

## 14.75 : Corruption Lecture 3

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

# Industrial Organization of Corruption

Shleifer and Vishny (1993): "Corruption"

- Shleifer and Vishny (1993):
  - Key idea: think of bribe as a price, which is set endogenously to maximize profits
  - Analogy is to a monopolist
- Two types of corruption:
  - 1 Corruption without theft - bribes paid on top of official fees
    - Corruption decreases efficiency
  - 2 Corruption with theft - bribes paid instead of fees
    - Aligns the interests of briber and bribe payer and sustains corruption
    - Efficiency implications unclear

# Corruption without theft

```
=a U[ Yg fYa cj YX`Xi Y`hc `Wtdmf][ \hfYghf]W]cbg" GYY. `G\`Y]Zyfz`5bXFY]z UbX`F cVYfhK ``J ]g\brf
`7cffi dh]cb""`H\Y`E i UffYf`m>ci fbU`cZ9Vt`bca ]W] %$, `bc"" `fB%- `E `) --! *%+"
: ][ i fY`%W`7cffi dh]cb`K ]\ci h`H\YZh
: ][ i fY`%W`7cffi dh]cb`k ]\`H\YZh
```

# Centralized vs. decentralized corruption

- Idea: Corruption was more efficient in Communist Russia than in post-Communist Russia, or under Soeharto in Indonesia than in Indonesia today
- Suppose you need  $n$  permits to build a house
- Building a house has value  $v$ . Distribution of  $v$  determines demand  $q(P)$ , elasticity  $\varepsilon(P) = \frac{\partial q}{\partial P} \frac{P}{q}$

# Centralized vs. decentralized corruption

- Decentralized bribe-setting:

- Each official announced a fixed price  $p_i$ . Define  $P = \sum_j p_j$
- Each official maximizes

$$p_i q \left( p_i + \sum_{j \neq i} p_j \right)$$

- Taking derivatives with respect to  $p_i$ , we have the FOC

$$p_i q' \left( p_i + \sum_{j \neq i} p_j \right) + q \left( p_i + \sum_{j \neq i} p_j \right) = 0$$

- Define  $P = p_i + \sum_{j \neq i} p_j$ . Assume symmetry so in equilibrium  $p_i = p_j = p$ .

- Then we can rewrite the FOC as

$$\begin{aligned} \frac{P}{n} q'(P) + q(P) &= 0 \\ \frac{q'(P) P}{q(P)} &= -n \end{aligned}$$

# Centralized vs. decentralized corruption

- Predictions:

- ① If  $\varepsilon'(P) < 0$ , then  $\frac{\partial P}{\partial n} > 0$

- Note that  $\varepsilon'(P) < 0$  required to generate finite price in monopoly model with 0 marginal cost – standard assumption.

- ② If  $q(P)$  not "too convex", then  $\frac{\partial \frac{P}{n}}{\partial n} < 0$

- Sufficient condition is that  $\frac{q''(P)P}{q'(P)} > -1$ , or  $q'' \leq 0$

- Alternative models:

- If pricing was centralized, then:

- $\varepsilon(P) = -1$  in equilibrium
    - $\frac{\partial P}{\partial n} = 0$

- If pricing was exogenous, then

- $\frac{\partial \frac{P}{n}}{\partial n} = 0$

# Competition

- Now suppose permits are perfect substitutes, i.e., you can get the permit either from agent 1 or agent 2.
  - If agents engage in Bertrand competition, then bribes are driven down to 0.
  - If agents engage in Cournot competition, then  $\frac{\partial p}{\partial n} < 0$

# Empirical Test: Trucking in Aceh

Olken and Barron (2009): "The Simple Economics of Extortion: Evidence from Trucking in Aceh"

