

## A Unique Study of Corruption in Bangladesh

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### Abstract

Corruption is a vast and complex matter. It means any kinds of dishonest, defiled or illegal behavior, especially of people in authority. It is a major problem in the third world countries but it has been the burning question in Bangladesh. The list of the countries having rampant corruption is headed by Bangladesh several years. Transparency international found it as the most corrupted country. Corruption may originate from want, the immorality of people, lack of transparency, unsolved problems, unfinished works, vicious politicians, weak administration and many after relevant things. All the sectors of the government and the administration are corrupted severely as well. Taking bribe, nepotism, malpractice of power are the natures of corruption. No department of either government or non-government like ministry, office, school, college, university, law court, police station, hospital, etc. is beyond the reach of corruption. Even the victims of accident and the dying patients are not left untouched by corruption. It has become customary in our country that nothing is done without the intervention of corruption. The influential high officials and their assistants in our country adopt such techniques and pretense to materialize their ill-motives that common people who are deprived of their legal rights. Corruption has a terrible effect on all the parts of society. It leads the country to anarchism. Law and order situation become deteriorated for corruption. The difference between the poor and rich widens day by day. All the development procedures of the government become useless for the cause of corruption. However, this is a humiliating condition for us a nation. It has spoilt our image in the home and abroad. Above all, foreign donors and the investors become reluctant observing the large scale of the practice of corruption. However, the time has changed. With the same parade of the present government, all the people should voice against corruption. Nepotism, favoritism, red-tapism, biased attitude etc. should be dealt with an iron hand. Only our honest approaches can reinforce the government to ensure the good governance. Inclusion corruption begets corruption. It should be prevented urgently in all spheres of our life. Otherwise, we will fail to build up a sound and potent generation. We should look forward to ensuring corruption-free society as well as corruption free country.

**Keywords:** Corruption, Institution, Bureaucracy, Anti-Corruption, Bangladesh.

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### INTRODUCTION

Bangladesh has faced a host of political challenges since independence in 1971. After the restoration of democracy in the 1990s, the reins of power have oscillated between Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina. The country is plagued with endemic corruption. While laws to address corruption exist, they are not implemented adequately, nor are relevant institutions effective. The Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), the main opposition to the incumbent Awami League (AL), resorted to violence across the country after boycotting the elections in 2014, leading to arrests and harassment of key party officials by the security forces [1].

However, the ruling AL government has consolidated political power through sustained harassment of the opposition and those perceived to be allied with it, as well as of critical voices in the media and civil society. Such acts have greatly affected the opposing BNP as well as the Islamist Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) party [2]. Islamist extremism has been on the rise in the otherwise usually tolerant country (BBC News 2018). There has been a rise in radicalism and extremism with systematic attacks aimed at silencing secular bloggers, many of whom have been murdered [3].

Though the government denies the domestic presence of Islamic State (IS), all the attacks between 2015 and 2016 were claimed by IS and al-Qaeda in South Asia (AQIS) [3]. IS even took responsibility for the Gulshan café attack in 2016, where 20 hostages and two police officers were killed in the Dhaka bakery that was known to be popular with foreigners [1, 3]. These attacks led to a crackdown on radical groups, with around 15,000 people arrested to curb a spate of extremist violence [1]. Observers said the initiative involved widespread human rights abuses by authorities, including arbitrary arrests, enforced disappearances and custodial deaths, which currently continue in the country [1, 2].

Bangladesh has basic well-defined administrative infrastructure throughout the country, although it is deficient in some respects [3]. The geographically low-lying country is vulnerable to flooding and cyclones, and is likely to be badly affected by any rises in sea levels, BBC News 2018. It is, therefore, imperative to counter corruption in areas such as disaster prevention and management. It should be noted that the influx of over 655,000 Rohingya refugees fleeing attacks by the Burmese military has exacerbated specific governance issues such as human trafficking and forced prostitution, and has led to price rises in basic products and a fall in daily wages [4, 5]. Government apparatuses also have to deal with corrupt third parties who use the crisis to issue fake Bangladeshi identification to the refugees in exchange for bribes [4].

