Corruption, Economic Growth, And Governance in The East African Region: Causes, Consequences, and Mitigation Strategies

Corrupção, Crescimento Econômico e Governança na África Oriental: Causas, Consequências e Estratégias de Mitigação

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ABSTRACT | Purpose: This study examines the prevalence, causes, and consequences of corruption in the East African region and investigates its empirical relationship with governance quality and economic growth across different national contexts. **Methodology:** A mixed-methods research design was adopted, combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. The qualitative component involved a comprehensive review of academic literature, official documents, and reports from international organizations. The quantitative analysis relied on secondary data, including the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), global governance indicators, and macroeconomic data, enabling cross-country comparative analysis. **Findings:** The findings show that corruption in East Africa is driven by interconnected political, social, economic, and institutional factors. Countries affected by political instability and internal conflict, such as Somalia and South Sudan, exhibit the highest levels of corruption and the weakest governance systems. Conversely, countries such as Seychelles, Mauritius, and Rwanda demonstrate that lower corruption levels are associated with stronger governance and more stable economic performance. Empirical evidence largely supports the "sand the wheels" hypothesis, indicating that corruption undermines economic growth and governance effectiveness. **Originality/Value:** The study adds to the literature by highlighting that effective anti-corruption strategies in East Africa require institutional strengthening, political stability, and comprehensive governance reforms, offering insights for policymakers and development stakeholders.

Keywords| Corruption; Governance; Economic growth; Corruption Perceptions Index; East Africa.

RESUMO | Objetivo: Este estudo analisa a prevalência, as causas e as consequências da corrupção na região da África Oriental, bem como sua relação empírica com a governança e o crescimento econômico, considerando diferentes contextos nacionais e níveis institucionais. **Metodologia:** Adotou-se um desenho de pesquisa de métodos mistos, combinando análise qualitativa e quantitativa. A abordagem qualitativa baseou-se em revisão sistemática da literatura acadêmica, documentos oficiais e relatórios de organizações internacionais. A etapa quantitativa utilizou dados secundários, especialmente o Índice de Percepção da Corrupção (CPI) da Transparência Internacional, indicadores de governança global e dados macroeconômicos, permitindo análise comparativa entre países da África Oriental. **Resultados:** Os resultados indicam que as causas da corrupção na região são interdependentes e envolvem fatores políticos, sociais, econômicos e institucionais. Países com elevados níveis de instabilidade política e conflito interno, como Somália e Sudão do Sul, apresentam os mais altos índices de corrupção e os sistemas de governança mais frágeis. Em contraste, países como Seychelles, Maurício e Ruanda demonstram que níveis mais baixos de corrupção estão associados a melhores padrões de governança e desempenho econômico. A análise empírica corrobora a predominância da hipótese "sand the wheels", segundo a qual a corrupção prejudica o crescimento econômico e enfraquece a governança. **Contribuições:** O estudo contribui para a literatura ao evidenciar que o combate à corrupção na África Oriental depende do fortalecimento institucional, da estabilidade política e de estratégias integradas de governança, com implicações relevantes para formuladores de políticas públicas.

Palavras-chave | Corrupção; Governança; Crescimento econômico; Índice de Percepção da Corrupção; África Oriental.

1 INTRODUCTION

The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) recognize corruption as a major global problem that hinders development, weakens democracy, and limits countries' ability to achieve sustainable growth and development (United Nations, n.d.). Corruption is a major problem in the socio-economic development of all countries, but the problem is particularly severe in Africa. Even though corruption has been a topic of study for many researchers for over 30 years, since the 1990s, it is still one of the biggest social, political, and economic challenges that every nation faces around the world, and combatting it has long been one of the primary goals of government. According to Spyromitros and Panagiotidis (2022), corruption is a sign and result of institutional weakness, which can have a negative effect on a nation's economic performance, hindering infrastructure development, lowering educational and health-care quality, and increasing unemployment (see also Aborisade & Aliyyu, 2018; Lamin, 2019).

