



Defence Against Corruption programme

Corruption Perceptions of the Military around the world

Using survey data from Transparency
International's Global Corruption Barometer 2006

November 2007

Transparency International UK

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Introduction

Historically, defence has been one of the least open sectors to public or even intra-governmental scrutiny. As a result, the sector has been particularly vulnerable to the abuse of corruption. This has contributed to the low regard in which the sector is held by many within and without the sector. An example of this low regard is the defence industry being rated as one of the two most corruption prone industries in Transparency International's Bribe Payer's Index (2002).

The Global Corruption Barometer (2006) surveys perceptions of a different element of the defence sector – the military – and assesses the extent to which the public view it to be tainted by corruption. The survey shows that in contrast to defence industry, the military is generally highly regarded (relative to other institutions).

This paper presents and explores the results of the Global Corruption Barometer (2006) survey in relation to the military, presenting contemporary perceptions of corruption in the military sector from numerous countries from around the world. In order to provide context and analysis of the results, anti-corruption experts from national chapters of Transparency International as well as a handful of independents were asked to interpret the results as they related to their country. These perspectives can be found interspersed throughout the paper. Our thanks extend to the contributors (listed in Appendix 6).

Transparency International UK's defence against corruption project

Transparency International, led by the Chapter in the UK, has been engaged in an international project to address the issue of corruption in the defence sector. The main elements of the project are as follows:

- to build awareness of the problem of corruption in the defence sector, as well as an awareness that the subject can be tackled
- to work with defence companies, encouraging them to collaborate internationally to build more integrity into international tendering, and to find ways to help reformist governments
- to work with Defence establishments in strengthening anti-corruption measures, particularly involving civil society
- to work with relevant international bodies, such as NATO and development banks such as the African Development Bank, to promote defence anti-corruption knowledge across many countries
- to develop tools, guidance and monitoring mechanisms for widespread defence sector use

The team has been deeply involved in practical work to date in Colombia, Poland, Croatia and Latvia, and has been in discussion with numerous other countries such as Ukraine. In parallel with this global project, other chapters of Transparency International have been doing comparable work to tackle defence corruption in their countries, notably in Korea, India, and Colombia.

A. Global Corruption Barometer 2006 - background

The 2006 Global Corruption Barometer looks at the extent of corruption through the eyes of ordinary citizens around the world. It explores the issue of petty bribery in greater depth than ever before, highlighting people's personal experience of bribery, and identifying the sectors most affected by corruption, its frequency, and how much people must pay.

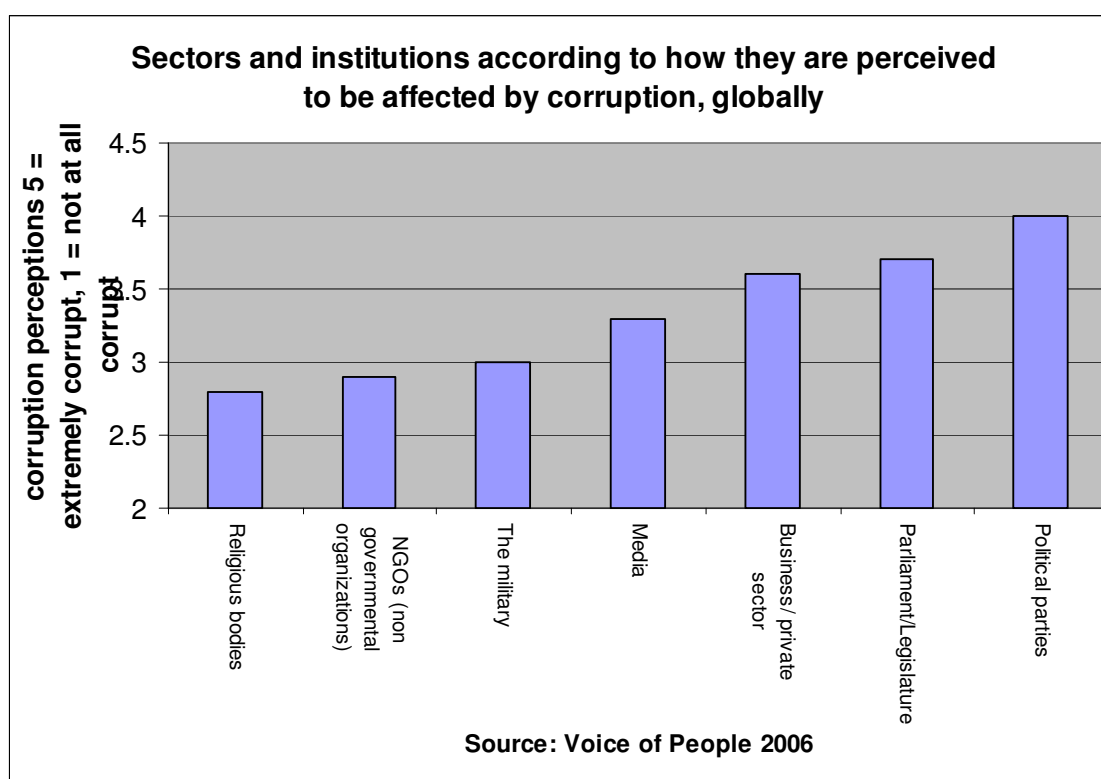
The Global Corruption Barometer 2006, the fourth in the series, reflects the findings of a survey of 59,661 people in 62 low, middle and high-income countries. The survey was carried out on behalf of Transparency International by Gallup International, as part of its Voice of the People Survey, between July and September 2006. The 2006 Barometer covered six countries not included in past editions: Albania, Congo- Brazzaville, Fiji, Gabon, Morocco and Sweden. For the purposes of analysis, the Barometer grouped individual countries into regions. The groupings used were:

- **EU and other Western European Countries (EU+):** Austria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom;
- **South East Europe:** Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Turkey;
- **Newly Independent States (NIS):** Moldova, Russia and Ukraine;
- **Africa:** Cameroon, Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, Kenya, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa;
- **Latin America:** Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela;
- **Asia – Pacific:** Fiji, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea (South), Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan and Thailand; and
- **North America:** Canada and the United States.
- **Other:** Israel

While combining regional data strengthened the reliability of some findings, it also created problems. One such problem was that Israel was the only country from the Middle East to be sampled: as a result the findings are presented as "Israel", rather than "Middle East".

B. The military compared with other sectors, globally

As illustrated by the graph below, globally, the military sector is considered relatively less corrupt than other sectors. The exact question posed was “to what extent do you perceive the following categories in this country to be affected by corruption?” The answers were aggregated and weighted to give global scores for each sector.



On a scoring system of 1 (not at all corrupt) to 5 (extremely corrupt), the military’s global score is “3” (in the 2004 Survey, the military scored 2.9). It outperforms political parties, parliament/legislature, business and private sector as well as the media. Religious bodies and NGOs outscore the military. Perhaps unsurprisingly, political parties are the worst performers. Parliament/legislature, business sector and media are all perceived to be more corrupt than the military.

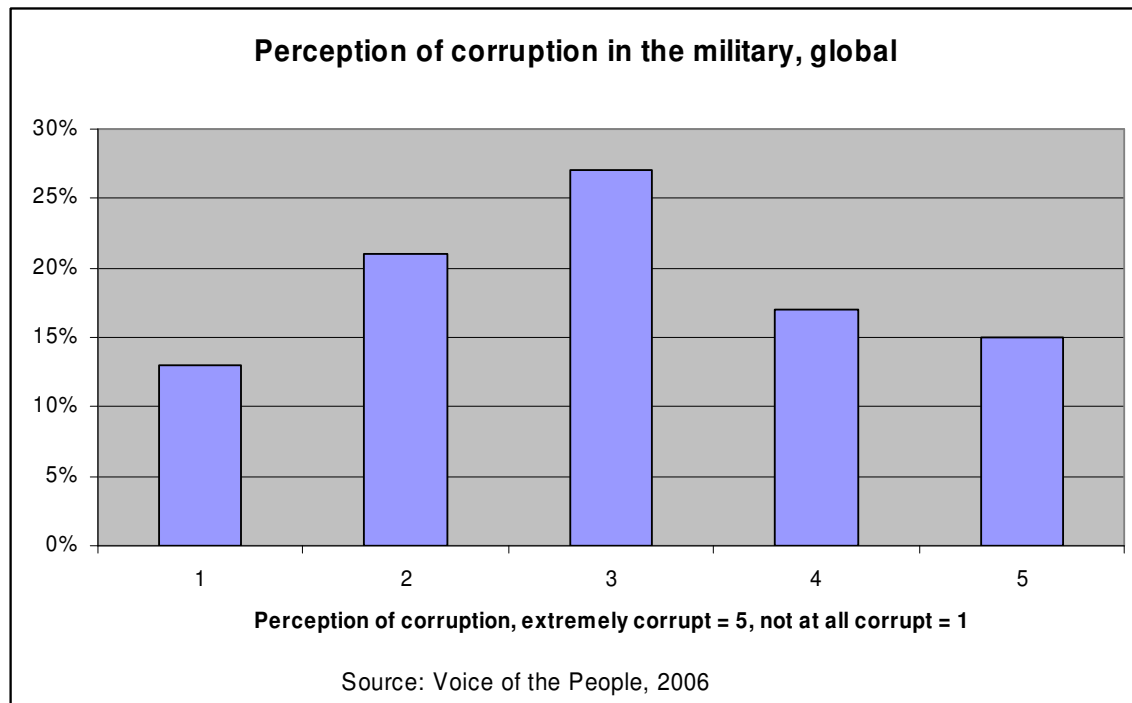
Across different regions (eg Western Europe), the relative standing of the military compared with other sectors varies. In Israel and the USA, it is considered the least corrupt of all sectors, and in Western Europe, the military ties with NGOs as the least corrupt sector. However, in the Newly Independent States and Africa and Latin America in particular, the military does not fare as well. It is rated as the (joint) third most corrupt sector in Africa and Latin America.

The graphs in Appendix 1 show how the military sector fares with other sectors, by region.

C. Perceptions of the military, globally

i) Corruption Perceptions of the military, disaggregated

The Voice of the People survey posed the question “To what extent do you perceive the military in this country to be affected by corruption?”

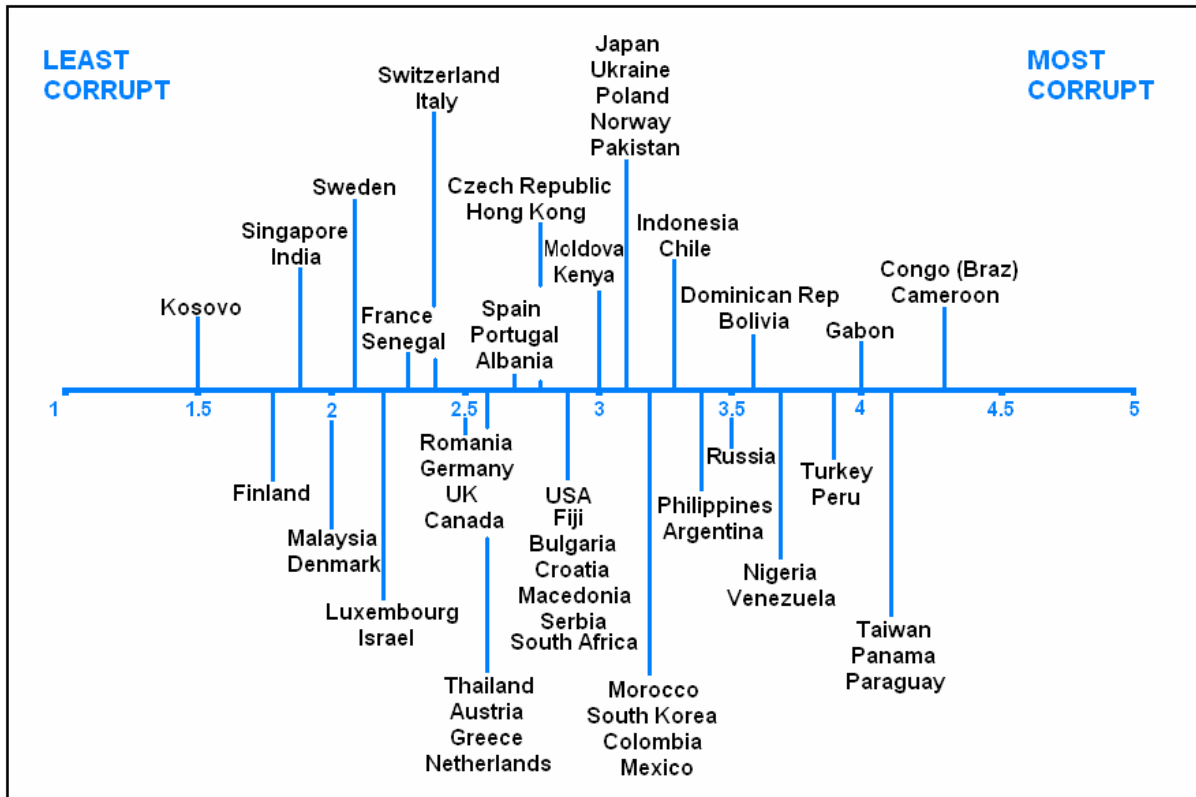


The survey found that 15% of respondents around the world thought their military was extremely corrupt (“5”). 17% thought it was very corrupt (“4”). At the other extreme, 13% regarded the military as not at all corrupt (“1”). The most common answer was in the middle-ground: 27% of respondents ranked their military with a “3”. 7% of respondents didn’t have an answer to the question, or didn’t know.

The corresponding results of the 2004 poll are presented in Appendix 2. Corruption perceptions of the police can also be viewed in Appendix 3.

ii) Corruption Perceptions of the military: by country, average score

The average score awarded to the military by the population of each country is presented below.



Notable best performers include Kosovo (more on this later), Finland, India, Singapore, and Malaysia. Western European countries tend to fare quite well, as do countries such as Israel and Senegal. At the other end are Congo, Cameroon, Paraguay, Panama, Taiwan, and Gabon, all with average scores of “4” (very corrupt) or more. In the middle, the militaries of the USA, Norway, South Africa, Kenya and Pakistan are ranked by their populations roughly equivalently.

The barometer throws up some surprises: for instance some contributors to this paper were surprised to see the Turkish military rated worse than for instance the Nigerian, Bolivian, Dominican Republic and Russian militaries. Another one that caused surprise was Japan and Norway being ranked roughly equivalently to Ukraine and Pakistan.

Appendix 4 presents “very” and “extremely” corrupt perceptions of the military by country.

D. Corruption Perceptions of the military by region

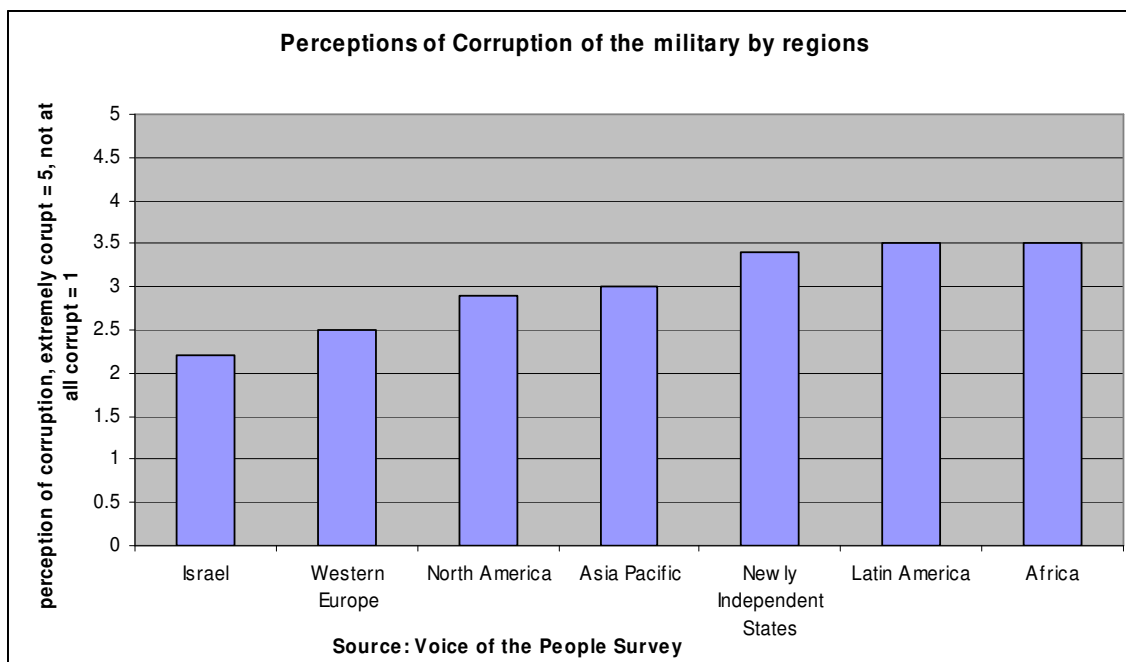
i) Comparison of regions

The graph below compares the scores for the military by region (nb Israel is presented in this regional comparison because it was the only country in the Middle East region that was sampled). It shows that the militaries of Africa and Latin America are held in the lowest esteem by their respective populations, with scores of “3.5”. In many of these countries in particular in Africa, the military is viewed as the protector of the rich elites rather than a force providing security for the people, and so it is perhaps unsurprising that the militaries of Africa and Latin America should perform so poorly.

The Newly Independent States also regard their military sectors as very prone to corruption, with an average score of “3.4”. In some of the NIS countries, such as Ukraine, the reform of the security sector is on the agenda. It appears that such reforms, though badly needed, have obviously yet to take root.