- Setting: long-distance trucking in Aceh, Indonesia
- In addition to weigh stations (which we discussed before), trucks stop and pay bribes at checkpoints along the route
  - Set up by police, military ostensibly for security reasons, but mostly now for rent extraction
  - Drivers pay to avoid being harassed / ticketed by officers manning checkpoint
  - More like extortion than bribery: officer only mentioned a violation in 24 out of 5,387 transactions
  - Average payment: Rp. 5,000 - Rp. 10,000 (US \$0.55 - US \$1.10)
  - Average of 20 checkpoints per trip
- Idea: checkpoints are like a string of monopolists – you need to pay all of them to complete a trip

=a U[ Yg fYa cj YX Xi Y hc W dmf][ \hfYghf]Wjcbg" GYY. C \_Ybz 6Yb Ua ]b 5"z UbX DUhf]W\_ 6Uffcb""HNY G]a d Y  
9Wbca ]Vg cZ 9l hc fh]cb. 9j ]XYbW Zca Hfi W\_]b[ ]b 5W\ "" B 69F K cf\_]b[ 'DUdYf Bc""% %( ) f&\$-\$- E"

# Empirical strategy: military withdrawal from Aceh

- Thirty-year conflict between Indonesian government and Acehese rebels (GAM)
  - Peace agreement signed in August 2005 to withdraw 30,000 police and military in 4 phases from September 2005 - January 2006
  - Data is from November 2005 - June 2006, and so encompasses the 3rd and 4th withdrawal phases, as well as post-period
  - Most checkpoints in Aceh had already disappeared from Banda Aceh route by the time data, so focus on Meulaboh route
- Trips passed through two provinces (Aceh and North Sumatra), but military withdrawals did not affect North Sumatra province
- Empirical strategy:
  - Withdrawal on troops from portion of Meulaboh-Medan route in Aceh province reduced number of checkpoints on the route ( $n$ )
  - Assumption: no direct effect of withdrawal on checkpoints in North Sumatra province
  - Therefore, can use changes in prices charged at checkpoints in North Sumatra to identify  $\frac{\partial P}{\partial n}$  from the Shleifer-Vishny model

- Direct observation of 304 trips across the two routes
  - Locally-recruited enumerators accompanied drivers on their regular routes, writing down all payments
  - Dressed as (and fulfilling role of) truck drivers' assistants
  - Total of over 6,000 illegal payments
- On average, extortion / bribes / protection payments are about 13% of cost of trip – more than drivers' salary
- Video

# Impact of withdrawal of posts on bribes

- Estimation 1: Checkpoint level, with all checkpoints on Meulaboh - Medan road *in North Sumatra province*

$$LOGPRICE_{ci} = \alpha_c + X_i' \gamma + \beta LOGEXPECTEDPOSTS_i + \varepsilon_{ci}$$

- Includes checkpoint fixed effects ( $\alpha_c$ )
- $LOGEXPECTEDPOSTS_i$  isolates variation from change in Aceh posts.
- Can add Banda Aceh trips as a control group
- Predictions:
  - Note that  $LOGPRICE_{ci} = LOG(P) - LOG(n)$
  - Centralized model:  $\beta = -1$
  - Decentralized model:  $-1 < \beta < 0$
  - "Exogenous" pricing model:  $\beta = 0$

# Impact of withdrawal of posts on bribes

- Estimation 2: Time series of total payments in North Sumatra.

$$\text{LOGPAYMENT}_i = \alpha + X_i' \gamma + \beta \text{LOGEXPECTEDPOSTS}_i + \varepsilon_i$$

- $\text{LOGPAYMENT}_i$  is total payments in North Sumatra Province
- Includes weigh stations, allows us to account for potentially endogenous changes in number of checkpoints
- Can continue to use Banda Aceh road as control group
- Convincing?
- Main threat to identification is differential time trends between routes

```
=a U[ Yg fYa cj YX Xi Y hc W dmf][ \hfYghf]Wjcbg" GYY. C _Ybz 6Yb Ua ]b 5"z UbX DUhf]W_ 6Uffcb""HNY G]a d Y  
9Wbca ]Vg cZ 9l hc fh]cb. '9j ]XYbW Z ca 'Hfi W_]b[ ' ]b 5W\ "" B 69F 'K cf_]b[ 'DUdYf Bc""% %( ) 'f&$$- E"
```

