

14.75 : Corruption Lecture 2

Ben Olken

- Do we care?
 - Magnitude and efficiency costs
- **The corrupt official's decision problem**
 - **Balancing risks, rents, and incentives**
- Embedding corruption into larger structures
 - The IO of corruption: embedding the decision problem into a market structure
 - Corruption and politics
 - Corruption's general equilibrium effects on the economy

Punishments, efficiency wages, etc

Becker and Stigler (1974): "Law Enforcement, Malfeasance, and Compensation of Enforcers"

- Setting: model of corruptible enforcers (police, auditors, etc)
- Wage w , outside wage v
- If bribed:
 - If detected, gets outside wage v (probability p)
 - If undetected, gets $b + w$ (probability $1 - p$)
- Equilibrium wage set so the agent is indifferent

$$w = pv + (1 - p)(b + w)$$

i.e.

$$w - v = \frac{1 - p}{p} b$$

Punishments, efficiency wages, etc

- One issue: this creates rents for bureaucrats
- Becker and Stigler suggest selling the job for $\frac{1-p}{p}b$ so that agent only receives market wage in equilibrium
- Suppose social cost of an audit is A . Then social cost is pA
- Then by setting $p \rightarrow 0$, can discourage corruption at no social cost!
- In practice, high entry fees would encourage state to fire workers without cause, so optimal p is not 0

Multiple equilibria

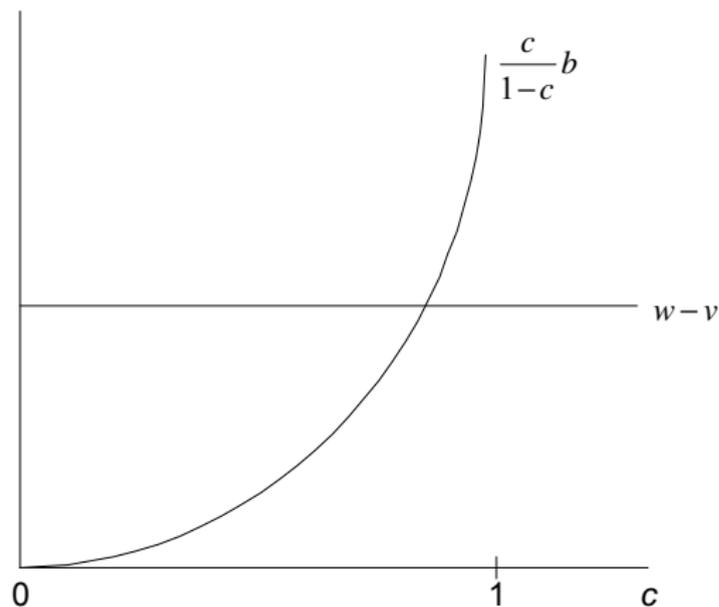
- Instead of endogenous wage, fix wage w , but suppose probability of detection p is endogenous and depends on how many other people are also corrupt
- Denote by c fraction of population that's corrupt
- Suppose $p(c) = 1 - c$
- Recall agent will steal if

$$w - v < \frac{1 - p}{p} b$$

- Substituting terms:

$$w - v < \frac{c}{1 - c} b$$

Multiple equilibria



- Implication: temporary wage increase or corruption crackdown can have permanent effects

Multiple equilibria

- Many potential reasons for multiple equilibria
 - Probability of detection
 - Enforcers (who will punish the punishers)
 - Chance of being reported in binary interaction
 - Selection into bureaucracy
 - And others....

- Key parameters of interest:
 - When you increase the probability of detection:
 - How much does corruption decrease?
 - Do corrupt official substitute to other margins?
 - Does this increase efficiency or is it just a transfer?
 - Testing Becker-Stigler:
 - Do officials think about future rents when deciding how much to steal?
 - Does increasing wages per se reduce corruption?
 - Can output-based incentives reduce corruption?
 - Are there multiple equilibria? If so, which theory governs them?

