

Governance, Politics and Corruption:

An Inquiry on Electoral Corruption in Jamaica



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Abstract

This thesis will study the notions of governance and corruption and thereby apply it to the case of Jamaica in order to understand how political corruption weakens the country's governmental legitimacy and principles of democracy. Seeing that corruption is a symbol for the disintegration of state power, it is argued that corruption distorts development of political, social and economic institutions. In the view of such circumstances, it has been argued that Jamaica provides great surroundings for corruption as its weak legal frameworks and bureaucratic and inadequate public sector allows public funds and investments to be redirected into the hands of the powerful elite.

As such, this thesis includes a qualitative case study on the prevalence of corruption in Jamaica by putting emphasis on electoral corruption. Focus is also put on the public's attitudes and trust towards, and perception of, the country's government and politicians. The empirical data has been collected through ten semi-structured interviews which were carried out in the field (Kingston, Jamaica). The results from the processed primary and secondary sources suggest that there is a high prevalence of political corruption, in particularly electoral fraud, as the two main political parties in Jamaica have a history of vote-buying and political tribalism. As a result, the public's distrust towards the government and the politicians has increased, while the voting participation among the registered citizens has declined.

Key words: Governance, good governance, corruption, political corruption, electoral corruption, Jamaica, political tribalism, garrison politics, patron-client relationship

Word count: 22 108

Abbreviations

CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JLP	Jamaica Labour Party
KSAC	Kingston and Saint Andrew Corporation
LAPOP	Latin American Public Opinion Project
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NPO	Non-profit Organization
PNP	Peoples National Party
TI	Transparency International
UN	United Nations
WB	World Bank
WGI	Worldwide Governance Indicators

1. Introduction

According to studies conducted by Transparency International (TI), Jamaica has been consorted as highly corrupt whereby a high percentage of the population has perceived that corruption is very common among public actors. The complexity of corruption emerges as problematic as it deteriorates the performance and quality of public services, contradicts the idea of democracy (the rule of the people) and, jeopardizes the legitimacy of the Jamaican political system. The immoral and unethical view on corruption has resulted in that bribe taking and giving has become commonplace as illegal payments have become the norm in some institutions of the public sector. Furthermore, Jamaica's long history of organized networks and relationships between criminal gangs and political institutions has led to a "flourishing of corruption and the plunder of the resources of the State", which, among other things, has been used in order to secure electoral votes through political mobilization and political tribalism and clientelism. The issue of the widespread illegal payments in the public sector has not only resulted in a societal awareness which recognizes that patronage is being awarded by the political system, but also, according to a national poll, that the public listed corruption as the second-most serious problem facing Jamaica (Anti-Corruption Branch 2010, Lyday 2008: iii, Powell & Lewis 2009: 35-37, 43, Powell & Lewis 2011: 88).

Seeing that corruption undermines democracy and weakens the institutions on which economic growth and social justice depend on - in regards to that funds, investments and public resources are being redirected into the hands of private actors, rather than invested in Jamaica's infrastructure and welfare - it can be argued that economic underdevelopment breeds and feeds corruption. Moreover, seeing that corruption challenges the political and legal institutions, and damages the integrity and legitimacy of a state, I will address the problem of corruption in Jamaica with the theory of good governance. Understanding that governance is defined as "*the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)*" and, moreover, "*the process and institutions, both formal and informal, that guide and restrain the collectivities of a group*"; it is indicated that good governance facilitates the reduction of corruption as its fundamental pillars are based on participation, consensus orientation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, effectiveness and efficiency,

equitability, and the rule of law (Boyne 2010, Johnston 2005: 1, Lewis & Powell 2011: 99, Kahler & Lake 2003: 7, ESCAP 2011, UNODOC 2011, Waller 2010).

Jamaica is identified as an established democracy based on the notion that the country is considered to hold free and fair elections. Nevertheless, there are some major short comings related to the political parties and the democratic procedures. It is claimed that there is a tradition of electoral-related violent behaviour as both parties have a history of being involved in rather destructive means of competition. That being the case, I found it worthwhile to investigate *why* and *how* corruption is widespread, by putting particular focus on electoral corruption. As it is proposed that corruption within the public sector are indicators of failed governance and weakened institutions, this thesis will also explore the insufficiencies which has enabled political corruption to take place (Gray and Kaufmann 1998: 7, Johnston 2005: 11, Munroe 2003: 19, Spector, Johnston and Winbourne 2009: 2-4).

1.1 Aim and Limitations

In view of the circumstances discussed in the introduction, the aim of the thesis is to investigate the prevalence and evolvement of political corruption in Jamaica by putting emphasis on governance and elections. In order to tackle this issue, I will investigate the breadth of political corruption and consider the public's attitudes towards, and perceptions of, the country's government and politicians. Hence, focus will be put on the notions of clientelism and voting behaviour as it is common knowledge that the two main Jamaican political parties secure their votes through either direct vote-buying or patron-client relationships.

The case of Jamaica is specific in the sense that it has strong institutions but its system of economic and political prospects remain to be fairly tightly controlled by its weak and flexible legal framework which is continuously dominated by the elite, who controls and limits external change. Understanding that the Jamaican political system is based on a formal two-party democracy - which is weakened into a collusive, cartel-based form of political party - its organizational culture has since independency been characterized by clientelism and patronage. Consequently, the political environment has enabled corruption of various degrees to take place; ranging from petty and bureaucratic corruption to clientelism and patronage, and corruption on a higher level where transactions between private and public actors are illegitimately converting collective goods into private benefits. Considering that political corruption takes place in politics,

the government and the corporate world, it is given to put emphasis on political corruption as these impure actions enable politicians and state agents to use their authority in order to sustain power, status and wealth (Anti-Corruption Branch 2010, Lyday 2008: iii, 3, U4 2012).

Seeing that it is argued that corruption not necessarily has to have negative effects on development but rather positive as well, I have chosen not to put any emphasis on these due to lack of space. Also, as the aim of the paper is to explore *why* and *how* political corruption has evolved, it is my belief that it would be inappropriate to discuss any positive aspects of corruption simply because political clientelism is against the principles of democracy and good governance. Seeing that much of the literature on corruption automatically also includes anti-corruption approaches, I have decided to abstain from these as that has not been the purpose. Thus, the thesis consciously excludes any discussions surrounding strategies of combating corruption. Additionally, it has been my choice not to include any political or electoral reforms as the aim of the thesis has not been to investigate ways of tackling or improving insufficient factors and legislations. Furthermore, the paper does not highlight any empirical evaluations of governance or democratic governance.

1.2 Research Questions

In order to investigate political corruption in Jamaica, the following research questions will be considered:

- a) How and why has corruption become commonplace within the public sector?
- b) How and in which ways does political corruption affect democracy and the legitimacy of the Jamaican state?

2. Methodology

This chapter will present and explain the thesis' methodological structure and chapters. That is, it will comprehend the illustrations of the qualitative case study method, the research design, sampling and selection, the semi-structured interview, and validity.

2.1 The Qualitative Case Study Method

I have chosen to apply the case study method to this thesis as the approach is a “*detailed examination of an aspect of a historical episode to develop or test historical explanations that may be generalizable to other events*” (George and Bennett 2005: 5). As my purpose is to find out *why* and *how* political corruption has become common and widespread in Jamaica, the approach becomes relevant to the thesis as it allows me to do a thorough historical inquiry on the country's political system (Yin 2009: 4, 9). Recognizing that a case study comprehends *decisions* and explores “*...why they were taken, how they were taken, and with what result*”, I believe that the approach is justifiable as these are the questions I will consider when explaining the case (Yin 2009: 17). As it will be shown in the thesis, the historical explanations of the Jamaican political system will help to provide the background details which are necessary in order to explain the underlying factors that have been contributory to the country's establishment of clientelism and political tribalism.

It is argued that a case is a “*phenomena of scientific interest*” which the researcher decides to explain in detail and within its real-life framework. As the case is an example of a class of events, the intention of the study is, through theory development, to find out whether there are similarities or differences among the examples of the class of events. In other words, a case study is helpful if the researcher wishes to analyze a historical episode (George and Bennett 2005: 18, Yin 2009: 18). As will be shown in the thesis, the class of events for the case of Jamaica indicate that political corruption, in terms of electoral corruption, originates from the country's establishment of adult suffrage and has a history of similar events that are related to clientelism and political tribalism. As such, these events are essential to the understanding of political and electoral corruption in Jamaica.

The aim of a case study is to collect and advance generalizations about public life, and does so by cultivating and employing principles which determine whether generalizations can be applicable to some social aspects more than others (George and Bennett 2005: 18). Seeing that I will study political corruption in Jamaica, it will be shown in the thesis, through the theoretical framework, that the concept of political corruption, clientelism and political tribalism can be applicable to other parts of the world; however, the evolution and means of support of such is particular to the case of Jamaica. This is supported by the notion of *analytic generalization* which proposes that a past developed theory can be used as a guide in order to analyze the empirical results of the case study (Yin 2009: 38).

In accordance to researchers, there are four benefits of using a case study as an approach:

1. *It has the possibility to attain high theoretical validity* by allowing the researcher to identify and measure the indicators that best characterize the theoretical notion
2. *It has a well-built method to develop new hypothesis* which proceed when the researcher asks particular questions but receives unexpected answers
3. *It has the potential to investigate causal mechanisms in individual cases* by looking at a large quantity of variables in detail
4. *It has the ability to approach causal complexity* through relative advantages (George and Bennet 2005: 19-22).

Nevertheless, there are also limitations to the case study approach. Examples of such are the difficulty of selecting a case without being partial and the uncertainty of accomplishing a balance between internal validity and good historical descriptions, opposed to descriptions that are generalizing and applicable to the broader populations. Additionally, as the strength of a case study is to measure *whether* and *how* a variable is significant, its weakness lies therefore in measuring *how much* it matters (George and Bennett 2005: 22-25). It is further argued that a case study presents little foundation for scientific generalization as the argument is that one cannot generalize from a single case. Rather, the researcher would need to perform multiple-case studies in order to base a generalization of the particular case. Hence, the researcher needs to think of the goal as a process in which he/she expands and generalizes theories rather than considering the case study as a sample (Yin 2009: 15).

2.2 Research Design

A research design is of importance to a study as it assists the researcher to achieve the goal of the thesis. In order to structure the research design, there are five relevant tasks that one should follow: specify the problem and research objective, develop a research strategy, analyze a unit, link data to propositions, and specify the data that will be processed (George and Bennett 2005: 74-86, Yin 2009: 33).

Research objective

Considering that the study questions should comprise questions such as *what, where and how*, the research objectives of this thesis are to investigate the prevalence and evolvment of political corruption in Jamaica by explaining *how* and *why* corruption has become commonplace in the public sector. In addition, understanding that the general public consider corruption to be the second-most serious problem facing Jamaica, the second objective of the thesis is to explain *how* and in *which* ways political corruption affects the country's democracy and legitimacy (Yin 2009: 27).

In order to explore and understand the two research objectives, the thesis will comprehend a *disciplined configurative* case study in which the case will be explained through a traditional theory; that is, in this study, through good governance. By applying the disciplined configurative model to the research objectives, the researcher is able to use a theory in order to try to explain the conclusion of the specific case (George and Bennett 2005: 75, 181).

Research strategy

That being the case, the thesis will attempt to explore and explain the prevalence of corruption in Jamaica, and the effects of such on the country's democracy and legitimacy. In order to accomplish my research objectives, the research strategy for the thesis will include the explanations of the following components:

- *Governance*: How is it defined? How is it measured? What is good governance? Which factors are essential in good governance? Which factors are essential in governments?
- *Corruption*: How is it defined? What kinds are there? What are the causes?
- *Political corruption*: How is it defined? Where does it occur? What is clientelism?

- *Elections*: What is an electoral structure? How are campaigns funded? Which factors are essential in elections?

Analyzing a unit

In accordance to the previously discussed research problem and research objectives, the unit of analysis of this study is to investigate *how the prevalence and evolvement of electoral corruption in Jamaica has affected the public's attitudes towards, and perceptions of, the country's government and politicians.*

Linking data

The last two tasks for structuring a completed research design involve "*linking data to propositions and criteria for interpreting the findings*" (Yin 2009: 33). In other words, data that will be processed in order to explain the components in the research strategy has to be linked with the findings in the case study. As will be shown in the thesis, the data on governance, corruption, political corruption and elections will be linked with the findings of electoral corruption in Jamaica and the interviews in order to present how this has affected the public's attitudes towards, and perceptions of, the country's government and politicians.

