.2 Categorising corruption

There are various ways of categorising corruption. One common distinction is between grand (or elite) corruption and petty (bureaucratic or administrative) corruption.¹²

Grand corruption is that which takes place at the highest levels of political authority and decision-making. It occurs at the formulation end of public policies and may involve the appropriation or embezzlement of government funds, or the tailoring of public laws, codes and regulations for the benefit of particular 'favoured' groups in return for bribes, or simply to preserve political support and power.¹³ Such forms of corruption pose a significant threat at the national level, for they have direct implications for a country's economic and political stability, as well as affecting the overall level and distribution of public resources. At this level it is likely to involve business interests as contracts are awarded without a public licitation process and land and natural resources are given in concession without consultation with local communities, and with few benefits perceived by them. Also, favourable tax systems are developed in return for illicit payments by companies to government officials.

Conversely, bureaucratic – or so-called 'petty' corruption – is that which occurs at a lower level and takes place at the implementation end of politics. This more localised corruption generally involves much smaller sums. Typical examples of petty corruption include public officials demanding certain illegal payments to issue licenses and permits, or to allow access to schools, healthcare facilities or other public utilities. However, these transactions tend to be far more prevalent and have a more immediate bearing on the lives of ordinary citizens, especially the poorest, as they are likely to pay a larger proportion of their income in bribes, or to lose out altogether if they cannot afford to pay.¹⁴

The World Bank also highlights a different type of corruption: 'quiet' corruption. This is when 'public servants fail to deliver services or inputs that have been paid for by the government'.¹⁵ Although this doesn't involve monetary exchange, it may entail absenteeism, low level efforts by government officials or bending the rules for personal gain. It may mean that government officials turn a blind eye to damaging company behaviour, for example water or air pollution by extractive companies. It also hurts the poor disproportionately.

2.3 Corruption and poverty: making the links

According to research by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) it is difficult to say that corruption itself produces poverty, instead it has direct consequences on other factors, which in turn produce poverty.¹⁶ These factors – such as service delivery and access to justice – therefore become 'proxy' indicators of the effects of corruption on poverty. Some of these proxy factors are briefly outlined below.¹⁷

Service delivery is affected by corruption. For example, an International Monetary Fund (IMF) study found that in countries where corruption is more entrenched, expenditure on social services tends to be lower (regardless of the level of development), the costs for service-users higher and the volume and quality of services available consequently low.¹⁸

12 Note: somewhat confusingly, these terms may sometimes be used interchangeably with those of 'political' versus 'bureaucratic' (administrative), although at least one intergovernmental organisation appears to denote them as different categories altogether. (UNDP, 2008)

13 Andvig JC, Fjeldstad O (2001) *Corruption: A Review of Contemporary Research*, p10

14 UNDP (2008) *Tackling Corruption, Transforming Lives: Accelerating Human Development in Asia and the Pacific*, p2

15 World Bank (2010), *Silent and Lethal. How Quiet Corruption Undermines Africa's Development Efforts*

16 Chetwynd E, Chetwynd F, Spector B (2003) *Corruption and Poverty: A Review of Recent Literature*, p3

17 In the above research these factors have been considered according to an economic model and a governance model. However, in this report we have maintained a broader governance framework for understanding the impacts of corruption on poverty. This does not ignore the economic impacts, but integrates them in terms of broader factors such as resource distribution and use of public services.

18 Gupta S, Davoodi H, Alonso-Terme R (1998) *Does Corruption Affect Income Inequality and Poverty?* IMF Working Paper 98/76.

Corruption can distort the processes by which political parties are elected and hold on to power. It undermines the capacity and functioning of public sector institutions, driving up costs and lowering output levels, which has a knock-on effect on the quality of infrastructure and public services provided to poor people.

Another significant impact of corruption is how it affects access to justice. Where services aren't accessible for many rural and marginalised urban communities, or where corruption dominates, people may simply have no access to justice, leaving them at the mercy of those with political or economic power within their communities.

The bulk of early research efforts, particularly those commissioned by the World Bank and IMF in the 1990s, explores how corruption undermines economic growth. Various explanations are offered. Corruption: discourages foreign and domestic investment; taxes entrepreneurship; lowers the quality of public infrastructure as standards are waived and public resources are diverted; decreases tax revenue; distorts the composition of public expenditure as funding is diverted from other sectors such as education and health.¹⁹

Other research has broadened this economic growth focus, looking more closely at the correlation between corruption and more distributional economic variables. For example, an IMF Report²⁰ identifies various channels through which corruption may contribute to increased income inequality in a country, such as poor targeting of social programmes, lower social spending, biased tax systems and unequal access to education.

Communities' perceptions of corruption and their reactions towards bureaucracy differ according to personal circumstances and are influenced by the 'folklore' or narratives that are developed to explain citizen-state relationships.²¹ If actions by the state, government officials, companies or community leaders are perceived by citizens to be corrupt, this can affect the level of trust in state institutions. People stop participating in political processes, whether at community or national level, and may look for alternative means to secure what they need. This may take the form of reduced respect for public institutions and processes (for example through tax evasion), as well as an increasing disregard for rule of law.²²

Finally, it is worth mentioning the body of anthropological research that shows that certain cultural practices may be seen as corrupt by some, but by others as part of normal social relations. The cultural practice of 'gift-giving' in some African societies is one such example. In many cases, gift-giving between associates to obtain goods and services is perceived quite differently from outright bribery between strangers.²³

Understanding this complex process of relationships, experiences and perception should serve to warn us against an over-emphasis on technical solutions in situations where there is little trust between the citizens and those in power, or where the lines between corruption and accepted cultural practices have become blurred.

19 Chetwynd E, Chetwynd F, Spector B (2003) *Corruption and Poverty: A Review of Recent Literature*

20 IMF (1998) subsequently published as Gupta S, Davoodi H, Alonso-Terme R (2002) *Does Corruption Affect Income Inequality?*

21 Nissen C (2005) *Living Under the Rule of Corruption*, p6

22 Ibid

23 Andvig JC, Fjeldstad O (2001) *Corruption: A Review of Contemporary Research*

3 Tearfund's approach to governance and corruption

This chapter briefly outlines Tearfund's approach to governance and explores how governance and corruption are linked. It is argued that any approach to tackling corruption needs to be based on strengthening governance.

3.1 Understanding governance

Governance can be defined as 'the process by which decisions are made and implemented.' The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) takes it further by defining governance as 'the system of values, policies and institutions by which a society manages its economic, political and social affairs through interactions within and among the state, civil society and private sector'.²⁴ Governance is relevant to every level of human endeavour.

Tearfund believes that for governance to contribute to the well-being of all people (also referred to as governance for human flourishing)²⁵ it must rest on the three core principles of participation, service and social justice, as outlined below.

3.1.1 PARTICIPATION

Is the principle that every person should participate in decisions that affect their lives. People are creative and productive beings, with particular roles and responsibilities. Participation, directly or through different communities, groups or networks, allows each person to take responsibility for their own lives and future. It recognises each person's dignity and abilities, and the contribution they can make to society through informal as well as formal relationships and structures. Policy-making is essentially relational and based on solidarity with others, seeking to build trust and a common vision for a better society.

3.1.2 SERVICE

Is based on the idea of government being for the good of the people, not just for the good of those in power. This involves using the power vested in the authorities for the good of the people, responding to their needs, showing strong leadership when required, and using wealth and resources in a responsible way.

Accountability and transparency in the use of resources and power are also important: accountability to the people for whose benefit the government exists, and transparency to allow access to information for all citizens. This can guard against the concentration and misuse of power.

3.1.3 SOCIAL JUSTICE

Is based on the idea that well-being or human flourishing is not a simple aggregate sum of the greatest good for the greatest number of people, but involves the inclusion of all members of society with a particular emphasis on the most vulnerable or those who are suffering injustice. The most vulnerable groups should

²⁴ See UNDP, 'Governance Indicators: A Users' Guide' at www.undp.org/governance/docs/policy-guide-IndicatorsUserGuide.pdf

²⁵ Drawn from Gordon G (forthcoming) *Governance for Human Flourishing*

therefore be given a special emphasis in policy-making, with particular efforts to include them both as agents and as beneficiaries.

This involves respect for the rule of law, ensuring that justice not only works for those who have power and access, but for all people. Here the government also needs to make sure that other actors, such as Trans National Corporations (TNCs), are acting in a legal way that also contributes to a flourishing society.

3.2 Governance and corruption

Corruption is the abuse of entrusted power for private gain at the expense of others or society as a whole.

Corruption is a symptom of poor governance and therefore undermines the well-being and quality of life of the poorest and most vulnerable people. We can more clearly see how corruption undermines governance by considering how it undermines the core principles that we have outlined above in our model of governance for human flourishing:

- Corruption excludes people from participating in political processes, instead leaving them at the mercy of powerful economic and political actors and institutions to be used for their own gain. It undermines trust, solidarity and community values.
- Public officials, businesses and local leaders serve themselves and their own interests as opposed to the interests of the population as a whole.
- There is a culture of secrecy which is based on a lack of transparency and accountability of public institutions, resulting in lack of access to these institutions and lack of accountability of business and other actors.
- Resources are used for the benefit of a few people who have access to them, resulting in poor quality services and lax labour and environmental controls that further serve to marginalise and exclude those who are living in poverty.
- Justice, as opposed to being a central pillar of society, becomes a service that is only accessible to those who have economic or political power.