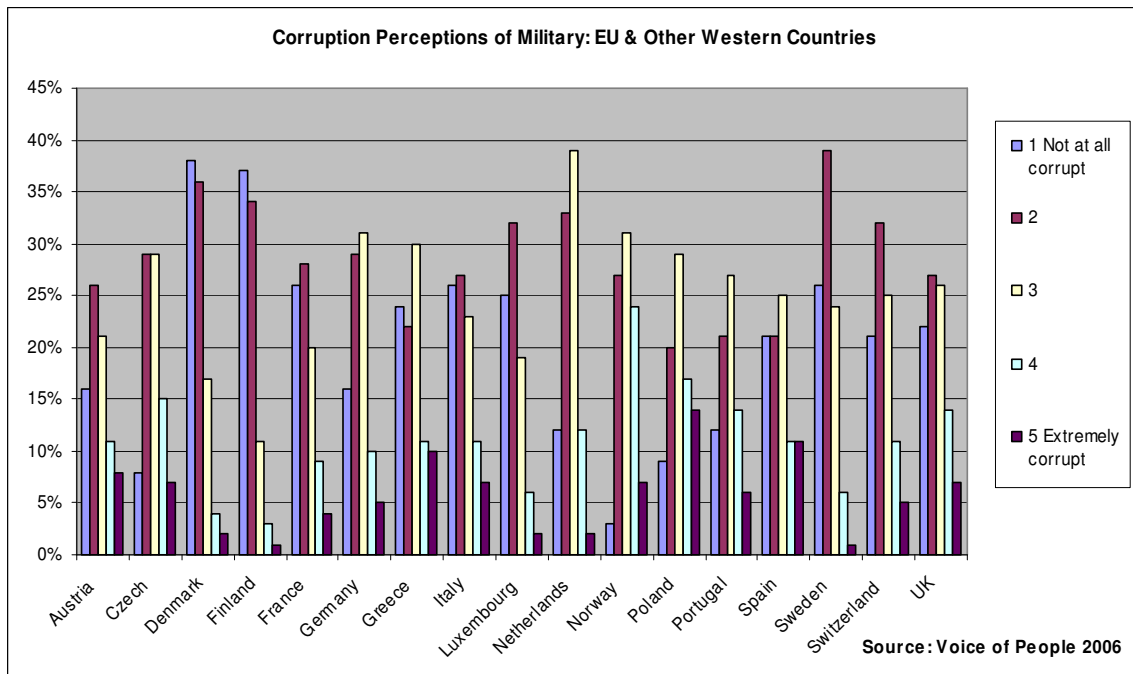
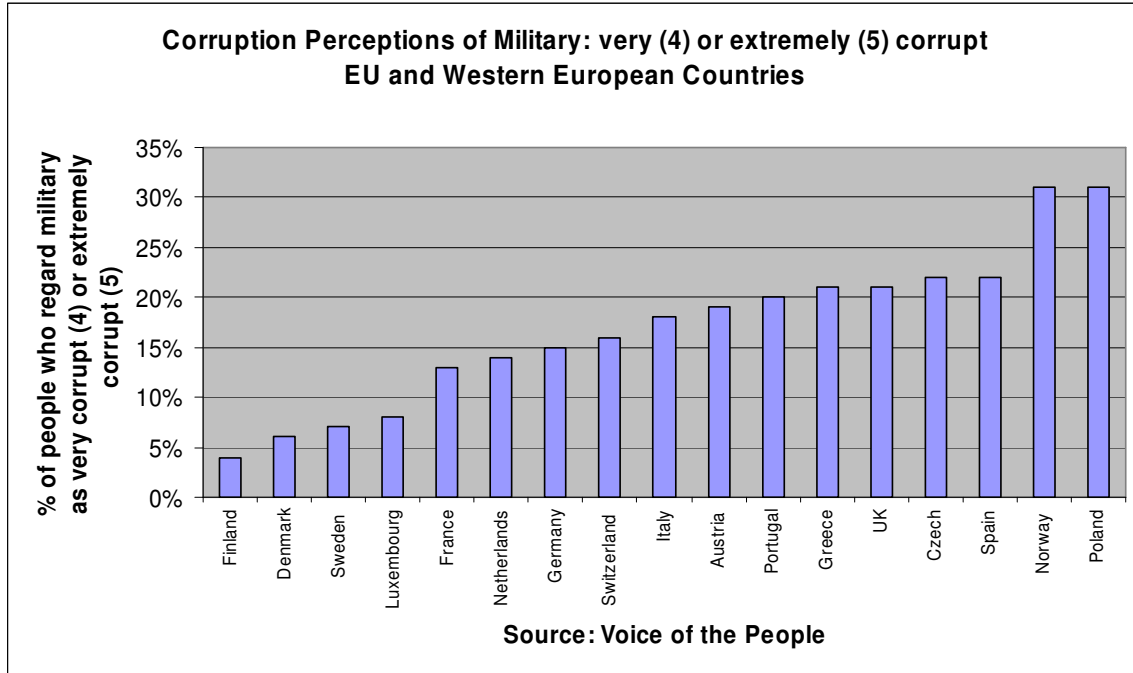
The Western Europe group performs particularly well with an average score of “2.5”, as does Israel with a score of “2.2”. It is perhaps surprising that Israel should perform so well, as numerous corruption scandals have dogged the military over the years. However the result may also reflect the dependence of Israeli citizens on their military.

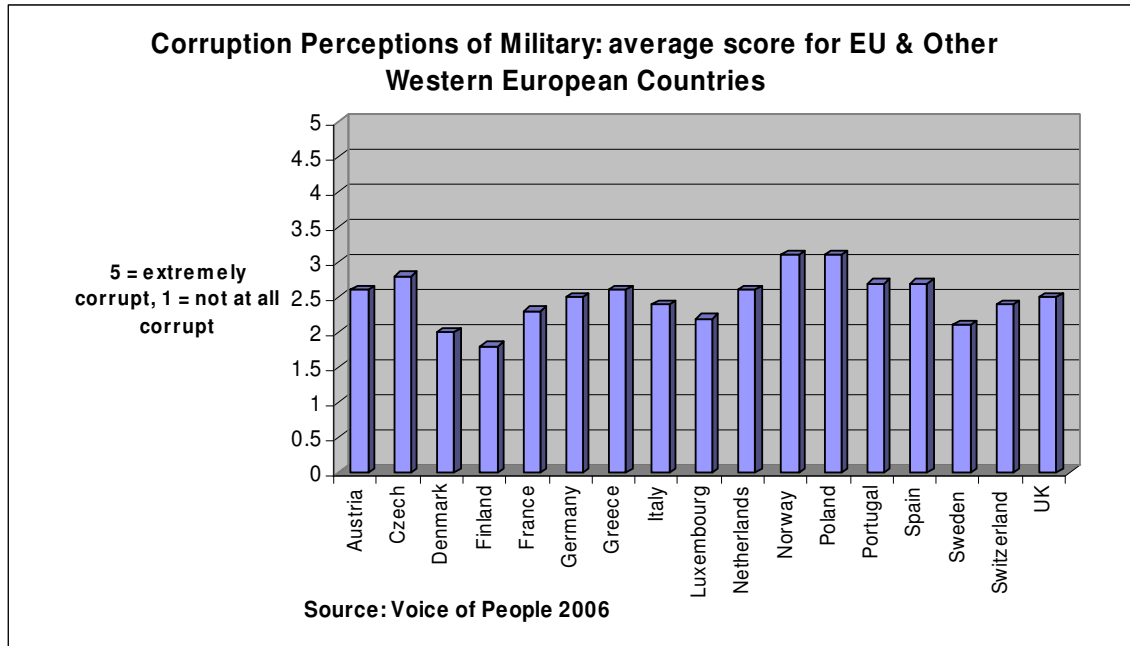
In the middle, North America and Asia-Pacific score “2.9” and “3”.



ii) EU and Western European Countries region

Of the EU and Western European countries, the citizens of Poland and Norway (perhaps the biggest surprise of this group) have the lowest opinion of their militaries in terms of corruption, with over 30% of the populations rating the military as either “very” or “extremely” corrupt. Other countries with high perceptions (20% or greater) of corruption in their military include Spain, Czech Republic, UK, Greece, and Portugal. At the other end, very few Finns, Danes or Swedes regard their militaries as highly corrupt.





The top three performers are Finland, Denmark and Sweden.

For Denmark, the national chapter of Transparency International notes “the placement of the Danish armed forces is a reflection of the overall picture of the Danish government institutions and society as a low corrupt society. It is a challenge however for the armed forces to prove that the changing role as a territorial army to an international force does not compromise the traditional ‘high integrity of the armed forced. It is also a challenge that major procurements in the future comply with high ethical standards.” It is noted that a recent scandal that has embroiled the Danish military (involving a hunting trip that was paid for by a defence company) exploded after this survey was published and so could not have affected Denmark’s standing.

For the case of Sweden, the local Transparency International chapter notes that the “task of the military is now changing from the defence of Sweden to participation in peace-keeping missions in countries far from Sweden, so the military is hardly visible in the society”, presumably leaving little room for negative perceptions to gain a foothold. This raises the interesting question of how participation in operations around the world affects the public perceptions of the military.

That said the timing of the barometer may not have benefited the Swedish military: in 2006 a former major general, who was close to the supreme commander was sentenced to jail for wife-beating. Transparency International Sweden note “the case has tarnished the reputation of the Armed Forces as it was felt by the public that the Major-General had been protected and unsatisfactory affairs within the Armed Forces were not made transparent.”

Germany and France rank in the middle of the European group, but still perform well by global standards.

Looking at the results, the German chapter of Transparency International “does not see major doubts by the German citizens regarding the integrity of their national military... the help of the German military at natural catastrophes or on international peace missions has also underlined their standing.” The chapter concludes the issue of “corruption and defence” may be a non-issue for Germans.

The French chapter of Transparency International noted that “the French Army has in France a reputation of integrity, like most of the French public administrations (tax administration, education, police, etc.). In the common perceptions, soldiers respect the rules, and the perceptions expressed in the Barometer regarding the military don’t take into account the cases of bribes paid by French Defence industry since these are a different issue (tackled separately in Transparency International Global Bribe Payer’s Index)”.

For the UK, Air Commodore (retired) Alan Waldron of Transparency International UK notes “as ex-military, I am very surprised that 22% of the UK population regard the military as being so corrupt. A whole range of checks and balances exist to ensure that the UK military is accountable to the public. One possible factor for the UK military’s perceived poor performance could be that the significant portion of the population who regard the war in Iraq as illegal believe that the UK military is ‘corrupt’ by association”.

Czech, Spain, Norway and Poland are the poorest performers in the group.

The Czech chapter of Transparency International note that Czech citizens may have made the distinction between the Ministry of Defence and the military when responding to the survey. This is noteworthy because the Ministry of Defence has been viewed as very corrupt, and defence procurement has been subject to numerous corruption scandals. The distinction between the military and the Ministry of Defence in Czech perceptions may therefore have been positive for the military’s performance.

On the issue of defence procurement, the potential existence of temporal peaks and troughs in defence procurement (oft cited as particularly susceptible to corruption) raises the interesting question of whether the corruption perceptions of the military is synchronised with bursts in defence procurement. This area is explored in forthcoming research by Hudson and Jones (University of Bath).

The Polish military fared (joint) worst of the group. The Polish military is still in transition from the ex Warsaw Pact model to a NATO model, and it will take time to change the ethos of the institution as well as for public perceptions of the institution to change. The Polish military’s poor performance may also have roots in its operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

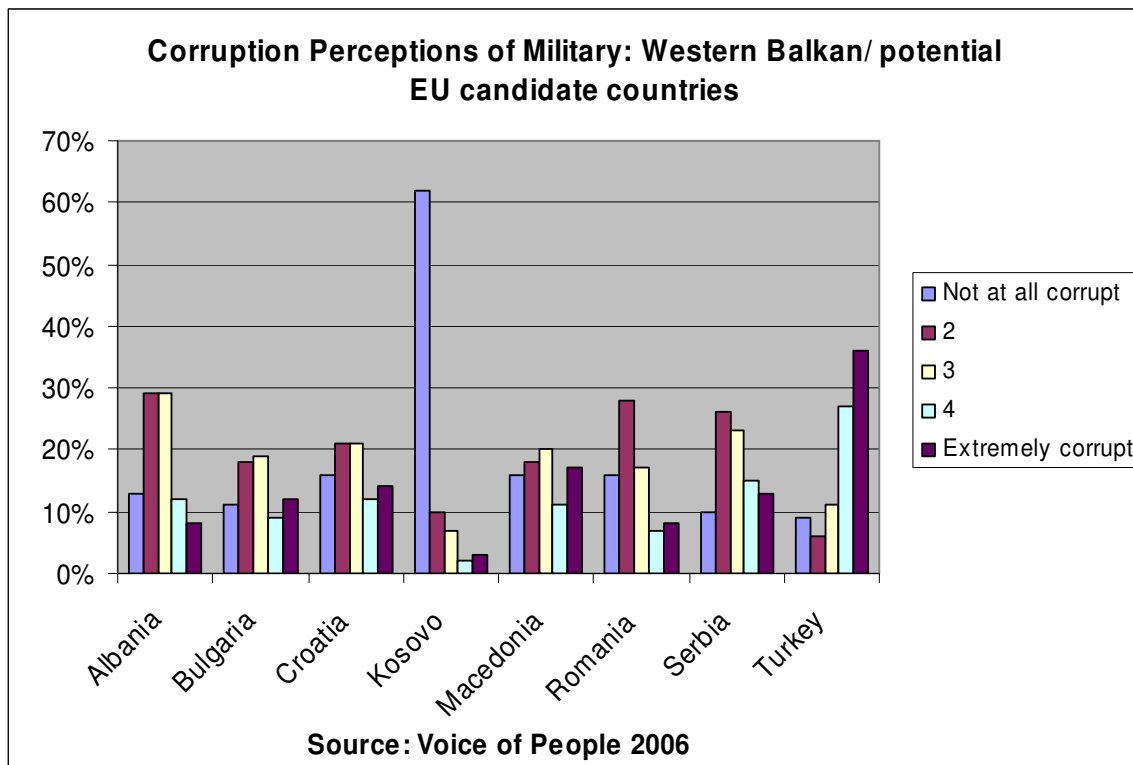
The surprise of the group is the performance of the Norwegian military, which comes joint last. Transparency International Norway notes that a number of corruption

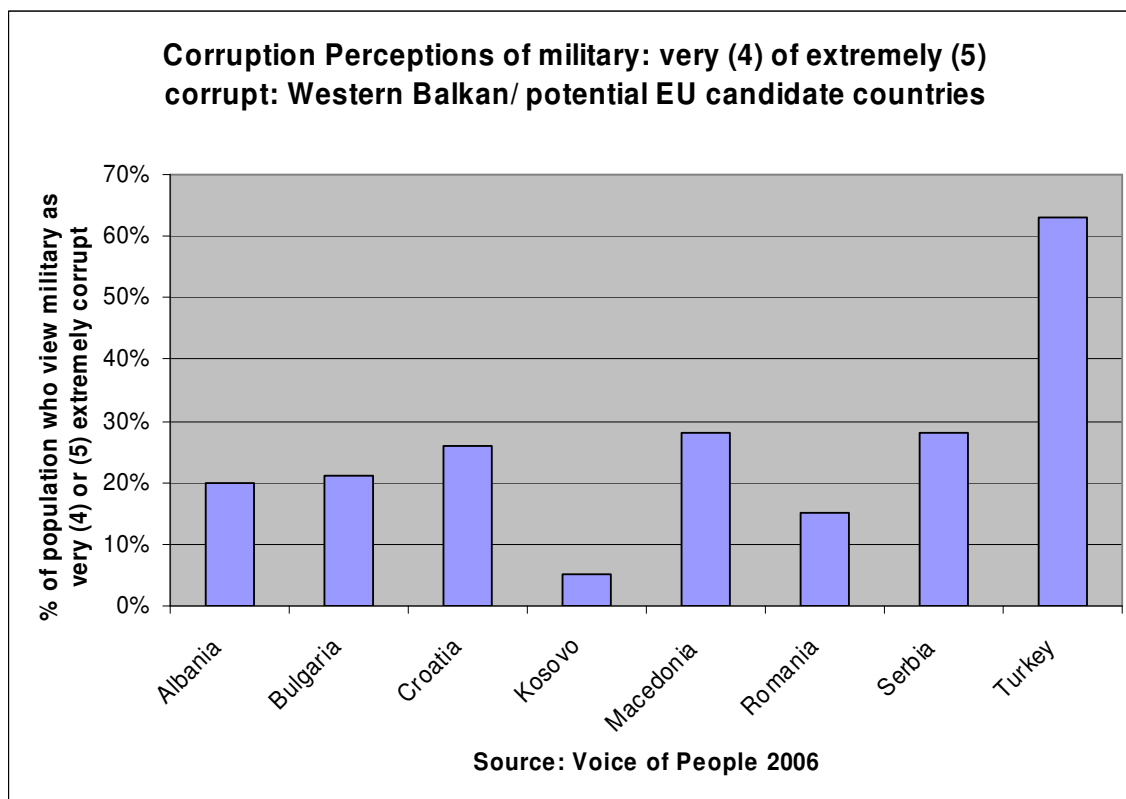
scandals that have exploded in Norway *may* be a factor. In particular, an investigation launched by the Norwegian Minister of Defence into allegations of corruption found that officials had received bribes on a number of contracts (including for instance IT contracts with Siemens and other companies). This stirred up a great deal of attention, not least because Norway has one of the highest per capita newspaper readerships in Europe. Thus, by being open, the Ministry of Defence may have raised corruption perceptions of the defence sector (apparently including the military) rather than lowering perceptions. In the end, Siemens refunded the excess costs associated with the bribes; the Norwegian Ministry of Defence responded by establishing ethical guidelines and creating whistleblower mechanisms.