Specifying data

The data processed in this thesis is first and foremost secondary as such compilations have provided me with an understanding of the concepts of governance, politics, and corruption; that is, the components mentioned in the research strategy. The secondary data was used in order to answer the first research question and parts of the second one. The sources that were processed in order to obtain such relevant information were: publications and reports written by notable researchers within their respective fields, handbooks published by SAGE, and web-based documents and facts that have been composed by internationally recognized institutions and organizations. Such have been based on relevant literature in the shape of books, scientific articles, statistical data, brochures and national media.

Nevertheless, in order to rightfully answer research question two, I performed field work in Kingston, Jamaica with the purpose of conducting semi-structured interviews. The aim here was to find out the public's attitudes and trust towards, and perceptions of, the country's government

and politicians as a result of political corruption. The field work took place in 2012 during a time period that spanned from January to May, but as I did my twenty weeks long internship with the Planning Institute of Jamaica (prior to the field work), the entire stay in the country lasted for ten months. During my stay, Jamaica had its 18th election that took place on December 29, 2011.

That being the case, I was able to get direct insight on the surroundings that took place prior, during and after the elections. Also, by residing in a middle-class area during the ten months, which is closely located to one of Kingston's ghettos, I was able to experience some of the means that politicians used in order to gain political support. By residing in the country for such a period of time, and by integrating and socializing with Jamaicans, I had the advantage of experiencing the electoral environment through a "nationals'" point of view, rather than a foreigner's.

The collected data for the thesis is processed by using a strategy that relies on the theoretical framework as it is argued that such an orientation helps to guide the analysis of the case study. By using such a strategy, the researcher is also more focused on which data that is more relevant than the other (Yin 2009: 130). Additionally, the analytic technique that is applied to the thesis is *explanation building* as this specific approach helps to explain a particular phenomenon by building an explanation about the case (Yin 2009: 141).

2.3 Sampling and Selection

The procedure of surveys in social research is a fast way of finding out the character and attitude of the general public; whether the survey and number of people is small or large. The purpose of a survey is to describe a population's attitudes and opinions through the use of a representative sample. As such, it is argued that all surveys are explanatory. Recognizing that the interest of the thesis is to find out the Jamaican public's attitudes towards, and perceptions of, the country's government and politicians, I chose to carry out an *attitude questionnaire survey* (May 2011: 94-98).

As questionnaire surveys can enable the researcher to draw generalizations based on the sample of people interviewed, it suggested that "*a good sample is a miniature version of the population...*" (May 2011: 98). Understanding that the purpose of the thesis is to investigate the public's attitudes towards, and perceptions of, Jamaica's government and politicians, it is

preferable to select a sample that is diversified. Hence, the selection of the sample for my questionnaire has rather been haphazardly random. That means that demographic variables such as age, sex, social class, residential area and level of education have been of no importance to the sample. The reasoning behind such a selection is based on the aspiration of representing a sample that is as close to the real-life miniature version of the Jamaican population as possible. As such, this thesis comprises a *non-probability sample* (May 2011: 100).

There are no rules of how large a sample should be, but it is in the interest of the researcher to compose a satisfactory sample that is large enough to measure varieties or inconsistency in order to use these findings as generalizations of the population (May 2011: 101). Considering the time frame and the sensitivity of the subject matter that I wish to study, the sample size of this thesis is rather small; that is, a population of ten. As the aim of the thesis is to explore the attitudes and perceptions of the wider public there was one criterion that the population had to fulfil; namely, each respondent had to be a qualified voter considering the subject matter. Variation in age was a deliberate move as I wished to obtain attitudes and perceptions from respondents that were young, middle aged and senior.

Like mentioned above, the sample of the population was chosen haphazardly random as I wanted to obtain a variety in the population. In order to find a sample that would diversify in age, sex and socio-economic background, I believed that public spaces were the most appropriate to approach individuals. The places I went to visit were the public library, the bank and the church; all located in various parts of Kingston. Once situating myself in the buildings, I tried to approach equally as many men as women, and equally as many young as middle aged as senior individuals. The reason for doing this was to try to obtain a variety among the potential respondents. The contact with the individuals was established in the following way: I approached a random person, introduced myself as a student, explained that I am carrying out a questionnaire for academic purpose, explained the subject matter, expressed that participation is volunteer, anonymous and free of charge, and asked if he/she was interested in contributing to the thesis.

Despite the fact that many of the individuals approached were kind and friendly, it became clear that corruption was a subject that a small number of people were willing to discuss in a formal manner. A few individuals indicated that corruption was widespread among the politicians and

the police force as they were eager to talk about the many scandals that have occurred throughout the years, but they were not interested in participating in official on-the-record research. As such, it came to my knowledge that social commentary was widely discussed in the public arena in closed private circles, but hushed when associated with research. From these unofficial conversations and discussions, it was evident that there was a high level of distrust not just between the members of the public and the government, but also between individuals of the public. Nevertheless, despite some difficulties, my determined attempts resulted in securing ten participants for the questionnaire.

2.4 The Semi-structured Interview

The interview method that is applied to this thesis is *semi-structured* as it is argued that such an approach presents an understanding of how the respondents' create and position meaning in social life. The advantage of semi-structured questions is that they allow the respondent to answer more freely than, for example, a standardized structured interview whose aim is to draw comparisons. Considering that I do not wish to make a comparison of attitudes that is based on the arrangement of the method (structured interview) but rather obtain attitudinal information that is based on the circumstances of the interview; the semi-structured interview is therefore reasonably applicable as a method (May 2011: 133-135).

Recognizing that a semi-structured interview allows the respondent to answer the questions on his/her own conditions, the researcher's expectation is, as a result, to extract information that is independent from the controlled questions. That being the case, it is proposed that the method facilitates a comparison that is based on variation in the quality of the interviews (May 2011: 135).

The design of the questionnaire is based on *open and closed questions* and *attitude scales*. The former comprise questions that the respondents answer freely, based on their understandings, and questions that the respondents answer with the help of a list of categories. By designing the questionnaire in such a way, the researcher is able to use open questions as a follow-up to closed questions. That way, the researcher gains a better understanding of why the respondents answered in a particular way. The attitude scale, on the other hand, is based on a set of statements which the respondents are asked to answer with the help of pre-coded answers. Such a

scale is of importance to the thesis as it will provide the study an understanding about the public's attitude regarding a particular topic. In addition, the scale is comprised by a *Likert* scale, which measures the respondent's attitudes, as well as a *semantic differential scale*, which measures the respondents meaning on subjective depth (May 2011: 110-112).

The type of questionnaire that was used in order to carry out the questions was performed with the help of a *face-to-face interview schedule* which, as the name indicates, meant that I had personal encounters with the respondents. By such, I was able to observe the respondents' unspoken body language as well. Considering that the questionnaire was carried out in person, there were three things I had to bear in mind: situate and assure the respondent's collaboration, stimulate and direct them through the questionnaire, and pose the survey questions in an understandable, yet brief manner (May 2011: 105-106).

After considering the method, design and type of the questionnaire, I composed an inquiry with the purpose of finding out the public's perceptions regarding corruption, politicians and elections. As such, the questionnaire was composed of 20 questions that were further divided into five fields: demographics, trust, democracy, politics and corruption, and elections. Even though I constructed the inquiry, the questions were inspired by previous surveys carried out by the Global Corruption Barometer, the International Crime Victimization Survey, and the World Values Survey. In order to view the questionnaire, please see appendix A.

The questionnaire was carried out at the same time and space as the individuals were approached; that is, in the public library, the bank, or the church. Considering that the inquiry is a face-to-face interview, I explained the structure of the questionnaire before addressing the questions. Seeing that people usually tend to be more illustrative when their responses are oral rather than scriptural, I made the choice of writing down the answers that were given to me by the respondents. One may think that an audio-recorder would have been an appropriate tool but considering the difficulties of involving participants in the study, I found it more appropriate to abstain from such. Additionally, the time period for conducting the questionnaires took place in April 2012, and the average time to perform each one took an average of 20-30 minutes.

2.5 Validity

It is suggested that the quality of empirical research is tested through validity. As this thesis is composed of a data analysis that is based on explanation building and a research design that is based on a theory; this section will therefore discuss the study's internal and external validity (Yin 2009: 41).

Validity is put into effect by relating the interview design to the thesis' theoretical framework. As such, researchers claim that *internal validity* is related to explanatory case studies as the researcher is undertaking to explain "how and why even x led to event y ". Should the researcher inaccurately conclude that a causal relationship between X and Y exists, without considering a potential factor Z , it would mean that the internal validity of the study has failed (Yin 2009: 42). That being so, the internal validity of this thesis is built upon the strong theoretical framework which explains the notions of governance, corruption, political corruption, and elections, and by such, relies on its ability to understand electoral corruption in Jamaica.

Internal validity can also be jeopardized in instances where the researcher makes an assumption about an occasion that cannot be directly observed. In other words, the researcher is exposed to the possibility of making an assumption, which is based on the data collected for the case study, that a specific occurrence is the result of a previous event (Yin 2009: 43). In order to try to avoid such assumptions, I will consider all potential explanations and possibilities.

External validity, on the other hand, deals with the issue whether the findings of a study are generalizable to other studies. Researchers argue that generalizations are typically weak for single case studies that apply survey research. Nevertheless, it is also important to stress out that such barriers are common for statistical generalization and not *analytical generalization* as the purpose of the latter is to "generalize a particular set of results to some broader theory" (Yin 2009: 43). Considering that this thesis is analytical rather than statistical, I do not believe that external validity will be of concern.

3. Theoretical Framework

The aim of this chapter is to develop a theoretical framework combining the concepts of *Governance, Corruption, Political Corruption, and Elections*. The chapter starts with the notion of governance and slowly directs it into good governance as it is claimed that the latter is essential to the reduction of corruption. That being the case, good governance is achieved through the co-operation between government officials (including elected politicians) and organizations. Considering that good governance is vital to all kinds of leadership, it is proposed that insufficiency within a state's ability to function in accordance to its regulations and institutions of power create environments for corruption. Hence the notion of corruption, which is the second topic discussed in this chapter. As corruption occurs when politicians and public officials misuse trusted public power for private gain, the chapter continues with discussing the concept of political corruption. Realizing that this thesis is an inquiry on electoral corruption, it is essential to discuss the notions of political corruption and elections (last topic of this chapter) in order to understand the relationship between political corruption and voting. In addition, it is likewise important to distinguish the difference between political corruption and other types of corruption as the former is driven and stimulated by political ends rather than personal. As such, electoral support (votes) becomes a stimulating force that drives politicians to abuse their public trust and act in dishonest behaviour in order to secure and maintain votes. Additionally, each chapter comprises definitions and elements that are essential to respective concept.

3.1 Governance

It is claimed that good governance is vital to constant economic development as the essential driving factor for growth is a competent state that is responsible for its citizens and effective in its regulations. The concept of governance dates back to about 400 B.C.E, to a disquisition on governance addressed to a chief minister in India. The dissertation observes that it is the responsibility of the king *“to protect the wealth of the state and its subjects and to enhance, maintain and safeguard this wealth as well as the interests of the kingdom's subjects”* by drawing significant attention to justice, morals, and democracy (Kaufmann and Kraay 2008: 1-3).

In accordance to Bevir, the term governance refers to theories and issues related to leadership of all kinds, as well as to the social harmonization of a society. Whilst theories on governance and the practices of governing in the past focused more on the concepts of hierarchy and the state, the up-to-date theories, customs and problems surrounding these put more emphasis on markets and networks of governance. However, as it has been found that public governmental officials are being more and more held back by various organized groups and factors, the cooperation with civil society groups has increased as their contribution has been of significance to the shared concepts of governing. Being this the case, it can be argued that governance is achieved in instances where elected politicians and government officials are co-operating with formal and informal organizations and associations (Bevir 2010, McLaverty 2010).

Seeing that many of the factors and means that constitute governance seem to diverge from common beliefs and practices, it is proposed that today's governance have three distinctive features:

- *Hybrid* – meaning that administrative elements are shared with market systems and non-profit organizations (NPOs)
- *Multijurisdictional* – meaning that individuals and institutions (often transnational) from various policy sectors and levels of governments combine and cooperate, and
- *Plural in stakeholders* – meaning that a country's policymaking process is attended by groups of various kinds, in particularly non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Bevir 2010)

3.1.1 Defining and Measuring Governance

The theoretical meaning of governance is defined as directing “*the economy and society toward some collective goals*” in which the public sector is the fundamental focal point. Nevertheless, throughout the decades, the World Bank (WB) has had a few definitions of governance and in the year of 2007, the WB proposed the explanation of governance as “*the manner in which public officials and institutions acquire and exercise the authority to shape public policy and provide public goods and services*”. Another definition proposes that governance is public and private activity that is “*concerned with creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective action*” (Heinrich 2010, Kaufmann and Kraay 2008: 4, Peters 2006).