Tearfund therefore sees tackling corruption as a central issue in strengthening governance that will contribute to the well-being of all people, in particular the poorest and most vulnerable.

4 In conversation with communities

The field research undertaken at community level in three different countries sought to understand how corruption translates into the realities of life, as experienced by the poorest people. Most of the findings relate to experiences of petty or quiet corruption of state institutions at a local level. This doesn't mean that the participants didn't have a clear understanding of grand corruption or the role of other actors, such as business, just that this didn't necessarily form part of their everyday experiences.

The community-level research was comprised of two parts: a quantitative household survey and qualitative focus groups and interviews.

Quantitative, individual household surveys were carried out by volunteers in both rural and urban settings in each of the three countries. In total, 746 surveys were administered.

The qualitative and more participatory component of the research focused primarily on ascertaining people's experiences and perceptions of bribery as one form of corruption. It involved community focus-group discussions (FGDs), comprising a mix of men, women and young people. Altogether, 19 FGDs were held, each with an average of 15 participants. Around 260 people participated in the FGDs in total. The format and structure of the focus-group discussions remained broadly similar throughout, although they were necessarily adapted for the different country and community contexts.

Secondary stakeholder interviews were also carried out with local government officials, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), churches and other groups to gain a broader understanding of how corruption is viewed in each context, what its impacts are and what is being done and could be done in the future. Information gathered from these secondary interviews complements the data gathered during the surveys and FGDs.

Details relating to the selection of communities, research methodology and guidelines for statistical interpretation can be found in Appendix A.

Although there were undoubtedly some striking similarities between communities' encounters with corruption in quite different contexts, there were also nuances which were shaped by the specificities of context. This is perhaps obvious, but it is nevertheless important for donors and any other concerned actors to take this into account when trying to frame or tailor the most appropriate response.

The most noticeable difference observed during the conversations with communities in the different country settings concerned their level of openness to talk about the issues, as well as their level of understanding, or ability to articulate their concerns. The Zambian communities were by far the most open in expressing their views on the topic of corruption. Indeed, at times, people were surprisingly frank when recounting their personal experiences of encountering corruption. This openness was not replicated in either Peru or Cambodia. In Peru, people tended to talk in the third person about corruption, which nevertheless was still cited as a major problem currently facing the country. The communities we spoke to in Cambodia were the most diffident of all when it came to talking about corruption.

4.1 Understanding and defining corruption

The FGDs started with a group of questions that sought to understand people's perceptions of corruption and the ways that they had experienced it. The three questions used were:

- What is your understanding of corruption?
- What are the words, phrases and activities that you associate with corruption?
- What does corruption look like in your community / area / country?

The respondents associated corruption with: the abuse of power at the expense of the most vulnerable; hidden transactions out of reach of those adversely affected; abuse of laws and stealing. There was a strong understanding of its moral (and not just technical) implications. On the other hand, there was an understanding that many acts of corruption are public and either overlooked or difficult to distinguish from more 'acceptable' cultural practices such as gift-giving. Bribery and embezzlement were the most common descriptions of acts of corruption, with a wide range of euphemistic or slang expressions for these actions (see below).

Many participants chose to use stories to describe how they understood or experienced corruption. These show the complex relationships involved and multi-faceted nature of the problem.

The same pattern is repeated within government, from the top downwards. The custom is to siphon off at each level, so that corruption feeds right through the system, even down to children having to bribe teachers to teach them. At this level, sometimes it is seen as justified, because teachers' salaries are so low that they need this additional income in order simply to survive. Corruption has an upward impact on prices: for example, the cut taken on gasoline sales pushes up taxi fares. The expectation of corruption leads to intimidation.

Phnom Penh, Cambodia – local NGO worker

4.1.1 BRIBERY

While corruption is experienced in many different forms, bribery was mentioned the most frequently in terms of people's everyday experiences. In fact, a whole euphemistic vocabulary has developed. This includes more obvious ones like *talk-time*, *ink for my pen*, *buying lunch*, *taking a cut*, to more elaborate expressions such as *if you bury the dead, that's the end of it* and *drop something and I will step on it*. The full colourful range of expressions is given in Appendix B.

Corruption is a particular way of communicating. It is a commonly understood language: when people use certain words, you know what they mean. A typical conversation might be: 'So, brother, I can solve your problem in record time – how do we do it? ... Call me, we'll talk'.

Moyobamba, Peru – local community respondent

In the household survey we asked a question to ascertain people's experience of bribery and found that in Cambodia 15% of the total sample claimed that someone from their household had been asked to pay a bribe (in any form) within the last year. The corresponding figures were 18% in Peru and 37% in Zambia. If these figures are compared with the results obtained for the general level of perception of how serious the problem of corruption is in each country (see Table 1 on page 15), it is clear that they are much lower, suggesting that people experience corruption in many different forms, not just bribery.

4.1.2 ABUSE OF POWER

Many respondents talked in terms of the misuse of power and advantage being taken of vulnerable people. This ranged from a general sense of powerlessness faced with a system that is working against them, to accusations of abuse of authority in terms of extortion, laxity about fulfilling a public service role and discrimination, particularly in relation to access to social services and government offices. Most of the personal stories recounted were to do with the need to pay for government officials to undertake the

services they were supposed to do for free. The general feeling was that the government was not serving the people and was not responsive to their needs.

Connected with this abuse of power was the idea of secrecy and of transactions taking place behind closed doors where only a few people had access to them. These hidden actions included acts of nepotism and exploiting influences. Participants identified many acts of petty corruption as well as the quieter corruption of public officials not fulfilling their roles, even if they didn't ask for money. Links to the abuse of power and grand corruption were also mentioned but people seemed to have fewer direct experiences of this.

I took my daughter-in-law to the hospital. She was really sick with appendicitis. She was initially taken to one hospital but then she was referred elsewhere because they needed to operate on her. When we arrived at the second hospital, the nurse who was supposed to be supervising her said to me: 'It is the end of my day and I am very busy. I cannot see to her.' I pleaded with her to take care of her, and to give her the injections that she needed. I had to take her a gift, to persuade her to take proper care of her. I told her, you are supposed to be in a caring profession, this is not right.

Moyobamba, Peru – female respondent

4.1.3 ALL-PERVASIVE AND CULTURALLY ACCEPTED

Side by side with the problem of secrecy was the understanding that corruption had become so all pervasive that in many areas it was culturally accepted and difficult to distinguish from normal cultural practices.

During the survey of households, respondents were asked to say how serious they thought the extent of corruption was in their society. In Peru and Zambia it was seen as serious or very serious by 91% and 87% of the sample respectively. In Cambodia it was still over half the sample, but lower at 56%.

TABLE 1
Perceptions of how serious the problem of corruption is

Country	Serious / very serious (% of sample)	Median response
Zambia	87%	very serious
Peru	91%	very serious
Cambodia	56%	serious

One person talked of unwritten rules, whereas another said that there was confusion between what should be accepted as culturally appropriate and what would class as corruption. It makes it all the more difficult to address the issue and means that it can be out in the open, but unchecked. There also seemed to be a certain acceptance of some acts of corruption, such as teachers asking for money from pupils, because they are on a very low salary which doesn't provide enough income for them to live on.

I went to the municipality because I needed to get a permit, to gain access to certain utilities. When I arrived there, the official told me: 'Your name is at the bottom of the pile; I have a lot to do today.' So my friend said to him: 'I will bring you some lunch.' He brought him lunch in plain sight of everybody else there in the queue – and the official dealt with my case more quickly.

Moyobamba, Peru

For most things, you need to get approval or permission: for example, if you buy a motorbike, you need to obtain a licence. But if you do not pay money under the table, they will not do it. These things we talk about, most of the people understand them, but they do not know about corruption. It is the way things are here.

Poipet, Cambodia – local community respondent

In the primary schools, the teachers for Grades 1-3 are paid a very low salary. It is not enough for them to live on. And so they have to charge something to the students, maybe up to 5 Baht per day. They need it just to get by.

Poipet, Cambodia – community organiser in Kbal Spean village

4.1.4 MORAL ISSUE

Corruption was perceived by various respondents as a moral issue. They spoke of the lack of trust – whether between neighbours, community members or in relation to national authorities – as being both a consequence and a cause of corruption. One person called it 'losing the original value of things'. Others talked of it being an issue to do with social justice; a moral issue as some people were benefitting at the expense of others.

A morally defective habit, when individuals go against the rules and misuse financial, human and material resources that belong to society.

Moyobamba, Peru

We completely distrust our authorities. When we think about corruption, we generally think of authorities, but it also happens within the family and in communities. It is not how things are supposed to be.

Moyobamba, Peru – local community respondent

We have an idiom: instead of getting water from the river to pour into the bucket, they take the water from the bucket and pour it into the river. [ie Those who have plenty take from those who have little].

