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Transparency International report calls for electoral reform and transparent political funding in India

Access to information is critical to enable the press and the public to monitor the public sector, says TI report, launched alongside new TI Corruption Perceptions Index, showing rampant corruption in 60 countries

New Delhi/Berlin, 20 October 2004 --- "Corruption in politics is the biggest challenge to improving India's anti-corruption record," said (retired) Admiral R.H. Tahiliani, Chairman of Transparency International India, today. According to a new report published today by Transparency International (TI), India's politicians have attempted to frustrate the ideals of the Constitution, subvert the rule of law, find and exploit loopholes in the system, and use political power to keep the executive subordinate.

"No one must be above the law," said Tahiliani. "We therefore applaud the commitment of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to bring his own office under the purview of the *Lokpal* or Ombudsman law, which he said his government would bring forward without delay." TI India is the national chapter of Transparency International (TI), the leading non-governmental organisation devoted to fighting corruption worldwide.

The National Integrity Systems TI Country Study Report India 2003, which was made possible with the funding of the UK Government's Department for International Development, identifies a number of priority areas for reform, including the urgent introduction of the Lokpal and the strengthening of its state level equivalent, the Lokayukta.

"On the positive side, India's political and administrative institutions are strong and independent," states the report, published today. Civil society organisations in India have "sought and succeeded in securing transparency in the electoral process through the declaration of the background of candidates pertaining to education, criminal record, and financial assets and liabilities," states the report. In addition, say the authors, civil society action has "been successful in getting a Supreme Court decision on denying the immunity to members of the legislature for corrupt practice committed in connection with voting in the House."

However, the report points to the need for reforms. First, electoral reforms are necessary "to keep away the criminal elements from accessing the system of power". Second, the political party system is required to be transparent, democratic, and ethical. The report goes on to state that political party funds must be open to scrutiny of audit, and members of the legislature must be prevented, by law, from changing allegiance from one party to another "for the sake of deriving ministerial benefits".

The authors argue that "the judiciary must be made more effective by providing more resources in terms of manpower, provision of technology, and financial autonomy for securing quicker justice". In order to take more stringent and effective action against the corrupt, there is a "need for

legislation on the forfeiture of assets acquired through corrupt means". Finally, the report's authors call for the enactment of the Financial Responsibility Bill to provide for fiscal austerity, as proposed by the Planning Commission, and of a Right to Information Bill for the whole country.

"Access to information is essential both for the media and citizens to exercise an effective monitoring role," said Tahiliani today. "Whistleblowers must be encouraged and protected, and citizens' charters must be mandatory for departments dealing with the public so that members of the public know their rights."

Enforcement agencies, notably the Central Vigilance Commission and the Central Bureau of Investigation, need to be given more extensive powers and independence, according to the report: "The jurisdiction of the Central Bureau of Investigation needs to be extended to the whole country and not be dependent upon the approval of the state government."

In the TI Corruption Perceptions Index 2004, published today, India scores 2.8 against a clear score of 10, indicating persistent high levels of corruption. Speaking in London today, TI Chairman Peter Eigen said: "Corruption in large-scale public projects is a daunting obstacle to sustainable development, and results in a major loss of public funds needed for education, healthcare and poverty alleviation, both in developed and developing countries."

TI estimates that the amount lost due to bribery in government procurement is at least US\$ 400 billion per year worldwide. "If we hope to reach the Millennium Development Goal of halving the number of people living in extreme poverty by 2015, governments need to seriously tackle corruption in public contracting," said Eigen.

A total of 106 out of 146 countries score less than 5 against a clean score of 10, according to the new index. Sixty countries score less than 3 out of 10, indicating rampant corruption. Corruption is perceived to be most acute in Bangladesh, Haiti, Nigeria, Chad, Myanmar, Azerbaijan and Paraguay, all of which have a score of less than 2.

The *National Integrity Systems TI Country Study Report India 2003* was authored by Professor Randhir B. Jain, National Fellow of the Indian Council of Social Science Research at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, and P.S. Bawa, retired Director General of Police. The report was prepared under the auspices of a programme developed by the Transparency International Secretariat together with Professor Alan Doig and Stephanie McIvor of the Teesside Business School. It is the latest in a series of TI country study reports on national integrity systems.