However, Bangladesh has made remarkable progress in reducing poverty, supported by sustained economic growth. Based on the international poverty line of US\$1.90 per person per day, poverty in the country fell from 44.2% in 1991 to 14.8% in 2016/17. Rapid growth enabled Bangladesh to reach the lower middle-income country status in 2015. In 2018, the country fulfilled all three eligibility criteria for graduation from the UN's Least Developed Countries (LDC) list for the first time. Life expectancy, literacy rates and per capita food production have increased significantly [6]. Bangladesh has made incredible progress in terms of income growth and other aspects of human development. Per capita income in the country, for example, has risen from US\$520 in 1990 to US\$4,040 in 2017; GDP growth has remained above 5% per year for the past 10 years. Life expectancy has increased from 65 years in 2001 to 72.5 years in 2016; adult literacy levels are at an all-time high of 72.76%, according to UNESCO statistics. This marks an increase of 26.1 percentage points from 2007. Despite these successes, the country still faces some daunting challenges with about 22 million people still living below the poverty line, and corruption being widespread in a number of sectors [6, 3].

Drug trafficking, corruption, fraud, counterfeit money, gold smuggling and trafficking in persons are the principal sources of illicit proceeds. Bangladesh is also vulnerable to terrorism financing, including funding that flows through the hawala/hundisystem and by cash courier. The Bangladesh-based terrorist organisation, Jamaat ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh, has publicly claimed to receive funding from Saudi Arabia, US Department of State 2016. Eradicating the "culture of corruption" in Bangladesh requires much more than what is currently being done [7]. In fact, some observers suggest that the country could have achieved at least 2%–3% higher annual GDP growth if corruption could be moderately controlled [8].

## Overview of Corruption in Bangladesh

### Extent of Corruption

Bangladesh ranks 143 out of 180 countries in Transparency International's 2017 Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) with a score of 28/100, Transparency International 2018 [13] with 0 denoting the highest perception of corruption and 100 the lowest. Bangladesh also scores poorly in a number of governance-related issues, including corruption, according to the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) by the World Bank [6].

### Main Drivers of Corruption

It has long been argued that there is a strong connection between governance, ethics, integrity, and corruption, all of which are the product of a complex interplay of political, economic, social, and even psychological factors and forces [9]. In the case of Bangladesh, Rashid and Johara [10] argue that there exists an integrity-governance-corruption nexus in the country, as a result of which all the organs of government have become pervaded by corruption. Some argue that an apparent declining commitment to democratic norms might also effect levels of corruption in the country. In 2017, Bangladesh's score in the Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index fell to its lowest ever. Its overall score of 5.43 out of 10 placed the country 92nd out of 165 countries assessed. While the country's points in all other categories remained essentially unchanged, the score in civil liberties dropped from 6.76 in 2006 to 5.29 in 2017, reflecting concerns among rights activists, and leading to the categorisation of Bangladesh as a "hybrid regime".

Such a volatile scenario creates a breeding ground for politics to be "monopolised" and the concomitant flourishing of various drivers of corruption, including complex bureaucratic environments, weak rule of law, the absence of effective checks and balances, as well as a low level of judicial independence [11, 12]. Tellingly, Freedom House [2] accords the status of "Partly Free" to Bangladesh with a score of 45/100, stating that under the AL government, anti-corruption efforts have been

weakened by politicised enforcement and subversion of

the judicial process.



Components	Component Score	World Rank	Regional Rank	Income Group Rank
Judicial Independence	3.86	92/109	16/18	22/27
Administrative Burden	7.44	90/109	12/18	18/27
Trade Openness	4.77	102/109	18/18	25/27
Budget Transparency	8.71	22/109	5/18	4/27
E-Citizenship	2.31	90/109	17/18	21/27
Freedom of the Press	4.15	78/109	10/18	16/27

Source: Index of Public integrity IPI 2017.