According to African Development Bank (2015) corruption cost African economies about US$148 billion a year. This is because corruption undermines public trust and erodes the efficiency of African governments, contributes to poverty and inequality as well as poor public service delivery (Abdulai, 2023). Government officials in Africa highly engage in corruption and this encourage other entities to perceive corruption as a source of income, therefore everyone is eager to make money by any means without transparency and accountability (Jama, 2021). Even though fighting corruption in Africa has been challenging, a few countries have made significant progress. Botswana, Rwanda, and Mauritius are the three countries can be mentioned in this regard (Transparency International, 2023).

Corruption severely affected the social and economic aspects of many African nations, particularly Somalia and South Sudan, where it has become a natural habit for most government officials and private sector persons, which motivated various scholars to investigate. In recent years, researchers

have shown a growing interest in investigating corruption and its impact on economic growth and good governance. Transparency International's CPI (2023) consistently ranks many African nations among the most corrupt in the world, with unchanged regional average score of 33 out of 100. East African countries, such as Somalia and South Sudan, score the worst and rank the lowest globally (Transparency International, 2023).

Given the severity and complexity of corruption, which is becoming a source of many problems in Africa, to my knowledge, only a few studies have been done on corruption, particularly in the case of East Africa region (but see Franz, 2012; Jama, 2021). As a result, this study intended to address this limitation and the purpose of this study was to examine the association between corruption, governance and economic growth; as well as to investigate the prevalence, causes, consequences and mitigation strategies of corruption in the East Africa region.

This study aimed to address the following research questions: What are the main causes of corruption in the East Africa region? How corruption is prevalent in the East African region? How does corruption affect governance and economic growth in the East African region? What strategies can be implemented to reduce corruption and improve governance?

In order to make the study manageable to the researcher, this study is delimited to the East Africa region. The rationale for selecting this region as the target was that countries in the region, like Somalia and South Sudan, are the most corrupt countries in the world (Transparency International, 2023). This study significantly contributes to the existing literature and provides valuable insight for policymakers, future scholars, and other stakeholders who work on corruption in the East Africa region.

This study employed a mixed-methods research design, combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. The qualitative phase involved a comprehensive analysis of existing academic literature, critical examination of official documents, and exploration of reliable online resources and credible organizational reports. The quantitative phase utilized statistical analysis to investigate the relationships between key variables. Due to time and resource limitations, the study primarily relied on secondary data sources. This approach allowed for a robust examination of the research problem while effectively leveraging available data.

2 TYPES AND CLASSIFICATIONS OF CORRUPTION

Bailey (1994) defines typologies as multidimensional and conceptual classifications. According to Collier, LaPorte, and Seawright (2012), "conceptual" typologies are non-empirical, while "multidimensional" typologies encompass several dimensions by the intersection of more than one variable.

In terms of locations of corruption, corruption is located at many governmental levels according to several classification methods. One such distinction that is frequently made is between grand and petty corruption. Ordinary people use small amounts of money to bribe low-ranking public officials in petty corruption. In contrast, large sums of money and powerful individuals from corporate and political hierarchies are involved in grand corruption (Rose-Ackerman, 1999). According to Amundsen (1997), another classification scheme separates political corruption from bureaucratic corruption. The former pertains to political decision-makers, while the latter is associated with public administration

3-25

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corruption connected to policy implementation. Beri and Navot (2013) stated that some academics distinguish between corruption in local and national governance. The position of corruption inside clearly defined government agencies or functions, such as courts, security, police, education, defense, health, procurement, construction, and infrastructure, can also be used to categorize it (Gupta, 2017 & Morris, 2011).