# Does competition increase quantities and decrease bribes?

- With Cournot competition, as you increase the number of firms, quantities increase and prices decrease.
- Example from forestry:
  - Each district head can allow illegal logging in return for a bribe
  - As we increase the number of districts, total logging should increase and prices should fall
- Empirical setting:
  - In Indonesia, number of districts almost doubled between 2000 and 2008, with districts splits occurring asynchronously
  - We examine the impact of increasing number of districts in a market over time
- Tests:
  - Show impact on quantity using satellite data
  - Demonstrate impact on prices from official production data
- Can rule out various alternative explanations (impacts on legal production, changes in enforcement, differential time trends)

# We track illegal logging using satellite imagery.

- MODIS satellite gives daily images of world at 250m resolution
- We use MODIS to construct annual change layers for forests for all Indonesia
  - Aggregate daily images to monthly level to get clearest cloud-free image for each pixel
  - Use 7 MODIS bands at monthly level + 8-day MODIS land surface temperature product -> over 130 images for each pixel
  - Use Landsat training data to predict deforestation
  - Once coded as deforested, coded as deforested forever
- Since we have pixel level data, we can overlay with GIS information on the four (fixed) forest zones – production, conversion, conservation, protection ⇒ enables us to look directly at illegal logging

# Magnitudes are consistent with benchmark Cournot model.

- Benchmark Cournot model:

$$\max_{q_i} q_i p \left( \sum q \right) - c q_i$$

- Taking derivatives and rewriting yields:

$$\frac{(p - c)}{p} = \frac{1}{n\varepsilon}$$

where  $n$  is number of jurisdictions and  $\varepsilon$  is elasticity of demand

- If we assume  $p = \frac{a}{Q^\lambda}$ , so we have constant elasticity of demand  $\varepsilon = \frac{1}{\lambda}$ , we can derive a formula for semi-elasticity of extraction with respect to  $n$  (which is what we estimate), i.e.

$$\frac{1}{Q} \frac{dQ}{dn} = \frac{1}{n^2 - n\lambda}$$

# Magnitudes are results consistent with benchmark Cournot model.

- Does this match the data?
- With  $n = 5.5$  and  $\varepsilon = 2.1$ , formula implies  $\frac{1}{Q} \frac{dQ}{dn} = \frac{1}{n^2 - n\lambda}$ , which is about 0.035
- We estimate  $\frac{1}{Q} \frac{dQ}{dn}$  to be between 0.036 in short run and 0.079 in long run – so in the right order of magnitude

# Transaction level IO issues

- Analysis above was about "market-level" IO issues
- There are also several important "transaction-level" IO issues
  - Bargaining and hold-up
  - Price discrimination
  - Auction design

# Bargaining and hold-up

- Model above had fixed prices, announced in advance
- Suppose instead there was ex-post bargaining between the officer guarding the checkpoint and the truck driver
- Assume officer's bargaining weight  $\alpha$
- What happens at last checkpoint?
  - Officer receives  $\alpha$ , driver keeps  $(1 - \alpha)$
- What happens at previous checkpoint?
  - Officer receives  $\alpha(1 - \alpha)$ , driver keeps  $1 - \alpha(1 - \alpha)$ .
  - Why?
  - Intuition is that there is less surplus from agreement at "upstream" checkpoints, since some part of that surplus will be extracted at "downstream" checkpoints
  - Analogy is to ex-post bargaining in chain of Leontief production technologies (e.g. Blanchard and Kremer 1997)