## Forms of Corruption

### Political and Grand Corruption

Corruption is so pervasive at both micro and macro levels that it threatens to become a way of life [8]. Elites in Bangladesh may well have manipulated the political process to suit their own ends, just as they have developed elaborate corrupt practices both to look after their friends and to preserve their own positions in power [14]. This gives rise to the phenomenon of what Mungiu-Pippidi [15] calls “particularism”, a mode of social organisation characterised by the regular distribution of public goods on a non-universalistic basis that mirrors the vicious distribution of power within such societies. Few anti-corruption campaigns dare to attack the roots of corruption in societies where particularism is the norm, as these roots lie in the distribution of power itself [15]. According to the Open Budget Survey 2017 by International Budget Partnership (IBP), Bangladesh scores 41/100 on the Open Budget Index. IBP notes that Bangladesh provides the public with limited budget information, as countries that score above 60 on the Open Budget Index are considered to be providing sufficient budget information to enable the public to engage in budget discussions in an informed manner. The biggest impediment against effective corruption control in Bangladesh, as is the case in most other countries where corruption is pervasive, is that political commitment remains far from truly enforced without fear or favour, which allows corruption to be often condoned and protected [8]. Thus, due to the high levels of corruption at the top, and the consequent poor enforcement of legislation and often biased to favour those with political connections, there is a requirement for graft to be weeded out not just by top-down but also bottom-up approaches, including the media and civil society.

### Petty and Bureaucratic Corruption

Although salaries in the public sector have increased over the past few years, bribery remains widespread and constitutes an important source of income of public officials in Bangladesh [16]. According to TI Bangladesh, the hike in salaries has not helped to deter bribery because the incentive structure that allows public officials to extract bribes still remains: public office holders are rarely subjected to judicial or parliamentary scrutiny. Corruption in public office is very high. The rent-seeking elements in the bureaucracy always try to please their political boss, favouring the status quo [3]. Additionally, promotions and appointments in the public sector are often based on political considerations [3]. There is a high risk of corruption in the Bangladeshi land administration. Companies express insufficient confidence in the government’s ability to protect property rights. Bangladesh’s most prominent construction scandal is the collapse of an eight-storey garment factory in April 2013, which killed over 1,100 people. The factory suffered from a faulty construction that violated building codes. The incident highlights the larger issue of a lack of good governance, corruption, limited resources, bribes involved in licensing and permits, or collusion between factory owners and safety inspectors, which allows facilities to remain operational even when dangers are identified, much to the detriment of workers’ health and safety [17, 3].

Some field level studies have found that to obtain a work order of any infrastructure project around 10%–20% of the project cost is to be paid as bribes to ruling party leader, 15%–20% to mayor, engineers and civil managers, and 2%–3% percent to other officials [18].

### Sectors Affected by Corruption Service Delivery

Analysts observe that bribery, rent-seeking and inappropriate use of government funds, excessive lobbying, long delays in service performance, pilfering, irresponsible conduct from government officials, and excessive bureaucratic intemperance and mind-set have made public sector departments associated with law enforcement, water supply, electricity, gas supply, education, waste disposal, health, transportation, issue of passports and maintenance of land records susceptible to corruption. Lack of proper accountability appears to have also been a cause for this susceptibility to corruption [19]. The World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Index 2017–2018 ranks Bangladesh 99/137, and it provides ranks on the following parameters:

1. Diversion of public funds – 75/137
2. Favouritism in decisions of government officials – 106/137
3. Strength of auditing and reporting standards – 120/137

Politicisation of recruitment in universities and schools affects the standard of education in Bangladesh. Those who fall from political grace are appointed as officers in special duty (OSD) and are not given any responsibility. For example, in January 2016, five senior bureaucrats holding the rank of additional secretary were made OSDs at the public administration ministry [3]. In fact, nepotism and political affiliations are common factors influencing the recruitment and training of teachers in Bangladesh [20]. Although, primary education in Bangladesh is ostensibly free (for children aged 5–13), a household survey from 2009 found that, 66% of households reportedly had to make unauthorised payments to secure admission of their child into class one (ages 5–7) [20].

### Judiciary

Although on paper the judiciary is independent and has been separated from the executive since 2007, the executive still maintains control over judicial appointments, and the judiciary remains closely aligned with the executive branch [17].

Apart from being known as corrupt, the judicial process in Bangladesh is sluggish with appeals are subject to lengthy delays [21, 17]. Delays in the recruitment of judges have left several hundred positions in lower courts vacant, leading to a substantial case backlog [17].

Anti-corruption efforts have been weakened by politicised enforcement and subversion of the judicial process under the incumbent AL government [2]. The judiciary does not always protect the constitutional right to a fair and public trial due to corruption, partisanship, and weak human resources and institutional capacities [21].