Zhang and Vargas-Hernández (2015) categorize corruption by its forms and primary manifestations. As a result, there are several types of corruption: bribery, which refers to providing financial benefits to an official in return for good treatment or support; extortion, which involves a government official using illegal pressure to get money from someone else; kickbacks, which is incentives granted to a public official in return for the bribe payer being granted government contracts; and three related forms, nepotism, patronage, and cronyism, which involve awarding government jobs to political supporters, family members, or members of select social networks. Heidenheimer (1993) presents another interesting categorization scheme that makes a distinction as black, gray, and white corruption, depending on how elites and people in general view corruption. The public and elites both condemn black corruption. When it comes to gray corruption, some social groups—often the elites—may be in favor of severe penalties, while the general public typically has mixed feelings. On the other hand, white corruption is typically tolerated by society at large.

In terms of actors and resources, Bussell's (2015) multidimensional typology focuses on two variables: the sorts of state resources and the actors that control them at various levels of government. The author used these two variables to identify four forms of corruption: First, Legislative corruption, which occurs when top officials control legislation and government policies. Second, contracting, middle-level officials control license and contract allocation. Third, employment, bureaucrats, and politicians control governmental job allocation. Fourth, services, bureaucrats control the delivery of goods and services to citizens directly.

Measuring Corruption

There are different indices that measure the level of corruption across the globe. Although it is very difficult to measure corruption accurately due to its complex nature and various manifestations, the researcher used the relatively most reliable index from Transparency International for the purpose of this study. The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), the most well-known indicator of corruption, is produced by Transparency International (TI). The CPI ranks countries based on people's perception of how their public sector is corrupt. The index is created using information about corruption gathered from the nations, specialists based in each nation, and further surveys. Since corruption is prohibited and frequently goes undetected, the CPI is based on perceptions because it presumes that actual data regarding the levels of corruption would be difficult to get and unreliable. The CPI report, which is released every year on January 30. The CPI rates nations' perception of corruption on a scale of 0 to 100, where 100 is clean and free from corruption, and 0 is extremely corrupt.

Even though the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) is a useful tool for corruption measurement, it has some limitations. The first factor that intrinsically limits the precision of any index is the complexity of defining corruption itself and, hence, the resulting conclusions from such an index. Second, given

4-25

Journal of Law and Corruption Review. Florida (EUA), v. 7, e086, 2025.

that it relies on perception, which can be subjective, the CPI might also greatly underestimate the level of corruption. In places with limited transparency, the index struggles to uncover corrupt practices, highlighting a major limitation in its current version. These factors impact our understanding of corruption and highlight the need for caution when interpreting CPI