It is noteworthy that the Norwegian military has traditionally enjoyed the respect of the population, particularly during the cold war era. Since the end of the cold war, matters have become more complex, including involvement in unpopular foreign operations. Indeed Norwegian military involvement (or the prospect of future involvement) in Afghanistan may be another factor in the poor performance of the Norwegian military in the barometer.

iii) Western Balkan/ Potential EU Candidates region

The most striking finding from this region is that over 60% of Kosovans regard the military establishment as not at all corrupt, significantly more than for other Western Balkan/ potential EU candidate countries. In June 2006, Serbia and Montenegro became independent. As the survey was conducted over July – September 2006, the Serbia results do not relate to Montenegro in any way.





Over 60% of Kosovo inhabitants regard their military establishment as not at all corrupt. A question mark remains over whether the results are a (positive) reflection on the international forces (NATO) operating in Kosovo, or on the small “protection corp” militia. As the NATO forces providing peacekeeping support to Kosovo number roughly 60,000, and as the tiny ‘protection corp’ is not widely regarded as a legitimate defence force, it is quite probable that the perceptions presented refer to the NATO forces.

As different forces each control a zone of Kosovo, the disaggregation of the results by zones might reveal a great deal of variation in perceptions (however the barometer does not allow for disaggregation).

If the findings are in fact a reflection on the “protection corp”, then a possible explanation for their performance in the barometer may be that since the ‘corp’ is composed mostly of former members of the Kosovo Liberation Army there exists strong emotional relations with the Albanian population from Kosovo. The findings for Kosovo deserve more research.

Romania is the next best performer in the region. Transparency International Romania commented “According to the survey, less than 20% believe that the Romanian military is corrupt and extremely corrupt, a score which places the country among the best performers in the group of Western Balkan countries and new EU member states. These results are consistent with internal surveys, which show that

the military is one of the most trusted institutions in Romania – to give just an example, according to the last edition of the Public Opinion Barometer, a yearly national survey commissioned by the Soros Foundation Romania, 60% of interviewees have declared that they have (very) much trust in the army; with this score, the military is the second most trusted institution in Romania, surpassed only by the Church.”

However, it is noted that such surveys reflect primarily perceptions and beliefs, which, in the case of Romania, may diverge somewhat from the facts: “2006 for instance saw one of the most serious corruption scandals embroil the former Minister of Defence. Around the same time, the National Anti-corruption Department initiated criminal proceedings against the head general in the Romanian military, as well as 12 high ranking officers for corruption offences in the framework of a contract with a company for exchanging used vehicles for tyres.” Another case to hit the headlines in 2006 was the so-called “frigate affair”, a £116 billion contract for naval frigates, negotiated between the Romanian state and British defence company BAES, currently under investigation by the UK Police.

“The above highlights are just a few examples which act as a counterweight to the rather positive image created by the survey results. The issue of corruption in the military has unfortunately been covered only by the press, generally lacking visible civil society action. One should keep in mind that the military is to date one of the most opaque and change-resistant institutions in Romania. Thus, there is a need for more detailed and effective regulation of this area in order to elicit transparency and accountability.”

Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia all fall in the middle of the group.

Velizar Shalamanov of the George C Marshall Association in Bulgaria remarks that the performance of Bulgaria’s military in the barometer may have been “too optimistic, simply because people are not so exposed and interested in these issues, and because they attention is taken by corruption in police, justice system and other public sectors as health care and education. It appears corruption in defence is more an issue for the state as a whole - not so much for the ordinary citizens.”

Transparency International Croatia noted that roughly one in four Croatians gave their military the damning score of a ‘5’ or a ‘4’. While Croatians take a great deal of pride in their soldiers, there has also been a growing sense that some of military elite have abused the trust placed in them, with scandals recently hitting the headlines.

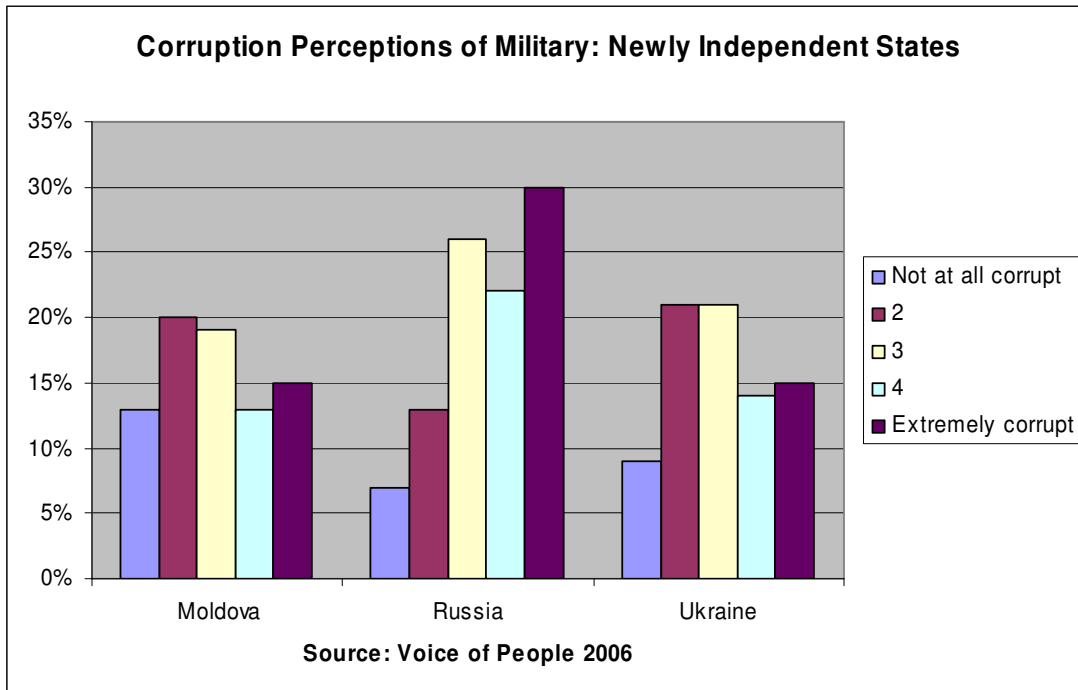
Transparency International Serbia notes “the corruption perceptions of the military forces in Serbia are not very different to the perception of most of the neighbouring countries. However, as always with perceptions, other factors are also at play... in this case the army is an institution which still enjoys “old credits” and the trust of a number of people”. If true the Serbian results may be a little flattering to the military.

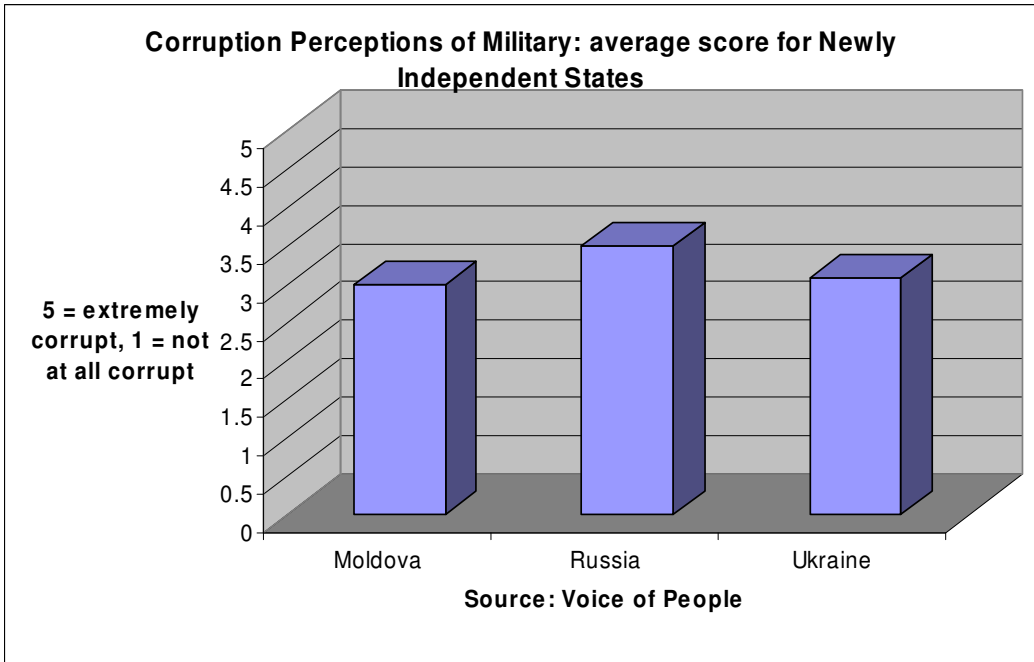
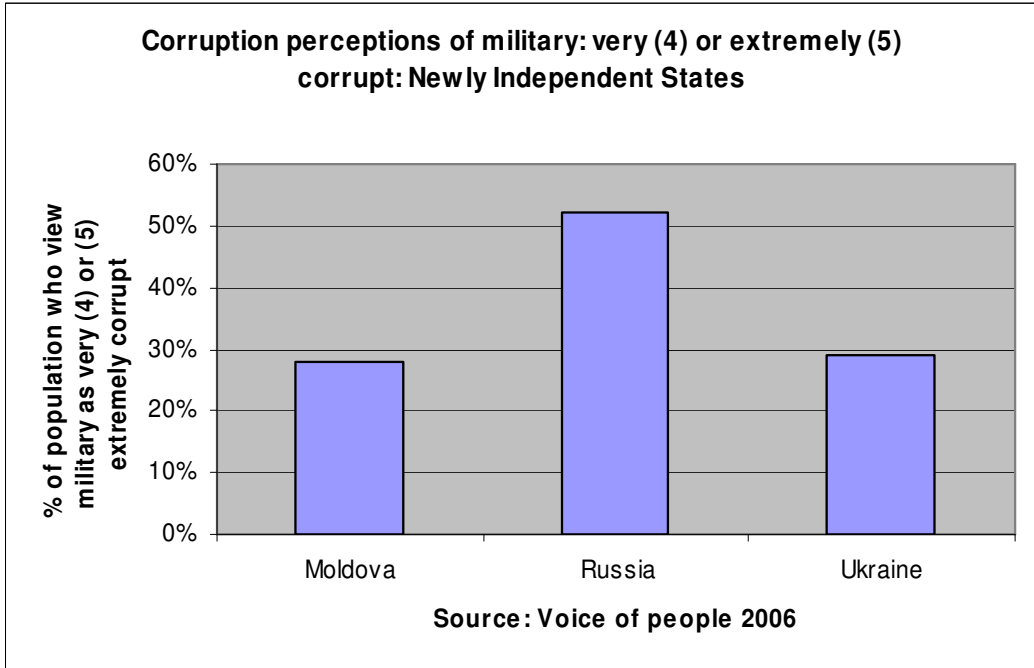
“However, according to citizens’ polls, the overall confidence in the army has decreased over recent years, for various reasons, including allegations of corruption which surfaced in late 2005, relating to army procurements of cloths and helmets.”

At the other extreme, over 60% of Turks regard the military as either “very” or “extremely” corrupt. Turkish journalist Burak Bekdil notes “The findings about Turkey are not consistent with other international/local surveys which reveal the military is still the most trusted institution in the country. One explanation could be the publicity factor. In recent years, unlike before, there have been a lot of media reports of corruption in the military. In particular, the case of a former Navy Commander (now in prison for corruption and abuse of authority) may have left deep marks on the Turks' collective memory. But I do not think the Turkish military is in reality the most corrupt in the entire Western Balkans/EU candidate countries league.”

iv) Newly Independent States region

Of the Newly Independent States surveyed, Russians have the lowest opinion of their military establishment: over half of Russians rated their military establishment as extremely or very corrupt. Ukraine and Moldova performed better with approximately 30% of the citizens of both states perceiving the military sector as extremely or very corrupt. Only 7% of Russians felt the military was not at all corrupt.





Transparency International's national contact in Ukraine notes that the military performed relatively well in Ukraine compared to other institutions: only utilities, NGOs and religious bodies outperformed the military. "Complimenting the results of Global Corruption Barometer, a survey conducted within the MCC Threshold

Programme (MSI component)¹ reveals that 30.2% of Ukrainian respondents consider the army draft as corrupted, 16.8% are aware of measures taken by this agency to counter corruption, and a surprisingly high percentage of those aware of these activities (71.4%) believe that they are very effective in countering the problem.” It thus appears that the public takes a positive view on security sector reform efforts in the Ukrainian military (at least as they relate to the army draft).

“It is not strange that the military as a whole is perceived as not very corrupt, as information about this sector is characterised with more secrecy than, for instance, about parliament or business.” This leads to the question of whether increased openness of the military is effective at countering corruption (and the perception of corruption), or whether it serves to increase public awareness of corruption within the military (see for instance the section on Norway in this paper).

“Another factor which might explain the (relatively good) results of the military is the culture of high confidence in the Army, a culture which takes its roots from the Soviet regime. A range of sociological surveys during the recent years have shown that the Army remains among the public institutions (together with Church and Media) in which the citizens’ confidence is the highest. In particular, according to a recent IFES survey, when asked about confidence in leading institutions and individuals, a majority of Ukrainians express confidence in the military (53%) (and in the media, at 61%), and they are more likely to express a lack of confidence for most of other institutions and individuals (Prime Minister, President, parliament, etc.).“

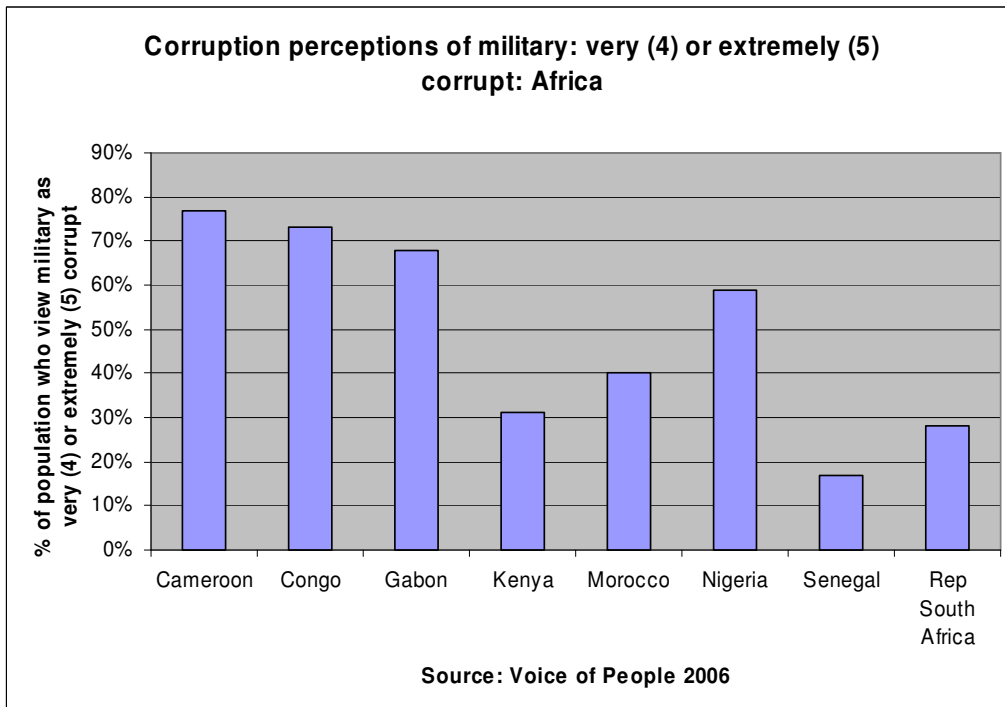
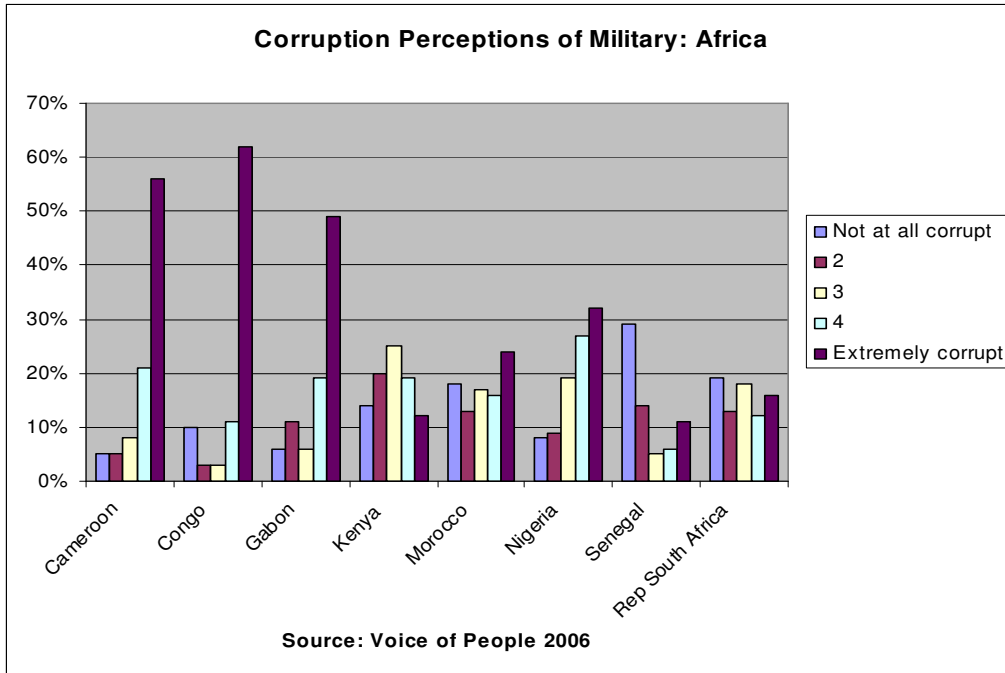
Russia’s relatively poor performance may be explained by the following factors: a series of corruption scandals in the military; the negative image of the military as result of the conflict with Chechnya; wide spread information about the practice of brutal behaviour of the officials and senior soldiers in the military; and the existence of a much more powerful military sector (as compared to say Ukraine). On the last point, the scale of the Russian military sector may give greater scope for corrupt schemes, as well as leading to a greater number of citizens resorting to bribery in order to avoid army service.