In addition, it is widely agreed by other definitions that the significance of a governance lies within a state's ability to function in accordance to its regulations and in line with its customs and institutions by which power is utilized. As it is further argued that the elements dealt with in the concepts of governance can be measured, one can therefore investigate whether a state's governance is "good" or "bad". However, seeing the nature of measuring such capacities, it is important to take into account that no resulting measurement is free from error or complete reliability (Heinrich 2010, Kaufmann and Kraay 2008: 4).

Norris argues that it is essential to understand the situations under which processes and policies can take place in order to develop towards democratic governance. Seeing that measurements of quality changes in such factors are of equal importance, it has been suggested that cross-national quantitative research is of peculiar importance. By measuring "democratic health" in terms of political indicators such as electoral participation and governmental transparency, one can measure needs, emphasize issues, and observe the efficiency of policy initiatives. In addition, it is argued that the assessment of *validity*, *reliability* and *legitimacy* are important indicators of democratic health (Norris 2010).

- *Validity* refers to measures that reflect the foundation and stability of a democratic government. Such instruments are analytical and theoretical and often comprise indicators relating to, for example, corruption and the efficiency of a government
- *Reliability* refers to scientific studies in which cases and data are being analyzed in order to test whether a matter is supported by evidence or not. Such studies progress scientific understanding and comprise measures applicable when proving consistency across time and place
- *Legitimacy* refers to the justification of the measures taken to investigate to what extent governments are lawful and transparent. Indicators taken into consideration are those that measure the legitimacy of leaders and decision makers, as well as the ideological results and the mere nature of their design (ibid).

Furthermore, the above mentioned elements of governance that can be measured are those that Kaufmann refers to as the political, economic and institutional aspects. The first aspect, also known as outcome-based, is comprised by elements that determine how government officials are nominated, observed and succeeded. The second aspect is composed of elements that determine

to what extent a government is capable of efficiently managing the country's resources, as well as whether a country has laws and agencies that target or prevent corruption (also referred to as rules-based elements). Lastly, the third aspect determines to what extent the public and authorities have respect for the country's foundations (Kaufmann 2004: 8, Kaufmann 2007: 82, Kaufmann and Kraay 2008: 5).

It is further argued that one effective way of evaluating rules-based elements is by analyzing the opinions of civil society actors such as businesses, organizations, NGOs, and regular citizens as they are experiencing the efficiency and reality of regulations. In addition, in order to evaluate the liability of the public sector, it is suggested that one should monitor the nature of procedures such as official elections. Thus, like mentioned earlier, this paper will put emphasis on elections in Jamaica (Kaufmann 2004: 8, Kaufmann 2007: 82, Kaufmann and Kraay 2008: 5).

When breaking down the aspects of the political, economic and institutional, Kaufmann proposes that one is coping with six central measurable aspects of governance, also known as Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI):

1. *Voice and accountability* – aspects that evaluate political, civil and human rights, and the freedom of the press and censorship
2. *Political instability and violence* – aspects that evaluate stability and the possibilities of violent threats to the government (including terrorism)
3. *Government effectiveness* – aspects that evaluate the effectiveness of the governments and the standard of distribution of public services
4. *Regulatory burden* – aspects that evaluate the advocacy of development in the private sector, as well as the occurrence of unfavourable market policies
5. *Rule of law* – aspects that evaluate justice, the police force, the possibilities of crime and violence, and the safeguarding of property rights
6. *Control of corruption* – aspects that evaluate the misuse of public resources for private gain (Kaufmann 2004: 8, Kaufmann 2007: 82-83, Norris 2010, Wagner 2007: 7).

3.1.2 Good Governance

It is suggested that there is no particular definition of the term good governance as the meaning of the word is based on beliefs about decision-making and the performance of such structures.

Nevertheless, while the United Nations (UN) defines good governance by acknowledging the importance of the following indications “*transparency, responsibility, accountability, participation and responsiveness*”, the WB gives a broader explanation by defining good governance as “*epitomized by predictable, open and enlightened policy making; a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos, and executive arm of government accountable for its actions; and a strong civil society participating in public affairs; and all behaving under the rule of law*”. In addition, good governance is an approach that puts emphasis on how institutes are administered, governed and evident in their obligated performance (Mehta 2006, Thomas 2009: 31).

Understanding that these characteristics are essential for a country’s economic growth, in terms of sufficient and equal provision of public goods and services, it has been proposed that “*good*” governance is both a resource of and a goal towards development. This is further supported by arguments which suggest that good governance increases the responsibility, trustworthiness and certainty of decisions made in governments, businesses, and NGOs. In view of the circumstances, the UN Development Program, 1997, points out main criteria for good governance:

1. *Equality of participation* for all individuals in matters that concern them
2. *Responsiveness* towards all organizations and stakeholders in a timely manner as openness is a matter of trust and fair treatment
3. *Cooperation and mediation* by organizations as agreements between stakeholders are expected to facilitate the achievement of sustainable development and just results
4. *Responsibility* towards stakeholders for activities and agreements made and implemented by assisting organizations
5. *Transparency* in organizational decision-making, and availability and attainability of such manifestations
6. *Prevalence of law* for all organizations as they are expected to work in a manner that is favourable for country development
7. *Improvement of methods* towards sustainable economic and social development, and
8. *Assurance of rights* of all individuals

Understanding the above mentioned principles, it can be argued that good governance promotes equality and encourages trust as a means for increased efficiency and responsibility in organizations (Mehta 2006).

3.1.3 Public Management

Understanding that good governance is fundamental for rightful allocation of public resources and thereby a basis for development, one should consider the concept of public management. Past studies distinguished public management from public administration by arguing that the former puts emphasis on the roles of, for example, policy analysts and decision-makers, while the latter was more concerned about the roles of, for example, institutions and the liability of their performances. However, the thought of these concepts as single changed in the 1970s as more attention was put on governmental management of responsibilities and its accomplishment of goals. In other words, emphasis was put on political roles. Being this the case, public administration and public management became dependent on one another (Heinrich 2010).

What then, is public management? It is suggested that the contemporary definition of the concept is *“the process of ensuring that the allocation and use of resources available to the government are directed toward the achievement of lawful public policy goals”*. In addition to the definition of public management, Heinrich argues that the concept is best understood by its three basic elements, namely:

- *Structure* – refers to the “tools” of which the government is administered by. These tools comprise public administrative principles, networks and partly-autonomous NGOs
- *Culture* – refers to the principles, philosophy, norms and ethics of organizations, that is, the customs of public administration
- *Craft* – refers to individual “skilled practice” of those with authority. The aspect of managerial competence puts emphasis on factors such as leadership and response to challenges, and furthermore, acknowledges the structural and cultural characteristics in regards to the shape and implementation of public policy (ibid).

3.1.4 Public Sector

The definition of the public sector refers to financial allocations collected from all levels of government tenures and businesses dominated by such. Furthermore, seeing that the concept

accounts for specific financial activities as well as public activities, it is argued that the latter involves actions past the main functions of public administration (Wegrich 2006).

3.1.5 Legitimacy

It has been argued that legitimacy is fundamental for governments as they relate the public sector organizations with factors such as reputation, reliability, authorization, and advocacy amongst the public and stakeholders. In addition, legitimacy is a “*joint property*” as a great deal depends upon the cooperation between governmental institutions and social structures. Nevertheless, there is no established definition of legitimacy as the recognition of it is based upon how a society understands the point in question. Rather, the concept is explained as a reason for organizations to be accountable in regards to the social, moral and legal aspects. Another attempt to explain the concept suggests that legitimacy is “*a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed systems of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions*” (Considine and Afzal 2010).

Seeing that the definitions of legitimacy are broad, they apply to both public and private organizations. However, legitimacy in regards to the public sector requires further explanation as the concept is linked to the citizens due to its abstract environment. In such wise, it is proposed that legitimacy in democratic governments is determined based upon three factors: *democratic accountability, central public sector values, and formal rules and processes*. Seeing that these are crucial to democracy, it is argued that the factors must be identified by public sector organizations if they are to be considered as legitimate (ibid).

3.1.6 Democracy

The word democracy derives from the Greek language and means *rule by the people*. The idea of the concept is to entitle all adult individuals the right to equally and openly participate in the formation of collective decisions represented by an elected government. Nevertheless, not all associations are democracies. In accordance to Dahl, the government has to meet the following conditions in order to be considered as democratic: effective participation, equal voting, informational sources of knowledge, authority of the agenda, and admittance of adults (Dahl 1998: 37-38, Hague and Harrop 2010: 84).

Understanding that representative democracy is a concept that symbolizes the rule of the people, it is only natural to argue that two of the most fundamental pillars of democracy are political equality and popular control. In this context, democracy is also a representation of the opportunity to equally engage in the politics. However, it would be wrong to believe that a state is more democratic the more people participate in the political process (McLavery 2010).

3.1.7 Accountability

Accountability is a concept that emerged in the 1980s and is associated with “*the capacity of, and the obligation on, someone to produce and account*”. Even though the notion refers to positions of public office, whether these are political or administrative, they do not, however, have the same classification of accountability nor do they appear in the same structure. The political public office comprises representatives or institutional officials who deal with public affairs matters in the name and interest of the citizens. Thus, political accountability in democracies rely on a somewhat weak power of rule as the relationships between citizen and legislator, and executor and legislator, are based upon one party’s superior advantage in knowledge or capability to administer the agenda (Castiglione 2006).

Administrative accountability, on the other hand, is less advanced as it depends on a hierarchical structure in which citizens are supervised by the government. In addition, accountability is also a concept that is used to measure if public officials abuse their power and how well they perform in the interest of the public. In such wise, accountability is concerned with opportunities of corrupt acts (ibid).

3.1.8 Transparency

Transparency is an important concept of governance as it enables external officials to acquire detailed information related to the actions performed by the government or private institutions. In other words, transparency refers to financial explanations of the activities executed to investors, supervisors and the public. Furthermore, the notion comprises two fields of transparency: the political, which relates to accountability and democracy, and the financial, which relates to free-market practices (Johnston 2006).

Seeing that transparency is essential to good governance, it is argued that the concept is one of the foundations of political goals such as corruption management and just election campaign

financing. In addition, detailed information of activities in businesses is a means of protection against, for example, fraud and penetration by political interests (ibid).

3.1.9 Audit

Audit is an official inspection and certification of financial accounts and records, and the use of public resources. It is a system consistent of public audit and internal audit and its purpose is to review whether public resources have been used sufficiently and efficiently. Public auditing is of importance to the evaluation of governments as external officials review government validity, truthfulness and abundance by investigating how public financial statements and financial transactions have been managed. In addition, the main function of public auditing is to discover fraud, corruption and inefficient administration among government officials and electorates (Gash and Wanna 2006).

Internal auditing, on the other hand, reviews the supervision of public agency resources in terms of internal profits and expenditures, and is usually performed at the side of public auditing (ibid).

3.2 Corruption

“Corruption is dishonest behaviour that violates the trust placed in a public official. It involves the use of a public position for private gain” (Rose-Ackerman 2001: 527).

Rose-Ackerman points out that trust is a concept which indicates confidence - however not certitude - that a person or institution will behave in a way that is expected in accordance to the legislation, code of ethics and the public view. In other words, we put our trust in a person or institution to act on our behalf, regardless of the outcome and the reliability of additional actors or stakeholders involved. Being this the case, it is suggested that honesty is a significant value closely connected to trust as the concept implies telling the truth and behaving in a responsible manner. Furthermore, as honesty is not the same as trustworthiness, it can be concluded that a person who we trust to behave honestly may, on the other hand, not be competent and, as a result, is therefore not trustworthy (Johnston 2005: 11, Rose-Ackerman 2001: 526-527, Rose-Ackerman 2010: 1).

Understanding the thought behind the concepts of trust and honesty, it is argued that corruption occurs in instances when politicians and public officials abuse their public trust and thereby act dishonestly by contributing to payoffs. In addition, even though it is argued that trust can corrupt

relationships, it is noteworthy to say that trust can also have an opposite effect as it can give support to public organizations that target corruption (ibid).