Corruption in the East Africa Region

According to Lamin (2019), corruption has been prevalent in Africa since the colonial era; no country or region has been free of corruption practices. All can agree that the African continent is among the most corrupt in the world. Corruption in Africa has been driven by a deterioration in moral and ethical values, poverty, unemployment, ethnic allegiance, and socioeconomic situations (Aborisade & Aliyyu, 2018; see also Šumah, 2018; Haydaroğlu, 2020; Abdulai, 2023). Economically speaking, corruption hinders Africa's economic growth and further damages the continental reputation worldwide. Previous research findings and international reports, such as those by Transparency International and the World Bank, have found that, despite many efforts to combat corruption, East African countries continue to face serious corruption problems that weaken governance and slow economic growth, which indicates the severity and complexity of corruption in the region (e.g., Lee & Guven, 2013; Aborisade & Aliyyu, 2018; World Bank, 2020; Transparency International, 2023).
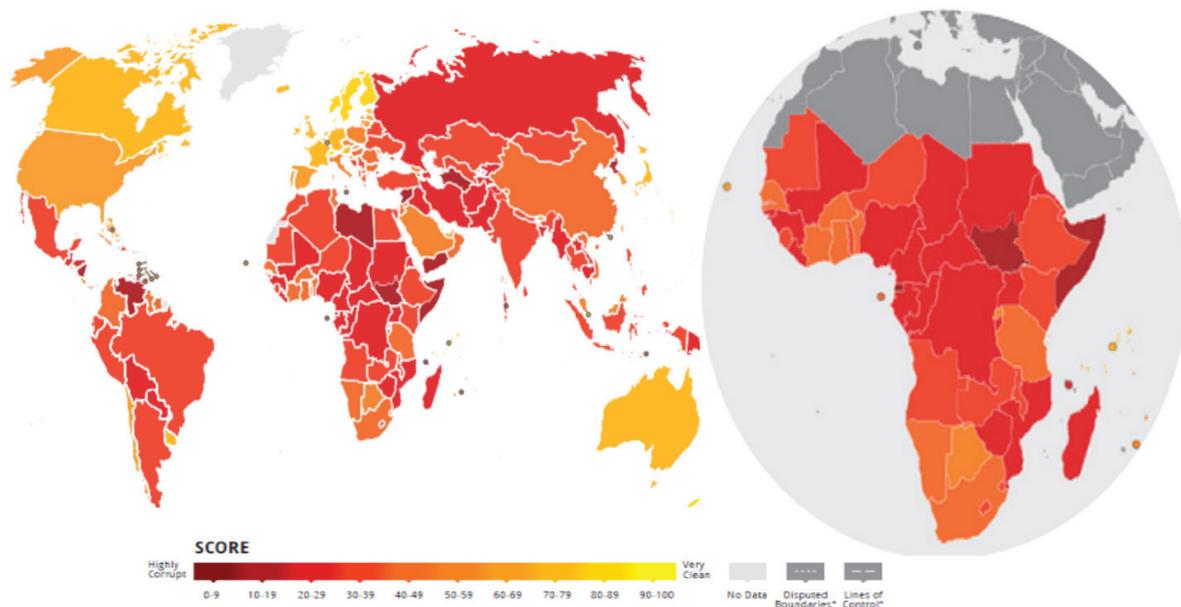
Figure 2. Showing Transparency International CPI for 2023.

Source: Transparency International (2023).

Figure 2 clearly shows that the East African region countries, such as Somalia and South Sudan, scored the worst and ranked the lowest in the world with a score of 11 and 13 out of 100, respectively (Transparency International, 2023). On the other hand, according to Transparency International (2023) report, the other East African country, Seychelles, surprisingly leads the African continent

5-25

Journal of Law and Corruption Review. Florida (EUA), v. 7, e086, 2025.

with a score of 71, placing it alongside the United Kingdom, France, and Austria. Seychelles has improved one point from 70 to 71 out of 100 on the Corruption Perception Index (2023). Compared to CPI (2022), it maintained its position as the highest scorer for consecutive years in Africa. CPI (2023) report showed that with a score of 71, Seychelles, the smallest island country in Africa, ranked 22nd out of 180 countries. As a result, we can conclude that the East Africa region includes both the highest (Seychelles) and lowest (Somalia) corruption scores on the CPI in Africa.

In addition, many African nations are continuously ranked among the most corrupt in the world by Transparency International's CPI (2023), which has an unchanging continental average score of 33/100. 90% of Sub-Saharan African countries received a score of less than 50. Additionally, as a region, Sub-Saharan Africa scored the lowest of the three regions. The other two lowest-performing regions were Central Asia and Eastern Europe, with a score of 35 (Transparency International, 2023).

The Prevalence of Corruption in East African Countries

The 2023 Transparency International (CPI) reported a detailed overview of corruption levels across East African nations, revealing significant differences in governance and anti-corruption efforts throughout the region. While combating corruption in East Africa has been difficult, some countries have achieved notable advancement. Seychelles, Rwanda, and Mauritius are the three countries that can be mentioned in this regard. Many African countries continue to fight corruption, establishing strong institutions, ensuring the rule of law, and creating anti-corruption watchdogs that promote accountability and transparency in government systems.