Shesheke, Zambia

4.2 Impacts of Corruption

The second set of FGD questions was to do with how corruption impacts the lives of people living in poverty.

- Who is affected most by corruption?
- How does corruption undermine development in your community?

4.2.1 WHO IS MOST AFFECTED?

It will come as no surprise to find that the perception of the respondents in the FGDs was that the poorest and most vulnerable people are the most affected. These include: those who do not know their rights and cannot defend them; people who are illiterate; women who are discriminated against in public institutions; rural populations who end up having limited access to services; indigenous communities who are treated as culturally inferior; the economically poor as they can't gain access to services. Those who are already poor and marginalised will become more so due to corrupt actions and systems. This does not necessarily mean that the poor will be most involved in corrupt actions (in Zambia, the richer populations were more involved in corrupt actions as they were more able to pay), but that they will be most adversely affected.

With regards to those who are illiterate, they are more vulnerable because they can be easily deceived. So, for example, there is a mother who cannot read or write. She goes to her child's school to see the teacher, and she is easily deceived and manipulated. The teacher will take money from her.

Huamanga, Peru – female respondent

For example, the small shop-owners – the ones who sell groceries, etc. – the police always come and take things from them for free, or they will demand money from them. They tell them that it is for their 'security'. Every small business owner has to pay some money to the police, even though they already have government permission to sell their goods. The police won't approach the larger companies though – because they know that they have more power and influence – so it is the poorer people who suffer.

Phnom Penh, Cambodia – young male respondent

4.2.2 HOW DOES CORRUPTION UNDERMINE DEVELOPMENT?

The impacts of corruption on development may be grouped into seven broad categories:

- corruption undermines the quality of, and access to, public services
- corruption reduces access to justice
- corruption perpetuates the abuse of women
- corruption contributes to environmental degradation
- corruption wastes scarce financial resources
- corruption makes people economically poorer
- corruption undermines trust and social cohesion.

Corruption undermines the quality of, and access to, public services

One of the most tangible ways in which poor people feel the impact of corruption at a local level relates to their ability to access essential social services, such as education and healthcare services. There were countless stories told about the prevalence of this petty corruption and the need to pay money and bribes in order for children to attend school, obtain a successful grade and progress to higher levels. Frequently this is seen as one of the most serious and insidious of corruption's consequences, as it endangers the longer-term life opportunities of the younger generations.

Corruption affects both the level of access to publicly-provided 'free' education, as well as the quality of education services that students actually receive. In all three of our focus countries, students were being asked by their teachers for money. Educational achievements therefore become determined by the ability to pay. And so for the poorest families, corruption frequently spells an end to their education as students cannot progress unless they can pay to 'secure' good grades in their exams.

The impact of quiet corruption was also evident, for example in the form of biased or discriminatory attention given by teachers or – as was sometimes the case in more remote rural areas – teachers simply not turning up for work at all, or absent for a few days each week, jeopardising the children's education.

For me, it was only yesterday. There is a certain school close by and I wanted my child to get a place there. So I went to meet with the head-teacher to enrol my child. But the head-teacher said to me, 'you are disturbing me from my work: what are you going to give me?' I was so frustrated, so I took my child to another school that is much further away. I enrolled him there instead.

Chibuluma, Kitwe, Zambia – female respondents

My children go to primary school, and they have to pay 5 Baht every day to the teacher. My oldest son was in Grade 6, but he has stopped going to the school now because I cannot support him.

Kbal Spean village, Cambodia – female respondent

There are some teachers in rural areas who are paid to teach five days a week, but they only go to the schools one day a week.

Moyobamba, Peru – local community respondent

In the health centres and hospitals, this is manifest in the time it takes to be seen by a nurse or doctor for treatment. Money or personal contacts will ensure much faster appointments. It is also evident in the manner with which patients are treated, and the quality of medicines they are likely to receive.

Consequently, without money to bribe, people may not be attended to at the local public hospital, or may have to wait in long queues for many hours. Those who are seen are frequently treated with contempt or disregard, and they may not receive the necessary medicines or attention that they need, having a detrimental effect on their health.

The health centres are really bad here. I don't trust them at all. You are always in line to see a doctor. There may be appointments for only 20 patients per day, so it is essential to bring a gift or something if you want to be sure you will be seen.

San Juan de Lurigancho, Lima, Peru

At the hospital here, you will find doctors just sitting in a room drinking tea, when they have patients to attend to. A person may be really sick waiting in the queue outside, but they do not care if you have no money to pay them.

Nakatindi village, Western Province, Zambia

In construction contracts not all of the money is used where it should be and sometimes poor quality materials and poorly paid workers result in poor quality infrastructure as corners are cut.

Sometimes local contractors are given a large budget for a community development project. But they pay only a very small amount to the workers – so they do shoddy work.

Chibuluma, Kitwe, Zambia

For example, by the bridge, the sewerage system is very bad: it blocks all of the time. We applied to the Community Development Fund (CDF) and we were allocated lots of money to improve the bridge. This was in 2006, but still the work has not happened and the situation remains. We were supposed to be given 40 bags of cement, but to this day no bags of cement have been received. Instead, they left some bags of waste lime (a cheaper substitute), but it will not help.

Mapolo, Ndola, Zambia – female respondent

Corruption reduces access to justice

Another consequence of corruption concerns the ability of poor communities to access legal aid. In many of the communities visited, the reality reported was that there is little respect for the rule of law. Frequently this is witnessed at the police stations or in the courts, where it is only those who pay who have any guarantee that their case will be dealt with favourably. In some cases, it even appeared as though police officers were out looking to create trouble, arresting people on the streets and demanding payment for their subsequent release. For women, the implications can be particularly threatening, as money may not be the only 'favour' that is demanded of them.

A knock-on effect of the failures in the formal justice system is an escalation in the levels of crime and insecurity. With the absence of any official deterrent to crack-down on crime, local communities resort to their own methods for administering retribution and justice. As fear and suspicion become paramount, people lose trust in one another, including their own neighbours and kin.

In the police stations, they will write a report for a case, but you always have to pay them something. And then the lawyers, of course you will have to pay them something too, because if you don't pay the money, they might 'lose' the papers for your case. We don't trust the judicial powers either, because if you go to try and find out what is happening with a case, you must pay them something, even just to access your files.

San Juan de Lurigancho, Peru – local community respondent

Policemen work double, meaning for the victim and for the complainant. They ask you for fuel, or for 'talk-time'. It is common practice, if two people are involved in a case, that the one who has more money will be innocent.

Chifubu, Ndola, Zambia – local community respondent

One important area where corruption denies people access to justice is land ownership. This means poorer people may end up in a very precarious situation. This issue was particularly prevalent in Cambodia.

Sometimes the rich people will come here and purchase a small piece of land – but then they will take a bigger piece of land than is rightfully theirs. The poor people may dispute this, but if they go to the authorities, the people with more money will simply pay something to them – and so they get the land. The poor people cannot pay bribes, and so they cannot do anything about it.

Prey Kub village, Cambodia

For example, there is a lot of bribery in the processes of making land certificates. The authorities will ask for much more money than is set out by the law. If you try to dispute this, they will just say that unless people give them money, they will not make a land certificate. The poorest people cannot pay this money, so they don't have any land documents and they live with uncertainty.

Kateo province, Cambodia – local community respondent

Corruption perpetuates the abuse of women

All of the issues mentioned above have a particular impact on women. For example: lack of access to health services that affects maternal mortality; unaffordable education that means that girls will often be the ones to lose out; difficulties in using the legal or administrative system due to language or cultural barriers. However, below are highlighted two particular impacts on woman that many of the respondents mentioned as being of particular concern, namely sexual abuse and discrimination.

A more explicit form of sexual violence against women may take the form of government officials demanding sexual favours in return for processing documents, completing a legal process or freeing someone who is being held in custody (lawfully or unlawfully). A more subtle form of aggression is when police will refuse to register a case of reported domestic violence against a woman, or when they do register the case they simply do not follow it up. This is linked to corrupt, unaccountable and non-transparent processes that seek to cover up the extent of gender-based violence in society, but is also based on discriminatory views prevalent in many police forces that are yet to accept the equality of women or indeed that gender-based violence is a crime.

There is sexual blackmail for women leaders too. There are more female leaders now than before. Sometimes when they go to the local authority because they need something, the official will say to them, 'Do something for me [ie sexual favour], and I will resolve your problem.'

San Juan de Lurigancho, Lima, Peru

I was wrongly arrested and slapped with the wrong offence, because I am a poor woman. The police told me 'you know what to do', but because I refused to oblige them, they locked me up in a cell. There were other women who were arrested at the same time as me. They let them go more quickly: I think the women did what they were asked to.

Mapolo, Ndola, Zambia – female respondent

My cousin had problems with her husband – he beat her badly. We took the issue to the police, but they told us that we needed a medical report from the hospital first. So we went to the hospital and we got the necessary documents. Some days later, when we went back to the police to find out what was being done, we found that the documents were not there in the file. We went back twice, but they would not do anything. So we went to the Legal Resource Foundation in Livingstone. They helped us. My cousin was put into safe custody, and her husband was charged. Without them the police would just have stayed quiet.