# Testing bargaining and hold-up

- First question: is there any ex-post bargaining?
- Certain factors likely to increase bargaining power of officer manning the post
  - Is officer carrying a gun?
  - How many officers are visible manning post?
- We can test whether these factors:
  - Increase amount paid at checkpoint
  - Increase probability of negotiation over amount paid
- Estimation:

$$\text{LOGPRICE}_{ci} = \alpha_i + \alpha_c + \beta_1 \text{GUN}_{ci} + \beta_2 \text{NUMOFFICERS}_{ci} + \varepsilon_{ci}$$

- Includes trip fixed effects ( $\alpha_i$ ) and checkpoint  $\times$  month  $\times$  direction of travel fixed effects ( $\alpha_c$ )

# Do prices increase along the route?

- Prediction from model: if  $\alpha > 0$ , so there is some ex-post bargaining, prices increase as you near the end of the trip
- To estimate this, take advantage of the fact that we have trips in both directions
- For each checkpoint  $\times$  direction of travel:
  - Define  $MEANPERCENTILE_{ci}$  as the percentile in the trip where the checkpoint is on average encountered each month
  - Each checkpoint will have two values of  $MEANPERCENTILE_{ci}$  each month, one going to Aceh and one coming from Aceh
- Estimation:

$$LOGPRICE_{ci} = \alpha_i + \alpha_c + \beta MEANPERCENTILE_{ci} + \varepsilon_{ci}$$

- Includes trip fixed effects ( $\alpha_i$ ) and checkpoint  $\times$  month fixed effects ( $\alpha_c$ )

# Do prices increase along the route?

=a U[ Yg fYa cj YX Xi Y hc W dmf][ \hfYghf]Wjcbg" GYY. C \_Ybz 6Yb Ua Jb 5"z UbX DUhf]W\_ 6Uffcb""HNY G]a d Y  
9Wbca ]Vg cZ 9l hc fh]cb. '9j ]XYbW Z ca 'Hfi W\_b[ ]b 5W\ "" B 69F :K cf\_]b[ 'DUDyf Bc""% %( ) f&\$ \$- E"

# Do prices increase along the route?

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9Wbca ]Vg cZ 9l hc fh]cb. 9j ]XYbW Zca Hfi W\_b[ ]b 5W\ "" B 69F K cf\_]b[ 'DUDyf Bc""% %( ) f&\$ \$- E"

# Do prices increase along the route?

- Why Meulaboh but not Banda Aceh?
- Model predicts

$$\log b_n = -n \log (1 - \alpha) + k$$

- Since we estimate the coefficient on  $\frac{n}{N}$ ,  $\beta = -N \log (1 - \alpha)$
- Estimates from Meulaboh imply  $\alpha = 0.005$
- Since there are fewer checkpoints on Banda Aceh route, the estimated slope  $\beta$  will be smaller
- Also, the presence of intermediate cities on the Banda Aceh route substantially weakens the prediction

# Third degree price discrimination

- Theory: if corrupt officials can observe characteristics that are correlated with willingness to pay, they will adjust prices accordingly
- Estimation from trucking paper:

$$LOGPRICE_{ci} = \alpha_c + X_i' \beta + \varepsilon_{ci}$$

- Includes checkpoint  $\times$  month  $\times$  direction of travel fixed effects ( $\alpha_c$ )
- Results indicate price discrimination on:
  - Truck age
  - Cargo value
  - Cargo types (higher for food, agricultural produce, steel)
- Svensson (2003) finds similar results in Uganda looking at firms' bribe payments

# Third degree price discrimination

- Do trucks with observable characteristics correlated with higher willingness to pay in fact pay more?

⇒ a U[ Yg fYa cj YX Xi Y hc Wdmf][ \hfYghf]Mjcbg" GYY. C \_Ybz 6Yb Ua ]b 5"z UbX DUhf]W\_ 6Uffcb""HNY G]a d Y  
9Wbca ]Vg cZ 9l hcfh]cb. 9j ]XYbW Zca Hfi W\_b[ ]b 5W\ "" B69F K cf\_]b[ 'DUdYf Bc""% %( ) f&\$-\$- £"

## Second degree price discrimination

- Another type of price-discrimination is screening – e.g., create different contracts and let people self-select
- Does this happen with corruption?
- Evidence
  - We saw evidence of this in the trucking paper at weigh stations
  - What else? Does drivers' license paper speak to this?