Table 1. Showing Transparency International CPI (2023) Countries Score

Score	Country	Score	Country	Score	Country	Score	Country	Score	Country	Score	Country	Score	Country	Score	Country
90	Denmark	69	United States	54	Poland	43	Benin	39	India	34	Ecuador	28	Mali	21	Eritrea
87	Finland	68	Bhutan	54	Slovakia	43	Ghana	39	Kazakhstan	34	Indonesia	28	Paraguay	20	Afghanistan
85	New Zealand	68	United Arab Emirates	53	Cyprus	43	Oman	39	Lesotho	34	Malawi	27	Cameroon	20	Burundi
84	Norway	67	Taiwan	53	Georgia	43	Senegal	39	Maldives	34	Philippines	26	Guinea	20	Chad
83	Singapore	66	Chile	53	Grenada	43	Solomon Islands	38	Morocco	34	Sri Lanka	26	Kyrgyzstan	20	Comoros
82	Sweden	64	Bahamas	53	Rwanda	43	Timor-Leste	37	Argentina	34	Turkey	26	Russia	20	Democratic Republic of the Congo
82	Switzerland	64	Cabo Verde	52	Fiji	42	Bahrain	37	Albania	33	Angola	26	Uganda	20	Myanmar
79	Netherlands	63	Korea, South	52	Saudi Arabia	42	China	37	Belarus	33	Mongolia	25	Liberia	20	Sudan
78	Germany	62	Israel	51	Malta	42	Cuba	37	Ethiopia	33	Peru	25	Madagascar	20	Tajikistan
78	Luxembourg	61	Lithuania	51	Mauritius	42	Hungary	37	Gambia	33	Uzbekistan	25	Mozambique	18	Libya
77	Ireland	61	Portugal	50	Croatia	42	Moldova	37	Zambia	32	Niger	25	Nigeria	18	Turkmenistan
76	Canada	60	Latvia	50	Malaysia	42	North Macedonia	36	Algeria	31	El Salvador	24	Bangladesh	17	Equatorial Guinea
76	Estonia	60	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	49	Greece	42	Trinidad and Tobago	36	Brazil	31	Kenya	24	Central African Republic	17	Haiti
75	Australia	60	Spain	49	Namibia	41	Burkina Faso	36	Serbia	31	Mexico	24	Iran	17	Korea, North
75	Hong Kong	59	Botswana	48	Vanuatu	41	Kosovo	36	Ukraine	31	Togo	24	Lebanon	17	Nicaragua
73	Belgium	58	Qatar	47	Armenia	41	South Africa	35	Bosnia and Herzegovina	30	Djibouti	24	Zimbabwe	16	Yemen
73	Japan	57	Czechia	46	Jordan	41	Vietnam	35	Dominican Republic	30	Eswatini	23	Azerbaijan	13	South Sudan
73	Uruguay	56	Dominica	46	Kuwait	40	Colombia	35	Egypt	30	Mauritania	23	Guatemala	13	Syria
72	Iceland	56	Italy	46	Montenegro	40	Côte d'Ivoire	35	Nepal	29	Bolivia	23	Honduras	13	Venezuela
71	Austria	56	Slovenia	46	Romania	40	Guyana	35	Panama	29	Pakistan	23	Iraq	11	Somalia
71	France	55	Costa Rica	45	Bulgaria	40	Suriname	35	Sierra Leone	29	Papua New Guinea	22	Cambodia		
71	Seychelles	55	Saint Lucia	45	São Tomé and Príncipe	40	Tanzania	35	Thailand	28	Gabon	22	Congo		
71	United Kingdom			44	Jamaica	40	Tunisia			28	Laos	22	Guinea-Bissau		

Source: Transparency International (2023).