Testing Becker-Stigler: Monitoring

Olken 2007: "Monitoring Corruption: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Indonesia"

- Randomized villages into one of three treatments:
 - Audits: increased probability of central government audit from 0.04 to 1
 - Invitations: increased grass-roots monitoring of corruption
 - Comments: created mechanism for anonymous comments about corruption in project by villagers
- Invitations & comment forms discussed in collective action section; we'll focus here on the audits

Measuring Corruption

- Goal
 - Measure the difference between *reported expenditures* and *actual expenditures*
- Measuring reported expenditures
 - Obtain line-item reported expenditures from village books and financial reports
- Measuring actual expenditures
 - Take core samples to measure quantity of materials
 - Survey suppliers in nearby villages to obtain prices
 - Interview villagers to determine wages paid and tasks done by voluntary labor
- Measurement conducted in treatment and control villages

Measuring Corruption



Measuring Corruption

- Measure of theft:

$$THEFT_i = \text{Log}(\text{Reported}_i) - \text{Log}(\text{Actual}_i)$$

- Can compute item-by-item, split into prices and quantities
- Assumptions
 - Loss Ratios - Material lost during construction or not all measured in survey
 - Worker Capacity - How many man-days to accomplish given quantity of work
 - Calibrated by building four small (60m) roads ourselves, measuring inputs, and then applying survey techniques
- All assumptions are constant – affect levels of theft but should not affect differences in theft across villages

- Audits

- Conducted by Government Audit Agency (BPKP)
- Auditors examine books and inspect construction site
- Penalties: results of audits to be delivered directly to village meeting and followed up by project staff, with small probability of criminal action

- Timing

- Before construction began, village implementation team in treatment villages informed they would be audited during and/or after construction of road project
- One village in each treatment subdistrict audited during construction
- All villages audited after construction
- Official letter from BPKP sent 2 months after initial announcement, and again after first round of audits

Results

Impact of audits

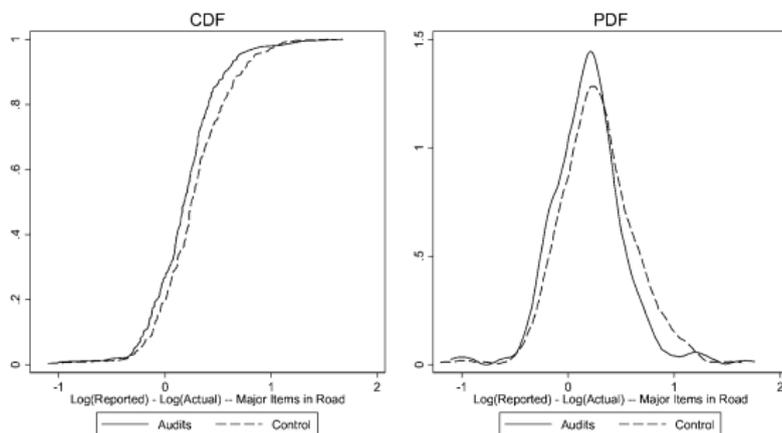


FIG. 1.—Empirical distribution of missing expenditures. The left-hand figure shows the empirical CDF of missing expenditures for the major items in a road project, separately for villages in the audit treatment group (solid line) and the control group (dashed line). The right-hand figure shows estimated PDFs of missing expenditures for both groups; PDFs are estimated using kernel density regressions using an Epanechnikov kernel.

Results

Impact of audits

TABLE 4
AUDITS: MAIN THEFT RESULTS

| | CONTROL MEAN (1) | TREATMENT MEAN: AUDITS (2) | NO FIXED EFFECTS | | ENGINEER FIXED EFFECTS | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| | | | Audit Effect (3) | p-Value (4) | Audit Effect (5) | p-Value (6) |
| PERCENT MISSING ² | | | | | | |
| Major items in roads (<i>N</i> = 477) | .277 (.033) | .192 (.029) | -.085* (.044) | .058 | -.076** (.036) | .039 |
| Major items in roads and ancillary projects (<i>N</i> = 538) | .291 (.030) | .199 (.030) | -.091** (.043) | .034 | -.086** (.037) | .022 |
| Breakdown of roads: | | | | | | |
| Materials | .240 (.038) | .162 (.036) | -.078 (.053) | .143 | -.063 (.042) | .136 |
| Unskilled labor | .312 (.080) | .231 (.072) | -.077 (.108) | .477 | -.090 (.087) | .304 |

Why wasn't the effect bigger?