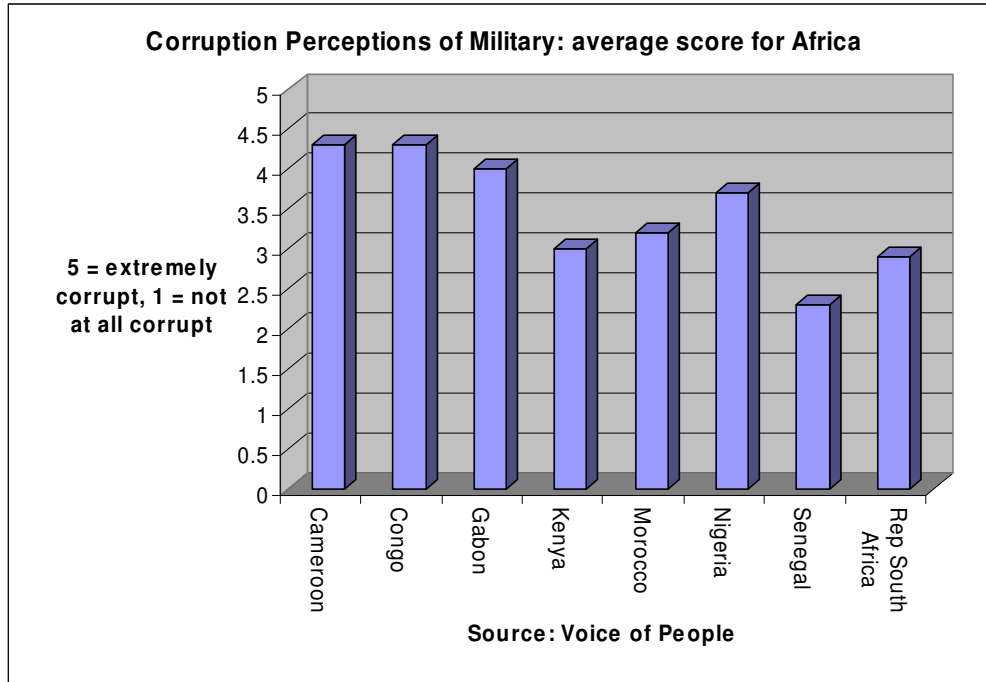
v) Africa region

Cameroon and Congo have particularly low opinions of their military establishments: over 70% of people felt their military was either very or extremely corrupt. Gabon fared little better, with 65% of people ranking the military similarly. In Nigeria, almost 60% of the population viewed the military as highly corrupt. At the other end, the Senegalese have a high opinion of the military, as do South Africans. Generally, African militaries perform very poorly in this survey. This is worrying because the

¹ The survey was conducted by Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, between January and April 2007, and included a sample of 10,580 respondents from all of the oblasts in Ukraine and the Autonomous Republic (AR) of Crimea. // http://www.pace.org.ua/images/pace_baseline_survey2007_eng.doc

provision of security, a necessary precondition for development, requires security forces that are both efficient and serving the interests of the population.





South Africa is a relatively good performer for the Africa region. Transparency International South Africa notes that since political liberation, the military has not been at the forefront of political matters. South Africa's peacekeeping missions however may have helped to keep the reputation of the military relatively high: "when people are pushed they will say that the South African forces are doing a good job in for instance Burundi". On the other hand, there is a general sense that the South African military is somewhat out of bounds for the public: the military is not an open institution, and there is not much debate about it.

In conversation with Transparency International Kenya, it was noted that by 2005 allegations had begun to surface about irregularities in a number of defence contracts, including allegations of inflated prices in contracts for a war ship from Spain and for helicopter repairs. The public standing of the military most likely suffered as a result of this, especially as those implicated were senior officials in charge of procurement. Further, it was noted that one cannot treat the cases that came to light as isolated incidents never to be repeated: there has been little evidence of real reform effort since, and it appears that security procurement in Kenya is still carried out very much in the dark.

Moroccan perceptions place the country roughly in the middle of the group. It is suggested that there may be two contradictory forces at work in the Moroccan results. First, as a result of the conflict in the Sahara, the military generally enjoys the support of the public, and to a large extent the public trusts the military to look after military matters which are considered largely beyond discussion (military matters are never discussed by parliament). The second and opposing factor is increased suspicion of the military, largely fueled by media reports that have pointed to a few high ranking generals (never named) whose business dealings have raised

eyebrows. While this has not affected the public's positive view of its soldiers who are seen as doing their job, it has affected the public standing of the Moroccan military as an institution.

Transparency International Nigeria places the corruption perceptions of the Nigerian people in the context of recent history: "The military entered into Nigeria's politics as physicians for the malady of corruption. One of the reasons given for the first military coup of 15th January, 1966 was to cleanse the nation of corruption. However, it was not long that the military regime of General Yakubu Gowon became corrupt beyond the imagination of the average Nigerians. His regime was overthrown in a coup led by General Murtala Mohammed who carried out the great 'purge' of corrupt public officers under the Gowon regime. Many military governors and permanent secretaries during the Gowon era were put behind bars by the Murtala regime on the ground that they were very corrupt. However, Murtala did not last long in power, losing his life in a failed coup."

"The second republic led by Alhaji Shehu Shagari was overthrown for the principal reason of widespread corruption. General Mohammed Buhari who came to power demonstrated serious commitment to ridding Nigeria of the malady of corruption. His regime did not last long. He was overthrown by General Ibrahim Babangida under whose regime corruption became institutionalized in Nigeria. The value system in the society collapsed under his regime. He introduced the 'settlement' syndrome whereby any perceived opponent of his ambition has to be 'settled' while existing friendship has to be 'lubricated' with state resources. Accounting principles were subverted. The nation's treasury was looted."

"Babangida's disciple, General Sanni Abacha, improved on his master's negative achievements. His net worth before his death was put at about \$20 billion which made him one of the richest African dictators before his death."

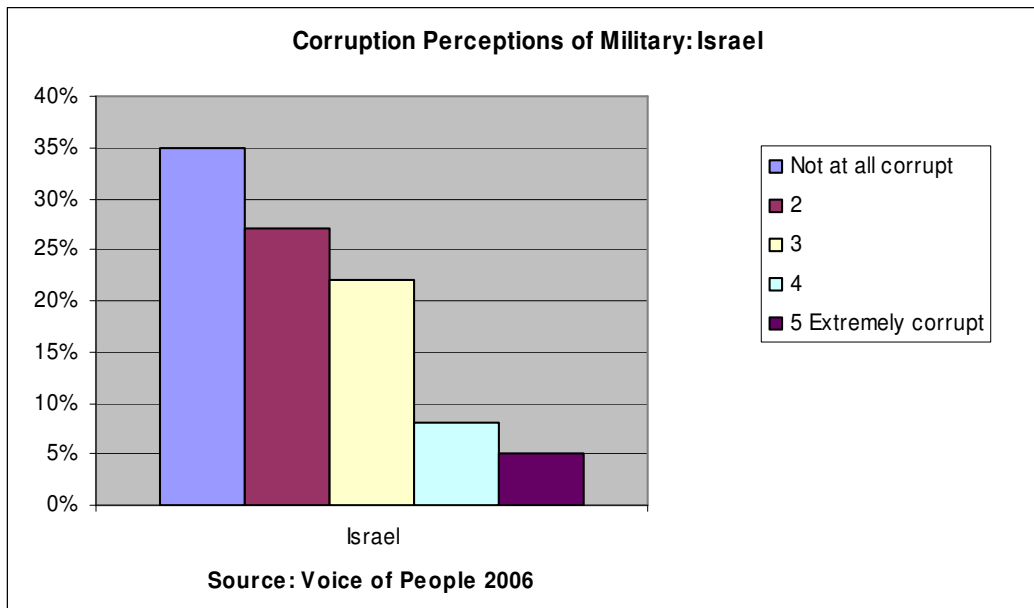
"Thus the military which entered into Nigeria's politics as physicians for corruption ended up as patients in coma of the ailment of corruption."

For the case of Cameroon, which fares very poorly in the barometer, it is noted that of the three main security forces in Cameroon – the army, the police and the gendarmes – that the (relatively well-paid) gendarmerie is widely-regarded as less prone to resorting to corruption or extortion. Poor pay is regarded as a significant driver for corrupt behaviour by the military, and there is a sense that those who serve in the armed forces are not paid what they deserve.

vi) Israel

The only country surveyed in the Middle East was Israel. Israelis hold their military in high esteem. It is a great shame that other countries in the Middle East were not surveyed.

Only 5% of Israelis consider their military extremely corrupt. Over 60% of the population view the military as “not at all corrupt” (1), or “slightly” (2) corrupt.



Ephraim Kleiman, Professor of Economics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem puts the perceptions of the Israeli public into context, noting that “while the high repute in which the Israeli public used once to hold its armed forces (the IDF) came to be somewhat tarnished over the years, most recently in the wake of the 2006 Lebanese campaign, its personnel is still considered to be on the whole dedicated, clean handed and idealistic. The IDF having been engaged in actual fighting for much of its existence, the readiness of military men and women to risk their lives for the common weal seems to overshadow, in the eye of the Israeli public, some of its less laudable characteristics. The bulk of the armed forces consisting of conscripts and reservists also provides an informal, but nevertheless highly effective civilian monitoring, supplementing those of the State Comptroller and of parliamentary committees. It was, indeed, through such an informal channel that the only big bribery case of a military functionary in the last few decades came to light.”

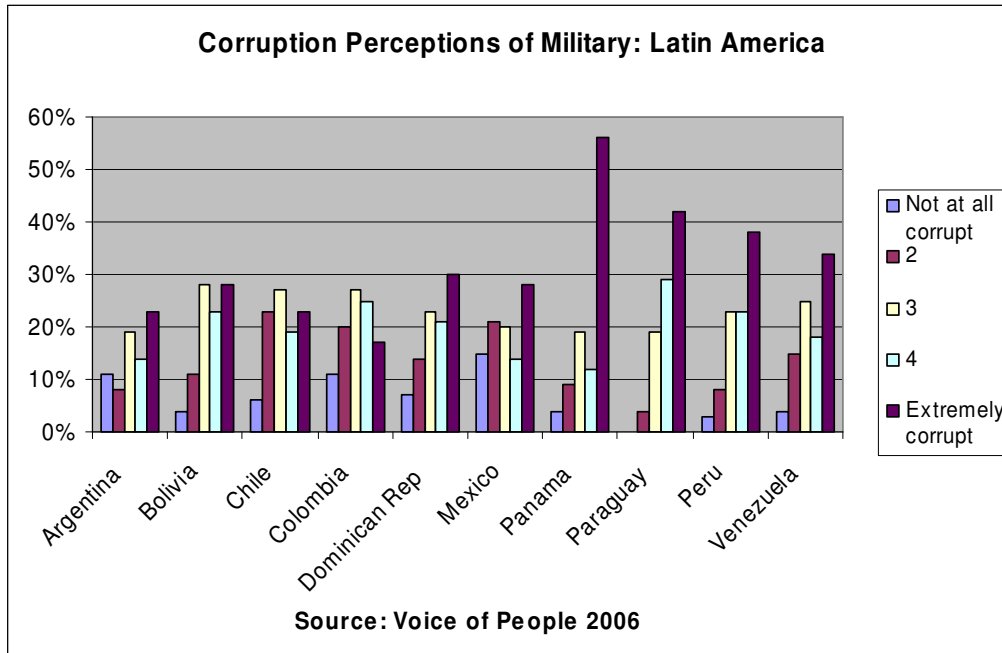
“The Barometer rankings representing perceptions, rather than facts, makes them sensitive to the degree to which the public distinguishes between the defence establishment and the military forces proper: corruption might be expected to be more common in construction contracts, usually identified with the Defence Ministry, than in arms procurement. With popular definitions of what constitutes corruption varying across countries, the use of changes in these rankings to measure progress made over time might be more meaningful than international comparisons of their levels, which seems to have yielded some unexpected couplings.”

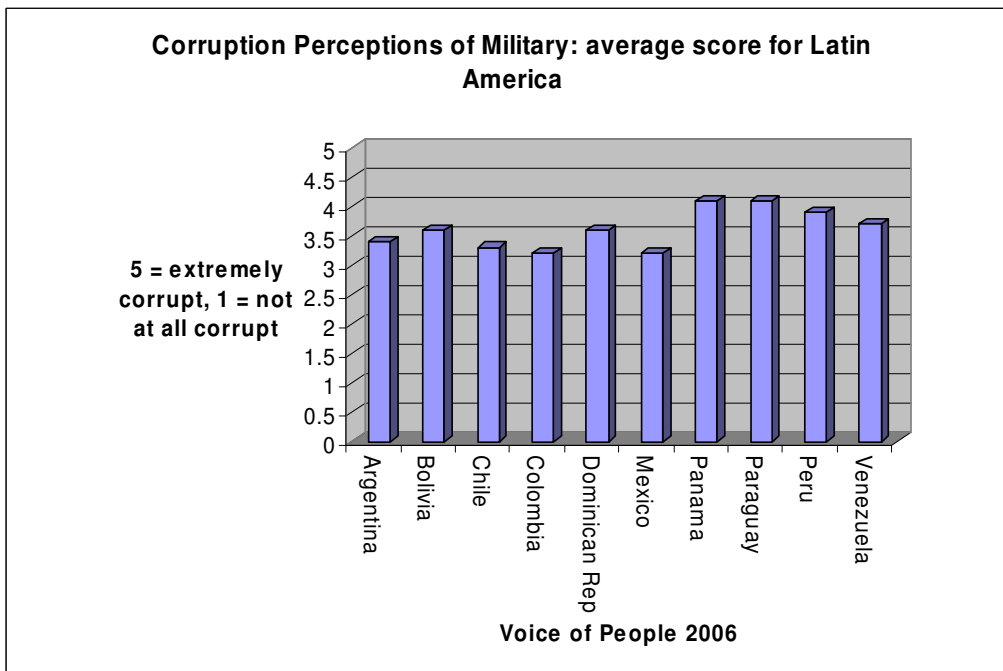
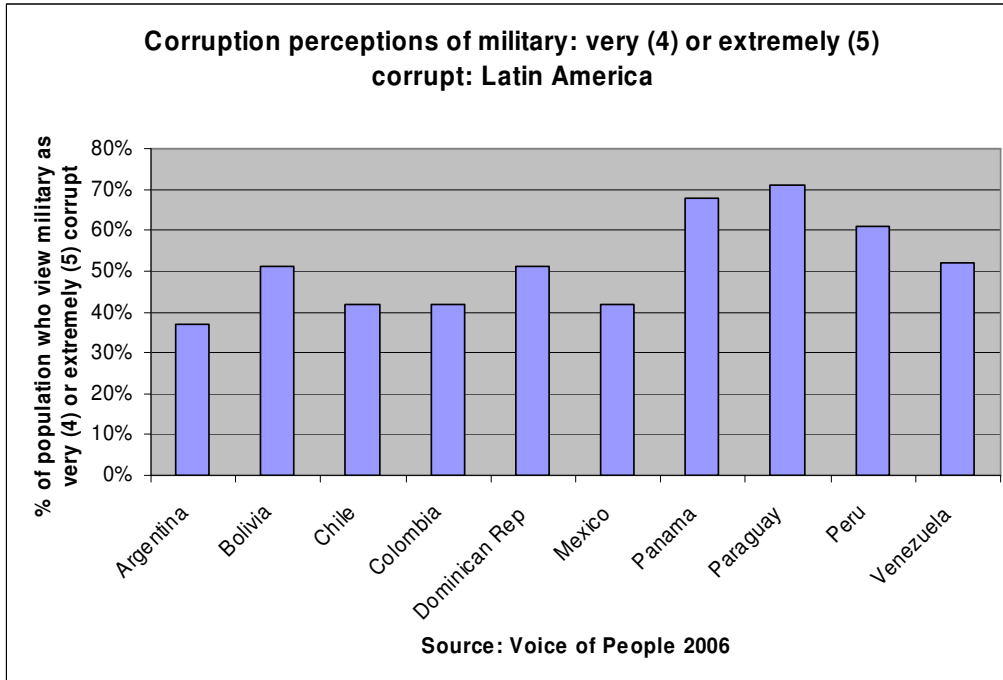
“On the whole, the armed forces in Israel do enjoy a reputation for integrity surpassed probably only by the judiciary. Paradoxically, recent investigations for

corruption of senior politicians, while the army remains unsullied, might have actually raised the public's perception of the the IDF's integrity.”

vii) Latin America region

In Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela, militaries are viewed with great distrust: in poor-performing Panama, a massive 55% of the population ranked the institution entrusted with their security as “extremely corrupt”. Over 70% of Paraguayans rated the military as “very” or “extremely” corrupt. The best regarded military was Argentina, with a relatively low proportion (37%) of the population ranking the military as highly corrupt.