Nevertheless, corruption is neither a new nor a modern concept. Rather, it is suggested that the abuse of public resources for private gain dates back to the notion of the lawful administration of political affairs. Already in 350 B.C.E it was suggested by Aristotle that “...to protect the treasury from being defrauded, let all money be issued openly in front of the whole city, and let copies of the accounts be deposited in various wards” (Shah 2006: 2).

Like mentioned earlier in this paper, corruption is most commonly defined as the misuse of trusted power for private gain (generally in terms of money). The behaviour of such unlawful actions occur in instances when government officials and employees abuse their power for financial or non-financial gain (bribery included) which benefits them or their personal and political interests, their families, or their social networks. It is argued that corruption is a matter of both political and financial institutions as the abuse of power appears in all development and service delivery fields. Being this the case, the appearance of corruption is therefore enabled by absent or insufficient political, legislative, and economic controls (Gray and Kaufmann 1998: 7, Johnston 2005: 11, Spector, Johnston and Winbourne 2009: 4).

It is argued that corruption is homogenous across the world and over time, but what make each case specific are the differences in primary causes and the corruption stricken areas across a geographic region and over time. Acknowledging that corruption appears in many kinds - such as bribery, extortion, speed money and nepotism - Shah observes that there are at least four broad forms of corruption (Gray and Kaufmann 1998: 7, Klitgaard 1998: 4, Spector, Johnston and Winbourne 2009: 2):

1. *Petty, administrative or bureaucratic corruption* is acts of hidden transactions by public officials who abuse their position by redirecting public funds or exchanging favours for personal matters. In addition, administrative corruption is categorized as “*everyday low-level abuse of power*” as it justifies abuse such as speed money and, small bribes and gifts
2. *Grand corruption* is acts of thievery or abuse of public resources by public officials who generally constitute the political institution. As this type of corruption involves large sums of money, it is generally manifested in actions such as: stealing from public resources,

abnormalities in political party and campaign financing, and political patronage. Furthermore, seeing that grand corruption is often simultaneous with administrative corruption; it is difficult to draw a line between the two

3. *State or regulatory capture and influence peddling* are acts of secret agreements between private actors and public officials with the common goal of gaining private benefits
4. *Patronage, clientelism and nepotism (being a “team player”)* are acts of a public official who provides privileged support and treatment to patrons – who share common geographic, ethnic and cultural origin as the public official – in matters considering the public sector. Acts of such support and treatment also accounts for colleagues and friends within the private social network (Shah 2006: 4, Spector, Johnston and Winbourne 2009: 5-6).

3.2.1 General Causes of Corruption

It is widely proposed that corruption within the public sector are indications of failed governance and weakened institutions, which are being facilitated by factors such as an inadequate public sector management, the relationship between the political institution and the public, and an insufficient legal framework. However, in order to understand the driving factors of corruption, Shah suggests the need of a theoretical point of view of this matter. The emphasis is being put on one of the main perspectives, namely; what he refers to as the *principal-agent model*. Here, it is argued that government officials represented by legislators or elected public officials, exploit active policies and laws in favour of the interests of representatives from the private sector and the civil service in exchange of fees and payments on the side. In other words, government officials abuse their power for personal financial gains and for enhanced chances of being re-elected by engaging in dishonest businesses (Shah 2006: 5-7, Spector, Johnston and Winbourne 2009: 2).

In accordance to a study on the root causes of corruption, which was performed by the WB, the following four factors were acknowledged as the main catalysts for corruption:

1. *The legitimacy of the state as the guardian of the “public interest” is contested*: Citizens, in countries with a high frequency of corruption, have insignificant knowledge of the fact that the state has a responsibility to protect common public interests. The lack of this notion creates an environment for political patronage as the boundary between what is *public* and what is *private* is vague

2. *The rule of law is weakly embedded*: Countries, in which the regulations are not equally applicable to all its citizens, create an environment in which law enforcement is being used as a means for personal interests and benefits. The most common example of such an action is when a police officer stops a motorist for a fabricated traffic violation as an excuse for an informal payoff
3. *Institutions of participation and accountability are ineffective*: High frequency of corruption takes place in countries with weak institutions of participation and accountability, as these are unable to adequately control power abuses by public officials.
4. *The commitment of national leaders to combating corruption is weak*: Corruption within the public sector becomes prevalent in countries where national leaders are reluctant or incapable of powerfully addressing this matter (Shah 2006: 13).

The misuse of trusted power for private gain is most common and extensive in developing countries, and those in change, as the circumstances for corruption are advantageous. The fact that many officials in such countries earn salaries that are poor or inadequate, the motivation for a higher and better-deserved income becomes their driving force for corrupt acts. In addition, as developing and transition countries often have weak institutions, procedures and regulations; the occasions for corruption become many. Being this the case, it is argued that some countries are poor due to disseminated corruption, while other countries remain to be poor for the reason that they are corrupt (Johnston 2005: 28, Gray and Kaufmann 1998: 9, Kaufmann and Dininio 2006: 16, Rose-Ackerman 2001: 548).

“Corruption = Monopoly + Discretion - Accountability” (Johnston 2005: 25, Klitgaard 1998: 4)

According to Klitgaard, corruption exists everywhere - in the public and the private sector, in rich and in poor countries – as one will find corruption wherever an agency or individual lacks liability, has control over a commodity or resource, and has the power to decide who gets what and how much. But in which environments and under what circumstances does corruption take place (Klitgaard 1998: 3-4)?

It is argued that corruption occurs in those countries where the government institutions fail to deliver proficient, evident, and liable services within the law – whether these reasons are due to expenditures, expertise or inadequacy. Institutions whose foundations are characterized by

insufficient legal and institutional frameworks, ineffective administration, unprofessional staff, and a lack of internal control are great environments for corruption. Furthermore, countries in which the public lacks access to information and, freedom and availability to civil society and the media are even more subjected to corruption as there are few satisfactory agencies that powerfully identify and punish corrupted public officials (Johnston 2005: 25-27, Klitgaard 1998: 3-4, Spector, Johnston and Winbourne 2009: 5).

In addition, as corruption typically has both legal and socio-cultural definitions it is therefore of value to consider a country's structure of corruption and reactions to lawful and regulatory motives as these reveal development advancement and, political and financial circumstances. By indentifying the ways individuals engage in, utilize and, exchange wealth and power in specific countries, one can gain knowledge of the nature of corruption that the country is most likely to take on. Being this the case, the forms and intensity of corruption in a country are influenced by environmental opportunities and obstacles, such as: stakeholders' and political will, bureaucratic competence, custom and belief, essential framework and laws, and international stakeholders (Spector, Johnston and Winbourne 2009: 4-7).

3.3 Political Corruption

When talking about corruption in the social sciences, the general approach towards the concept is from a *structural* and *interactional* standpoint. It is argued that structural corruption is in most cases prevalent in studies regarding development as these embrace the undesirable aspects of growth. Examples of such characteristics are under-development and poverty; in other words, aspects that curb democracy and modernization. Thus, the essential factors considered are the use of power and efficiency. While previous discussions were related to instabilities in the so called Third World countries, recent thinking is more concerned with the moral aspects of world-wide developmental and democratic disturbance. Additionally, structural corruption is also related to International Relations as the standpoint evaluates how and why institutional actors have capacity to act for personal benefit (Haller and Shore 2005: 3-4, Heywood 1997: 427).

While structural discussions consider the environment in which corruption takes place, the interactional standpoint is concerned with the actor's behaviour in the settings of public organizations. In other words, attention is put on the acts and means which harm the interests of the public. When talking about politics, the structural and interactional standpoints are essential

as they relate to actors who have the power and authority to make and implement rules that are based on their personal interests. In addition, simply defined, politics is referred to as “the authoritative allocation of values” (Couto 2010, Haller and Shore 2005: 5).

In view of the circumstances described above, it can be concluded that political corruption is commonly evident in the public space. Political corruption differs from the general concept of corruption in that political corruption is driven and stimulated by political ends rather than personal. In other words, the benefit is political, the deal is inappropriate, and the association between the benefit and the deal tends to inflict on democracy. Thus, political corruption is generally manifested in, for example, political business deals, the police force, and during elections (Heywood 1997: 421, Philp 1997: 439).

It is argued that many scandals in democratic countries have been associated with political campaigns or election expenditure, whether these are in the shape of bribes or clientelism. Seeing that Jamaica is no exception of such, this paper will investigate how politics play part in times of elections (Heywood 1997: 430).

3.3.1 Defining Political Corruption

It is argued that political corruption can be public office-centred, public interest-centred, and market-centred. Being this the case, the concept is therefore identified and given meaning through the definitions of these three orientations. Seeing that public office-centred corruption has already been explained in previous parts of this paper, this section will not put further emphasis on the notion. Nevertheless, it is worth bringing back that corruption in public office is caused by dishonest behaviour which involves acts beneficial to the actor’s personal interests. Understanding that the actor is a public official whose dishonest behaviour is referred to acts deviant from that of an office holder, public interest-centred corruption, therefore, is often associated with public office-centred corruption as the unlawful acts performed by a public official are generally at the expense of the interest of the public (Philp 1997: 440).

The market-centred explanation of public corruption is slightly different from the former two as the notion of market-centred corruption refers to the social or public usage of means for analyzing and understanding corruption. In other words, the definition comprehends the economic means and criteria which play part when studying the nature and features of politics.

Nevertheless, Philp argues that these meanings can help us understand market-centred corruption but they are not adequate enough to define it. In addition, as he argues that market in this sense refers to income maximizing, one should consider whether the act is corrupt only when putting it in a context of previous understanding and management of principles of public office. In other words, if income maximizing is to be considered as corrupt, one has to investigate the normative forces of such assets, and furthermore, take such forces as given (ibid: 444).

3.3.2 Corruption in the Public Sector

The general idea of corruption in the public sector is for the most part petty and primarily evident in developing and transiting countries. Additional charges for services, the making of minor favours, and the usage of public aptitudes are examples of petty corruption which commonly takes place in the sectors of education, health and justice. Seeing that such acts are considered to be small in magnitude and have little effect on the public, it is argued by some that petty corruption in the public sector is necessary as it fills out the gaps in the welfare system. Others, however, argue that the instances of such acts are unethical and facilitate a distorted moral view of right from wrong (Schwenke 2010).

On the other hand, corruption that is large in magnitude, hidden behind the veils of the society, and authorized by the powerful few is most often evident in sectors of energy, environment and justice as these has the capacity to manage large infrastructure projects. Understanding that such projects are funded by large amounts of money, it is argued that corrupt activities in these instances are beneficial for few powerful officials, though overwhelming for the economy as the consequences fall upon the expense of the larger majority (ibid).

Understanding that corruption is a phenomenon that takes places in various instances, environments and magnitudes, some activities are neither petty nor large-scale. An example of such middle-ground corruption is to be found in the political party system in, particularly, developing countries as politicians buy votes in order to secure their seats. This being the case, this paper will put focus on electoral corruption in Jamaica as it is an integral part of political corruption (ibid).

As middle-ground corruption creates settings which can be very profitable, it is argued that the elite and a number of middle class members in developing countries are taking advantage of their

social status and network in order to receive treatment and favours beneficial to their personal interests. In addition, many of the benefits are related to special arrangements that guarantee protection from public duties and regulations such as paying taxes. Other examples of middle-ground corruption profits include: attaining positions within governmental organizations, drawing out payments from the public in the name of false purposes, and demanding additional expenses for permits and licenses. In such wise, middle-ground corruption occurs in unofficial settings where public actors make agreements with elites requesting exceptional treatment (ibid).

3.3.3 Political Participation

Political participation comprises various ways in which individuals aim to influence policies of the government. The concept is further defined as “*activity by individuals formally intended to influence who governs or the decisions taken by those who do*”. Furthermore, it is suggested that participation occurs in four ways: campaigning, communal activity, contacting, and voting. This paper will comprise the latter (Hague and Harrop 2010: 161-163).

It is argued that patterns of participation in democratic countries is most evident among educated, middle-class, middle-aged white men as they attain the political assets and interests. Individuals with advantages such as education, wealth, social rank and competence seem to be more responsive to political participation. This being the case, the lower social rank of the society is less likely to engage with politics as they lack the previously mentioned political resources and interest. In addition, it is proposed that individuals who do not participate in politics normally reside in inner-cities and are young unqualified and unemployed persons engaged in criminal activities (ibid: 163-165).