- Although audit probability went to 1, point estimates suggest 19% of funds were still missing
- Why didn't it go to 0?
- Three possibilities
 - Maybe people didn't believe the audits would take place?
 - Maybe auditors were corrupt after all?
 - Maybe audit probability of 1 doesn't imply punishment probability of 1?

Were auditors corrupt?

TABLE 6
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AUDITOR FINDINGS AND SURVEY TEAM FINDINGS

| | Engineering Team Physical Score (1) | Engineering Team Administrative Score (2) | Percent Missing in Road Project (3) |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Auditor physical score | .109** (.043) | -.067 (.071) | .024 (.033) |
| Auditor administrative score | .007 (.049) | .272** (.133) | -.055** (.027) |
| Subdistrict fixed effects | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Observations | 248 | 249 | 212 |
| R^2 | .83 | .78 | .46 |

What did auditors find?

TABLE 7
AUDIT FINDINGS

| | Percentage of Villages with Finding |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Any finding by BPKP auditors | 90% |
| Any finding involving physical construction | 58% |
| Any finding involving administration | 80% |
| Daily expenditure ledger not in accordance with procedures | 50% |
| Procurement/tendering procedures not followed properly | 38% |
| Insufficient documentation of receipt of materials | 28% |
| Insufficient receipts for expenditures | 17% |
| Receipts improperly archived | 17% |
| Insufficient documentation of labor payments | 4% |

Substitution to other forms of corruption

- Auditors investigate books and construction site, but not who worked on project
- Question: does hiring of family members change in response to audits?
- Investigate using household survey:
 - 4,000 households
 - Asked if anyone in household worked on project for pay
 - Asked if immediate / extended family of village government member or project official
- Specification:

$$\begin{aligned} WORKED_{hijk} = & \gamma_k + \gamma_2 AUDIT_{jk} + \gamma_3 FAMILY_{hijk} \\ & + \gamma_4 AUDIT_{jk} \times FAMILY_{hijk} + \gamma_5 X_{hijk} + \varepsilon_{hijk} \end{aligned}$$

TABLE 8
NEPOTISM

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Audit | -.011 (.023) | .004 (.021) | -.017 (.032) | -.038 (.032) |
| Village government family member | -.020 (.024) | .016 (.017) | .016 (.017) | -.014 (.023) |
| Project head family member | .051 (.032) | -.015 (.047) | .051 (.032) | -.004 (.047) |
| Social activities | .017*** (.006) | .017*** (.006) | .013* (.006) | .014** (.006) |
| Audit × village government family member | .079** (.034) | | | .064* (.034) |
| Audit × project head family member | | .138** (.060) | | .115* (.061) |
| Audit × social activities | | | .010 (.008) | .008 (.008) |
| Stratum fixed effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Observations | 3,386 | 3,386 | 3,386 | 3,386 |
| R^2 | .26 | .26 | .26 | .27 |
| Mean dependent variable | .30 | .30 | .30 | .30 |

- Audits:
 - Reduced corruption by about 8 percentage points
 - Increased actual quantities of materials, rather than decreased price markups – so an increase in efficiency, not just a transfer
 - Led to more nepotism
 - May have been limited by the degree to which auditors can prove 'punishable' offences

Testing Becker-Stigler: Wages

Di Tella and Schargrodsy (2003), "The Role of Wages and Auditing During a Crackdown on Corruption in the City of Buenos Aires"

- Setting: hospitals in Argentina
- Empirical idea:
 - Corruption crackdown in 1996
 - Examine differential effects depending on procurement officer's wage
- Measure corruption by examining prices pay for identical inputs
- Regression

$$LOGPRICE_{iht} = \lambda LOGSIZE_{iht} + \alpha_t \theta_t + \delta_t (w_h - w_h^0) + \Sigma_h + \varepsilon_{iht}$$

where w_h is log procurement officer's wage and w_h^0 is log of "predicted wage" based on characteristics

First stage and efficiency wages

=a U[Yg fYa cj YX'Xi Y'hc'Wc dnf][\h fYghf]Wcbg" GYY. '8] HY" Uz'FUZUY'z'UbX'9fbYghc'GWUf[fcXg_nf]"H\Y'Fc'Y'cZK U[Yg
UbX'5i X]h]b['8i f]b['U'7fUW_Xck b'cb'7cffi dh]cb']b' H\Y'7]hmcZ6i Ybcg'5]fYg"">ci fbU'cZ@Uk UbX'9Wcbca]Mj f&\$\$' t"
HUV'Y'% 'H\Y'9ZZYVhcZH\Y'7cffi dh]cb'7fUW_Xck b'cb'Df]Wg
HUV'Y'& 'H\Y'Fc'Y'cZK U[Yg'8i f]b['H\Y'7cffi dh]cb'7fUW_Xck b