Notable good performers include Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Mexico.

In the case of Colombia, Transparencia Por Colombia and Transparency International Secretariat note that Colombia's performance is at the better end of the Latin American group. One reason for the military's relatively strong performance in Colombia may be that other institutions and sectors in Colombia are the focus of public corruption perceptions eg political parties. A second factor is that the government has invested a massive amount of money to foster a better image for

armed forces. The prestige and good name of military has been increasingly important for the government given the wars the military has been engaged in.

To enhance the name of the military, the government has invested in the transparent administrative management of the military, including making defence procurements more public (open bidding) and the use of independent oversight in defence procurements (with Transparencia Por Colombia and Transparency International UK). A new study by Transparencia Por Colombia has shown that as military expenditure has increased, there are bigger corruption risks that need to be counteracted, and that although there have been reforms, risks remain.

Another factor may be a psychological effect: as the military has shown results in the fight against the guerrillas, people have felt more secure, and so their opinion of the military has grown.

A survey by the Latin American Public Opinion Project shows an increasing confidence in armed forces. However, in spite of this over 40% of Colombians regard the military as either extremely or very corrupt. Such perceptions can only be reinforced by the many publicly reported cases of military corruption ranging from involvement in kidnappings, solicitation of bribes from the mafia, and theft of drugs seizures.

In the case of Chile, Transparency International Chile note “the results in the Global Corruption Barometer in 2005 and 2006 show that the corruption perception level of the Chilean armed forces is lower than other institutions such as the political parties, Congress and the Judiciary, while similar to that of the media. Compared with the results in 2005, the armed forces show an increase in corruption perception in 2006.”

“After more than 17 years since the end of Pinochet’s regime, the public perception shows a clear distinction between previous and current military commanders. A number of studies carried out in Chile over the last years (CEP; LAPOP; Latinobarometro), have proved that individuals have a high level of trust in the armed forces compared to other institutions such as the Congress and the Political Parties.”

“Recent corruption cases associated with Pinochet and his closest collaborators (Riggs Bank and other foreign accounts) apparently are not directly associated by the public with the Army itself and other military institutions.”

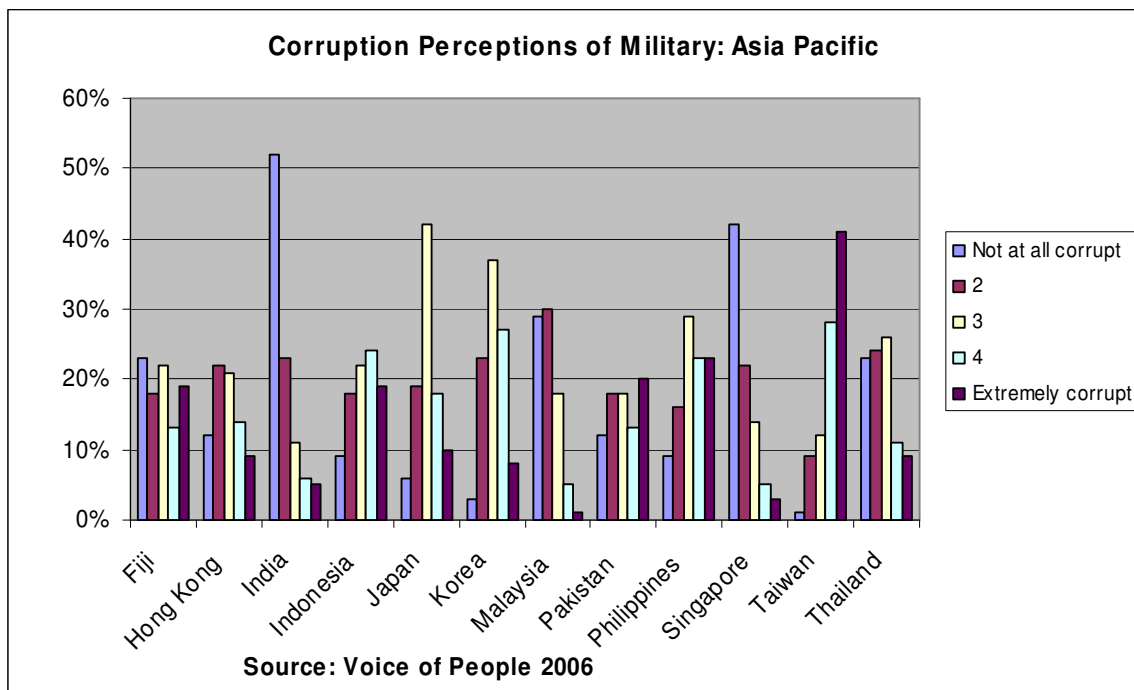
“However, the military in Chile has not been free of corruption cases in the last decades. In the early nineties there was a serious case related to rocket sales and in the late nineties there was a major scandal related to the purchase of Mirages to Belgium. But again, the public perception does not show a higher level of corruption associated with the military.”

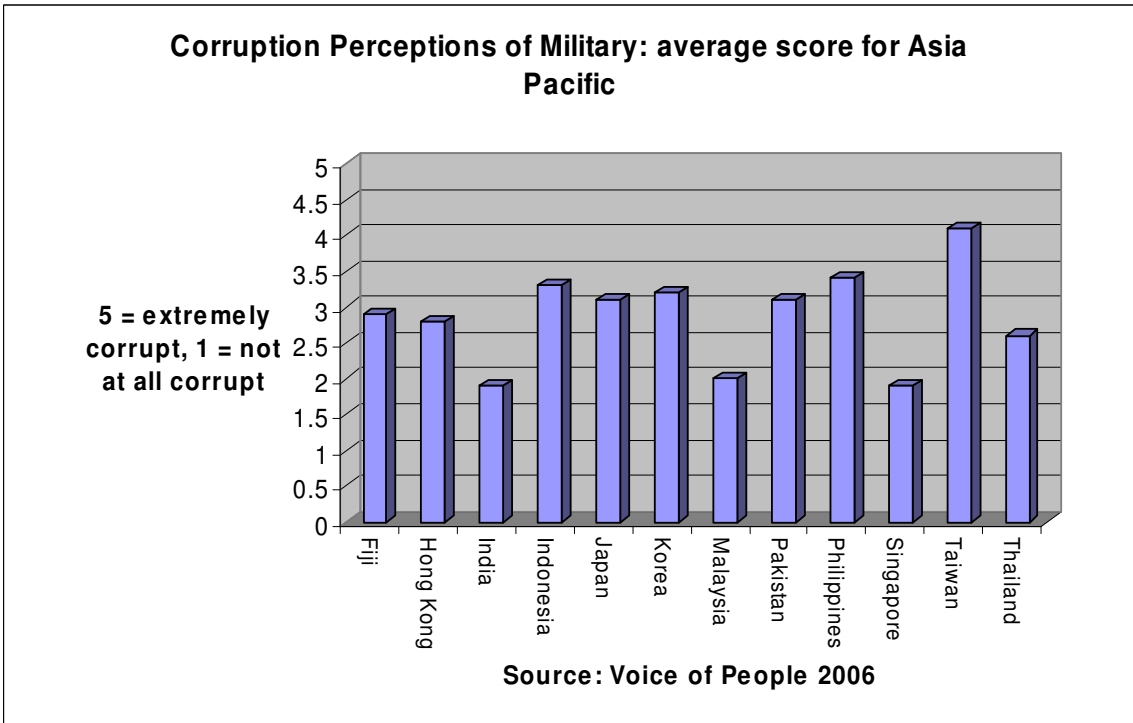
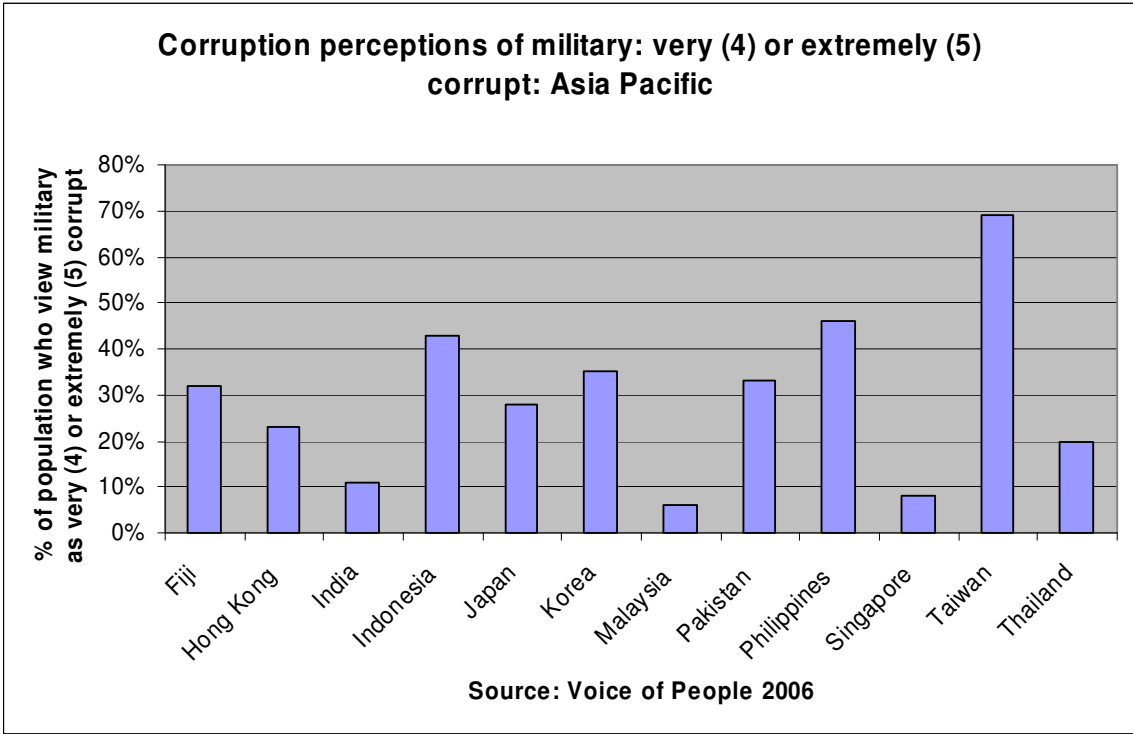
The higher level of corruption perceived in other Latin American countries could be related with recent widespread armed forces corruption scandals (for instance in

Panama and Peru). The exception may be Venezuela, but the particular context of this country is key here.

viii) Asia Pacific region

The Indian military is highly regarded in India: over 50% of the population believe the institution is “not at all” corrupt. Singaporeans hold the military in similarly high regard, with over 40% of them rating it as not at all corrupt. Only 6% of Malaysians rate their military as highly corrupt. At the other extreme, a massive 70% of Taiwanese regard the military as either “very” or “extremely” corrupt. Philippines and Indonesia also performed poorly: over 40% of their populations rated the military as highly corrupt.





The star performer for the region is India, with over 50% of the population believing the institution is “not at all” corrupt.

Transparency International India notes “occasionally some cases of corruption by individuals do get reported by the media, but the sacrifices by the military in counter insurgency areas are likewise widely reported. Hence the opinion of the majority of our countrymen is one of respect and affection for the military. In earlier episodes of mega-corruption the fingers were pointed at the politicians”, leaving the military unscathed in the battle of public perceptions. Other factors for the excellent performance of India include the largely apolitical role the Indian military has managed to maintain, as well as the popular perception that the military has been effective in fulfilling its mission (which includes safeguarding the world’s largest democracy).

The worst performers for the region are Taiwan, Philippines and Indonesia.

Transparency International Philippines provides context for the Philippines perceptions based on newspaper articles and commentaries, noting “for the Philippines, the analysis is correct, in that after political parties, parliament/legislature, the military is reportedly most, if not extremely, corrupt. Numerous reports show that during the national election of 2004, the military was used to distort the election results, documented in the widely known “Hello Garci” tapes. The tapes were made of the telephone conversations between the President and the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) Commissioner “Garcillano” assigned in Mindanao. To accomplish the manipulated election results, the military officers in Mindanao and in some alleged “bailiwick” (area of jurisdiction of a bailiff) of the administration were directed to show that the President won the election by over one million votes. Thus, since this expose, the incumbent administration has been in constant threat to have President Arroyo step down resulting in the incessant turmoil rocking it.”

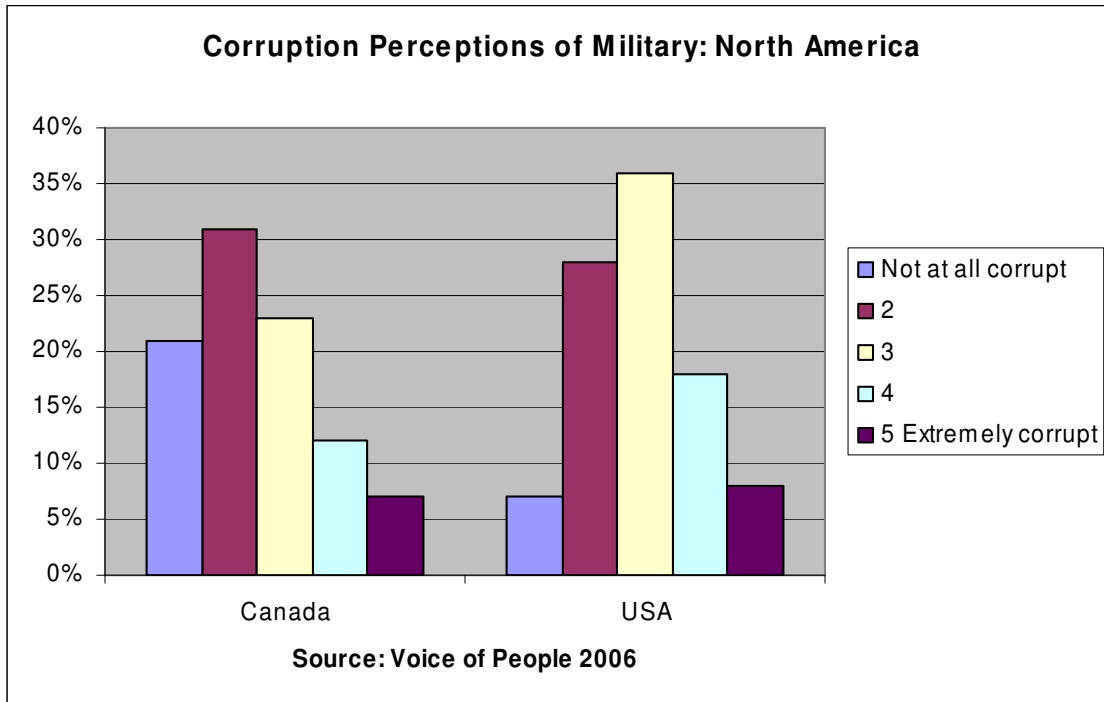
“Further, the alleged mutiny in July 2003 of over 300 officers and members of the military was due to the clamour for military reforms because of reported anomalies ranging from inadequate salaries and allowances, sub-standard military supplies and materials, even bullets of insufficient quality to be effective in combat operations, boots and helmets were of very poor quality that lives of the soldiers were in danger, and even selling by the military officers and men of bullets to the enemies to make extra income for the families due to the meagre income of military men in the field, withheld benefits to the military men despite year after year of promises, all being attributed to corruption.”

“Reports also abound that without the military backing of the present administration considering the issue of illegitimacy of the incumbent President, the administration will collapse, thus whenever there are rumours of coup, the military officers are further corrupted with grease money to silence the critics. Under this set up, the political killings have been on the rise in order to suppress dissent.”

ix) North America region

Americans rated their military as slightly more corrupt than the Canadians: 19% of Canadians rated their militaries as very or extremely corrupt, while the corresponding

proportion was 26% for the USA. Only 7% of Americans rated the military as not at all corrupt, compared to 21% for Canadians.



The US military does not perform particularly well in this survey, not only compared with North American neighbour Canada, but also in the context of the global results.

E. Conclusion

The Global Corruption Barometer reveals that the military is relatively highly regarded around the world. As such the results of the Global Corruption Barometer are in stark contrast with the results of surveys of the defence industry such as the 2002 Bribe Payer's Index, which reveals that the defence industry is regarded as one of the two most corruption-prone of sectors.

There are important distinctions between the two surveys: the Global Corruption Barometer surveys perceptions in relation to a single element of the defence sector – the military – while the Bribe Payer's Index surveys perceptions of the defence industry. It can be concluded that generally, the public have a lower opinion of the arms suppliers than they do of the military, in spite of the obvious close relationship between militaries and their suppliers.

The results also display a great deal of variation across regions and countries, and between different parts of society. For instance, in a number of countries, such as Congo, Cameroon, Paraguay, Panama and Taiwan, corruption in the military is perceived to be very high, (rated a "4" or a "5"), while at the other extreme, in countries such as India, Singapore and Israel, the public revealed very positive perceptions of the degree of probity of the military.

Regions of particular concern are Africa, Latin America and the Newly Independent States (in particular Russia), with high levels of perceived corruption around the "3.5" mark. It is in these areas where reform of the military may have the greatest effect, not least in the interests of combating public cynicism of the sector.