The *National Integrity Systems TI Country Study Report India 2003* and other country study reports can be downloaded at:

http://www.transparency.org/activities/nat integ systems/country studies.html



Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index 2004

This table was compiled at the University of Passau on behalf of Transparency International. For information on data and methodology, please consult the frequently asked questions and the framework document at www.transparency.org/surveys/#cpi or www.transparency.

| | Survey reference (for more details, see table of sources on page 8) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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| Country Rank | Country | 2004 re* | Confidence Range ** | Surveys used*** | BEEPS 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 904 | 33 | IMD 2002 | IMD 2003 | 2004 | MDB 2002 | MIG 2004 | PERC 2002 | PERC 2003 | PERC 2004 | TI/GI 2002 | WMRC 2004 | WEF 2002 | WEF 2003 | WEF 2004 |
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| 3 | Denmark | 9.5 | 9.3 - 9.7 | 10 | | # | # | | | # | # | # | | # | | | | | # | # | # | # |
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| 7 | Switzerland | 9.2 | 8.9 - 9.2 | 10 | | # | # | | | # | # | # | | # | | | | # | # | # | # | # |
| 8 | Norway | 8.9 | 8.6 - 9.1 | 9 | | | # | | | # | # | # | | # | | | | | # | # | # | # |
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| 24 | Japan | 6.9 | 6.2 - 7.4 | 15 | | # | # | | # | # | # | # | | # | # | # | # | # | # | # | # | # |
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| 29 | Oman | 6.1 | 5.1 - 6.8 | 5 | | # | # | | # | | | | | # | | | | | # | | | |
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| 35 | Taiwan | 5.6 | 5.2 - 6.1 | 15 | | # | # | | # | # | # | # | | # | # | # | # | # | # | # | # | # |
| 36 | Cyprus | 5.4 | 5.0 - 5.8 | 4 | | # | # | | | | | | | | | | | | # | | | # |
| 37 | Jordan | 5.3 | 4.6 - 5.9 | 9 | | | # | | # | | # | # | | # | | | | | # | # | # | # |
| 38 | Qatar | 5.2 | 4.6 - 5.6 | 4 | | | # | | # | | | | | # | | | | | # | | | |
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| 71 | China | 3.4 | 3.0 - 3.8 | 16 | | # | # | | # | # | # | # | # | # | # | # | # | # | # | # | # | # |
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Explanatory notes
*CPI Score relates to perceptions of the degree of corruption as seen by business people and country analysts and ranges between 10 (highly clean) and 0 (highly corrupt).
** Confidence range provides a range of possible values of the CPI score. This reflects how a country's score may vary, depending on measurement precision.
Nominally, with 5 percent probability the score is above this range and with another 5 percent it is below. However, particularly when only few sources (n) are available an unbiased estimate of the mean coverage probability is lower than the nominal value of 90%.

*** Surveys used refers to the number of surveys that assessed a country's performance. 18 surveys and expert assessments were used and at least 3 were required for a country to be included in the CPI.

What is the Corruption Perceptions Index?

The TI Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) ranks countries in terms of the degree to which corruption is perceived to exist among public officials and politicians. It is a composite index, drawing on corruption-related data in expert surveys carried out by a variety of reputable institutions. It reflects the views of business people and analysts from around the world, including experts who are resident in the countries evaluated.

For the purpose of the CPI, how is corruption defined?

The CPI focuses on corruption in the public sector, and defines corruption as the abuse of public office for private gain. The surveys used in compiling the CPI ask questions that relate to the misuse of public power for private benefit, with a focus, for example, on bribe-taking by public officials in public procurement. The sources do not distinguish between administrative and political corruption or between petty and grand corruption.

Why is the CPI based only on perceptions?

It is difficult to base comparative statements on the levels of corruption in different countries on hard empirical data, e.g. by comparing the number of prosecutions or court cases. Such cross-country data does not reflect actual levels of corruption; rather it highlights the quality of prosecutors, courts and/or the media in exposing corruption. The only method of compiling comparative data is therefore to build on the experience and perceptions of those who are most directly confronted with the realities of corruption in a country.

Is the CPI a reliable measure for decisions on aid allocation?

Some governments have begun to wonder whether it is useful to provide aid to countries perceived to be corrupt – and have sought to use corruption scores to determine which countries receive aid, and which do not.

TI does not encourage the CPI to be used in this way. Countries that are perceived as very corrupt should not be penalised for starting from a high level of corruption. They in particular need help to emerge from the corruption-poverty spiral. If a country is believed to be corrupt, but is willing to reform, this should serve as a signal to donors that investment is needed in systemic approaches to fight corruption. And if donors intend to support major development projects in corrupt countries, they should pay particular attention to corruption 'red flags' and make sure appropriate control processes are set up to limit graft.

Which countries are new to the CPI 2004?

The following countries are in the CPI 2004, but not the CPI 2003: Barbados, Benin, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Gabon, Malta, Mongolia, Nepal, Niger, Seychelles, Suriname and Turkmenistan.

Is it right to conclude that the country with the lowest score is the world's most corrupt country?

No. The country with the lowest score is the one perceived to be the most corrupt of those included in the index. There are almost 200 sovereign nations in the world, and the latest CPI ranks 146 of them.

Which matters more, a country's rank or its score?

While ranking countries enables TI to build an index, a country's score is a much more important indication of the perceived level of corruption in a country.