Companies face a high risk of corruption in the Bangladeshi judicial system. Corruption is perceived to be widespread in lower courts. Magistrates, attorneys and other court officials frequently demand bribes from defendants or rule based on loyalty to patronage networks. Enforcing a lawful contract is a big challenge for businesses as it is uncertain, takes an average of 1,442 days and is extremely costly [17].

### Security Forces

The police force is the most corrupt institution, followed by the civil service, political parties and the judiciary in Bangladesh [22]. There is a high risk of corruption when interacting with Bangladeshi police. Businesses ranked the Bangladeshi police as one of the least reliable in the world and noted business costs due to crime and violence [17]. Law enforcement agencies were likewise found to be the public bodies with whom citizens are most likely to experience corruption according to the National Household Survey 2017 conducted by Transparency International Bangladesh (TI-B) (TI-B 2018).

Police harassment in exchange for bribes is common. Public distrust of police and security services deters many from approaching government forces for assistance or to report criminal incidents. Security forces reportedly used threats, beatings, kneecappings and electric shocks, and some officers committed rape and other sexual abuses – all with impunity [21].

A 2015 survey to assess the Trust Index on different institutions in Bangladesh by the Power and Participation Research Centre (PPRC) found that trust in the police was low in Dhaka (14.2 percent) and rural areas (13.2 percent), and moderate in other urban areas (20.0 percent) [10].

The Bangladesh military has directly ruled the country for 15 of its 46 years of existence. Bangladesh's armed forces also have a dual role as internal security forces and are repeatedly called on to prevent civil unrest. Such is its power that even Bangladesh's democratically elected civilian leaders have been forced to tread carefully around the military [23]. The armed forces have also been known to carry out human rights abuses with impunity, including extrajudicial killings, torture, arbitrary or unlawful detentions, and forced disappearances, US Department of State 2017 [1].

### Impact on the poor

Corruption in Bangladesh hinders proper allocation of resources, weakens public services, reduces productivity, worsens poverty, marginalises the poor and creates social unrest [24]. The Bangladeshi poor are deprived of equal access to education and white-collar jobs. Irregularities in appointments were visible and, in many cases, those with political affiliation or willing to pay bribes were employed over meritorious candidates. Extreme poverty often forced people to accept unsafe, poor working conditions, often

for long hours. The government introduced a gender sensitive budget in 40 ministries; however, women remain socially marginal and victims of violence. They face discrimination in the workplace and have lower wages [3].

Corruption has an in-built bias against the poor, disadvantaged and low-income sections of society. They are directly affected by the increased cost of public services for bribery and have limited or even lack access to services because of they cannot pay a bribe [8].

TIB's 2012 National Household Survey showed that, while corruption affects everyone, poorer sections of the society suffer more. Cost of petty corruption was estimated to be 4.8% of average annual household expenditure. More importantly, for households with the lowest range of expenditures, the rate of loss is much higher at 5.5%, compared to higher spending households where it is 1.3%. Thus, the burden of corruption is greater for the poor [25].

Changing this culture of corruption remains difficult as there has been a tendency for citizens to not just tolerate corruption but to respect those who are seen as clever and savvy enough to use their office to look after themselves, their friends and their families. The fact that money is often made through dubious means can frequently be overlooked; public servants who play the game and manipulate rules to suit themselves are seen as being worthy of emulation and admiration. In short, corruption is widely perceived to grease the wheels and to help ensure that preferred outcomes come quickly, efficiently and effectively [14, 26].

#### **How successful have anti-corruption efforts been?**

Numerous studies have concluded that despite the existence of reasonably sound legal framework, the implementation and enforcement of legislation is largely inadequate, and a culture of non-compliance generally prevails [27, 3, 2].

Hough [14] observes that Bangladeshi governments of all colours have claimed that they want to tackle corruption. This has led to a series of high profile, top-down campaigns involving new legislation, the introduction of new institutions and ultimately, the high profile arrests of certain politicians. Despite initial enthusiasm among much of the Bangladeshi population, the success of these attempts has, however, been minimal. For instance, while the passing of the Right to Information (RTI) Bill and the subsequent establishment of the Information Commission was hailed as victory by many, as discussed in the following section there are still issues surrounding its proper execution [1, 10].