Another approach: incentives

Duflo, Hanna, and Ryan (2007): "Monitoring Works: Getting Teachers to Come to School"

- Setting: para-teachers in India
- Experiment:
 - Teacher's daily attendance was verified through photographs with time and date stamps.
 - Salary was made a non-linear function of his attendance
- Paper:
 - Estimates average effects of incentive scheme from a randomized experiment
 - Uses non-linearity in incentives to show that they respond to incentives
 - Estimate a structural model from treatment group, which allows them to simulate counterfactuals

- Incentive scheme:
 - Teacher in Intervention school were provided with a camera with non-temperable time and date stamp
 - Instructed to take a picture of themselves and the children every day (morning and afternoon). A valid pairs of picture has:
 - Two pictures taken the same day, separated by at least 5 hours each.
 - At least 8 children per picture
 - Payment is calculated each month and is a non-linear function of attendance:
 - Up to 10 days: Rs 500.
 - Each day above 10 days: Rs 50.
 - In non-intervention schools, teachers receive Rs 1000, and are reminded by attending at least 20 days is compulsory.

Results

Attendance

```
=a U[Yg fYa cj YX'Xi Y'hc'Wtdmf][\hfYghf]Wjcbg" GYY. '8i Zcz'9gh\Yfz'UbX'FYa U'<UbbU""A cb]hcf]b[
K cf_g' ; YH]b[ 'HYUWYfg'hc'7ca Y'hc'GW'cc""'B69F'K cf_]b[ 'DUdYf'Bc""%% , $'fB$$) t"
HUV'Y'&
HUV'Y'-
:] [i fY''
HUV'Y''
```

Monitoring vs. incentives?

- Question: Are teachers sensitive to increased monitoring or to incentives?
- Empirical idea: When teachers switch from the last day of the month to the first day of the month:
 - A teacher who has attended 9 days or less in the rest of the month faces no incentive at the end of month t and faces incentives again at the end of month $t + 1$.
 - A teacher who has attended more than 10 days in the rest of the month faces a Rs 50 incentives at the end of month t and slightly smaller at the beginning of the next month
- Regression:

$$W_{itm} = \alpha + \beta 1_m(d > 10) + \gamma F + \lambda 1_m(d > 10) \times F + v_i + \epsilon_{itm}$$

- What would this tell us?

But a cautionary note...

Banerjee, Duflo, and Glennerster (2008): "Putting a Band-Aid on a Corpse: Incentives for Nurses in the Indian Public Health Care System,"

- Setting: Nurses in Indian public health care centers, with high absenteeism
- Experiment:
 - NGO used automated time clocks to monitor nurse attendance
 - Government used time clock information combined with fines and punishments
- So, sounds very similar to cameras

- What happened?
- Initially worked well
 - First 6 months had dramatic improvement in attendance – as much as 24 percentage points more likely to be present
- But subsequently, health administration undermined incentive system
 - System allows "excused" absences for government-mandated meetings, surveys, or other health work, or if machine malfunctions
 - So nurses started reporting many more excused absences, with no response from district administration
 - By 16 months after intervention started, treatment and comparison was essentially the same
- Why? Conclusions?

Summary

- Corrupt officials respond to incentives
 - Static incentives (punishments, output based incentives)
 - And, potentially, dynamic incentives (wages, future corruption)
- But...
 - They may substitute to other margins, and one needs to be sure that those margins have lower social cost
 - Enforcing the incentives may be difficult if the enforcers are, themselves, corrupt
 - Suggests multiple equilibria in corruption – on which there is no evidence
 - Would be nice to see output-based incentives applied to other types of corruption (esp. the 'misaligned' case). Why might this be different?

MIT OpenCourseWare
<http://ocw.mit.edu>

14.75 Political Economy and Economic Development

Fall 2012

For information about citing these materials or our Terms of Use, visit: <http://ocw.mit.edu/terms>.