3.3.4 Clientelism

It is argued that clientelism is an ancient phenomenon that describes the relationship between individuals who do not share the same economic and social rank. The relationship is established upon an unequal yet personal and equally profitable bond whose driving force is the trade of supplies and services between a superior and the inferior of that person; also referred to as patron-client relationship. Additionally, as such supplies and services are client privileged; they are generally excluded from the wider public. This being the case, a patron is, for example, a party leader, a landlord or any other person who masters resources, while a client, on the other

hand, lacks such assets and as a result turns to the patron for protection and safety (Briquet 2006, Hague and Harrop 2010: 171, Philp 1997: 449, Roniger 2004: 2).

The occurrence of clientelism has taken place in various social contexts throughout the history but during the era of democratization in the late 19th century this relationship began to shift towards a more political agenda as patrons started to manipulate their client's votes. Along with democratization and the introduction of elections, political clientelism became progressively evident as the upper class and businessmen took advantage of their capital and social status in order to improve their electoral chances. Consequently, voting became an enhancement for social hierarchies and means of trading services to trustworthy associates (Briquet 2006).

It is argued that political clientelism occurs when a client trades his or hers vote in exchange for favours such as jobs, protection, medical care and food. Seeing that a patron is a person who provides services for underprivileged people that lack public protection and insurance, it is proposed that clientelism is a lucrative practice that attracts votes and gains political support. That being so, it is suggested that the political aspect has not only perverted governmental institutions but also, as a result, created an environment in which the effectiveness of these has decreased (Briquet 2006, Hague and Harrop 2010: 171, Philp 1997: 449, Roniger 2004: 2).

Understanding the nature of clientelism, it is proposed that the phenomenon not only contradicts democratic values, the rule of law and the best interest of citizens, but it also challenges the conduct of politics as the occurrence exploits public resources. In other words, exchanges based on personal benefits between a patron and his clients are actions of political corruption (Briquet 2006).

3.4 Elections

An electoral system is defined as *“the set of rules which govern the process by which citizens' opinions about candidates and parties are expressed in votes and by which these votes are thereafter translated into the designation of decision-makers”*. In addition, *“elections are the defining institution of modern democracy”*. The more democratization spreads across the world, the more extensive voting becomes. In such view, one of the main functions of elections is to create a dialogue between the public and the state, hence between supporters and political parties (Hague and Harrop 2010: 179, Weyden 2010).

Thus, the structure of elections is primarily concerned with how votes are altered into governmental seats as the process is a fundamental part of the functions of democracy. Seeing that the structure indicates the rules managing elections, it is suggested that the electoral structure comprehends the following three areas:

1. *Ballot structure* – referring to voting
2. *Formula structure* – referring to the process in which votes are altered into seats, and
3. *District structure* – referring to the recognition of territorial constituencies (Hague and Harrop 2010: 179, Nohlen 2008, Weyden 2010).

Furthermore, understanding that the ballot and formula structure vary from country to country, this paper will present those methods that apply to Jamaica – that is, relative majority - rather than demonstrating the various methods and systems.

The ballot structure is based on voting methods which represent a favoured vote for one candidate; in other words, governmental seats are appointed to the aspirant with the most votes. In addition, each voter is only allowed one single vote as there is only one exceptional advocate to be selected; namely, the prime minister. This method is straightforward and is also referred to as first-past-the-post system (FPTP) or relative majority system (Weyden 2010).

The formula structure is a mathematical equation whose purpose is to alter votes into seats for aspirants. In other words, the seats are assigned in accordance to the total votes casted, thus, the aspirant collecting the most votes attains the position. Nevertheless, even though the relative majority system is used in worldwide countries located in the west, east, south and north; the system has been questioned as it under-represents smaller parties, and as a result, disproportionate the electoral system (ibid).

The notion of district structure relates to the prearranged number of party member representatives who are divided in various territorial constituencies based on geographical or non-geographical districts. In the case of Jamaica, such districts are divided in accordance to electoral constituencies which are geographically oriented (Nohlen 2008, Weyden 2010).

3.4.1 Political Campaigns and Funding

It is argued that political campaigns are essential to representative democracy as they determine which party will attract the most votes. Such captivation is the responsibility of aspirants of each party as it is in their interest to influence citizens to cast their vote on them and not the opposing aspirants. Campaigns can be of two structures; aspirant-centred or party-centred. Seeing that the former puts emphasis on the aspirant, who is either a president or governor, a great deal of the campaign revolves around that person's characteristics. Thus, such campaigns tend to cost significantly as the main source of exposure of the aspirant is through television advertising, public opinion polls, and debates between aspirants (Nalder 2010).

Party-centred campaigns, on the other hand, tend to be less costly and time consuming as the voters are already familiar with the party's ideological standpoint. Rather than emphasising fundraising, party-centred campaigns are more concerned with stressing out their positions on issues raised by the party. In addition, such campaigns are often reflective in the sense that voters analyze the party and the potential prime-minister based on previous performances. Such is the case of Jamaica as there has been two major political parties – the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the Peoples National Party (PNP) – that have been dominating the elections since adult suffrage in the 1940s (Munroe 2003: 6, Nalder 2010).

Naturally, party campaigns need to be financed, whether the money comes from donors, public funding, personal funds, gains from party activities, or illegal sources. The importance of political finance appears in the process of democratic performance and governmental function and advancement as money is essential to a democracy's wellbeing and stability. Nevertheless, it is argued that noteworthy political financial disproportions may harm elections as uneven distribution of money to parties may facilitate a deprivation of equal prospects for political competition. In addition, other possible threats that can be caused by disproportionate political financing are: political expulsion, weak governance, and a challenged rule or law (U4 2012, USAID 2003:9-11).

Below is a table that shows examples of authorized, borderline and illegitimate expenditures which have been obtained from various sources towards party and campaign funding:

Party and campaign funds		
<p>Authorized examples</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brochures • Rallies • Posters and T-shirts • TV and radio exposure 	<p>Borderline examples</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Services benefiting the constituency, such as school and doctors fees 	<p>Illegitimate examples</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vote buying • Various forms of bribes, such as media bribes <p>(USAID 2003: 10)</p>

The quantity, the point of supply, and the intention of the obtained money in politics have to be precisely reported, and thereafter available to the public. This process is of importance to the transparency of political financing as it allows citizens to access information of how much money is given to whom, and furthermore, where and for what rationale the money is spent. Additionally, such financial declaration is documented in cooperation with either the election commission or a suitable government agency, and is the sole responsibility of political parties (USAID 2003: 21, 24).

3.4.2 Political Ombudsman

In the case of Jamaica, the financial declaration is documented along with a Political Ombudsman. The Political Ombudsman was employed by the Governor General and the Office of the Political Ombudsman was inaugurated in 2002. Furthermore, the three central purposes of the Office are: to ensure that politicians abide by the rules of the *Agreement and Declaration on Political Conduct* (agreed and signed by both JLP and PNP); to examine public complaints related to politicians; and to give annual advices to the Electoral Commission (Munroe 2003: 34).

In addition, the *Code of Political Conduct* states eight essential principles that political party officials must comply with:

1. *Non- violence and non-intimidation*
2. *Safety of private and public property*
3. *Avoidance of confrontation*
4. *Public utterances*
5. *Freedom of access*

6. *Avoidance of defacing of buildings or installations*
7. *Political tribalism*
8. *Code of ethics* (NIAL 2005)

Furthermore, the *Code of Political Conduct* is also a document that embraces action of public behaviour. Examples of violations of such behaviour are: buying and selling votes; attaching party flags and banners on public and private buildings and utilities; expressing violent behaviour; and blocking free motion of party supporters and officials (NIAL 2005).

3.4.3 Defining Political Party

A political party is defined as an organization which is composed by leaders and government officials who share the same foundation of particular political ethics. Acknowledging that the goal is to win elections and thereby govern and implement their common procedures; each political party has objectives which clarify their stance and modus operandi on issues related to, for example, health care, crime and criminal justice, and international relations (Robb 2010).

3.4.4 Elections

The main appearance for citizens to influence on politics is through political participation in the form of elections. Seeing that participation is considered to be in accordance to democracy and good governance, it is argued that electoral processes have to be open and willing to oppose, and non-discriminatory if they are to be regarded as democratic. Furthermore, the free, universal and equal right to vote functions as assurance to have the choice of selecting between rival political parties without being manipulated by external powers (Gabriel 2006).

3.4.5 Voting Attitudes

Studies of electoral attitudes attempt to explain how individual environmental surroundings affect a person's voting attitudes by considering four central exemplars. Even though these standards are divided into four various aspects of political behaviour, they are nevertheless integral to one another (Arzheimer and Jürgen: 2008).

The micro-sociological model is based on a study that investigated human voting attitudes and objectives. It was soon evident that factors constructed by the social, such as economic status and religion, and a person's living status had great importance. Finding that choice of political party

was related to a person's social background, it was concluded that there was a correlation between the political and the social (ibid).

Additionally, the study also found that party preferences were predetermined long before election time, and that political campaign information was used to strengthen that choice rather than to question it. In the view of such circumstances, it was suggested that socially constructed factors could be considered and understood as a form of political membership, connecting persons in similar environmental surroundings (ibid).

The macro-sociological model, on the other hand, attempts to explain voter's attitudes and objectives by considering aspects that comprise the entire society. In particular, the model tried to explain political attitudes and preferences by considering social division in colonial Western Europe. Here, it was argued that European social conflicts, constituting of at least two large groups with inconsistent social interests, became politically significant as the conflicts facilitated a coalition of party manifestation. In addition, in order for such to happen, the conflicts had to be either culturally or economically stimulated (ibid).

In contrast to the two previous models that strictly investigated the social context in voting attitudes, *the socio-psychological model* explored the psychological aspects as well. Hence, it was argued that psychological attitudes towards politics and voting were dominated by the person's sociological surroundings and previous experiences with parties (ibid).

The last aspect of voting attitudes and objectives differs from the other models as *the rational voter model* is first and foremost theoretical and based on a logical interpretation. In other words, it was argued that voting attitudes were simply grounded on alternatives that are closest to the voter's principles and that would best benefit his or hers interests (ibid).

4. Electoral Corruption in Jamaica

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the central aspects of the phenomenon of electoral corruption in Jamaica, by providing essential information on the country's main political parties, the types of corruption that are common, and the historical background on political clientelism and political tribalism. The objective of this chapter is to find out *how* and *why* electoral corruption has become commonplace in Jamaica, by investigating the country's political culture and means of maintaining political support. That being the case, the chapter starts with explaining the establishment of adult suffrage and Jamaica's main political parties, it continues with discussing the prevalence of corruption in the country, explains Jamaica's political system and elections through a historical perspective, and ends with a conclusion.

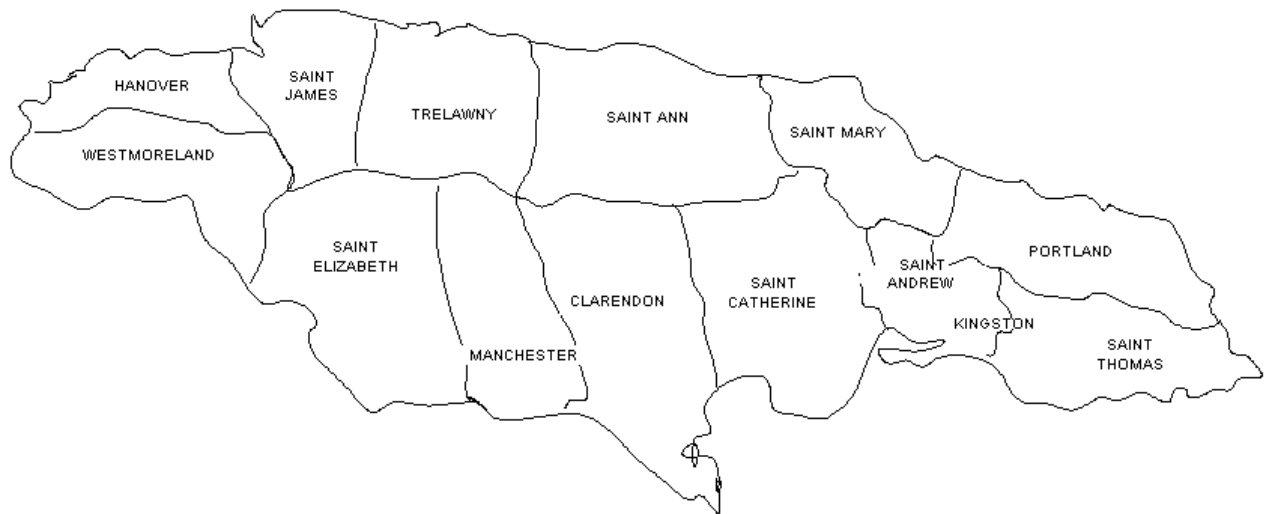
4.1 The Establishment of Adult Suffrage

According to the 2003 National Integrity Systems report, Jamaica is a country in which corruption is widespread. Seeing that such corruption generally is petty, political or related to illegal drugs, it is nevertheless argued that the notion of inadequate records of checks and balances is dominated by the legislative body, that is, the government (Munroe 2003: 5).