Recent analysis by Khan [28] notes that, while Bangladesh has some of the worst governance and anti-

corruption scores in the world, since 1980, it has made moderate to good progress on different indicators of economic and social development. Thus, it is Khan's view that anti-corruption and governance initiatives in Bangladesh have to be located in the context of this paradox. Part of the explanation might be found in the fact that anti-corruption strategies in Bangladesh have largely been of the systemic type, primarily focused on the demand side, i.e. interventions intended to improve the quality of public institutions through the promotion of transparency, the investigation of corruption and the imposition of legal penalties through prosecution [28]. Such measures are reliant on a system of vertical enforcement that remains weak in Bangladesh.

Indeed, while the country already had most of the formal legislation to be compliant with UNCAC when it acceded to the convention in 2007, the problem in Bangladesh is the informal processes and power relationships that prevent the implementation of these laws [28].

Moreover, direct investigations into allegations of high-level corruption in the current political climate are unlikely to be effective and may even be counterproductive, as in the Padma Bridge case [28]. The Anti-Corruption Evidence (ACE) Research Consortium recommends that implementable anti-corruption activities should have a low profile, and be based on an outcome-oriented and incremental set of policy proposals. The emphasis should not be on prosecution and punishment but on finding policy combinations that create incentives for stakeholders in particular sectors or activities to behave in more productive ways.

As such, Khan suggests that alternative anti-corruption strategies should be designed which seek to exploit the "supply side" by capitalising on the country's robust civil society and relatively active media sector, ACE 2017. Thus, the importance of social accountability initiatives and civil society contributions to anti-corruption efforts become all the more apparent. Iftekharuzzaman, TI-B 2017 seems to concur with this assessment, stating that alongside political will, the impartial application of justice and the accountable operation of integrity institutions, efforts to curb corruption will rely on a conducive environment for citizens, journalists and civil society representatives to strengthen the demand for good governance.

In this respect, there are some encouraging developments. The earlier introduction of a Citizens' Charter (CC) in 2000 has gone into the 2nd Generation starting in 2010, with the objective of providing a platform for civil servants and citizens to discuss the services needed by citizens [10]. In addition, a new performance appraisal system has been launched on a pilot basis to appraise the role and function of public sector employees on the basis of mutually agreed on

performance indicators [10]. Finally, to enhance financial accountability, an initiative called the “Strengthening Public Expenditure Management Programme” (SPEMP) has also been undertaken with the aim of building a more strategic and performance-oriented budget management process [10].

### **Legal and institutional anti-corruption framework**

#### **International Conventions**

Bangladesh signed and ratified the United Nation Convention against Corruption in 2007, UNODC 2018. The country also signed the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime in 2011, UNTC 2018.

#### **Domestic Legal Framework**

Bangladesh will celebrate 50 years of independence in 2021. In this context, there are several prospective plans like Vision 2021, the 7th Five Year Plan (7FYP) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and the country has prioritised countering corruption in all these strategic policy processes. For example, in Vision 2021, a political manifesto from the Awami League asserts the aspiration of government to fight against corruption for sustainable development, and goal 5 (of 8) is to rid society of corruption [16]. Bangladesh is no longer on the Financial Action Task Force list of countries that have been identified as having strategic anti-money laundering (AML) deficiencies, and there are no sanctions against the country KnowYourCountry 2018. However, a report by the US Department of State 2016 found that black market money exchanges remain popular because of the limited convertibility of the local currency, cash-based economy and scrutiny of foreign currency transactions made through official channels. Alternative remittance and value transfer systems also are used to avoid taxes and customs duties. Additional terrorism financing vulnerabilities exist, especially the use of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), charities, counterfeiting and loosely-regulated private banks.

#### **Institutional Framework**

A National Integrity Strategy (NIS) was approved by Cabinet in October 2012. Subsequently, NIS units have been established at each ministry and a National Integrity Advisory Committee has been formed with the Prime Minister as its Chair. The overall purpose of a National Integrity Strategy is to provide a system of governance that creates trust among citizens. The Government also plans to establish an Ethics Committee composed of the heads of the institutions [10].

#### **Anti-Corruption Commission**

In Bangladesh, the (ACC) was established in 2004 as a neutral and independent institution under the Anti-Corruption Commission Act of 2004. It addresses anti-corruption in Bangladesh in three broad categories: legal, institutional and other actors [16]. The 2018

Freedom House report states that the ACC has become ineffective and subject to overt political interference, and that the government continues to bring or pursue politicised corruption cases against BNP party leaders. In 2016, the government pushed the Anti-Corruption Commission (Amendment) Bill through parliament, which reauthorised police to pursue cases of fraud, forgery and cheating under eight sections of the penal code [29, 30].

