

**CIVIL SOCIETY
AND
ANTI-CORRUPTION
IN
EASTERN EUROPE**

C-Word

- Taboo in policy and research circles until the mid-1990s
- 1993 - Transparency International
- 1995 - Corruption Perceptions Index
- 1990s & 2000s – international legal framework
- 2000s & 2010s – Leaks and Papers, rise of investigative journalism
- New anticorr and good governance organizations, global and national
- Research on corruption, its cause and consequences
- Limited evidence on what works in anticorr
- Citizens engagement remains a challenge

Corruption is
the abuse
of entrusted power
for private gain

Corruption as an umbrella concept

- Kleptocracy; privatization of public funds; stealing
- Treason; subversion; illegal foreign transactions; smuggling
- Misappropriation; forgery and embezzlement; padding of accounts; skimming; misuse of funds
- Abuse of power; intimidation; torture; undeserved pardons and remissions;
- Deceit and fraud; misrepresentation; cheating and swindling; blackmail; perversion of justice; criminal behaviour; false evidence; unlawful detention
- Non-performance of duties; desertion; parasitism
- Bribery and graft; extortion; illegal levies; kickbacks
- Election tampering; vote-rigging; gerrymandering
- Misuse of inside knowledge and confidential information; falsification of records
- Unauthorized sale of public offices; public property and public licences

*Source: The Elements of National Integrity System. TI, Jeremy Pope, 2000.

Corruption as an umbrella concept

- Manipulation of regulations, purchases and supplies, contracts and loans
- Tax evasion; excessive profiteering
- Influence peddling; favour brokering
- Conflict of interest
- Acceptance of improper gifts, fees, speed money and entertainments
- Links with organized crime; black market operations
- Cronyism; cover-ups
- Illegal surveillance; misuse of telecommunications and mails
- Misuse of official seals, stationery, residence

*Source: The Elements of National Integrity System. TI, Jeremy Pope, 2000

Corruption as an umbrella concept – new forms and types

- Grand corruption
- Political corruption
- Petty corruption
- Nepotism
- Revolving doors
- Money laundering
- State capture
- Kleptocapture

Corruption as Governance Regime

- Governance is a government's ability to make and enforce rules, and to deliver services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not.
(Fukuyama)

Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) Six Dimensions:

Voice and Accountability

Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism

Government Effectiveness

Regulatory Quality

Rule of Law

Control of Corruption

Corruption as governance regime

The governance mode under which public goods are distributed on the basis of ethical universalism. (Mungiu-Pippidi)

- **Particularism** - a social practice rampant in developing societies, where standards for the way a person is treated (including by the state) depend on the group a person belongs to and not on merit/entitlement = *Corruption is the rule*
- **Ethical universalism** - the practice of individualistic societies, in which everyone is treated equally regardless the group they belong to = *Corruption is the exception*

Civil Society as a Driver of Anti-Corruption Reforms

Preconditions for Civil Society Engagement in Anticorruption:

- Access to information and transparency
- Free media
- Civil society space
- Safety of media, civil society, activists

Political regime does matter: electoral democracies vs autocracies

+ Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine

- Azerbaijan, Belarus, Russia

EU Candidate Status: Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine

Armenia may apply

Characteristics of Good Anti-corruption Initiatives and Approaches

- Evidence based: political settlement analysis, network analysis, et al.
- Locally designed, ideas can be borrowed
- Strong local ownership
- Getting the objectives right: understand C and anticorr
- Aim high: change of behaviour, not only laws and policies
- Impact oriented (e.g. resignations of the corrupt after investigation), less output focused (e.g. number of journalists trained)
- Theory of change: how change is assumed to come about through intervention in a given situation? Validating assumptions
- Coalitions, locally set up and coordinated: citizens, business, media, etc.

Anti-corruption Initiatives and Approaches

Experts + Activists + Journalists

- Policy and legal: drafting and monitoring laws, policies, regulations
- Monitoring and evaluating performance of anticorr institutions
- Investigations: national, crossborder
- Public sector integrity: conflict of interest, income and assets declarations
- Procurement monitoring
- Elections: political parties and campaign financing; abuse of administrative resources
- Parliamentary oversight → reporting to citizens
- PEP Database; asset tracing and asset recovery

! Private sector work

! Sectors: education, health, police, energy, land, water, etc.

Anti-corruption Investigations

- Anticorr investigations on the rise: Leaks, Papers, Files, Secrets
- Transformation from „lonely ranger“ model to transnational collaborative networks built on mutual trust
- Institution of global governance
- Exposing wrongdoing, bringing it to light (OSINT)
- Post-factum corruption investigations, very few prosecutions
- Mostly crossborder and national level, not much local level

Full cycle: investigations, analysis of legal and policy gaps, coalition building, advocacy, monitoring of implementation