Katemo Village, Shesheke, Zambia – female respondents

Sometimes corruption is in the form of discriminatory practices that prevent people gaining access to the very offices supposed to help them obtain the services they need. This is particularly the case for women, and even more so for those who have limited experience in relating to government institutions and struggle in the dominant administrative language (in this case English in Zambia and Cambodia and Spanish in Peru). Here we see petty corruption as well as quiet corruption where the officials simply do not fulfil their public functions, adversely affecting the lives of the most vulnerable sectors.

I was turned down from even entering the municipality. They told me: 'You have to come back wearing a nice skirt or trousers; that is the dress-code here'.

San Juan de Lurigancho, Lima, Peru – female respondent

Sometimes it is not so much corruption in the form of money that we experience: it is the poor quality of services that you receive. They will not explain things; they treat you badly; they close the door to you. The public officials do not do their jobs properly.

San Juan de Lurigancho, Lima, Peru – local community respondent

Corruption contributes to environmental degradation

Corruption has negative impacts on the environment due to the lax enforcement of environmental controls. This was particularly mentioned by participants in connection with illegal logging. Permits are granted in

an underhand way and, where there are forest management plans, a much greater quantity of wood is transported than has been permitted. This contributes to deforestation, soil erosion and destruction of rare species and medicinal plants.

We see it in bigger things too, like the illegal cutting of trees. The government officials will put a military licence plate on their vehicles, and then they use these to transport the logs. Sometimes they will even use the name of someone powerful in government to get past the forestry officials. This is a very serious problem in many areas.

Takeo province, Cambodia – young male respondent

People are legally allowed to clear a certain proportion of forest land, but they must obtain permits for this, and people will often exceed what is legal. Others will deforest illegally in the protected areas, and they transport the timber to the [river] ports for export. The authorities know what is happening, and they will ask them for a cut. It is the people working at the ports who actually stand to make the most profit from these transactions. However, those wanting to export the wood are prepared to pay, because it is actually more expensive for them to abide by the proper legal process. They will end up paying much more in taxes and the process takes much longer. So it is a win-win in their view.

Moyobamba, Peru – public sector worker

Corruption wastes scarce financial resources

Corruption affects the level of financial resources that are available for development. In Peru and Zambia the respondents talked of many delays to projects as promises weren't kept, or promised money was used for other purposes in order to gain more political capital, instead of responding to the most pressing social needs. It also affects the amount of resources allocated for socio-economic development. Consequently, new roads are not built or not completed properly, and education, healthcare and other public utilities are not adequately resourced, managed or maintained. Government revenues from taxes, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), overseas development assistance and other sources, both public and private, can be wasted if there are not the necessary accountability mechanisms in place. Equipment and medicines might be sold on the market rather than being distributed for free, or public officials and contractors might take their cut in the various contracts that are awarded.

In 2002, the community was told that we were going to be given a health centre. We made an application for this project via the Community Development Fund (CDF), and we were told that we had been successful in being allocated funding – 40 million kwacha had been set aside in the budget. So the community cleared the land in preparation. We contributed our time and our labour. But still nothing has happened on this. We were then very surprised to learn that the project managers had decided to build a school instead, without consulting us. But this was not the greatest need in our area.

Chilubumba, Kitwe, Zambia – local community respondent

Corruption affects the development in our community because the resources that come from the government are not used for the intended purpose. So roads that are supposed to be built do not get completed, because the government officials take the money and do not do the work.

Phnom Penh, Cambodia – female respondent

Corruption makes people economically poorer – loss of money and assets

One of the most obvious impacts of corruption is that it simply makes people economically poorer: children have to pay to go to school so families have less money for other essentials such as food and healthcare; people lose land, which is often their most valuable asset, because someone else pays for the title which is rightfully theirs; communities are asked to contribute to public works that never get completed. This reinforces the vulnerability of people living in poverty who simply cannot afford to waste their scarce resources.

Furthermore, if poor people cannot pay for school they drop out, reducing their negotiating power in the labour market and often confining them to unskilled labour and poor wages in the future. Workmen are often not paid a fair wage for their day's work as the money is siphoned off and accounted for in other ways. Finally, corruption means that even well qualified people may not have access to good jobs as these jobs may be allocated through nepotism or underhand negotiations. This not only reduces the quality of the services provided to the general population, but reduces family incomes and exacerbates poverty.

The first effect of corruption is unemployment. People will bribe company employers in order to get a job, so those who do not have money to pay will remain out of work. It also leads to lower salaries in the workplaces, because people have to save a part of their salary to give to their managers. There is a chain like this, and it goes all the way to the top.

Kateo province, Cambodia – male respondent

A few years ago, a private company called 7NG approached families in my community to purchase a plot of land. In total, 100 families were approached. The land is close to the city, so the company agreed to pay us a fair price, and we would relocate elsewhere. But when we exchanged our land, they refused to pay. So we went to the municipal authorities to complain, but they refused to help us. They sided with the company. The land we now live on is very far from the city. They promised to install electricity and water and sewerage services for us – but that was four years ago now and still nothing has been done.

Phnom Penh, Cambodia – young male respondent

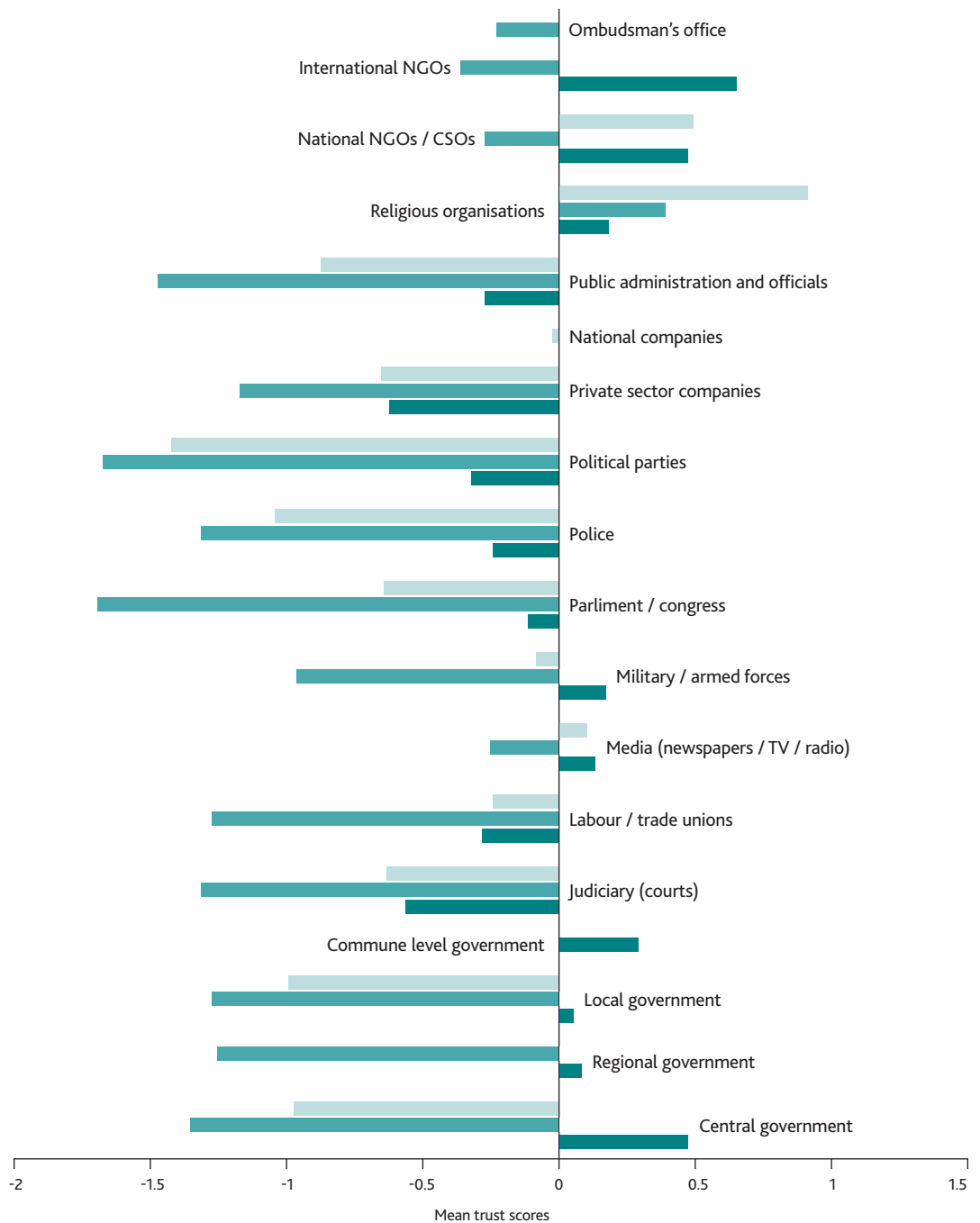
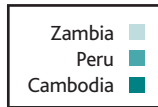
The people who are capable of doing work are not given employment. Instead, the government jobs are given to people who are not competent.