Table 1 displays the CPI scores of various countries along with their global ranking. This table clearly shows that Seychelles emerges as the least corrupt country in East Africa, with a CPI score of 71, ranked 22nd globally. Rwanda follows, maintaining its strong anti-corruption reputation with a score of 53, ranked 53rd worldwide. Mauritius also showed a relatively strong performance, scored 51, and ranked 57th place. Horn of Africa countries, Ethiopia and Djibouti have scored 37 and 30, ranked 102nd and 131st, respectively. Tanzania and Kenya scored 40 and 31, ranked 92nd and 128th respectively. Transparency International (2023) report also ranked Uganda and Madagascar 145th and 147th place, with scores of 26 and 25 respectively. Zambia and Malawi are in close proximity with scores of 37 and 34, ranking 104th and 118th globally. Mozambique and Zimbabwe have also low performance with a score of 25 and 24, ranking 148th and 153rd respectively.

Corruption-highly affected countries like Burundi and Eritrea scored 20 and 21, ranking 163rd and 161st, respectively, and Comoros also scored 20, ranking 165th. At the very bottom of the list, Somalia and South Sudan are the world's most corrupt states and have severe corruption challenges, with scores of 13 and 11, ranking 177th and 180th, respectively (Transparency International, 2023). The East Africa region countries 2023 CPI scores show a wide range of corruption levels, from the relative success of Seychelles to the profound challenges in Somalia. These differences showed the region's varied levels of progress and continuous battles in the fight against corruption, with some
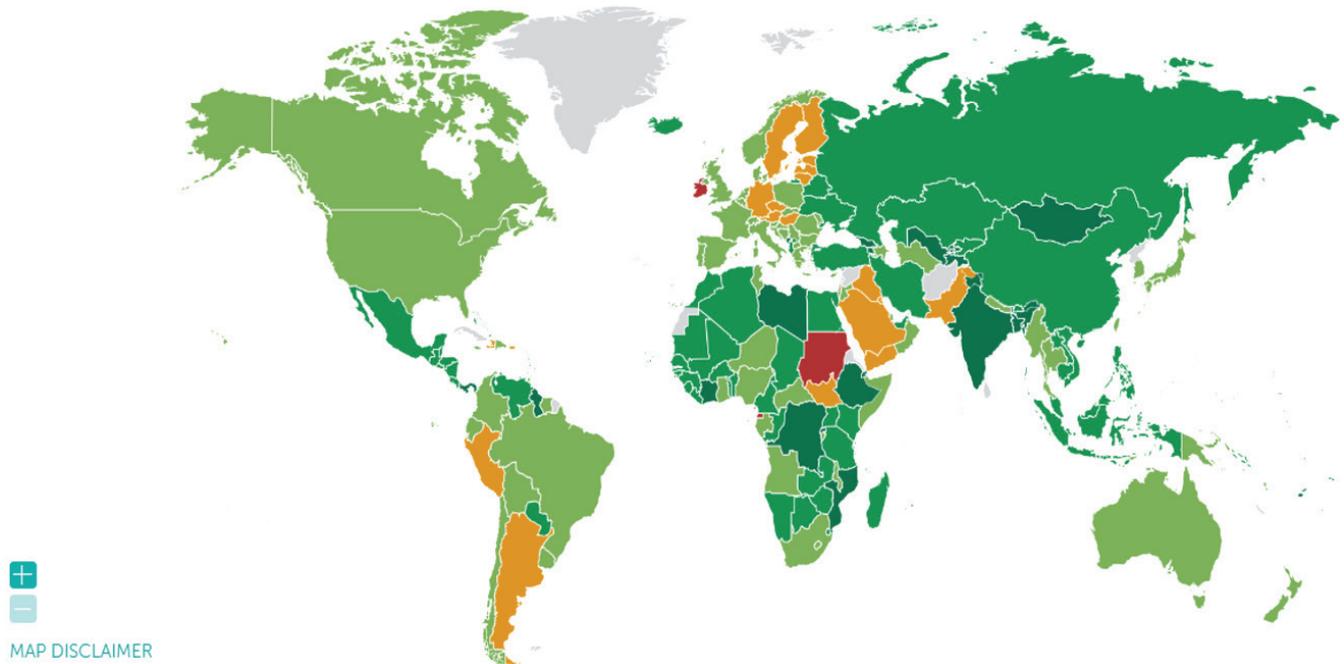
East African Countries Economic Growth

Based on the 2023 economic data from the IMF for East African countries, the economic landscape of East African countries was marked by diverse growth patterns, reflecting a mix of resilience and challenges across the region. The economic performance of these countries is closely tied to their governance and levels of corruption. Corruption continues to be a major barrier to economic growth in many East African countries, undermining investor confidence, distorting markets, and diverting resources away from essential public services.