#### **Comptroller and Auditor General**

The Office of the Comptroller and Auditor General (OCAG) is responsible as the country’s supreme audit institution for auditing government receipts and public spending. It is also tasked with ascertaining whether expenditures have yielded value for money in government offices, public bodies and statutory organisations. Appointed by the president of the republic, the comptroller and auditor general (CAG) heads the supreme audit institution. CAG has the mandate to determine the scope and extent of auditing, CAG 2018.

Although the OCAG audits government expenditures, it rarely requests that the government explain large-scale spending or points to irregularities in expenditure [3].

#### **Law Enforcement**

A notable effort have been made to improve integrity in the country’s law enforcement agencies is the Police Reform Programme (PRP), sponsored by international development partners. It is a comprehensive capacity building initiative aimed at producing a more effective and representative police force UNDP 2015. Under the reform programme, the police has doubled the number of female officers, set up 52,000 Community Policing Forums and the country’s first Victim Support Centre UNDP 2015. Despite this, law enforcement bodies still occupy the highest rank in civilians’ experience of corruption according to TI-B’s 2017 National Household Survey TIB 2017.

#### **Civil Society**

Civil society in any country plays a pivotal role in anti-corruption efforts. Not only does civil society act as a watchdog exposing cases of corruption, it also spreads awareness, proposes alternatives and offers a platform for a coalition of actors to work together [31]. Over the years, Bangladesh has become a vibrant polity for the participation of various institutions in its development paradigm and governance structures, as well as anti-corruption efforts [32]. However, the Foreign Donations (Voluntary Activities) Regulation Act, which took effect in 2016, has made it more difficult for NGOs to obtain foreign funds and has given officials broad authority to deregister NGOs that make “derogatory” comments about government bodies or the constitution, which further curbs the independence of such organisations [1].

### Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB)

TIB is an independent, non-governmental, non-partisan and non-profit organization dedicated to anti-corruption, good governance, accountability and transparency in the country, TIB 2018. It is a national chapter of the global anti-corruption NGO, Transparency International. Starting as a trust in 1996, and later gaining NGO status in 1998, its mission is to catalyse and strengthen a participatory social movement to promote and develop institutions, laws and practices for countering corruption in Bangladesh and establishing an efficient and transparent system of governance, politics and business (TIB 2018). The current 2014–2019 strategy, Building Integrity Blocks for Effective Change (BIBEC) aims to strengthen a series of mutually supportive and reinforcing “integrity blocks” to effectively reduce corruption. “Blocks” here imply the key institutions, policy/law, education, training, ethics and values and, above all, the people of the country (TIB 2014).

### Conclusion and Recommendations against corruption

Above all, what is needed for zero tolerance to yield concrete result is a comprehensive, target-oriented National Anti-Corruption Strategy developed by engaging relevant experts and stakeholders, and for be strictly enforced and independently monitored in the short-, medium- and long-term. In view of point practical recommendations against corruption and calls the contending political parties to commit themselves on their implementation:

- Reform the Elections Committee that monitors campaign expenditures by: excluding MPs participation, developing a strong monitoring mechanism (i.e. cross-check with tax data), imposing stronger penalties with direct reference to the Electoral Court.
- Post MPs’ asset disclosure declarations on the web (from the beginning of their political careers up to date).
- Ban the granting of loans to political parties when using future state funding as collateral, beyond current fiscal year.
- Breakdown major electoral districts into smaller ones (such as the Region of the greater area of Athens) that facilitate -due to extraordinarily high campaign costs- the interaction between politicians and other mechanisms (media, business etc), increasing opportunities of corruption.
- Reform the selection process for the heads of the supreme judiciary positions by establishing an independent body of judges, ensuring total independence of the judiciary and excluding the intervention of the Executive Power from any step of this process.
- Immediate referral of ministers accused of criminal offenses to the judicial council as per Article 86 paragraph 4 of the Constitution, which will decide

whether to refer or not each case to the special court of that Article.

- Implement Code of Ethics for MPs and members of the government.
- Establish impediments (minimum 3 years delay) for the occupation of specific political positions by retired judges.

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