Katemo Village, Shesheke, Zambia – male respondent

Corruption undermines trust and social cohesion

One of the major impacts of corruption that participants mentioned was the lack of trust in society. This is a complex issue as the household survey didn't seem to show a direct correlation between lack of trust and experiences of corruption. This suggests that it is perhaps a more ingrained attitude based on years of feeling isolated, disempowered and seeing others progress while they haven't. In the case of Peru it seemed to be based on a general awareness of embezzlement and other acts of corruption that respondents didn't experience directly in the form of bribery, but they knew about the consequences as their roads were in disrepair, schools and hospitals weren't built and they didn't have water or sewage systems. It seems to fit into a general resentment that people living in poverty, and those who are vulnerable, feel against those in power who they see as not doing enough to improve their situation.

FIGURE 1
Levels of trust in
various institutions
(mean scores)



In both the FGDs and the household survey, a group of sectors were seen as the most corrupt, with certain regional variations. These were the police, judiciary, political parties, all levels of government and public administration. Cambodia is an exception to this rule, where people expressed positive levels of trust in both central and commune level government. The political parties are universally held in lower regard than the political bodies themselves.

This perception of corruption was associated not only with corrupt acts but also with inaction or ineffective strategies to try and root out corruption. So a corrupt public official or institution is not only one who is involved in corrupt acts, but one who turns a blind eye to corrupt actions and is ineffective in responding to the needs of the people.

Trust in churches and NGOs was generally highest, although there was also some criticism levied against certain hierarchies of the churches for lack of transparency in use of funds and for being complicit in human rights abuses, such as during the years of political violence in Peru

The church leaders have a lot of trust from the people. Church leaders talk about love, kindness, humility, and taking care of people. They teach us how to take care of orphans and widows; they teach us in ways that would reduce corruption.

Chibuluma, Kitwe, Zambia – female respondent

When development projects are managed by the church, there seems to be an element of transparency and accountability. If the church was more involved in development, perhaps things could get better. But the government has sidelined the churches in development.

Chibuluma, Kitwe, Zambia

Overall this lack of trust manifests itself in various ways. People don't expect to receive government services. They do not see the government as the servant of the people and instead come ready to bribe to get what they need. They also will simply choose not to engage with the public institutions and look for other ways to solve their problems. This serves as a cautionary note against over-reliance on a technical or bureaucratic set of solutions to combating corruption; also needed are ways of building relationships of trust, participation and inclusion between citizens and the institutions that they expect to serve them.

I used to have a job at the local government office for public transport. People used to come to me and say, 'can you lower my fines?' Under the law, I am allowed to do this, if they come within a certain number of days – so I could tell them, 'yes'. But then they would be so grateful to me that they would say, what can we give you in return? People are so used to such a system that they do not expect to get the services that they are entitled to.

Moyobamba, Peru – female respondent

Corruption generates mistrust amongst the population, and that further increases poverty. There will never be development for those who are deceived.

Huamanga, Peru

Another cautionary note sounded by participants is that there can be a tendency to blame others for all manner of woes, but the community members themselves need to take a stronger stand against corruption.

The people to blame are the communities themselves. We are the ones who give money to police and other corrupt institutions. We are the people who entertain corruption. So it has become a part of our culture. We need to be stronger, and to take a stand against it.

Chibuluma, Kitwe, Zambia – local community respondent

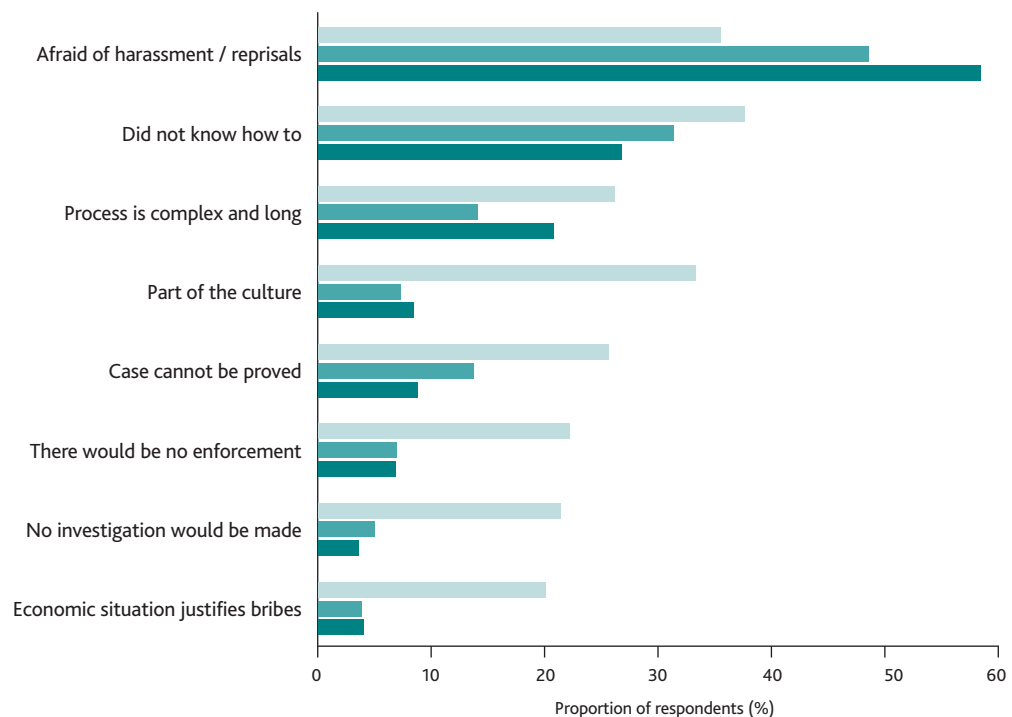
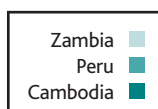
4.3 Reporting acts of corruption

One of the questions in the household survey tried to ascertain why people didn't report acts of corruption.

The proportion of respondents claiming to have reported a corrupt act were 14% for Zambia, 11% for Peru and 7% for Cambodia, which is significantly lower than those who have experienced just one type of corrupt act over the past year, namely being asked to pay a bribe (see Table I on page 15).

Various possible reasons for not reporting these acts were offered to respondents in the household survey and the results are shown below. There is a consistent trend across all three countries, with fear of reprisals featuring strongly as well as not knowing how to report corruption, or believing the process would last too long. This shows the need for a wide range of strategies to address corruption, ranging from actions to address issues of mistrust and fear, through education, to improving the accessibility and ease of legal processes to combat corruption.

FIGURE 2
Reasons for not reporting corruption



These findings were supported by testimonies in the FGDs where participants spoke of their lack of faith in the judiciary, as well as the lack of access to institutions and the lack of awareness of how to use the different mechanisms available to combat corruption.

What has come out very clearly is that corruption cases are not followed up, and there is no investigation. Most people fear that their cases will not lead to prosecution, and they will be victimised in the future.

Ndola, Zambia – male respondent

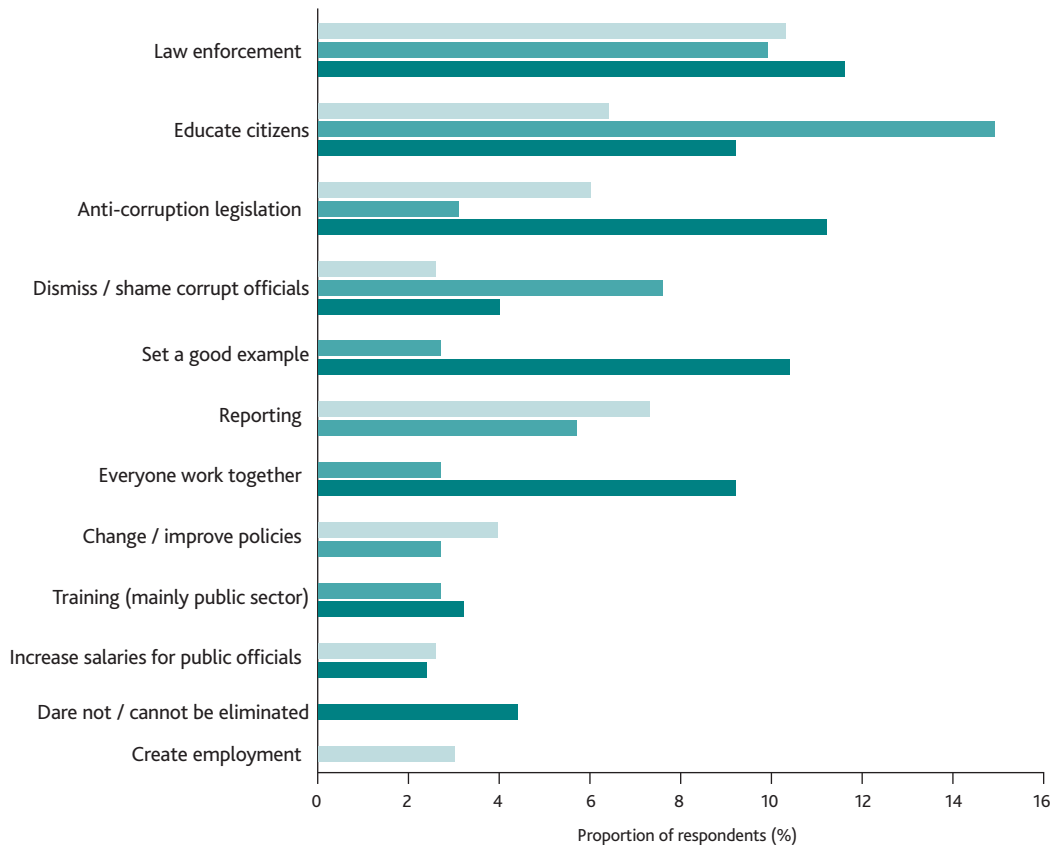
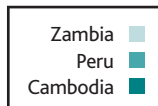
If people knew their rights and entitlements, then it would be much easier for them and possible to get things done. But for the poorest people, it would still be impossible, for they can never access such places to register a complaint. For a poor person to travel to Kitwe to the Anti Corruption Commission office, they have to have the right clothes, they would need to speak English. It is intimidating for them, because they have no education and they cannot speak English. They would be too scared to even enter the offices because it is so different from the homes that they come from. It is far, and expensive to travel to, and they feel ashamed of their background.