Jamaica is an island located in the Caribbean region and has a population of approximately 2.8 million. Seeing that the country was under British rule until 1962 when Jamaica achieved its independence and thereby became a constituent of the British Commonwealth of Nations, much of the Queen's rule and influence remains to be evident. This being the case, it is argued that Jamaica is a governmental democracy with the British monarch being the head of the state represented by the Governor General of Jamaica (Freedom House 2012, Munroe 2003: 6).

Recognizing that the country is democratic, it has been declared that Jamaica has held free and fair opposing elections that have been continuous since the establishment of adult suffrage in 1944. Even though there are multiple registered political parties, the cabinet is exclusively represented by seats from the two traditional main parties; the Peoples National Party (PNP) and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). While the former's ideology is based on social liberalism, the latter's is based on fiscal conservatism. Moreover, it is worthy to mention that both parties were constituted by one set of a family as the founders, Norman Manley (PNP) and Alexander

Bustamante (JLP), were cousins. Additionally, both have been declared as national heroes of Jamaica (Munroe 2003: 6).



(Source for map: www.jamaicagenealogy.org)

The island is divided into counties Cornwall, Middlesex and Surrey, and these are further divided into parishes. Furthermore, at present date, there are thirteen Parish councils who perform as local authorities: Saint Catherine, Clarendon, Manchester, Saint Elizabeth, Westmoreland, Hanover, Saint James, Trelawny, Saint Ann, Saint Mary, Portland, Saint Thomas, and Kingston and Saint Andrew (also referred to as the Kingston and Saint Andrew Corporation (KSAC)). Additionally, each parish compose one Council, apart from KSAC who is represented by a common council, and each Parish Council is divided into 227 regional divisions (Powell and Lewis 2011: 165).

Jamaica is identified as an established democracy based on the notion that the country is considered to hold free and fair elections. Nevertheless, there are some major short comings related to the political parties and the democratic procedures. This being the case, it is claimed that there is a tradition of electoral-related violent behaviour as both parties have a history of being involved in rather destructive means of competition. Additionally, it is also argued that there is a prevalent awareness among the public that political corruption has been associated with both JLP and PNP (Munroe 2003: 19).

4.2 Types of Corruption in Jamaica

Like mentioned earlier, it is suggested that there are three types of corruption that are prevalent in Jamaica:

- *Petty corruption* is corruption prevalent in everyday encounters between agents and regular citizens. Examples of such acts are evident in issues relating to birth and death certificates, real estate and property titles, and motor vehicle and drivers' licenses. Even though petty corruption is unlawful, the public tolerates and to some extent accepts of it as it does not pose a greater harm to the country or its citizens
- *Illegal drugs-related corruption* is corruption that creates, expands and guards the transshipment of illegal drugs. Examples of such arrangements are evident among harbour officials, tariff officials, inner-city gangs, and community leaders. Moreover, it is claimed that illegal drugs-related corruption is extensive among party leaders who collect money extracted from drugs, and inner-city gangs who fight over territory and power by executing gang-members involved in the drug trade
- *Political corruption* is corruption primarily evident in relationships between patrons and clients as a large number of party agents provide their supporters with resources they otherwise would not have access to. In other words, such corrupt acts are common during the time of elections as politicians seek to preserve their party support by buying votes. Additionally, political corruption is also apparent in instances related to public resources, employment, and development projects (Munroe 2003: 7).

Every year, the Transparency International publishes the *Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI)* which ranks perceived levels of corruption in countries across the world. In 2011, the index investigated 183 countries and their level of corruption by ranking them on a scale from 10 (very clean) to 0 (highly corrupt). Seeing that the perceptions of corruption in each country are based on opinion studies and expert evaluations, it was found that Jamaica ranked as country number 86 with a score of 3.3. In contrast, these figures can be compared to the least perceived corrupt country New Zealand which ranks as number one with a score of 9.5, and the shared place between North Korea and Somalia as the most perceived corrupt countries with a rank of 182 and a score of 1. Thus, by analyzing these figures of the 2011 CPI, it can be concluded that Jamaica is perceived as a highly corrupt country (Transparency International 2011).

This being the case, it is suggested that the reasons for widespread corruption in Jamaica are generally due to reasons such as: inadequate salary and working conditions within the public sector, insufficient management of basic institutions, a tradition of political clientelism, and insufficient means to combat corruption. Being this the case, it is proposed that corruption has had negative effects on aspects such as: public trust in political leadership, human rights, service delivery institutions, and the economy (Munroe 2003: 8).

Seeing that much of the political corruption that occurs in Jamaica is related to elections, in particular the buying of votes, this paper will therefore put emphasis on electoral corruption in terms of political clientelism. Every person that wishes to vote has to fulfil certain criteria in order to be recognized as a qualified voter. Such criteria indicate that one has to be 18 years and over, possess a valid ID, be a Jamaican citizen, and be free of any criminal records. As the Elections Office of Jamaica is responsible for the management of voting procedures and voter registration, it has been observed that the Office has confronted several problems related to voting. Issues that have been highlighted are, amongst others, that false names have been written on the lists, under-aged persons have been registered as voters, voters have been registered multiple times, and deceased and immigrated persons have been remained on the list (EOJ 2012, Munroe 2003: 16-17).

4.3 Political Clientelism and Elections in Jamaica

The two major political parties of Jamaica have been in turmoil for decades as it seems that elections, in particular from the late 1970s to the early 1990s, have been far from democratic. Reports of reduced political participation and violent disputes related to politics have throughout the decades been a signatory to Jamaican elections. It is claimed that the political violence emerged during the post-emancipation period as ruling governments created a political system that was dependent on violence and electoral control. The appearance of political violence started when the government distributed housing units as a means of political integration in poor and overcrowded inner-city communities. As a result, these inner-city communities developed into politically oriented “*garrison communities*” which came to symbolize socio-economically vulnerable political strongholds (Bogicevic 2010: 1, Figueroa and Sives 2002: 81-83, Munroe 1999: 21).

It is argued that the elections during the 1980s reached its lowermost as threats, violent behaviour, portrayal of others, and multiple voting were just few of the happenings that occurred during the time of electoral campaigns and on the actual day of voting. In addition, such tumult was extensively apparent in inner-city communities which were known to favour one particular party, that is, they were either pro-JLP or pro-PNP. Understanding that politics created an environment in which politics and crime intersected and provided an arena for criminal activities, it is argued that the sole purpose of these actions was to secure electoral support. As such, the motivation for political power resulted in political violence which was organized by the powerful but performed by individuals from garrison communities; thereof the term garrison politics (Bogicevic 2010: 1, Munroe 1999: 22).

Thus, the majority of the garrison communities in Jamaica, particularly in Kingston, have influential inner-city gangs who preserve influence over the distribution of votes in exchange for favours provided by the party. In other words, the garrison communities were created by the competing political parties as a means to secure electoral support in their respective political strongholds. Despite a recognized working democracy, the relationship of political clientelism in Jamaica has led to biased politics based violence, which consequently has negatively affected the already vulnerable inner-city communities. Thus, the general voting behaviour of residents, living in garrison communities, is commonly predetermined by their social and political connections. Consequently, one of the greatest impacts that garrisons have had on elections is that of homogenous voting (Freedom House 2012, Figueroa and Sives 2002: 81, Munroe 1999: 22-23, Sives 2009: 179-180, 189).

The phenomenon of garrison politics was based on political tribalism, and the survival of the people living in these garrisons was (and still is) dependent upon electoral support on the dominating party in their respective constituencies. In other words, garrisons function as “*totalitarian social space*” in which the residents do not have much freedom to do as they please. Any person who wishes to do otherwise, than what is being told by the political party, is automatically put in substantial danger. As such, the use of violence for political control in garrison communities came to be symbolized by political tribalism. Thus, the creation of garrisons became a strategic tool which politicians exploited in order to secure and retain political power. Furthermore, as garrisons are political strongholds, any major development

within such communities had to be permitted by the dominating party. Being this the case, garrison politics came to cultivate patron-client relationships which are still dominant to this present day (Bogicevic 2010: 6, Figueroa and Sives 2002: 85, Munroe 1999: 23).

It is suggested that about 60 percent of all constituencies have been fully or partially garrisoned, and, furthermore, that many of these garrisons resemble small autonomies as entrance and exit from these communities are controlled by dons and gang leaders who are in patron-client relationships with members of the constituency's dominating party. Such bonds ensure dons and gang leaders protection from the security forces, and more importantly, the relationships allow them (the dons and gang leaders) to control the garrison's political boundaries and territories by the usage of authorized off-the-record guns and firearms provided by the politicians (Bogicevic 2010: 6-7, Figueroa and Sives 2002: 86).

In the view of the circumstances, when talking about corruption in Jamaica, it is most often spoken of in terms of political corruption as it is suggested that the government has been unable to maintain its legitimacy because of an extensive history of electoral corruption due to garrison politics (Powell and Lewis 2011: 88).

4.4 Conclusion

Jamaica is recognized as a democracy based on the fact that the country has held free and fair opposing elections since adult suffrage. Even though there are multiple registered political parties, the cabinet is exclusively represented by the two traditional parties PNP and JLP. Seeing that both parties have a tradition of electoral-related violent behaviour, which has been stimulated and driven by electoral support, it is argued that Jamaica has a political system that has throughout the history been involved in political clientelism and political tribalism.

The post-emancipation period is symbolized by political violence as the ruling governments created a political system that was dependent on violence and electoral control. Such political surroundings were (and still are) the most evident in socio-economic vulnerable areas, also called garrison communities, and the voting behaviour of those residents is rather predetermined by social and political connections. That being the case, the garrison communities came to symbolize garrison politics, whose concept of political tribalism came to represent homogenous voting. Furthermore, understanding that garrisons function as totalitarian social spaces, the

residents of such communities not only have restricted freedom but also, any major development within that area has to be approved by the party leader of the particular stronghold.

Considering that the political system in Jamaica is symbolized by deeply rooted electoral control, political clientelism and political tribalism; the elections of the country have not only been signatory by violence but also reduced political participation. In the view of the circumstances, political clientelism and political tribalism has created an environment in which elections in Jamaica are far from equal and fair, and a political system in which the democratic values, the rule of law and the best interest of the citizens are not being met. Instead, it seems that the politicians have been taking advantage of their wealth and social status in order to secure and maintain their political interests. The only suggestion to present here is that political corruption has been enabled by absent or insufficient political and legislative control that has allowed powerful actors to make rules that benefits them one way or the other.

Recognizing the prevalence of political corruption that has been persistent for decades, it can be proposed that the accountability and transparency of the Jamaican government is rather insufficient. Despite the fact that the country is recognized as a democracy, the surroundings related to garrison politics indicate the opposite; namely, that all adult individuals do not have the right to equally and openly participate in the formation of collective decisions represented by an elected government. Considering that the foundation of the political system in Jamaica seems to be established on political clientelism and political tribalism, it can be suggested that the country is insufficient in taking responsibility for its citizens and is being ineffective in its regulations. As such, it seems that the validity, reliability and legitimacy of the Jamaican state does not fulfil the criteria for good governance but is rather inadequate in the areas of leadership and social harmonization of the society.

5. Analysis

The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings from the qualitative study and integrate them into an analysis that is related to the main concepts of the theoretical framework. Considering that the qualitative study has provided me with valuable information on the Jamaican public's attitudes and trust towards, and perceptions of, the country's government and politicians, the findings from the semi-structured interviews will likewise be analyzed and applied to the findings from the concepts of *governance*, *corruption*, *political corruption* and *elections*. In other words, each concept will, first and foremost, be briefly discussed by highlighting the main findings, and thereafter be supported with the findings extracted from the empirical study and the questionnaire. Therefore, the arrangement of the analysis will follow the same structure as the theoretical framework; however the notions of corruption and political corruption will be combined into one single concept. In addition, statistical facts from the WGI will be added in order to support the analysis. Nevertheless, such a source is indicated where used. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

As such, it is worthwhile returning to the study's research objective and research questions. The research objectives of this thesis' was to investigate the prevalence and evolvement of political corruption in Jamaica by explaining *how* and *why* corruption has become commonplace in the public sector. Understanding that the general public consider corruption to be the second-most serious problem facing Jamaica, the second objective of the thesis has been to explain *how* and in *which* ways political corruption affects the country's democracy and legitimacy.

