Corruption & Development Aid

Confronting the Challenges

Georg Cremer

Spine width=9/16"

CORRUPTION & DEVELOPMENT AID

RIENNER - Lambertus

Corruption & Development Aid

Corruption & Development Aid

Confronting the Challenges

Georg Cremer



Published in the United States of America in 2008 by Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. 1800 30th Street, Boulder, Colorado 80301 www.rienner.com

and in the United Kingdom by Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. 3 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London WC2E 8LU

Published in Germany in 2008 by Lambertus Verlag GmbH Postfach 1026 Freiburg 79010 www.lambertus.de

© 2008 by Georg Cremer. All rights reserved by the publisher

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Cremer, Georg.

[Korruption begrenzen. English]

Corruption and development aid : confronting the challenges / Georg Cremer.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 978-1-58826-595-1 (hardcover: alk. paper) ISBN 978-1-58826-571-5 (pbk.: alk. paper) 1. Political corruption—Developing countries. I. Title. JF1525.C66C7414 2008 364.1'323091724—dc22

2008004523

British Cataloguing in Publication Data

A Cataloguing in Publication record for this book is available from the British Library.

German Cataloguing in Publication Data

A Cataloguing in Publication record for this book is available from the German National Library. ISBN 978-3-7841-1828-4

Printed and bound in the United States of America

The paper used in this publication meets the requirements of the American National Standard for Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials Z39.48-1992.

5 4 3 2 1

Contents

Toreword, Peter Eigen Preface		ix xi
1	Corruption in Development Aid: From Taboo to Political Action A Problem That Should Not Exist, 2 The Beginning of Political Change, 3 The Plan of the Book, 7	1
2	What Is Corruption? Bribery, 10 Misappropriation, 11 Nepotism, 13	9
3	How Useful Is Corruption? A Catalyst for Competition? 18 Less Red Tape? 20 Incentives for Qualified Civil Servants? 21 Illicit Income as an Essential Source of Capital Accumulation? 23 Bribery as a Means of Protecting Minorities? 24 A Balanced Assessment of Corruption, 25	17
4	Corruption in Development Projects How Limited Is Empirical Access? 30 Corruption in the Phase Prior to Project Approval, 31 Corruption in the Project Implementation Phase, 32 Case Studies, 35	29
5	What Does Corruption Cost? The Additional Costs of Corruption, 48 Who Is Being Hurt? 52 Looking Through the Eyes of Government Officials, 53	47

vi Contents

Corruption Control as a Global Responsibility Corruption Cannot Be Explained in Predominantly Cultural Terms, 58 Corruption as a Global Phenomenon, 60 Corruption in International Economic Relations, 62 One Cannot Not Intervene! 65	57
Is Corruption Control a Lost Cause? The Production of Receipts, 69 The Manipulation of Bidding Procedures, 71 The Limited Effect of Administrative Controls, 73 Leaving the Job to the External Sponsor, 75	69
The Role of Nongovernmental Organizations Risks Specific to Nongovernmental Organizations, 80 The Advantage of Choice, 83	79
Barriers to Information in Development Work What Foreign Aid Workers Actually Perceive, 86 What Foreign Aid Workers Want to Tell Their Head Office, 87 What the Head Office Wants to Know, 88	85
The Pressure to Spend "Development Dollars" Structural Forces Within Aid Organizations, 91 The Effects of Disbursement Pressure, 93 Excessive Demands on Local Partners, 94 Overly Restrictive Guidelines and Rule Bending, 95 The Demonization of Administrative Costs, 98	91
Corruption in Project Work: An Analysis of Weakness Prerequisites for Project Evaluation, 101 Conditions for Controlling Finances, 102 Project Designs Susceptible to Abuse, 103 Relations Between Donors and Implementing Partners, 104	101
Confronting the Challenges Training Employees to Recognize and Respond to Corruption, 106 Dealing with the Public in New Ways, 107 Avoiding Crusades, 108 Improving the Empirical Base, 109 Effectiveness-Centered Control, 111 Including Anticorruption Clauses, 112 Improving Procurement Procedures, 112 Creating Risks for Corrupt Contractors, 115 Integrating Target Groups into Control Systems, 116 Requiring Anticorruption Structures in NGO Project Sponsorship, 117 Cutting Off Aid, 121 The Importance of	105
	Corruption Cannot Be Explained in Predominantly Cultural Terms, 58 Corruption as a Global Phenomenon, 60 Corruption in International Economic Relations, 62 One Cannot Not Intervene! 65 Is Corruption Control a Lost Cause? The Production of Receipts, 69 The Manipulation of Bidding Procedures, 71 The Limited Effect of Administrative Controls, 73 Leaving the Job to the External Sponsor, 75 The Role of Nongovernmental Organizations Risks Specific to Nongovernmental Organizations, 80 The Advantage of Choice, 83 Barriers to Information in Development Work What Foreign Aid Workers Actually Perceive, 86 What Foreign Aid Workers Want to Tell Their Head Office, 87 What the Head Office Wants to Know, 88 The Pressure to Spend "Development Dollars" Structural Forces Within Aid Organizations, 91 The Effects of Disbursement Pressure, 93 Excessive Demands on Local Partners, 94 Overly Restrictive Guidelines and Rule Bending, 95 The Demonization of Administrative Costs, 98 Corruption in Project Work: An Analysis of Weakness Prerequisites for Project Evaluation, 101 Conditions for Controlling Finances, 102 Project Designs Susceptible to Abuse, 103 Relations Between Donors and Implementing Partners, 104 Confronting the Challenges Training Employees to Recognize and Respond to Corruption, 106 Dealing with the Public in New Ways, 107 Avoiding Crusades, 108 Improving the Empirical Base, 109 Effectiveness-Centered Control, 111 Including Anticorruption Clauses, 112 Improving Procurement Procedures, 112 Creating Risks for Corrupt Contractors, 115 Integrating Target Groups into Control Systems, 116 Requiring Anticorruption Structures in NGO Project