Chifubu, Ndola, Zambia

4.4 Suggestions for combating corruption

From the household survey, suggestions offered for combating corruption show a reasonable degree of consistency across countries, concentrating on law enforcement and legislation, but also on educating and mobilising citizens on their rights and to promote reporting.

FIGURE 3
Ideas for combating
corruption
(categorised)



These findings were also closely linked to the suggestions given in the FGDs, which, while not comprehensive, can give valuable insights into the priorities of those interviewed. The suggestions can be grouped into:

- citizen participation
- education and awareness raising
- reform of institutions.

4.4.1 CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Respondents emphasised the importance of local participation in efforts to combat corruption, which means the need to work together in relationships of respect and trust. This includes participation in monitoring and accountability mechanisms and the need to build the capacity, organisational and technical skills of civil society groups.

Corruption can't go against corruption, so our proposal is to have a permanent commission consisting of people from civil society who can monitor and report on corruption. It has to start from the bottom; we need individuals and organisations from civil society to take on this role.

Moyobamba, Peru

The monitoring of budgets and development aid spending is crucial, because of the importance of transparency in tackling corruption. But this must not be adversarial: agencies' advocacy work should be more sensitive to the nuances of corruption. So far as donors are concerned, the emphasis must be on transparency and accountability, ensuring the information is available to show what is going on.

Phnom Penh, Cambodia – local NGO worker

4.4.2 EDUCATION AND AWARENESS RAISING

Education and awareness raising were seen as essential strategies in overcoming corruption. This includes education in values starting in the home and at school, as well as awareness raising about people's rights and mechanisms they can use to denounce or combat corruption. It also includes the challenging task of helping people realise that corruption doesn't have to be the norm and that there are other ways of doing things. This goes to the heart of any development intervention in that it is important that those affected feel as though the situation can change and that they have a role to play in bringing about that change.

Education is not only knowledge: it can also influence the way a person behaves. Values and principles are really important in the education of our children, so we need to invest much more in nurturing these. As mothers, we look more towards the family because we want to create better values for our future generations.

Moyobamba, Peru – female respondent

What leads to all of this is a lack of information. If you don't have information and you don't have any other options, then all you can do is to follow corruption. Our people need to be made aware of their rights, and where they can go to report on these problems.

Chibuluma, Kitwe, Zambia – local community respondent

At the moment, the Cambodian people cannot distinguish between corruption and the offering of other gifts or incentives, especially when dealing with government officials. We have to stop government officials from asking for extra money simply for carrying out their jobs. Education is a vital component in fighting corruption, and the focus must be on the school and post-school generations.

Phnom Penh, Cambodia – local NGO worker

Development also relates to self-esteem. If a person has no self-esteem, then they won't develop. Their attitude is that 'I was born this way, so this is how it is for me.' But collective development is based on solidarity: we need to strengthen people's self-esteem.

Moyobamba, Peru

4.4.3 REFORM OF INSTITUTIONS

Various respondents mentioned the need to reform government institutions. Suggestions included: increasing the pay of government officials in order to reduce the incentives for corruption; strengthening monitoring organisations and watchdogs; strengthening the institutional capacity of government departments. Donors have a role, particularly in supporting institutional strengthening.

It was also mentioned repeatedly that this reform needed to come from the top and that the government needed to lead by example in the fight against corruption.

There could be a role for donors to play here in terms of providing training and ongoing capacity-building. The Anti-Corruption Unit needs to develop its effectiveness, accountability and transparency. The progress of the Anti-Corruption Law (ACL) and the Anti-Corruption Unit also needs to be monitored, and there is a role for the media and watchdog groups. External actors could also help to build the capacity and effectiveness of these actors as independent 'watchdogs' of the state.

Phnom Penh, Cambodia – local NGO worker

It is the leaders and authorities that determine how the system is: if the leaders were straight, there would be no corruption.

Chifubu, Ndola, Zambia – local community respondent

5 Combating corruption – what do donors need to do differently?

All actors have the responsibility to tackle corruption, from national and local governments, UN and other global bodies, to donor governments, companies and communities. Building on the results of the household survey and FGDs in Section 4, below are some preliminary findings outlining the principles which should be taken into account when devising strategies to combat corruption, particularly from a donor perspective.

The next step is to consider how these findings could be applied to anti-corruption strategies at national, regional and international levels, and what specific action could be taken. In this initial report consideration is limited to the actions that we believe the UK Government and other donors should take. Further work is required to consider other actions that could follow from these principles.

5.1 Preliminary findings

5.1.1 CORRUPTION AS A DEVELOPMENT ISSUE

Having seen some of the impacts of corruption, it becomes clear that combating corruption is a priority for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Otherwise, any progress will be undermined by corruption and poor governance and they will remain out of reach of most countries. Corruption needs to be recognised as a development issue, not just an economic or bureaucratic issue, and tackling corruption should be central to the efforts of all governments to meet the MDGs. The box below shows some of the ways that corruption undermines the achievement of the MDGs.

Corruption
undermines
the Millennium
Development Goals

Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

Corruption means that people are removed from their lands and means of livelihoods, forced to pay for basic services and denied a fair wage.

Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education

Corruption reduces the access of the poorest people to schools as they cannot afford the extra costs.

Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women

Corrupt practices deny women access to justice, perpetuate discriminatory practices and may involve sexual violence.

Goal 4: Reduce child mortality, Goal 5: Improve maternal health, Goal 6: Combat HIV and AIDS, malaria and other diseases

Corruption means that health centres aren't built, vaccines aren't available and women suffer discrimination meaning many more give birth at home and do not have adequate maternal care.

Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability

Corruption allows illegal logging and a lax attitude towards environmental controls.

Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development

Corruption means that money for development programmes is wasted.

5.1.2 NO ONE-SIZE-FITS-ALL SOLUTION: RECOGNISING COMPLEX RELATIONSHIPS

Corruption presents itself in different ways in different cultures, often with unclear boundaries between public and private spheres, between bribes and gift giving and between acceptable and unacceptable forms of corruption. One man's 'old boys' network' may be another's nepotism and insider dealing. One woman's gift may be another's bribe. As highlighted in the foregoing chapter, in Cambodia, one participant spoke of the fact that people are aware of corrupt practices that undermine development but wouldn't necessarily talk about them as such. Another mentioned that corruption in the form of teachers asking for money from school children is often tolerated because of such low salaries. In Peru, many women cannot gain access to services due to the discrimination that is all pervasive within many state authorities, meaning that the services offered are a reflection of the views and relationships of the public officials and not of any official policy.

Strategies are therefore needed that take into account different cultural understandings and manifestations of corruption, and recognise the different cultural and relational factors that will impact issues of governance and corruption.

It is also important to recognise the diversity of relationships between states and citizens. The power structures within each country context, both at local and national level, influence how people see the state and other forms of authority and how they will interact with them. Countries with strong civil society or social movements will have different opportunities available to them compared to those where civil society is still quite weak. For example, in Peru respondents spoke of the need to organise themselves to combat corruption, whereas in Cambodia there was an awareness of the need to do something but still a fear of any confrontation with authorities.

A recent report by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) concludes that donors have not paid due attention to underlying power structures, interests, incentives and relationships that might drive different actors: what they call the 'more informal dimensions and practices that contribute to poor governance in poor countries'.²⁶ This is backed up by suggestions of the need for a political economy approach that doesn't start from the assumption that the weakness of public administration is managerial in origin, but recognises a complex and interdependent system of social, economic and political interests.²⁷

It is clear that one size doesn't fit all when it comes to anti-corruption strategies so contextualised strategies are needed. For this, further research into the interaction of these different political, economic and cultural factors is required by academics, NGOs and donors alike.