That being the case, the research questions of this thesis are:

- *How and why has corruption become commonplace within the public sector?*
- *How and in which ways does political corruption affect democracy and the legitimacy of the Jamaican state?*

5.1 The Respondents

As previously mentioned in the research design, this thesis comprehends ten performed semi-structured interviews. Out of the total amount of participants, four respondents were male and the

remaining six were female. Considering that I wanted a fairly equal distribution of young, middle aged and senior participants, it can be suggested that the questionnaire has managed to capture the attitudes and perceptions of respondents within all age groups but the 76-90 age group. As such, three persons fell within the 18-30 age group, another three persons fell within the 31-45 age group, two persons fell within the 46-60 age group, and another two persons fell within the 61-75 age group. When the respondents were asked for the highest completed educational level that they had attained, two persons answered primary school, four persons answered secondary school, and the remaining four answered university/college. When the respondents were asked how satisfied they were with the financial situations of their household, two answered number 3, four answered number 2, five answered number 4, and two answered number 6. In order to view the questions, please see *demographics* in the questionnaire (Appendix A)

5.2 Governance

It is claimed that good governance is vital to constant economic development as the essential driving factor for growth is a competent state that is responsible for its citizens and effective in its regulations. Being this the case, good leadership, through instances where elected politicians and government officials are co-operating with formal and informal organizations and associations, is essential to good governance. Understanding that governance is defined as the economic and social direction towards communal goals in which public officials exercise their authority for the public good, it can be concluded that the actions of corruption goes against the concept of governance.

Seeing that validity, reliability and legitimacy are essential elements of democratic health, it is argued that such can be measured with the help of WGI. Such measurements indicate how well a country is progressing in terms of its political, economic and institutional aspects. According to such measures, the following was ranked for the case of Jamaica in 2010: voice and accountability ranked 60, political stability and violence ranked 32, government effectiveness ranked 63, regulatory burden ranked 60, rule of law ranked 37, and the control of corruption ranked 45. Understanding that the higher the rank (the maximum is 100), the better the governance and democratic health of a country. Considering these numbers, one can conclude that Jamaica is just above the average rank when it comes to voice and accountability,

government effectiveness, and regulatory burden, but is under the average rank when it comes to political stability and violence, rule of law, and control of corruption (World Bank 2012).

Good governance increases the responsibility, trustworthiness and certainty of decisions made in governments. Recognizing that Jamaica is perceived as highly corrupt, the government needs to put emphasis on the following areas in order to attain good governance: equality of participation, responsibility, transparency, prevalence of law, improvement of methods, and assurance of rights. Additionally, these aspects are crucial for rightful allocation of public resources and the country's increase in the public's trust towards the government and its public officials.

When considering the concept of public management, one can recognize that such is not sufficient in Jamaica as the allocation and use of the public resources are not always being exercised lawfully or in favour for the public good. These instances are evident in vast public office scandals that have been affecting the country's development. Nevertheless, such have no place for the analysis in this paper. As a result of the mishandling of public management, the legitimacy of the government has been harmed as its reputation, reliability and authorization has weakened or decreased among the public. Additionally, due to the corrupt incidents in various institutions (particularly electoral corruption), the reliability of democracy is not only questionable due to vote-buying and political tribalism, but it also seems that political participation is only for the country's elite.

When the respondents were asked if they trust the government to be fair and impartial (Q.6), all ten respondents answered 'no'. When asked why, these are some of the answers that were given:

Respondent 1: *"Sometimes they do not consider the citizens of Jamaica. Once their family is ok, that is all that matters"*.

Respondent 2: *"Justice is never served in the name of the poor man; they do not care about the affairs of the less fortunate until election time"*.

Respondent 3: *"Fairness and impartiality seems to take a backseat to cronyism and underhandedness. There seems to be a high level of greed and selfishness which hinders good governance. This has been made evident by the numerous scandals and acts of impropriety"*.

Understanding that administrative accountability is a concept whose function is to measure if the public officials abuse their power and how well they perform in the interest of the public, one can suggest that the politician's capacity of being accountable for their actions is rather weak. As there have been many political scandals in Jamaica, one can only conclude that the opportunities for corruption in the country are fairly adaptive due to insufficient regulatory frameworks that control the flow of money. The issue of uncontrolled flow of money is also evident during electoral campaigns as not only do the political parties receive funds from illegal sources, but the transparency of the use of such is not always clear either.

When the respondents were asked if they trust the government to favour their interests (Q.7), all ten of the respondents answered 'no'. When asked why, these are some of the answers that were given:

Respondent 1: *"They only care about us around general and local elections"*.

Respondent 2: *"State officials seems too concerned with preserving the status quo, individual and human rights are secondary unless politically expedient"*.

Respondent 3: *"The government of Jamaica is for the rich in this country"*.

Respondent 4: *"The interest of the populous often times runs contrary to the interest groups and party donators"*.

When the respondents were asked how important it is for them to live in a country that is democratically governed (Q. 8), the majority ranked it as a 9 or 10 on a scale ranging 1 (not at all important) to 10 (absolutely important). In addition, when the respondents were asked how democratically they think Jamaica is being governed (Q.9), the majority ranked it as a 6 on a scale 1 (not at all democratic) to 10 (completely democratic).

In accordance with the 2011 Corruption Perceptions Index, Jamaica was perceived to be a highly corrupt country with a low score of 3.3. The underlying reasons for the widespread corruption in the country are due to inadequate salaries and working conditions within the public sector,

insufficient management and administrative agencies, a tradition of corrupt politicians and businessmen, and unsatisfactory means to combat corruption. As a result, it is proposed that corruption has contributed to a lack of public trust in political leadership as well as the country's service delivery institutions. An example of such is that many individuals work long or inconvenient hours for a salary that barely pays their bills. Quite often would their salary be late, and in other instances they would only receive half the payment.

When the respondents were asked if they would say that in general, most politicians can be trusted (Q.5), the answer for all ten respondents was that one *'need to be very careful'*. When asked why, some of the following answers were given:

Respondent 1: *"There is a general feeling of distrust about politicians because of the lack of transparency regarding their work"*.

Respondent 2: *"Few can be trusted because they are the root of the corruption most times"*.

Respondent 3: *"Most politicians are primarily concerned preserving the status quo by securing the next vote at the expenses of whom ever or whatever"*.

Respondent 4: *"Politicians are always involved in some kind of scandals where millions of dollars are missing from their respective ministries, and it's just passed off as mistake"*.

Respondent 5: *"Politicians have over time done enough to destroy the level of trust that has been bestowed on them"*.

5.3 Corruption and Political Corruption

It is argued that corruption is mainly evident and prevalent in the field of development and in developing countries. As corruption occurs when those with power and authority abuse their position because of misallocation of public resources due to personal interests, it is suggested that political corruption, on the other hand, is stimulated by political interests that benefit the party. Understanding that such benefits are due to inappropriate agreements at the expense of the public and the country's democratic principles, it is suggested that much of political corruption occurs during electoral times.

It is suggested that there are three main types of corruption that are prevalent in Jamaica: petty corruption, illegal drugs-related corruption, and political corruption. The former is the most common in everyday encounters between citizens and public administrative officials. Petty corruption takes place in terms of bribery in which regular citizens pay a sum of money to, for example, obtain a drivers' license or a birth certificate.

Corruption that is related to illegal-drugs is most often evident among harbour and tariff officials, but also among inner-city gangs and community leaders. Understanding that inner-cities are socio-economically vulnerable, businesses with illegal-drugs are a quick and efficient way of becoming wealthy and powerful.

When the respondents were asked how frequent they think corruption is part of the business culture in Jamaica (Q.15), the majority of the respondents answered '*frequently*'.

Political corruption, on the other hand is more evident in terms of patron-client relationships in which politicians provide their supporters with resources in exchange for their votes. In other words, such vote-buying occurs either directly through payments for a 'X' on the ballot paper, or it occurs during electoral campaigns in which the politicians provide the residents of their constituency with various supplies. An example of such is the party initiative of 'cleaning up' the streets of constituencies. During my stay in Kingston, I observed that 'clean up' of the streets in various low- to middle-income constituencies was a means for politicians to retain or gain political support. Such 'clean up' meant that the politicians paid for supplies (such as paint and tools) which the volunteer residents would use in order to beautify the outdoor community by, for example, re-painting the pavements and cleaning the flowerbeds.

When the respondents were asked to rank to what extent they perceive various institutions in Jamaica to be affected by corruption (Q.12), six persons ranked political parties respectively the parliament to be 'extremely corrupt' by giving them a 5 on the rank. Furthermore, the respondents ranked the police force, public officials and businesses as very corrupt as well as

these institutions were ranked as 4 on a scale 1 (not at all corrupt) to 5 (extremely corrupt). In addition, other institutions that were perceived as relatively corrupt were the media, the judiciary, NGOs and the military (all ranked as 3 on the same scale).

Corruption, driven by politics, is generally neither considered to be petty nor large in magnitude, but rather middle-ground. This means that the overall view on political corruption is that it is immoral and wrong, but nevertheless not overwhelming for a country's economy and development. Such is the case of electoral corruption as vote buying is commonly considered to be wrong but it is not directly harming economic development. Rather, it can be argued that such actions are against the principles of democracy as vote buying is anything but fair.

Additionally, it can be claimed that political corruption, overall, is very unjust and unequal as the environment created by such actions allows the elite to take advantage of their social status and networks in order to gain personal benefits. Being this the case, political corruption not only challenge rules and regulations, but it also contributes to socio-economic injustice as the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

When the respondents were asked how the level of corruption in Jamaica has changed for the past three years (Q.13), eight of the respondents answered '*same*'. When they were furthered asked how they would measure the current government's actions in combating corruption (Q.14), six respondents answered '*ineffective*', whereas four answered it was '*neither*'.

Corruption in Jamaica is not only widespread, but has also been prevalent for decades. Petty corruption, political corruption, electoral corruption and corruption related to infrastructural projects; the scandals have been many. Repeated instances of situations in which the government has used public resources for personal benefits have resulted in a lack of trust among the public. Such abuse of power has led to that the citizens of Jamaica are not eager or interested in voting for one of the two parties, and that itself is against the principles of democracy.

When the volunteer participants were asked how interested they were in politics (Q.10), eight of the respondents answered '*somewhat interested*'.

Corruption at all levels is a cause and effect of insufficient institutions. The systematic political corruption that has been taking place in Jamaica has led to the subversion of the country's institutions and an unequal distribution of wealth and power to its citizens. The quality of education has been deteriorated as only the wealthy can afford to send their children to recognized elite schools, and the public infrastructure and health services are below adequate in certain communities. Health care has come to be a privilege as the ordinary citizen cannot afford the fee, and the roads of the most socio-economically vulnerable communities are barely functional due to their many gaps and cracks. This being the case, political corruption has increased the inequality between the country's citizens as the rich continuously get richer and the poor get poorer.

As a result, the frequency of bribery is rather high, not only due to the fact that such money are additional to a person's poor salary but also because such payments are considered to be acceptable. Furthermore, the prevalence of bribes have weakened Jamaica's capacity to increase salaries, and instead increased the taxes in order to amount for the country's budget and expenses. In addition, corruption harms the rights of the citizens as the allocation of basic services such as education and health care are being deprived. As a result, education and health care has become privileged services for the wealthy as it is offered to those who are willing to pay the highest price. Additionally, corruption does not only affect internal business but also global as a high prevalence of illegitimate agreements and flow of money undermine and hinder international aid to the country.

When the respondents were asked if any government official has asked or expected them to pay a bribe (Q.17), only two persons answered '*yes*'. When asked why, one respondent answered the following: "*An employee of the Tax Administration who was assisting me in filing my returns had offered to help me reduce the amount of tax I am required to pay for a fee*".

5.4 Elections

One of the fundamental principles of democracy is the right to free and fair elections. Nevertheless, it seems that political participation is more evident among the elite as it is suggested that political support and association is less common among individuals who are disadvantaged in fields such as education, wealth, social rank and competence. As a matter of fact, it is proposed that individuals who reside in inner-cities are young, unqualified, unemployed, and least likely to vote and engage with a political party or collective activity.