Contents vii

Sociopolitical Context, 124 Reducing State Intrusion in Economic Processes, 125 Limiting State Action: Reducing Loopholes for Misappropriation, 126 Paying Higher Wages to Officials? 127 Framing Reform Policy for the Public Sector, 128 Setting Priorities, 129 Improving Control Mechanisms in the Public Sector, 131 Involving Civil Society, 135

Bibliography	141
Index	159
About the Book	169

Foreword

CONCERN ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF CORRUPTION ON AID

motivated a number of us in the early 1990s to start fighting corruption. In my work on development projects and later as a representative of the World Bank in Kenya, I had observed time and again how deals between companies from the industrialized world and high-ranking local officials led to utterly dysfunctional "white elephant" investments, undermining governance, destroying the environment, and worst of all, harming people and their chances for progress. But my partners in development and I had been much less aware of corrupt practices related to the projects for which we shared responsibility. Our growing recognition of the impact of corruption on development was one of our prime reasons for founding Transparency International in 1992.

Since then, a lot has changed. Development organizations work hard to contribute to the fight against corruption. There are many websites offering relevant strategies, regulations, controls, sanctions, codes, and commitments, and many books and articles have been written about corruption and development. About corruption and development assistance, however, dramatically less can be found. Suspicion and charges related to corruption are even more damaging for an aid system already under pressure than for suspects in the public and private sector. Publicity about corruption in aid is therefore avoided, or is rejected as inappropriate and overblown generalization. This is especially problematic because, in our experience, transparency and an informed and educated public are a necessary component of fighting corruption successfully. The taboo surrounding the subject of corrup-

x Foreword

tion in development aid has protected it for many decades; where this taboo lingers, fighting corruption becomes more difficult.

But there are ways out of this dilemma, and this book offers one of them. The book promotes transparency and understanding about the reasons behind and the detailed mechanisms of corruption related to development assistance. It facilitates communication among people directly involved in development work, in local and international organizations at all levels. In its German-language edition, it has proven a favorite in teaching and learning about corruption in development cooperation. More broadly, it contributes to open dialogue about the risks and realities of corruption, a dialogue so essential to fighting it successfully.

The author, Georg Cremer, positions corruption that affects development assistance within the broad context of the societal and economic causes of corruption in general, both globally and nationally. This approach precludes unrealistic expectations such as zero tolerance or the withdrawal of aid from countries where corruption occurs daily. But while Dr. Cremer is frank about the prevalence of corruption, he does not encourage us to accept a corrupt environment as an excuse to tolerate corruption. Instead, analyzing risks and describing concrete steps to avoid or reduce them, his book translates into the everyday practice of development aid the experiences of the global anticorruption movement, where we have learned that understanding more about corruption helps us to combat it, and to cope with it.

— Peter Eigen
Founder and Chairman of the Advisory Council,
Transparency International

Preface

I HAVE BEEN PREOCCUPIED WITH THE PHENOMENON OF COR-

ruption in development work ever since I went to Indonesia in 1986 to work as a project leader under contract with a German organization. I was not prepared for what confronted me. The dangers of corruption within my own project or in my immediate surroundings had not once been addressed during the half year in which I was otherwise very thoroughly prepared for my deployment.

I left to work for an Indonesian research institute for education and employment and to support it in qualifying its work and carrying out studies that would help the Indonesian government in making political-economic decisions. When I started to understand the relationships between the institute and the officials in various ministries, it became evident that the research assignments we received had a certain "side effect": part of the international aid earmarked for research was, at the least possible level of risk, being turned into additional income for underpaid office holders. This, of course, irritated me. At least as irritating was the fact that the corruption-related reports I submitted to my dispatching organization were considered more a bother than anything else. Corruption was a taboo subject in project work, left off the record as a matter of course. The reaction of my dispatching organization was completely normal back in the mid-1980s.

Taboos are harmful. They prevent development aid organizations from learning from the diverse experiences of their staff and from better restricting corruption within their projects. The aim of this book is to contribute to breaking taboos. Another goal is to support

xii Preface

those who work in the field of development aid in any capacity—in project work, in the headquarters of aid organizations, in many private initiatives—when they confront corruption, to a small or to a large degree. I hope that private donors also find an answer to the question of whether or under what circumstances their money actually reaches the needy.

* * *

I would like to mention several people to whom I owe thanks. I thank E. J. Sawong, my Indonesian counterpart who passed away in 1987. With extraordinary openness he helped me to comprehend the system of "deviating funds." I thank my former superiors at the international department of Caritas Germany, who encouraged me to concentrate on issues of corruption control, even though it is an unusual topic among aid organizations. I am grateful to the students who attended my lectures on corruption control at the University of Freiburg and at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich for their many helpful questions. My thanks go out to all who read and provided their critical comments on the manuscript for this book: Michael Berger, University of Freiburg; Rolf Kappel, ETH Zurich; Johannes Müller, SJ, College of Philosophy, Munich; Jakob Rösel, University of Rostock; as well as Christel Jost, Christoph Klitsch-Ott, Franz-Josef Vollmer, and Christine Wegner-Schneider of Caritas Germany. I am grateful to Ilse Buschmann at the Arnold-Bergstraesser Institute in Freiburg, who put the manuscript to a tough test of comprehensibility. Special thanks go to Elizabeth Schüth for translating the revised German version. Finally, I thank my wife for her encouragement, critical questions, and support.

— G. C.

Corruption & Development Aid