5.1.3 BUILDING TRUST AND RECIPROCITY

From the research in the field, the lack of trust between different sectors of society was identified as a key factor in terms of perpetuating corruption and being affected by it. Levels of trust were not necessarily related to direct experiences of corruption, but often to perceptions of corruption within the system, and to feelings of disempowerment and experiences of poverty. The lack of trust was compounded by feelings that the government was not meeting the needs of citizens and was in some way ineffective and not responsive to the poorest people in society. In Peru, respondents talked of people no longer expecting a decent service from the government, while in Cambodia one participant said that they needed to stop government officials asking for money, simply for doing their job. There was general agreement that for mistrust to be overcome, those in leadership need to show a change in attitude and practice and those in authority need to show that they are there to serve the people. One respondent in Zambia called for change from the very top.

26 Kolstad I, Fritz V and O'Neil T (2008) *Corruption, Anti-corruption Efforts and Aid: Do Donors Have the Right Approach?*, ix

27 Unsworth S (2007) *Rethinking Governance to Fight Corruption*

Civil society organisations, and in particular Faith Based Organisations (FBOs), in whom the population seem to have higher levels of trust,²⁸ may have a crucial role as brokers and mediators in order for this trust to translate into meaningful interaction between different groups. Respondents, particularly in Zambia, mentioned that the local churches were seen to be the most honest, acting in the interests of the local populations. Tearfund research²⁹ has shown that FBOs can also play a key role in challenging cultural norms and helping communities and societies to address difficult issues.

The distinctive and important role of FBOs has recently been emphasised by DFID, with a commitment to develop broader and deeper partnerships with these organisations in order to reach the poorest people, as well as to double their funding by 2013.³⁰ This commitment is welcome and needs to be followed up with concrete actions, such as the development of detailed guidelines on how to engage with FBOs, recognising their distinctive nature.

5.1.4 FACILITATING CIVIL SOCIETY PARTICIPATION AND VOICE

Respondents talked of the need for civil society to be active in strategies to combat corruption – the need for a ‘bottom-up’ approach that allows participation of people at every level. In Peru, the need was expressed for ‘a permanent commission consisting of people from civil society who can monitor and report on corruption’. This should complement the actions by government authorities to lead by example. As one participant from Phnom Penh suggested, “So far as donors are concerned, the emphasis must be on transparency and accountability, ensuring the information is available to show what is going on.” Therefore there need to be clear mechanisms for civil society participation, and ways in which their voices can be heard so that they can be active participants in the governance systems and structures, taking into account different cultural and political contexts.

As participants mentioned in the FGDs, for participation to be possible and meaningful there is a need for greater access to information, as well as education and awareness raising. In Cambodia, one participant suggested that education was needed to help people distinguish between corrupt practices and the offering of gifts. In Zambia education in rights was highlighted and in Peru the need to understand processes and institutions. In Peru the role of the Peoples’ Ombudsman was highlighted as negative in enabling people to access different processes to hold the government to account.

In many countries, civil society will have limited experience in participation in such mechanisms and will also have needs in terms of organisational capacity. Donor support has traditionally focused more on the ‘supply’ side of strengthening state mechanisms, and less on this ‘demand’ side of strengthening civil society capacity. The latter needs to be seen as an integral part of any institutional support, for example in budget support.

DFID should invest more in listening to vulnerable groups and people living in poverty, and devise strategies and programmes that take account of their actual experiences and perceptions. The Department for Business, Innovation and Skills and the Ministry of Justice must also actively seek the views of people living in poverty in order to tackle foreign bribery. As bribery has a direct and significant impact on the conditions of people living in poverty – as the field study shows – it is essential that these people actively contribute to any strategies for combating it, both in the UK and overseas.

28 See also www.intrac.org/data/files/resources/625/Handle-With-Care-Engaging-with-faith-based-organisations.pdf

29 Tearfund (2007) *Transforming Lives: Church-based responses to HIV* and (2009) *Keeping Communities Clean: The Churches Response to Improving Sanitation and Hygiene*

30 DFID (2009) *Eliminating World Poverty: Building Our Common Future*, p9

United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC)

The United Nations Convention against Corruption, ratified in 2003, has a focus on institutional measures to prevent corruption such as: the establishment of anticorruption bodies; enhanced transparency in the financing of election campaigns and political parties; codes of conduct for public servants; transparency and accountability in terms of public finance; and the establishment of criminal offences for a wide range of acts of corruption. It also encourages the involvement of civil society in measures to combat corruption, although this isn't mandatory, and there is provision for asset recovery.

There is a need for an open review mechanism for the UNCAC, which will enable those most impacted by corruption to voice how they experience it, and what would be the best measures to address it in a manner that reduces the burden significantly. The terms of reference for the review mechanism will be up for evaluation at the 2013 Conference of State Parties, and countries need to ensure that participatory and transparent measures for tackling corruption become integral and non-negotiable within it.

It is also essential that in the forthcoming round of reviews of progress on the implementation of UNCAC in 34 countries, country visits are carried out by independent reviewers, civil society actively participates in the process and full reports are published and accessible to all stakeholders. The UK government should lead the way in pushing for this to happen.

5.1.5 MAKING STATE INSTITUTIONS MORE ACCOUNTABLE

There was a certain level of understanding, even sympathy, for the situation of some public sector officials who were paid very low salaries and as a result sought other measures to supplement their income: for example teachers asking for money from children in Cambodia or being absent from rural schools in Peru. Regardless of the actual level of sympathy or acceptance of certain types of behaviour, it is clear that low paid public servants with little chance of progressing through their own merits and little accountability to superiors are unlikely to be motivated to provide a good public service.

Time and again respondents spoke of health workers only attending patients if they were paid extra, head teachers not allowing children to enrol in the school without additional 'fees' or government officials not attending members of the public, despite being in their offices. When the public lose faith in the system and have low expectations of a good service, they will also be more open to corrupt acts or to establishing systems and structures that seek to sidestep state control.³¹ It is therefore essential to address this institutionalisation of corruption by looking at practical ways to strengthen the state, particularly in areas that will build trust between the state and citizens.

This is particularly important in the justice sectors. Across all three countries, respondents had lost faith in the justice sector and there were numerous examples of having to pay to be released from prison or to have a favourable ruling, and of being denied justice in terms of land rights, domestic violence, wages and development projects. Those without economic and political power simply felt as though the justice system did not work for them. Reinforcing the rule of law and strengthening the justice sector is important in the quest to tackle corruption, and sectoral budget support could be one method. But this must be approached with caution as there is a danger that a disproportionate amount of resources will be invested in strengthening state institutions to the detriment of building vibrant citizens' groups capable of holding the powerful institutions of state accountable.

31 Theobald R (1990) *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment*, p166-7

5.1.6 MAKING THE VOICES OF PEOPLE LIVING IN POVERTY COUNT

The respondents also called for effective processes of accountability within their respective countries. Common measures to date to strengthen accountability within government institutions (horizontal accountability) have included the establishment of anti-corruption commissions and agencies, or independent audit offices and revenue authorities. Attempts to strengthen accountability between government institutions and citizens (vertical accountability) have been based on the expectation that by creating more competition within the political sphere, and by widening the democratic space, more transparency and less monopoly of power should lead to diminishing levels of corruption.

While formal mechanisms of transparency and accountability are essential and have produced important results in some areas, it is by no means sufficient and results have been mixed at best within developing countries.³² In Zambia, the Anti-Corruption Commission was mentioned by participants as something positive, but that to date it hadn't produced the desired results. Systems of accountability and transparency therefore need to be developed to respond to the needs of the people, ensuring that those who are most affected by corruption have access to them.

Previously, the emphasis for fighting corruption within the UK Government's Foreign Policy has been on protecting aid money. While this is important, a lot more must be done to facilitate effective, broader transparency and accountability mechanisms so that citizens can hold their governments to account. Other areas requiring strong accountability mechanisms include, but are not exclusive to, natural resource governance, tax administration, private sector investment and participation, and other areas of public policy.

32 Andvig JC, Fjeldstad O (2001) *Corruption: A Review of Contemporary Research*

6 Conclusions

This report argues the need to focus on building trust within and between communities, government officials and institutions, civil society organisations, business and inter-governmental institutions in order to combat corruption. It also acknowledges the complexity of political, economic and cultural relationships, which mean that any attempts to combat corruption need to be adapted to each context and new models based on trust and reciprocity need to be developed.

People who are vulnerable, isolated and already poor suffer the most from corruption, such as those living in rural communities, women, indigenous groups and those with poor levels of education.

Corruption frustrates attempts to combat poverty as it diverts money from effective development spending, undermines quality and access to services, prevents people having access to justice and allows the destruction of natural resources. It can also perpetuate inequality, discrimination and abuse and undermine trust and social cohesion. It therefore needs to be addressed as an utmost priority in government and donor actions.

Much more space needs to be given to hearing the voices of those whose daily lives are impacted by corruption, enabling them to participate in developing policies and practices.

Transparent and accountable mechanisms are important so that citizens can hold governments to account, but these need to be designed in ways that recognise the significant barriers that poor people have in terms of accessing information and participating in political processes.

Donors and governments must recognise that any attempt to combat corruption needs to strengthen governance, and act accordingly. Corruption undermines development and therefore needs to be treated as a development issue, not just an economic and bureaucratic issue.