For Transparency International UK's defence project, the key message is that in a great number of countries the military sector can be a beacon of good practice in a state, the catalyst of reform in the defence sector, and a valuable partner for civil society and other bodies seeking to create change in the defence sector. In other countries, where the military is less highly regarded or even poorly regarded, reform of the military is no less important.

Methods for achieving such reform will differ according to the environment. Transparency International UK's defence team will continue to work with reform-minded elements of the military to promote transparency in the defence sector and to help ensure that security, a prerequisite for development, is not undermined by corruption in the defence sector.

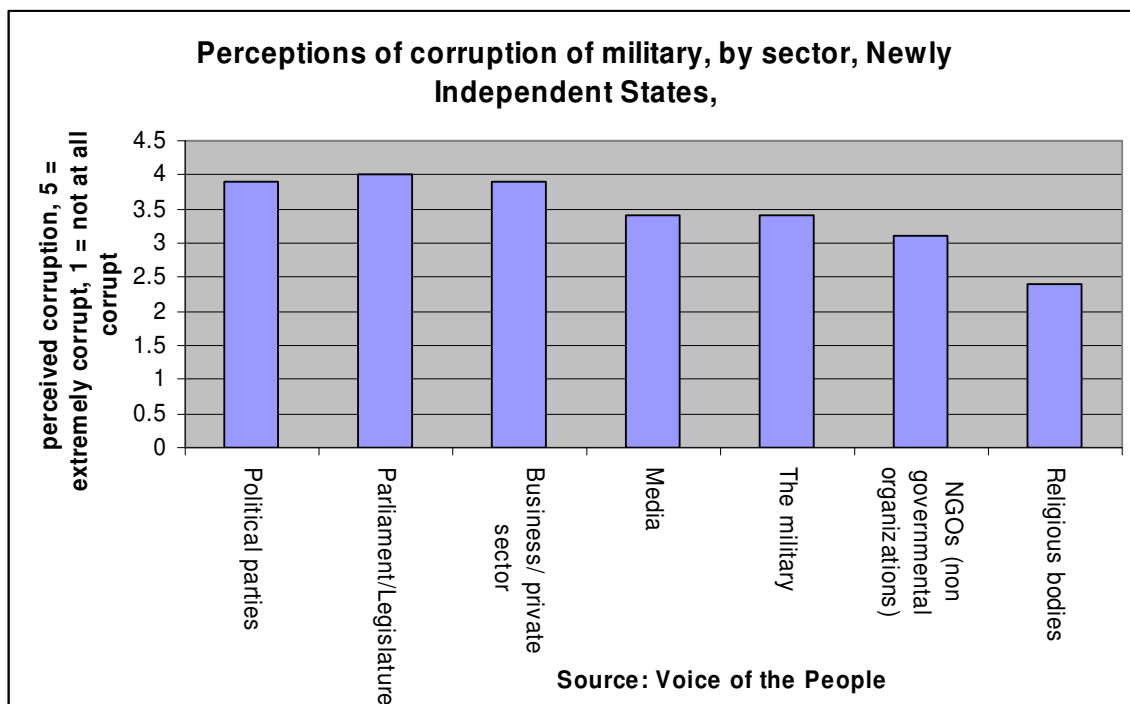
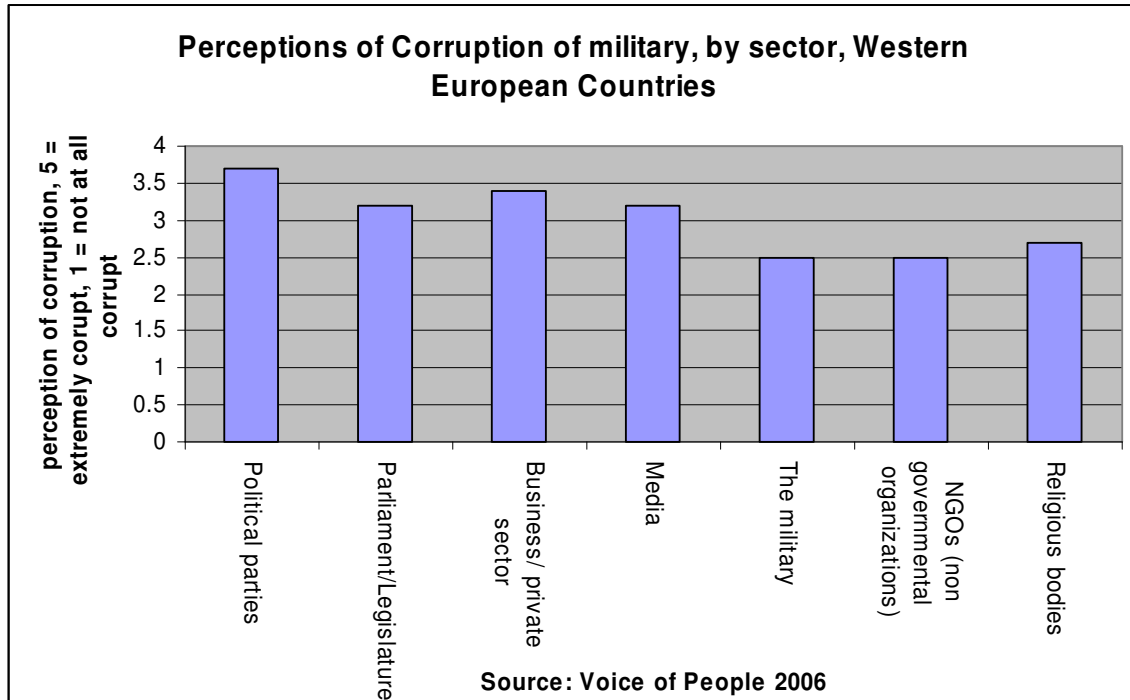
F. Further Research

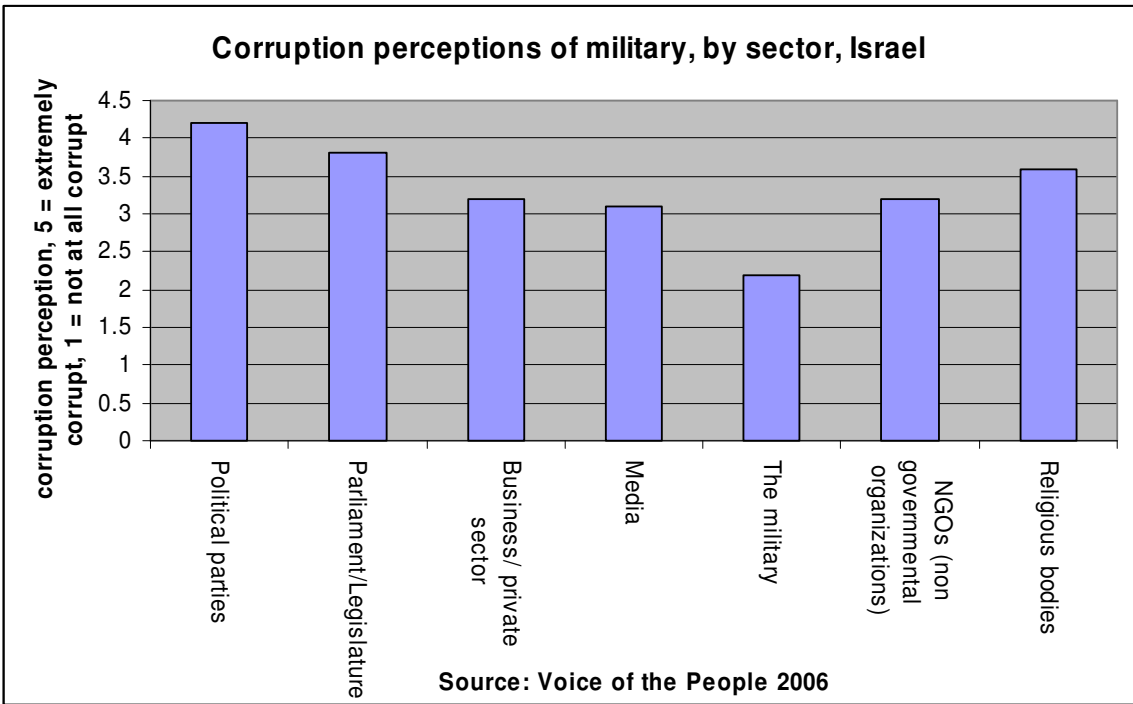
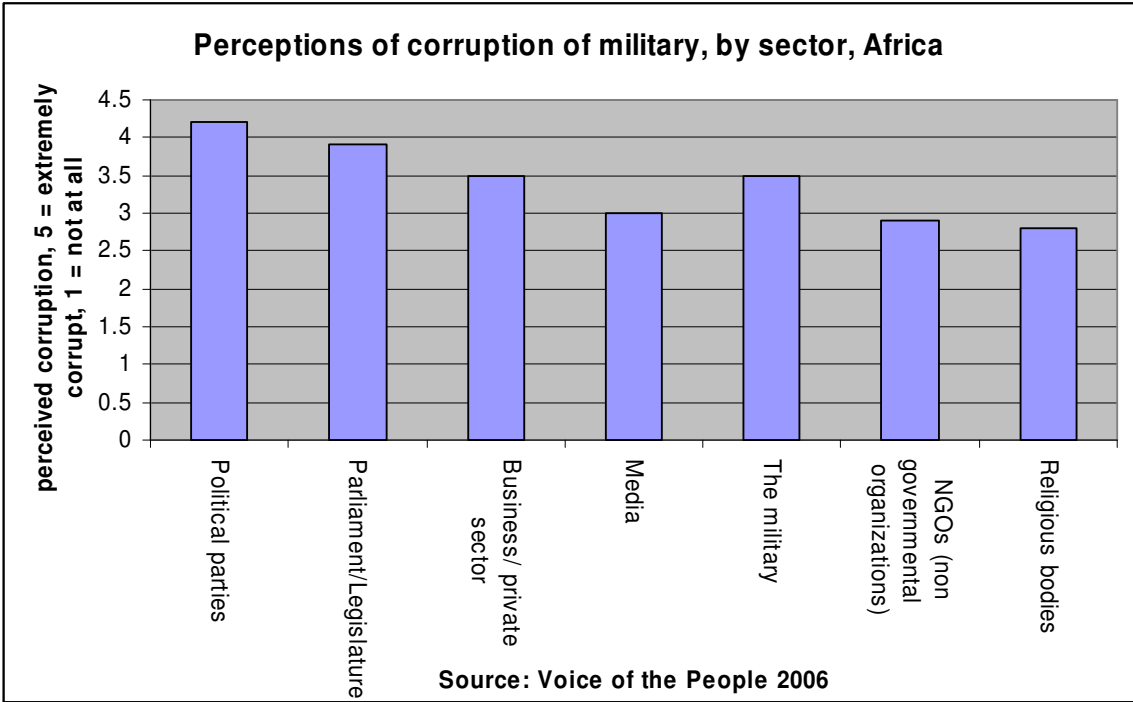
The survey presents a number of opportunities for further research. One area to explore is the interaction between perceived corruption in militaries and the existence of conflict or post-conflict (consider Kosovo, or Israel). Another area is how perceived corruption in militaries relates to the existence of (internal / external) threats. Another avenue of exploration could be an assessment of security reform efforts, for instance inspired by NATO accession ambitions, in terms of their effect on public perceptions.

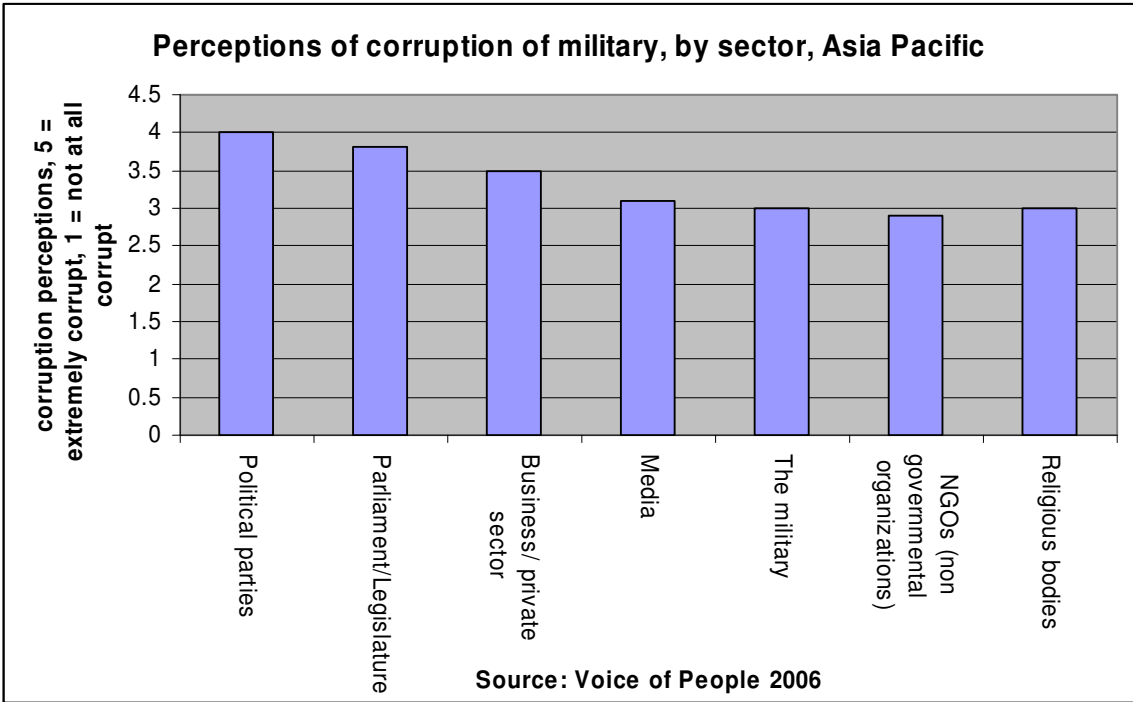
Other avenues for further research include (with thanks to Velizar Shalamanov) the effect of the division of the Ministry of Defence from the General Staff and Armed Forces (where integrated MoD doesn't exist) on corruption perceptions, the question of how corruption perceptions are affected by the existence of fully professional forces as opposed to conscripts, the level of participation in operations and how they influence corruption perception in society, the effect of different types and levels of parliamentary (democratic) control of the armed forces on corruption perceptions, and finally the legal base in the country in relation to corruption – for example existing of “conflict of interests” legislation.

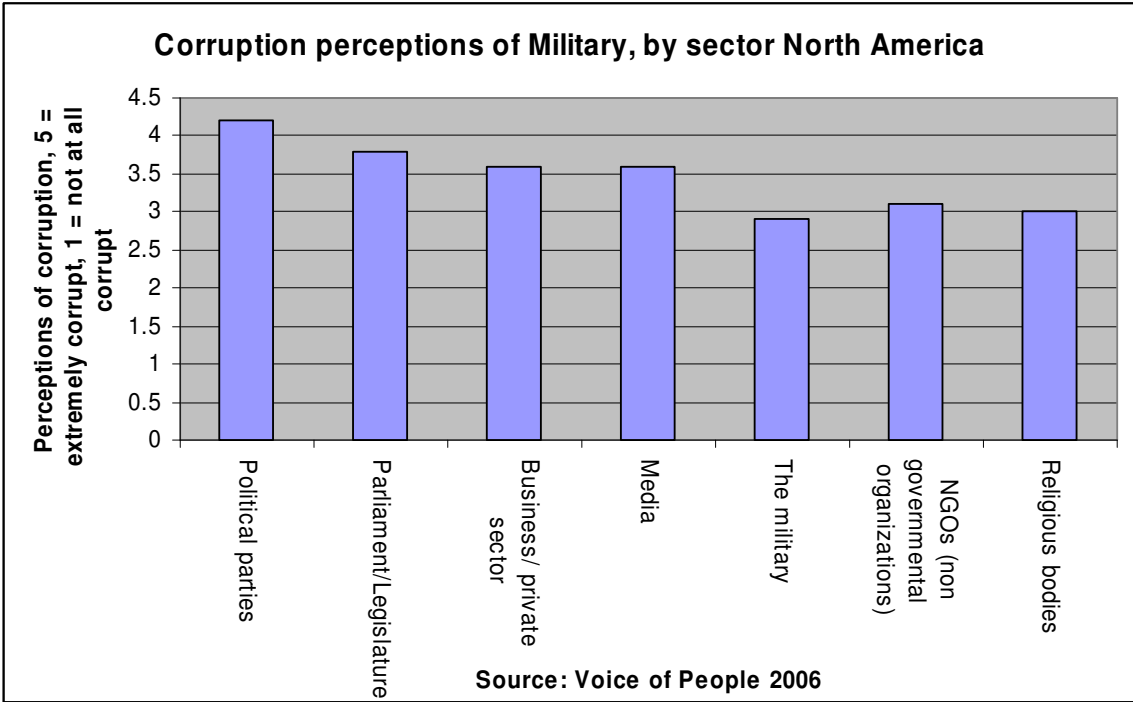
APPENDIX 1: Perceptions of corruption of military by sector, by region

The Voice of the People Survey posed the question “to what extent do you perceive the following categories in this country to be affected by corruption?” The answers were aggregated and weighted to give regional scores for each sector. The results are presented here in graphical form.