# Procurement auctions

- Much corruption takes place in government procurement of goods and services
- To mitigate corruption (and other problems), governments typically procure through procurement auctions, which restrict the discretion that procurement officials have
- Procurement is more complicated than auctions to sell a product, since the procurer cares about quality in addition to price
- There are therefore two main types of procurement regimes:
  - Best-price auction: conditional on meeting a minimum quality threshold, lowest price wins
  - Best-value auctions: every bidder receives a quality score, and winner determined by a formula that combines quality and price
- Do these auctions prevent corruption? Under what circumstances? What auction rules work best for mitigating corruption?

# Empirical tests

Tran 2008: Can Procurement Auctions Reduce Corruption? Evidence from the Internal Records of a Bribe Paying Firm

- Setting: Government procurement of electrical equipment in an Asian country
- Data: Tran obtained a firm's secret records of every bribe they had paid in a procurement auction over the past 10 years, 562 total transactions
  - Bribes average about 15% of cost of the equipment
  - This data allows him to observe not just how auctions change total prices, but also how they change the share of rents that accrue to the corrupt official

# Empirical strategy

- Empirical strategy: diffs-in-diffs with changes in procurement rules
- First difference:
  - Prior to 2000, no auctions required whatsoever
  - 2001 - 2004, best-value auctions required
  - 2004 - present, best-price auctions required
- Second difference:
  - High-value contracts (above \$14,540) require open auctions under both regimes (anyone can bid)
  - Medium-value contracts (\$7,270 - \$14,540) require restricted auctions under both regimes (officer solicits bids)
  - Low-value contracts do not require auctions
- Estimate

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Bribe}_{it} = & \text{BIG}_{it} + \text{MED}_{it} + \text{BIG}_{it} \times \text{POST2001}_t + \text{BIG}_{it} \times \text{POST2004}_t \\ & + \text{MED}_{it} \times \text{POST2001}_t + \text{MED}_{it} \times \text{POST2004}_t + \alpha_t + X + \varepsilon \end{aligned}$$

# Endogenous contract values

- Officials manipulate contract values to get around thresholds (e.g., including or excluding maintenance contracts, specifying cheaper brands, etc)

=a U[YfYa cj YX'Xi Y'hc'Wdmf][\hfYgh]Wjcbg" GYY. 'HfUbz'5b\ ""7Ub'DfcWfYa Ybh5i Wjcbg FYXi W  
7cffidh]cb3'9j]XYbW'Zfca'hY'bh/fbU'FYWfXg'cZU'6f]VY!DUm]b[ :]fa ""Bcj Ya VYfz&\$\$, ""

- Solution: instrument using the power capacity of the equipment being purchased, which does not change

- Relative to control:
  - Best-value auctions
    - Have no impact on big contracts (open auctions)
    - Increase bribes (and firm profits) on medium contracts (restricted auctions)
  - Best-price auctions
    - Reduce bribes (and firm profits) on big contracts (open auctions)
    - No impact (and firm profits) on medium contracts (restricted auctions)
- Explanations?
  - Tran's explanation: best-value auctions decrease scrutiny while not actually constraining the procurement officer at all

# Summary

- Applying IO models to corruption: corrupt officials behave like firms in many ways
- Theory:
  - Market structure models (double marginalization, competition), with efficiency implications that depend on the context
  - Price discrimination as in standard IO contexts
- Empirics:
  - Evidence for double marginalization – but no compelling evidence to date on competition
  - Evidence of price discrimination – both third degree and (to a lesser degree) second degree
  - Evidence that auction design is important for corruption – but this is an area for future work as well

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## 14.75 Political Economy and Economic Development

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