When the respondents were asked if they ever voted (Q.18), majority of them (six persons) answered 'no'. When asked why, the main answer was that they are not registered because they do not favour any party. Another respondent answered "*It does not make any difference which party gets the vote, they will all do the same thing which is lie, cheat, and steal*".

It is suggested the past two decades have shown that there is a significant decrease in participation in the national elections. In accordance to the Electoral Office of Jamaica, only 52 per cent of registered voters marked a 'X' on their ballots for the 2011 election (Wilson 2012).

It is claimed that the era of democratization did not only bring the introduction of elections but it also brought the occurrence of electoral manipulation as the elite took advantage of their wealth and power as a means to improve their electoral opportunities. Such has been the case of Jamaica since the 1980s, involving the two major political parties PNP and JPL.

The patron-client relationship that is taking place in the garrison communities of urban Jamaica is based on securing a resident's vote in exchange of favours such as jobs, protection from the security forces, medical care and food. Like already proposed, the patron in this relation is a member of a political party who provides services for his clients; that is, residents of socio-economically vulnerable garrisons. Consequently, the association between the political parties and garrisons has not only facilitated a perverted government but also resulted in a lack of public trust for the country's politicians. Furthermore, the patron-client relationship contradicts the essential democratic principle of free and fair elections, it challenges the rule of law, and it contradicts the entire idea of governmental accountability and legitimacy. In addition, it is

suggested by Jamaica's current Minister of Justice that the Jamaican political culture nurtures patron-client relationships, political tribalism and corruption (Chuck 2000).

Considering the nature of political tribalism and garrison politics that are particular to Jamaica, one can suggest that much (if not all) of the voting behaviour is based on homogenous voting. Being this the case, it can be proposed that the voting attitudes of garrison communities in Jamaica are based on the socio-psychological model as the resident's voting behaviour is dependent on their sociological surroundings and previous experiences with the party.

It is argued that there has to be certain regulations that are related to electoral campaigns. Such are necessary in order to prevent funds from illegal sources, as well as to prevent disproportionate political financing which can harm elections in terms of unequal prospects for political competition. In addition, regulations for electoral expenditures are of equivalent importance as these prevent the political parties to engage in illegitimate electoral expenses such as vote buying and various forms of bribing. Taken these regulations into account, the political parties are obliged to declare their expenditures for their electoral campaigns.

When the respondents were asked how often they think that voters are being bribed (Q.19), four persons answered *'fairly often'*, two answered *'not at all often'* and the remaining four said they did not know. Furthermore, when asked if they think that rich people buy votes, two answered *'fairly often'*, two answered *'not often'* and the remaining answered *'not at all'*. In addition, when the respondents were asked if they think that poor people buy elections, four answered *'fairly often'*, two answered *'not often'* and the remaining answered *'not at all'*. Nevertheless, when asked if they think that voters are offered a genuine choice in the elections, four answered *'very often'*, four answered *'fairly often'* and the remaining answered *'not often'*.

Moreover, the Code of Political Conduct, which has been signed and implemented by both PNP and JLP, is set to function as a framework for how politicians and party supporters ought to behave. Even though the agreement specifically states that no party shall associate themselves with political tribalism or violence and intimidation, it is public knowledge that the notion of patron-clientelism and garrison politics still prevails in Jamaica's most socio-economic

vulnerable urban inner-city communities. Also, even though the agreement puts emphasis on the prohibition of attached party flags and banners on public buildings and utilities, these are nevertheless seen hanging in inner-city communities.

Seeing that I was residing in Kingston while composing this paper, I had the opportunity to experience a Jamaican election as suchlike took place in December 2011. Considering that I did not have access to a television or a radio, I cannot tell anything about the political campaign discussions that went on approximately one month before Election Day. However, I can speak of all the orange (colour representing PNP) and green (colour representing JLP) flags that I encountered on light poles along the streets of communities dominated by respective party. Even though the public was encouraged to report such instances to the police, the flags still remained to decorate the light poles and their streets.

Jamaica is recognized as a democracy based on the notion that the country has held free and fair elections since the establishment of adult suffrage in the 1940s. However, according to the National Integrity Systems report, corruption in Jamaica is widespread in various institutions; not to mention during elections. This argument is based on the fact that Jamaica has a tradition of electoral-based violence as both parties are acknowledged to be involved with political tribalism and vote-buying. Furthermore, in accordance to the Jamaican Minister of Justice, the reason why corruption is so prevalent in the country is because of the inadequacy of controlling political power (Chuck 1999).

5.5 Conclusion

In accordance to the findings from the semi-structured interviews it appears that all of the respondents believe that one needs to be very careful in trusting politicians. Not only do they believe that the government is not just and neutral, but they also do not believe the government to favour their interests. Considering this negative attitude, it can be proposed that the population of the sample has a high distrust towards the Jamaican government and politicians. Nevertheless, despite this fact, it can be suggested that the respondents believe that the country is somewhat democratically governed. Additionally, the majority of the respondents believe that it is very important to live in a country that is democratic.

Seeing that the majority of the respondents were somewhat interested in politics, they could argue that the political parties and the parliament were extremely corrupt, that the police force, public officials and businesses were very corrupt, and that the media, the judiciary, NGOs and the military were somewhat corrupt. It also appeared that there was a common perception that corruption, as a part of the business culture in Jamaica, is quite frequent. As such, it can be proposed that there is a medium to high prevalence of corruption in all the major institutions in Jamaica. In addition, it seems that the respondents believe that the current government's actions in combating corruption are ineffective as they believe that the level of corruption in Jamaica for the past three years has been the same.

When the respondents were asked if they had ever voted, an alarmingly large number of eight persons answered that they had not. Considering that the main reason for not voting was because the respondents were not registered, it could be suggested that voting participation indeed has declined. As one respondent expressed that both parties are equally bad, maybe the lack of interest in voting could be connected to the high level of distrust towards the government and the politicians.

6. Conclusion

Research, external studies, my survey and my personal experiences all suggest that there is a high prevalence of corruption in Jamaica. It is proposed that there are three types of corruption; however, petty corruption and political corruption are the most widespread. Even though both are unlawful, they continue to occur due to different reasons. Petty corruption prevails in service delivery institutions as well as in administrative institutions because of the dissatisfaction of long and inconvenient working hours, in addition to the low salaries which are not always fully paid. An even more important observation is that the people of Jamaica seem to believe that petty corruption, in terms of bribes, is not harming them nor the country's economy or development. This being the case, petty corruption is prevalent not only because of weak regulations and insufficient social- and work protections, but also because the gesture is generally accepted among the citizens of Jamaica.

Political corruption established and performed by the two major political parties PNP and JLP, on the other hand, seems to be an integral part of Jamaican politics as vote-buying in various ways has been prevalent since adult suffrage. Moreover, it appears that political corruption, in terms of electoral fraud, reached its peak in the 1980s when political violence and intimidation was the most evident. Electoral corruption prevails in two ways; through direct payment in which money are exchanged for a 'X' on the ballot, or through means of political tribalism in which residents in garrison communities have more or less no choice but to vote for the party that is providing them with resources and supplies in exchange for a given homogenous vote. Even though political tribalism, also referred to as garrison politics, is widely acknowledged among Jamaican citizens, politicians, researches and anti-corruption institutions, the patron-client relationships remain.

Due to the widespread and deeply rooted political corruption that occurs in Jamaica, the consequences have been evident not only in the country's development but also in the attitudes of the Jamaican people. Throughout the decades, the abuse of power has facilitated an increased mistrust towards the government and the politicians, while voting participation among registered citizens has declined. Furthermore, it seems that the people of Jamaica do not trust their governments to be just and neutral, nor do they believe that the government favour their

interests. On the contrary, it seems that it is believed that the politicians only care for their own wealth and families rather than the ordinary citizens'.

Even though Jamaica is recognized as a democracy, it appears that the citizens of Jamaica believe that the country is neither here nor there when it comes to democratic or good governance. Many of the flaws lie within the government's voice and accountability, lack of political stability due to high prevalence of violence, inadequate effectiveness of ruling and regulatory burden, weak rule of law, and insufficient control of corruption. Moreover, political corruption has become a cause and effect of economic underdevelopment. Illegitimate actions and agreements that create political scandals have not only deteriorated the performance and quality of public services, but has also repeatedly contradicted the principles of free and fair election and, furthermore, weakened the legitimacy and transparency of the political system in Jamaica.

Considering that the thesis is built upon a strong theoretical framework which explains the concepts of governance, corruption, political corruption, and elections, I believe that the validity of the study is accurate as the thesis relies on the theoretical framework's ability to understand electoral corruption in Jamaica. Understanding that I was not in the field to observe the electoral surroundings from the time of adult suffrage up till now, I have tried not to make any assumptions throughout the thesis but rather tried to explain electoral corruption in Jamaica through potential suggestions of how the case may be interpreted. In addition, realizing that the purpose of a case study is to examine a historical episode in order to develop or test historical explanations that may be generalizable to other events, it can be concluded that the causes and effects of political corruption are generalizable to other parts of the world, nevertheless, the evolution and means of support of electoral corruption is particular to the case of Jamaica.

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APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Sex:

Male Female

2. Age group:

18-30 31-45 46-60 61-75 76-90

3. What is the highest completed educational level that you have attained?

No formal education

Primary school

Secondary school

University/College

4. How satisfied are you with the financial situations of your household? (1 – completely dissatisfied, 10 – completely satisfied)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

TRUST

5. In general, would you say that most politicians can be trusted or you need to be very careful in putting your trust in them?

Most politicians can be trusted Need to be very careful

If you believe you need to be very careful, please explain why.

6. Do you trust the government to be just and neutral?

Yes No

If your answer is no, please explain why.

7. Do you trust the government to favour your interests?

Yes No

If your answer is no, please explain why.

DEMOCRACY

**8. How important is it for you to reside in a country that is democratically governed?
(1 – not at all important, 10 – absolutely important)**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

9. How democratically is Jamaica being governed today? (1 – not at all democratic, 10 – completely democratic)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

POLITICS AND CORRUPTION

10. How interested would you say you are in politics? Are you:

- Very interested
- Somewhat interested
- Not very interested
- Not at all interested

11. How important is politics in your life? (1 – very important, 4 – not at all important)

1 2 3 4

12. To what extent do you perceive the following institutions in Jamaica to be affected by corruption? (1 – not at all corrupt, 5 – extremely corrupt)

- Political parties
- Parliament
- Police
- Business
- Media
- Public officials

Judiciary
NGO
Religious bodies
Military
Education

13. In the past three years, how has the level of corruption in Jamaica changed?

Decreased Same Increased

If it has decreased or increased, please explain how or in which ways.

14. How would you assess your current government's actions in the fight against corruption?

Ineffective Neither Effective

15. How frequent do you think corruption is part of the business culture in Jamaica?

Never
Seldom
Sometimes
Frequently
Often
Always

16. Have you ever noticed that foreign firms who operate in Jamaica make use of business practices that most likely diverge from their own official codes of conduct?

Never
Seldom
Sometimes
Frequently
Often
Always
Do not know/No answer

If you have noticed such practices, please indicate how and in which field this has been evident.

17. A) As far as you can remember has any government official asked/expected you to pay a bribe in return for a service?

Yes No

If yes, please explain which institution the government official belonged to and which service you had to pay for.

B) If you answered “Yes” on the previous question, has any government official asked/expected you to pay a bribe in return for a service for the past three years?

Yes No

If yes, please explain which institution the government official belonged to and which service you had to pay for.

ELECTIONS

18. A) Have you ever voted?

Yes No

If no, please explain why.

B) If your answer was “Yes” in the previous question, is your vote homogenous or it differs?

Homogenous Differ

C) Did you vote in the most recent elections?

Yes No

If no, please explain why.

19. In your view, how often do the following things occur in Jamaica’s elections?

	Very often	Fairly often	Not often	Not at all often	Do not know/No answer
Votes are counted fairly	1	2	3	4	5
TV news favours the governing party	1	2	3	4	5
Voters are bribed	1	2	3	4	5
Election officials are fair	1	2	3	4	5
Rich people buy elections	1	2	3	4	5
Poor people buy elections	1	2	3	4	5
Voters are threatened with violence at the polls	1	2	3	4	5
Voters are offered a genuine choice in the elections	1	2	3	4	5

20. How important do you think that honest elections play a role in deciding whether you and your family are able to make a good living?

Very important

Rather important

Not very important

Not at all important

Please explain how and why.