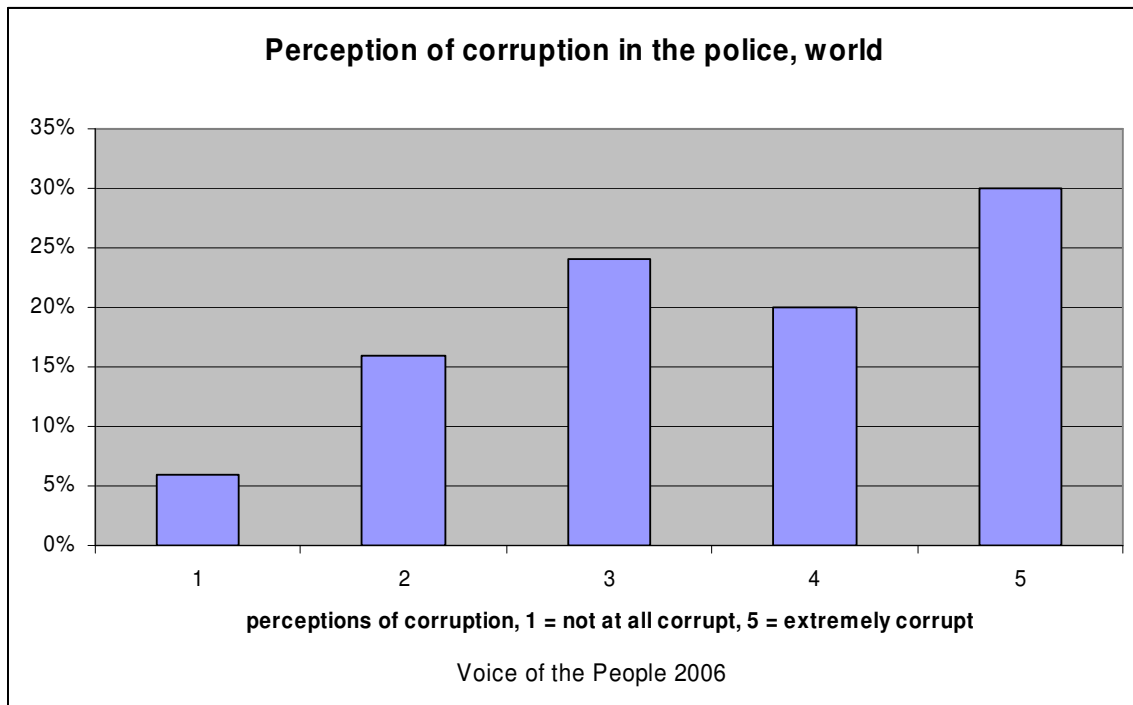


APPENDIX 2: Voice of the People 2004

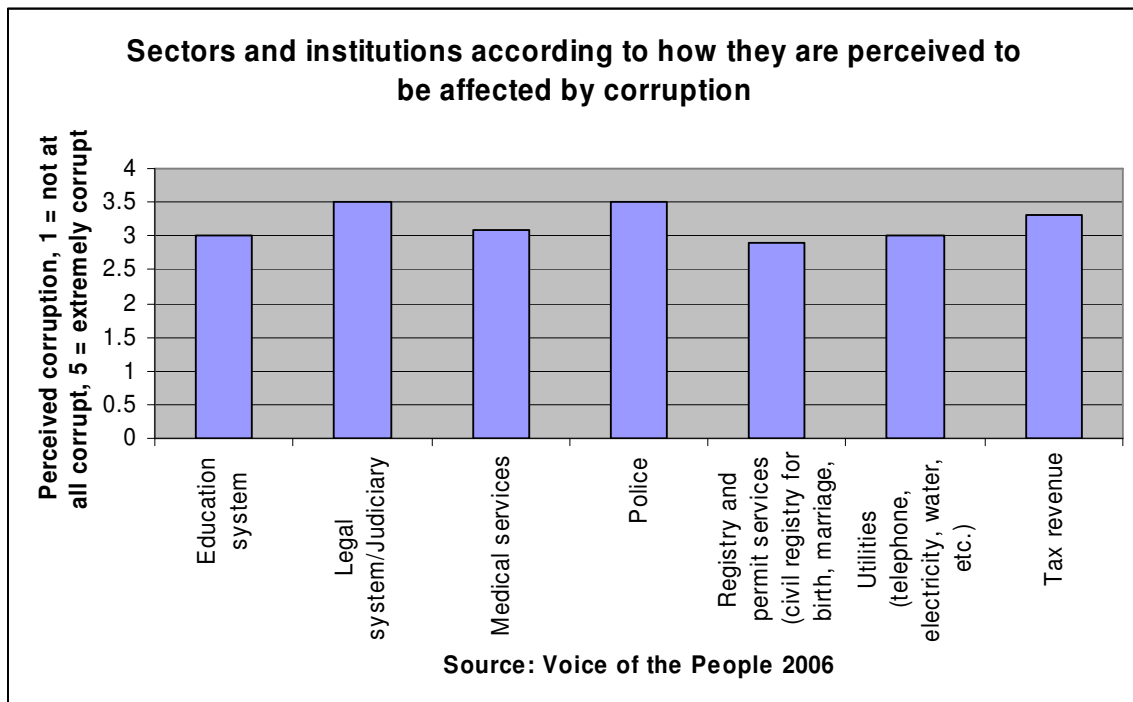


10% of those sampled didn't know the answer to the question or supplied no answer.

APPENDIX 3: Police, Voice of the people 2006



Generally, the police are viewed as more corrupt than the military, across the world. Whereas 30% of people across the world believe their national police force is extremely corrupt, only 15% of people believe the military is similarly corrupt.

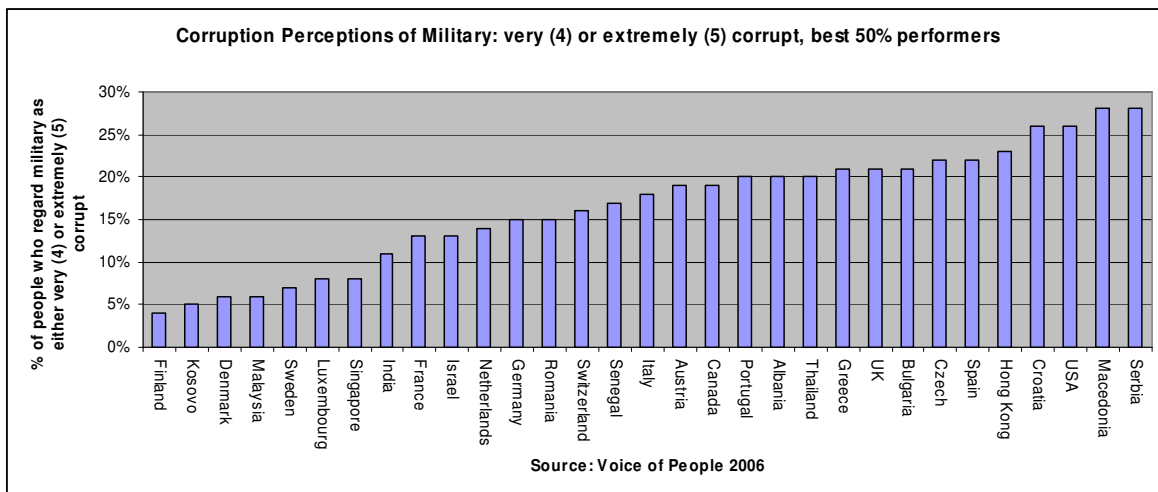
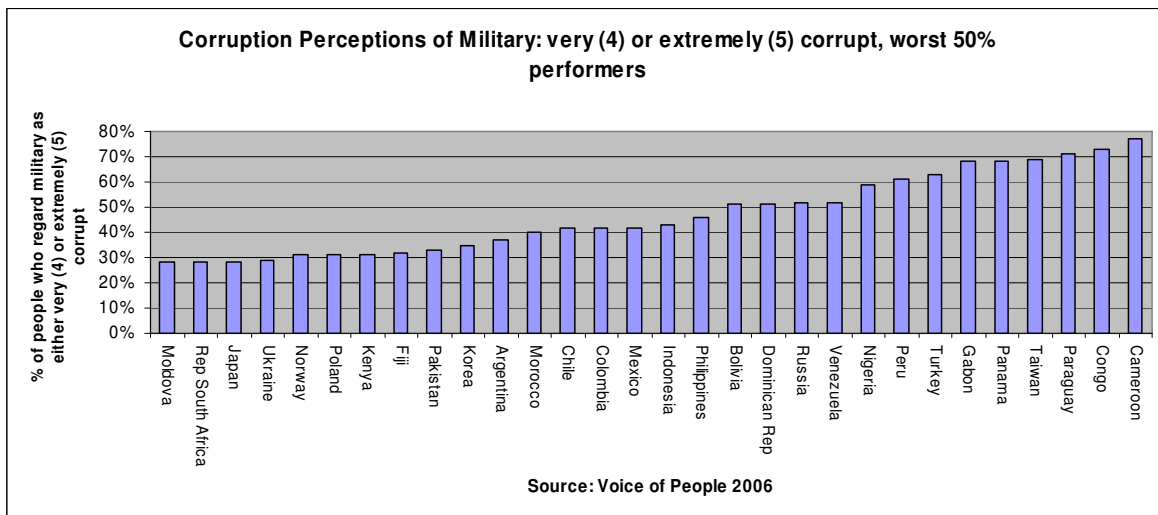


The aggregated global score for the police is 3.5. The corresponding score for the military is 3. This reinforces the message that generally the public holds the military in higher esteem.

Possible explanations for more widespread perceptions of police corruption than military corruption include that the police are more involved in day to day activities of society, can exercise a greater degree of discretion over their interaction with the public and are subject to a less strict chain of command.

APPENDIX 4. Corruption Perceptions of the military: “very” or “extremely” corrupt, by country

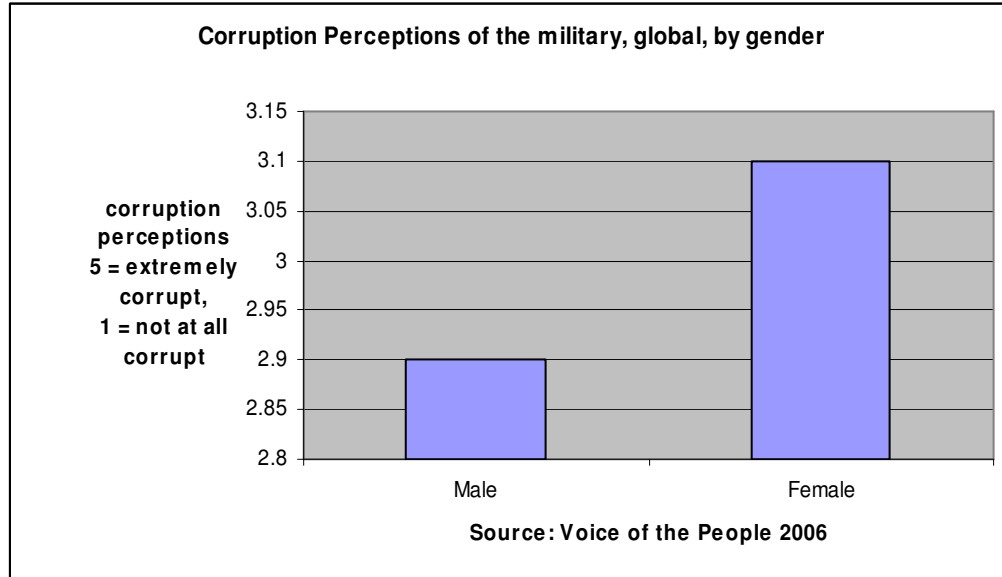
This appendix presents “very” and “extremely” corrupt perceptions of the military by country. Around 75% of Cameroonians regard their military as either very or extremely corrupt. Other notable poor performers include Congo, Taiwan, Turkey and Nigeria. Of the countries surveyed, fully 13 of them are perceived to have militaries that are highly corrupt (very or extremely).



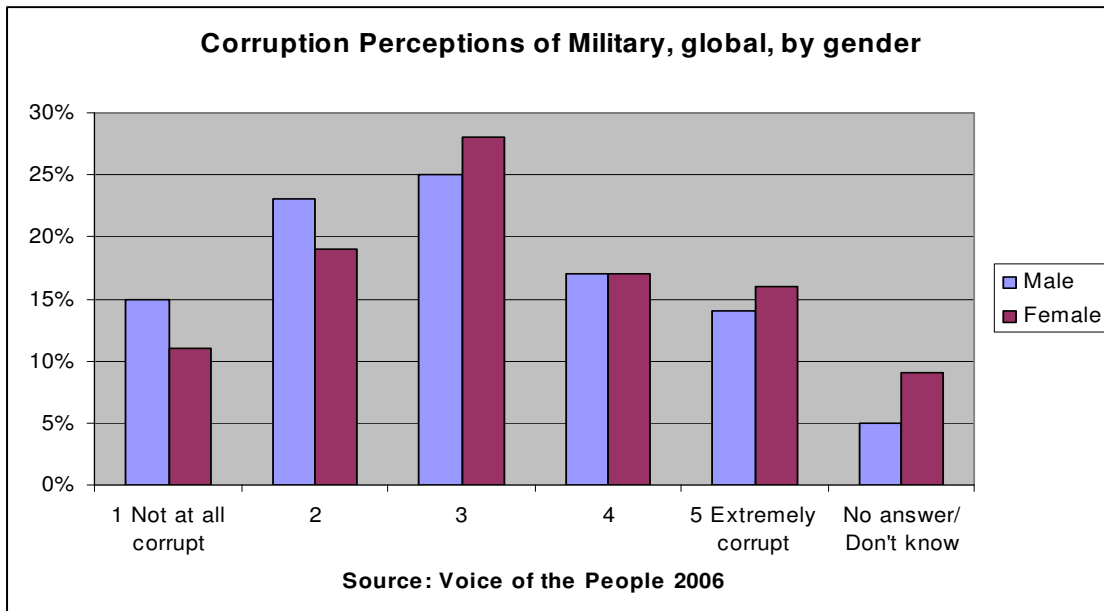
APPENDIX 5. Global perceptions of the military, by different parts of society

i) Gender

Globally, females revealed a slightly lower opinion of the integrity of the military than males.



This graph shows that of those with high opinion of the military (ie give it a score of “1” or “2”), men outnumber women, and that of those with a low opinion women outnumber men (ie give it a “5” (“extremely corrupt”)).

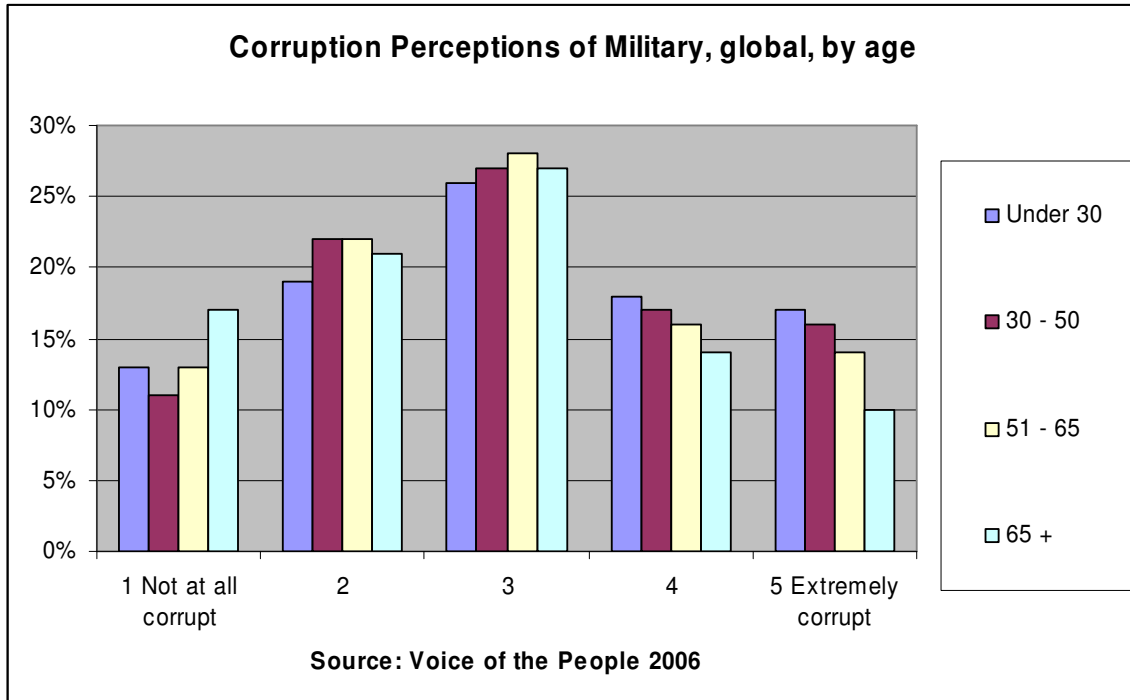


ii) Age



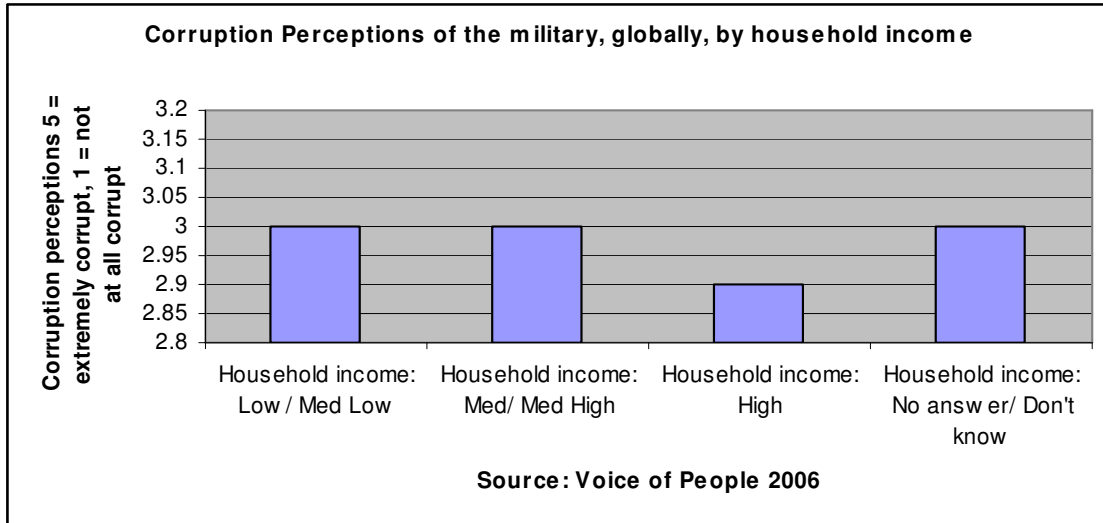
Younger people slightly were more suspicious of the military than older people. On average, globally, the over-65s had the highest opinions of the integrity of the military.