Can country scores in the CPI 2004 be compared with those in past CPIs?

The index primarily provides an annual snapshot of the views of business people and country analysts, with less of a focus on year-to-year trends.

If comparisons with previous years are made, they should be based only on a country's score, not its rank. A country's rank can change simply because new countries enter the index or others drop out. A higher score is an indicator that respondents provided better ratings, while a lower score suggests that respondents revised their perception downwards.

However, year-to-year changes in a country's score result not only from a changing perception of a country's performance but also from a changing sample and methodology. Each year, some sources are not updated and must be dropped from the CPI, while new, reliable sources are added. With differing respondents and slightly differing methodologies, a change in a country's score may also relate to the fact that different viewpoints have been collected and different questions have been asked.

Which countries' scores deteriorated most between 2003 and 2004?

Making comparisons from one year to another is problematic. However, to the extent that changes can be traced back to individual sources, while sometimes not obvious in the final overall score, trends can be cautiously identified. Noteworthy examples of a downward trend from 2003 to 2004 are Bahrain, Belize, Cyprus, Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Kuwait, Luxembourg, Mauritius, Oman, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, and Trinidad and Tobago. In these cases, actual changes in perceptions occurred during the last three years. In the case of the lower scores in the CPI 2004 for countries such as Belarus, Cuba, Israel, Italy, Namibia, Pakistan, Palestinian Authority and Qatar, however, the deterioration is partly due to technical factors of the CPI methodology, such as the inclusion or dropping of some surveys since last year.

Which countries improved most compared with last year?

With the same caveats applied, on the basis of data from sources that have been consistently used for the index, improvements can be observed from 2003 to 2004 for Austria, Botswana, Czech Republic, El Salvador, France, Gambia, Germany, Jordan, Switzerland, Tanzania, Thailand, Uganda, United Arab Emirates and Uruguay. In the case of the higher scores in the CPI 2004 for countries such as Cameroon, Costa Rica, Estonia, Libya, Macedonia (FYR), Madagascar, Papua New Guinea, and Serbia and Montenegro, however, the improvement is partly due to technical factors of the CPI methodology, such as the inclusion or dropping of some surveys since last year.

The CPI is ten years old. Are there any long-term trends in country scores?

To be clear, the CPI was not designed to provide for comparisons over time, since each year the surveys included in the index vary. Analysing the individual sources in the CPI that have been included over time, however, does yield some aggregate changes over time. Countries that have improved over time include Colombia, Bulgaria, Estonia, Hong Kong, Mexico and Spain; countries that have deteriorated include Argentina, Ecuador, Poland and Zimbabwe, for instance. More research on long-term trends in corruption perception levels is being carried out, and results are expected in 2005-06.

What are the sources of data for the CPI?

The CPI 2004 draws on 18 different polls and surveys from 12 independent institutions. TI strives to ensure that the sources used are of the highest quality and that the survey work is performed with complete integrity. To qualify, the data has to be well documented, and it has to be sufficient to permit a judgment on its reliability.

Since fundamental changes in the levels of corruption in a country evolve only slowly, TI opted to base the CPI on a three-year rolling average. The CPI 2004 is based on surveys provided between 2002 and 2004.

For a full list and details on questions asked, number of respondents and coverage of the 18 polls and surveys included in the CPI 2004, please see www.transparency.org/surveys/#cpi or www.icgg.org

Whose opinion is polled by these surveys?

Surveys are carried out among business people and country analysts, including surveys of residents of the countries in question. It is important to note that residents' viewpoints are found to correlate well with those of experts from abroad.

In the past, the experts surveyed in the CPI sources were often business people from northern, industrialised countries; the viewpoint of less developed countries was underrepresented. This has changed. On behalf of Transparency International, Gallup International surveyed respondents from emerging market economies, asking them to assess the performance of public servants in industrialised countries. A related approach was carried out by Information International. The results from these surveys correlate well with other sources. In sum, the CPI gathers perceptions that are broadly based, not biased by cultural preconditions, and not only generated by US and European experts.

How is the index itself computed?

TI has made considerable efforts to ensure that the methodologies used to analyse the data are of the highest quality. A detailed description of the underlying methodology is available at www.transparency.org/surveys/#cpi or <a href="https://www.transparency.org/surveys/#cp

The CPI methodology used is reviewed by a Steering Committee consisting of leading international experts in the fields of corruption, econometrics and statistics. Members of the Steering Committee make suggestions for improving the CPI, but the management of TI takes the final decisions on the methodology used. The statistical work on the CPI is orchestrated at the University of Passau under the leadership of Prof. Dr. Johann Graf Lambsdorff.

Further frequently asked questions on the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index 2004, together with the framework document (on the methodology), are available at www.transparency.org/surveys/#cpi

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