The UK government is in a strategic position to show leadership on this issue, both at home and abroad, and must seize the opportunities available. The UK's moral authority at a global level will be enhanced by having a clear and comprehensive anti-corruption strategy and accompanying mechanisms that make it open to scrutiny. Other donors – such as the World Bank, the EU and UN Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) – also have important roles to play.

6.1 Recommendations to the UK Government and other donors

This report is primarily intended to magnify the voice of poor communities and doesn't include an in-depth analysis of existing donor policies – more work in this area will follow. However, summarised below are some recommended principles and actions that donors should consider both at home and overseas to combat corruption and support good governance. Also highlighted are some specific recommendations to the UK Government.

RECOMMENDATION 1

Donors need to invest more in listening to the poor and devising governance and anti-corruption strategies and programmes that take account of the actual experiences and perceptions of people living in poverty.

RECOMMENDATION 2

Donors should design governance and anti-corruption programmes that build trust and reciprocity between state and society and recognise the complex array of relationships involved, and therefore the variety and complexity of approaches needed.

RECOMMENDATION 3

Donor development policy should place greater emphasis on actions designed to strengthen the capability of citizens to hold their governments to account.

RECOMMENDATION 4

Donors must recognise that corruption is a development issue, not just an economic or bureaucratic issue, and tackling corruption should be central to all efforts to meet the MDGs

RECOMMENDATION 5

The UK government should develop a cross-Whitehall anti-corruption strategy and accompanying accountability mechanisms that allow stakeholder participation both from home and overseas.

RECOMMENDATION 6

The UK government should push for the forthcoming round of reviews of progress on the implementation of UNCAC to include: country visits by independent reviewers; civil society participation; and production of full reports that are published and accessible to all stakeholders.

RECOMMENDATION 7

The UK Department for Business and Innovation and the Ministry of Justice must actively seek the views of people living in poverty when developing strategies to tackle foreign bribery.

RECOMMENDATION 8

The distinctive and important role of FBOs has been recognised by DFID. Concrete actions to effectively engage these groups in the fight against corruption are needed, such as the development of detailed guidelines for DFID staff on how to engage with FBOs.

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APPENDIX A **Methodology of field research**

Summary of research methodological tools used

FOCUS-GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The focus-group discussions (FGDs) were the primary means for gaining qualitative insights on the impact of corruption at community-level. The FGDs were intended to ask open-ended and probing questions about the ways in which corruption manifests itself, the different kinds of impacts it may have, and for whom. They provided a rich source of information as they offered communities the opportunity and space to tell their own stories.

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WITH SECONDARY STAKEHOLDERS

The semi-structured individual interviews supplemented the FGDs by gaining information from a range of other stakeholders or 'key informants', both at local and national levels, eg public officials, NGO groups, church leaders, etc.

HOUSEHOLD-LEVEL SURVEYS / QUESTIONNAIRES

These formed the quantitative component of the field-level research and were intended to complement the FGDs. The purpose of the household questionnaires was to probe how people's wellbeing and quality of life are affected by corruption through the lens of service-delivery. The questionnaire thus asked a number of quite general questions concerning levels of access to, and the perceived quality of public services – specifically health and education services – as well as whether it is common to be asked to pay bribes or make 'additional payments'. There were also questions concerning access to land and security of land tenure plus a short section on the major industries in operation in the locale.

The final section included a series of questions asking explicitly about the problems of corruption in the country, the effectiveness of governmental efforts to tackle it, as well as questions about individual levels of trust in various people / institutions.

When looking at relationships, the analysis used the Mann-Whitney U test to test for differences between two independent groups, and the Kruskal-Wallis H test to test for differences between three or more groups. Tables in this paper present the probability (p value) that differences between the groupings have occurred by chance. Generally, only differences with a confidence level of 95% or more have been taken to indicate a significant relationship, ie statistical significance is represented by $p < 0.05$. Similarly, when considering correlations between two variables, only where the p value associated with a Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficient is less than 0.05, and the correlation coefficient itself is greater than 0.2, has it been assumed that a valid relationship exists.

Research sample: size and scope

In terms of sample size, two or three separate locations were chosen per country in order to test for variations between urban and rural areas, where access to particular services and proximity to decision-makers would be likely to differ. In practice the actual selection of research locations was largely determined by where Tearfund partner organisations had ongoing work, and thus where relationships and trust amongst community members were already well established.

In the case of Peru, given its distinctive multi-ethnic, multi-cultural mix and how this is quite closely tied to the geographical demarcation of regions (namely coastal, highland and jungle/Amazon), it was decided that the choice of research locations should mirror these rather than the simple urban-rural dichotomy. In Cambodia, although the choice of research locations followed a similar urban / rural divide as was used in Zambia, capacity constraints facing individual partner organisations dictated that the work-burden be split, thus increasing the geographical diversity of research locations (see table 2). For this reason, it was also agreed that an additional FGD should be hosted.

Limitations

The research sample was largely dictated by pragmatic considerations: namely, where Tearfund partner organisations have ongoing programmes and projects. The practical advantages of this were clear, but for this reason we cannot purport that the sample is nationally 'representative' of the situation in any of the three countries, rather it provides a series of case-study 'snap-shots', which should be interpreted as such.

Another limitation concerning the selection of locations was the level of accessibility, particularly for the rural sample. Zambia and Cambodia in particular are highly rural in their demographic make-up, yet given the restrictions upon time, the research in these two countries was undertaken in more accessible rural areas. In Peru, none of the research was undertaken in rural communities for similar time constraint reasons.

Research sample locations by country

In total, 746 household survey questionnaires were administered and 19 focus-group discussions were conducted (six in Zambia, six in Peru, seven in Cambodia), the latter bringing together more than 260 participants. In addition, around 30 individual interviews were undertaken with key informants / secondary stakeholders at local and national levels in each country.

TABLE 2
Zambia
(February 2010)

Community	Town / district / province	Area type (eg urban / rural)	Number of household surveys (approx)	Number of FGDs
Chibulumu	Kitwe, Copperbelt	Urban	40	1
Chifumu	Ndola, Copperbelt	Urban	40	1
Mapalo	Ndola, Copperbelt	Urban	40	1
Nakatindi village	Sesheke town / district, Western Province	Rural	40	1
Katemo Muliliovillage	Sesheke town / district, Western Province	Rural	40	1
Kashongani village / Mcklope village	Sesheke town / district, Western Province	Rural	40 (20+20)	1

TABLE 3
Peru
(March 2010)

Community	Town / district / province	Area type (eg urban / rural)	Number of household surveys (approx)	Number of FGDs
Various	Moyobamba, San Martin	Jungle (peri-urban)	90	2
Various	San Juan Lurigancho (SJL), Lima	Coastal (urban)	90	2
Various	Ayacucho, Ayacucho	Highland (peri-urban)	90	2

TABLE 4
Cambodia
(April 2010)

Community	Town / district / province	Area type (eg urban / rural)	Number of household surveys (approx)	Number of FGDs
Tuol Prasath village	Poipet, Ou Chov District, Banteay Meanchey	Rural	90	1
Kbal Spean village	Poipet, Ou Chov District, Banteay Meanchey	Urban		1
Prey Kub village	Poipet, Ou Chov District, Banteay Meanchey	Urban		1
Various	Takèo (3 villages, Bati district) Kampang Speu (2 villages) Kampot (1 village)	Rural	90	1
Various	Mean Chey district, Phnom Penh	Urban	90	3

APPENDIX B Euphemisms for bribery and other forms of corruption

Zambia

Amafiso kanwa	Oiling the fingers
Chekelamo	What's my share?
Kanono	Give me a small thing
Muli ba kulu namwishiba	You are old enough to know what to give me
Ponya ni pondepo	Drop something and I will step on it / give me something and no-one else need know
Ukuponya isako	Drop a feather
Ukuliamo	What will I eat from this?
Ifintu nibwangu	Make it quick
Iminwe taikata mafi	Hands don't handle dirty (ie grease my hands)
Wise nakankumpempwilako	Come with something that will generate a discussion
Wise nakalembelo	Come with a pen (ie to sign a cheque)
VAT	Give me something so I can add value to it

Peru

Trueque	Exchange
Cupo	Cut
Almuerzos	Lunches
Tranza y avanza	A transaction to get things moving
Una propinita	A little tip
Borron y cuenta nueva	Rub it out and start again (ie do not investigate, forget past)
Enterrado el muerto acabó todo	If you bury the dead, that's the end of it
Si nadie se de cuenta	If nobody notices
Faenon	A group of people who conspire their own benefit (seen as the opposite of 'faena', which is work that is done collectively for the benefit of everyone)
Romper la mano	Literally 'to break one's hand' – another way of saying to grease someone's palm so that things go more smoothly.
SOAT	Note: this is a type of insurance for vehicles – equivalent to the MOT in the UK – but it has also become a form of derogatory slang concerning the traffic police: 'Sencillo obligatorio al tombo' literally meaning 'mandatory bribes for the police'

Cambodia

Comision (French)	The commission you must pay to the police or commune / village-chief
Teuk Ter	Give me my tea / water
Hay teuk Bic	My pen is nearly out of ink / the cost of the ink of your pen



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