The graph below shows that, across the globe, younger people have a slightly lower opinion of the military: in categories very corrupt (4) and extremely corrupt (5), the highest percentages were in the “under 30 group”. In the “not at all corrupt” category, the over-65s have the highest opinion of their military in terms of corruption. For clarity and simplicity, the “don’t know” categories are omitted.

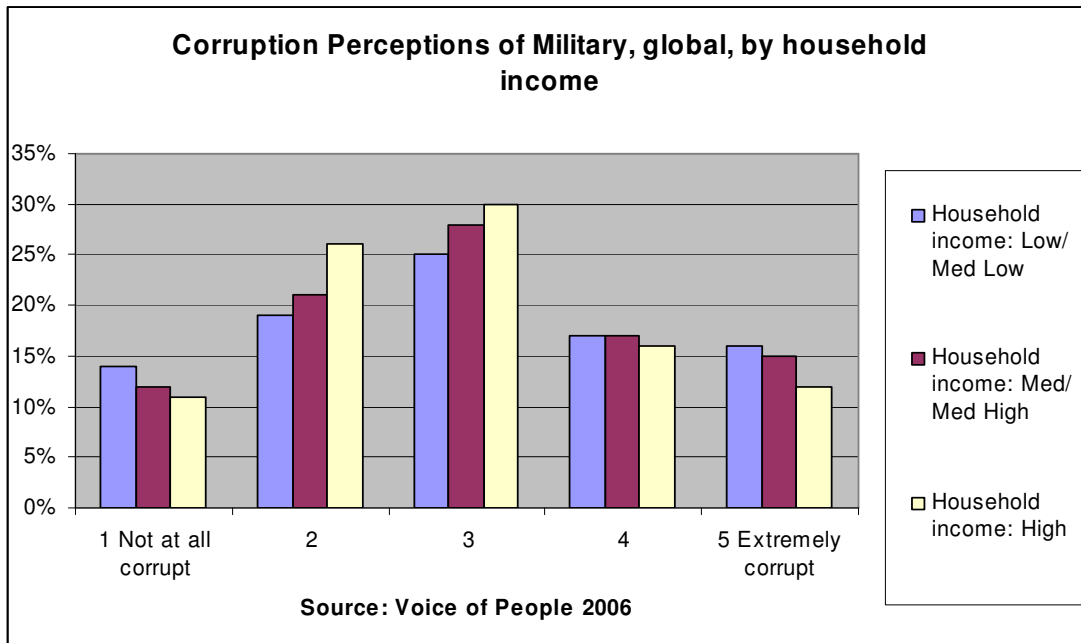


iii) Household income

Households with higher incomes regarded their country's military as slightly cleaner. The difference (0.2) is not large.

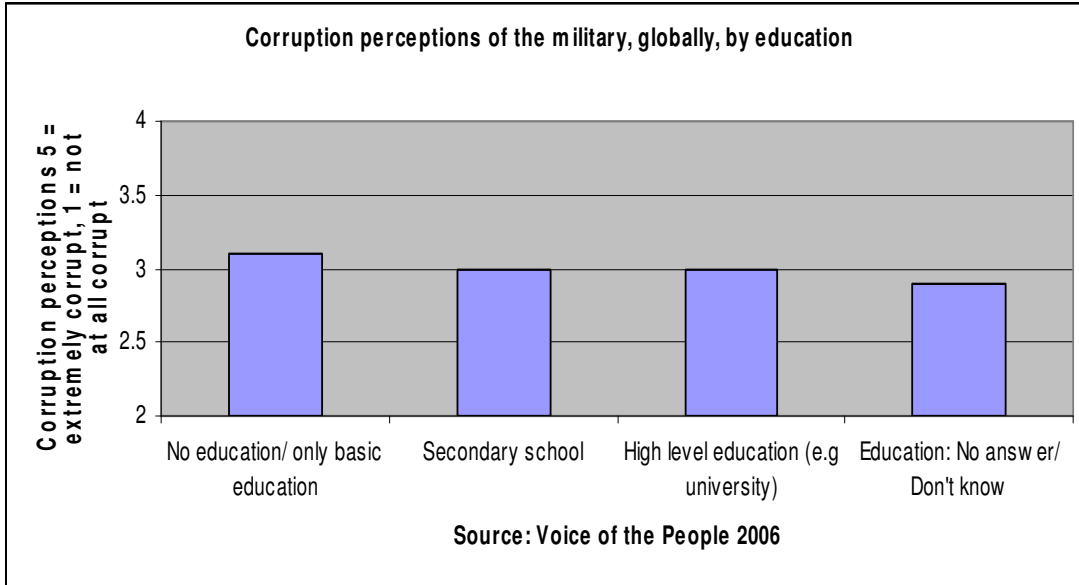


The following graph shows that households with higher incomes had a higher opinion of the military.

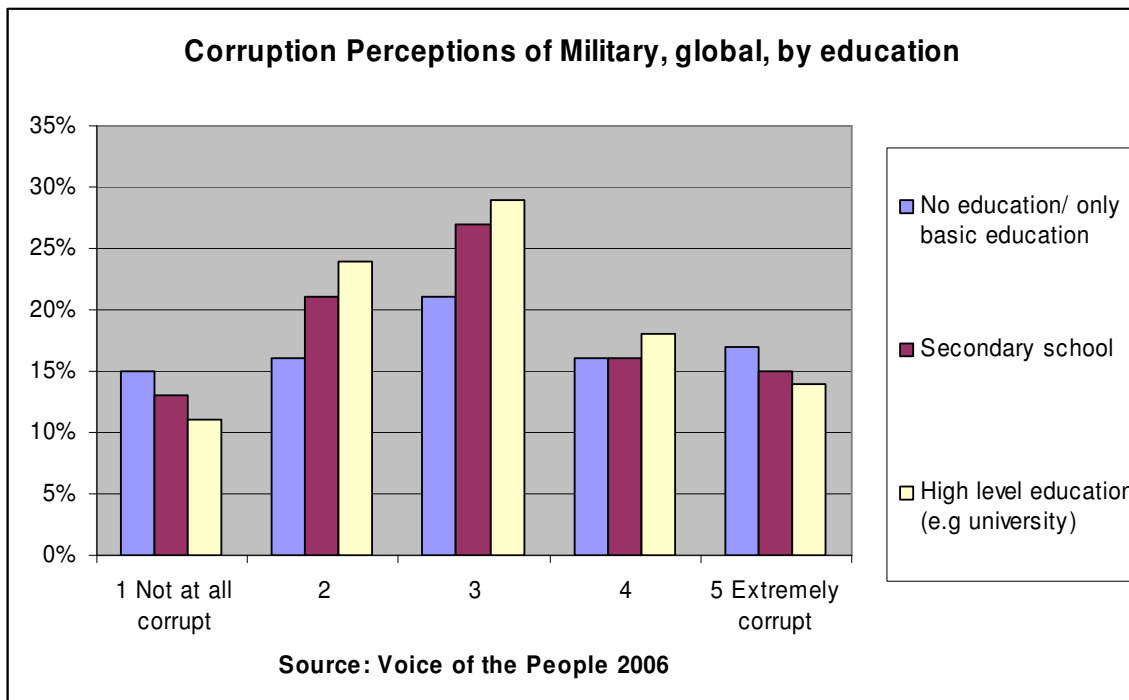


iv) Education

Globally, those with less education regarded their military as slightly more corrupt. This could be partly due to a clean military enhancing the population’s access to education, while a corrupt military adversely impacts the quality of education.



This graph shows that people with no education tended to be relatively polarised in their assessment of the probity of their military. They were the highest-represented group in both the “not at all corrupt” (1) category as well as the “extremely corrupt” category (5). Those who rated the military in the middle categories (2, 3, 4) were led by groups with high levels of education.

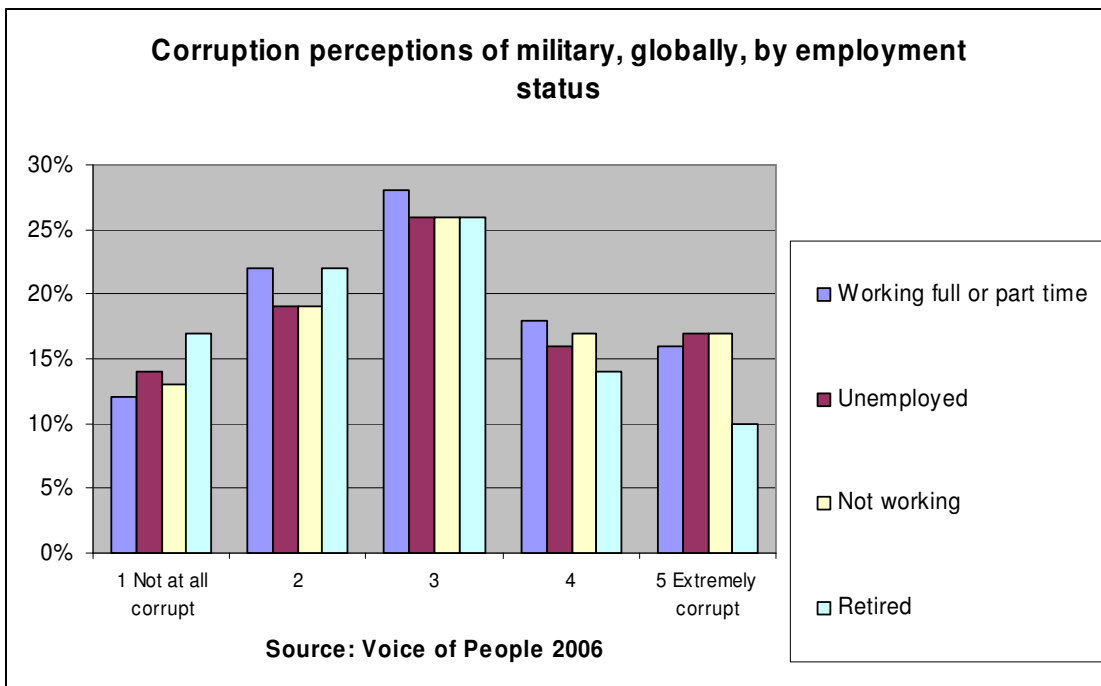


v) Employment status

Retired people held military in the highest esteem in terms of corruption. This is consistent with the good performance of the military's perceived cleanliness with older age groups.

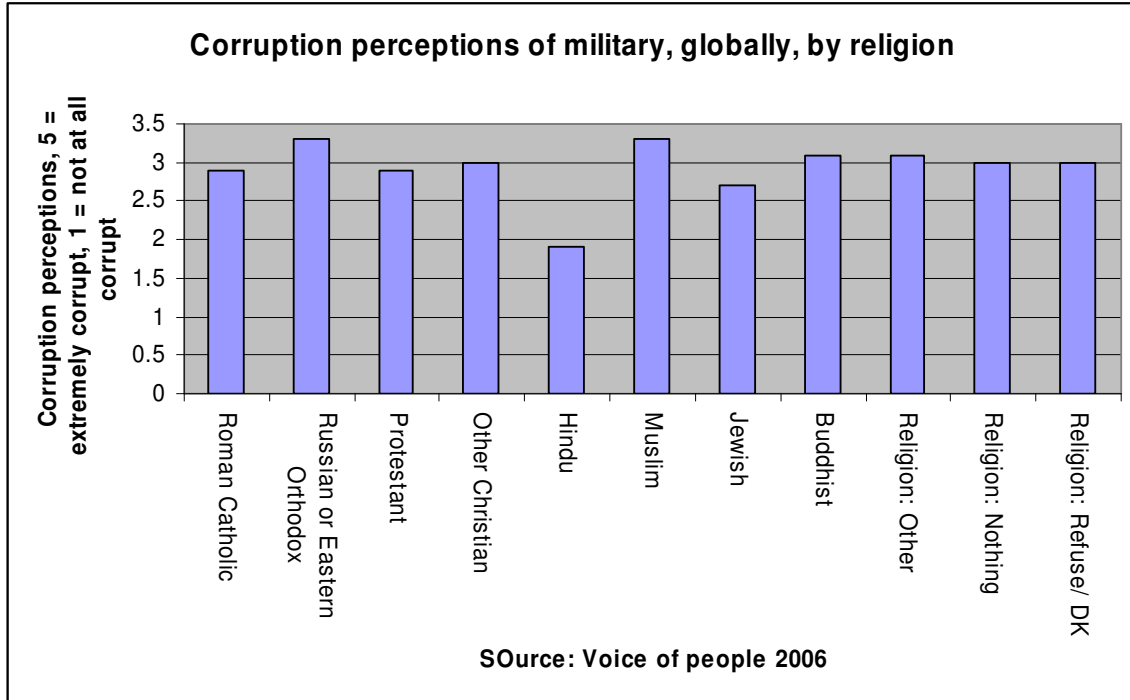


People not working had the lowest opinions of the cleanliness of the military. Indeed, in some cases, a “dirty” military may have lowered their prospects of employment.

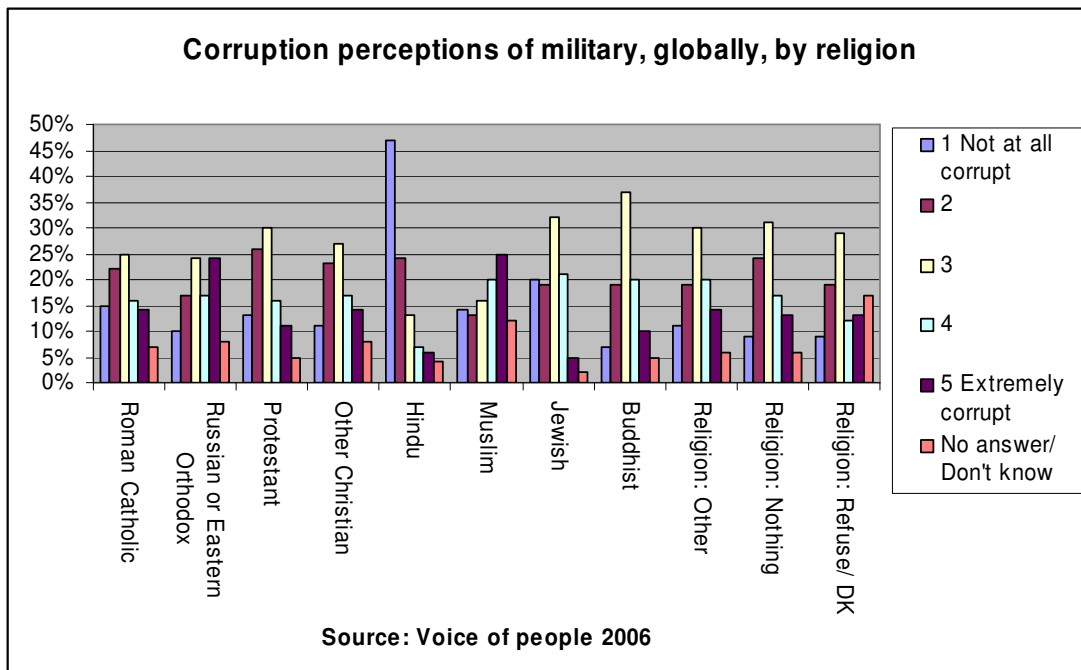


The graph above shows that there is not a great deal of variation between groups of different employment status. The greatest variation occurs at the extremes, where the differential between retired people and those working is at its greatest.

vi) Religious groups



Again, there is not a large difference between the difference groups. Hindus stand out as holding their militaries in particularly high regard, with Jewish in second place. At the other end, Muslims regard the military as comparatively unclean, along with Russian or Eastern Orthodox groups.



APPENDIX 6 List of TI national chapters and other anti-corruption experts who provided their perspectives on the results

Bulgaria	Velizar Shalamanov, George C. Marshall Association
Chile	Chile Transparente
Colombia	Transparencia Por Colombia
Czech	Transparency International Czech
Denmark	Transparency International Denmark
Fiji	Transparency International Fiji,
France	Transparence France
Germany	Transparency International Germany
India	Transparency International India
Israel	Ephraim Kleiman, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Kenya	Transparency International Kenya
Nigeria	Transparency International Nigeria
Norway	Transparency International Norway
Philippines	Transparency International Philippines
Romania	Transparency International Romania
Serbia	Transparency Serbia
South Africa	Transparency International South Africa
Sweden	Transparency International Sweden
Turkey	Burak Bekdil, Defense News, Turkish News Daily
UK	Transparency International UK
Ukraine	Transparency International national contact in Ukraine
USA	Transparency International USA

Thanks also to Transparency International Secretariat