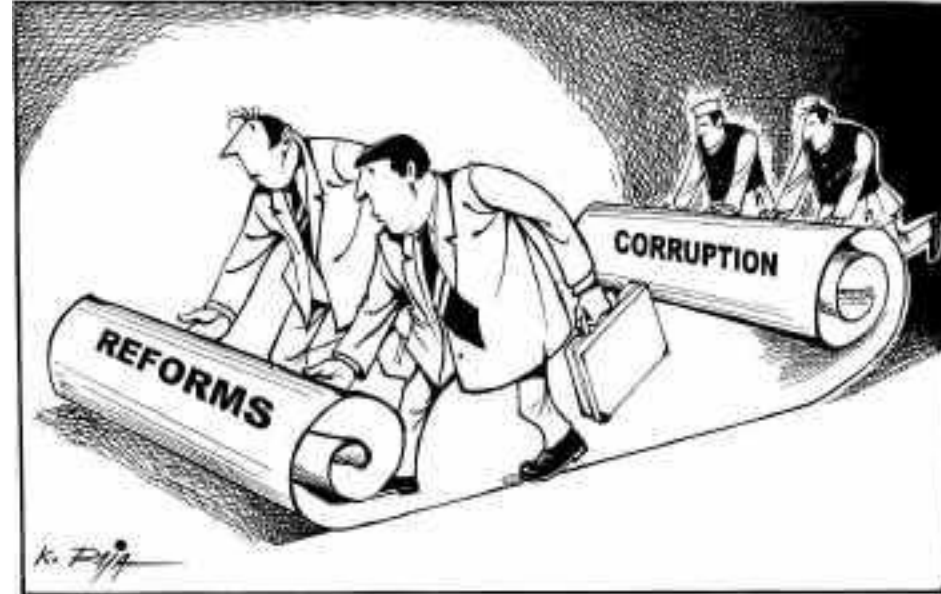
Anti-corruption Advocacy

- Evidence based; seeks to generate political change, better policies and practices
- Analyse problems, find solutions, identify stakeholders, build coalitions
- Develop advocacy strategy: decision makers as a target audience
- It is not activism, awareness raising, campaigning or communication. But they can be part of advocacy strategy
- Better results in coalition
- Resource and labour intensive, long time span required
- Regress on previously achieved advocacy goals

The Challenge of Measuring Corruption

Why Measure Corruption?

- What can be measured, can be managed
- C measurement is a solid foundation for designing reforms
- Track progress over time (but challenging)



Challenges in Measuring Corruption



- Diversity of definitions
- Some forms of corruption are more visible (and easier to measure) than others
- Creating unbiased corruption measurements
- Capturing change

CPI

A global (180 countries/territories)
aggregate index (13 different data sources)
capturing perceptions (experts/business people)
of corruption (abuse of power for private gain)
in the public sector (public officials and institutions)

CPI Captures:

- Bribery
- Diversion of public funds
- Red tape & excessive bureaucratic burden
- Meritocratic vs nepotistic civil service
- Conflict of interest & financial disclosure of public officials
- Access of civil society to information on public affairs

CPI does NOT Capture:

- Citizens perception & experience of C
- Tax fraud
- Illicit financial flows
- Enablers of C
- Money laundering
- Private sector C
- Informal economies and markets

CPI Sources

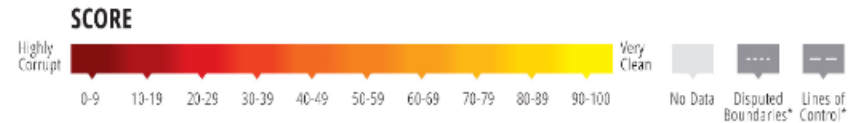
1. African Development Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessment
2. Bertelsmann Stiftung Sustainable Governance Indicators
3. Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index
4. Economist Intelligence Unit Country Risk Service
5. Freedom House Nations in Transit
6. Global Insights Business Conditions and Risk Indicators
7. IMD World Competitiveness Yearbook
8. Political and Economic Risk Consultancy
9. The PRS Group International Country Risk Guide
10. World Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessment
11. World Economic Forum Executive Opinion Survey
12. World Justice Project Rule of Law Index
13. Varieties of Democracy Project

CORRUPTION PERCEPTIONS INDEX 2023

EASTERN EUROPE & CENTRAL ASIA

35/100

AVERAGE SCORE



*The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map follow the UN practice to the best of our knowledge and as of January 2024. They do not imply the expression of any opinion on the part of Transparency International concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.



SCORE COUNTRY/TERRITORY

53	Georgia
47	Armenia
46	Montenegro
42	Moldova
42	North Macedonia
41	Kosovo
39	Kazakhstan
37	Albania
37	Belarus
36	Serbia
36	Ukraine
35	Bosnia and Herzegovina
34	Turkey
33	Uzbekistan
26	Kyrgyzstan
26	Russia
23	Azerbaijan
20	Tajikistan
18	Turkmenistan

#CPI2023

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- “**Anticorruption is like a bicycle**, which manages to stand as long as it runs: but its separate pieces are worthless if they do not amount to a full-running bike” (Alina Mungiu-Pippidi)
- “Anti-corruption should **focus on citizens** and **wellbeing of citizens**” (Bo Rothstein)
- “Corruption is effectively **a form of injustice**. People are getting things they are not supposed to get. ...Start thinking **how to manage the problem**. Not how to solve it, because C is a constant” (Paul Heywood)

THANK YOU!