While East Africa's overall economic growth in 2023 was promising, the persistent corruption issue continues to pose significant challenges. Countries with lower levels of corruption, like Seychelles and Rwanda, tend to experience more stable and higher economic growth, whereas those with higher corruption levels, like Somalia, face stagnation or decline. Addressing corruption, improving governance, and enhancing transparency are therefore crucial for sustaining long-term economic development in the region.

7-25

Journal of Law and Corruption Review. Florida (EUA), v. 7, e086, 2025.

● 6% or more ● 3% - 6% ● 0% - 3% ● -3% - 0 ● less than -3% ● no data

MAP DISCLAIMER

Figure 3. IMF Real GDP Growth Annual Percent Change, 2023.

Source: IMF DataMapper, 2023.

As shown in Figure 3 and the data presented in Appendix B, indicated that Rwanda led the region with a growth rate of 6.2%, followed closely by Ethiopia at 6.1%. These countries have sustained strong growth due to focused investments in infrastructure and agriculture, despite facing challenges such as regional instability and global economic pressures. On the other hand, Kenya, Tanzania, and Mozambique also performed well, with growth rates of 5.3%, 5.2%, and 5%, respectively, benefiting from diversified economies and recovery in key sectors like agriculture and tourism. South Sudan continuing its recovery path primarily due to oil production, though the growth remains vulnerable to internal conflicts. Other smaller economies, including Zambia (4%), Burundi (3.3%), Comoros (3.0%), Eritrea (2.8%), Zimbabwe (2.5%), and Malawi (2.4%), struggled with lower growth rates, hindered by limited economic diversification and structural weaknesses. Somalia, the most corrupt country globally and plagued by security challenges, scored a modest growth of 2.8%. Seychelles and Mauritius, island nations heavily relying on tourism, recorded growth rates of 3.9% and 4.6%, respectively, as they continued to recover from the pandemic's effects. Seychelles stands out as the least corrupt country in Africa, ranked 22nd globally, and this is reflected in its stable economic performance. Madagascar (4.2%), Uganda (5.7%), and Djibouti (5.4%) also showed solid growth, with Uganda benefiting from infrastructure investments and Djibouti from its strategic position as a trade hub.

The association between economic growth and corruption is evident when countries like Somalia and Seychelles are compared. Somalia's position as the most corrupt country in the world correlates with its struggling economy, while Seychelles' lower corruption levels are associated with more stable and sustainable growth. This contrast highlights the impact of governance on economic performance,

8-25

Journal of Law and Corruption Review. Florida (EUA), v. 7, e086, 2025.

where lower corruption often leads to better economic outcomes, attracting investment and fostering a more conducive environment for growth.

East African Countries Governance Index

Governance is fundamental in the structure of any organization, society, government, and public institution. Governance is the set of institutions, procedures, and values that regulate and exercise authority and decision-making. Governance Indexes rank countries' quality of institutions and governance. The Global Governance Index evaluates the performance of a country's regulatory framework. Among the many Governance Index sub-indicators, ''Control of Corruption'' is one, and it reflects opinions on how much public power is used for personal benefit, encompassing both grand and petty corruption and elites' and private interests' control of the government.

The relationship between corruption and governance is evident when comparing countries like Somalia and Mauritius. Somalia's position as the most corrupt country in the world correlates with its weakest governance system globally, ranked 180th in both, while Mauritius's lower corruption levels are associated with a more stable and sustainable governance system.
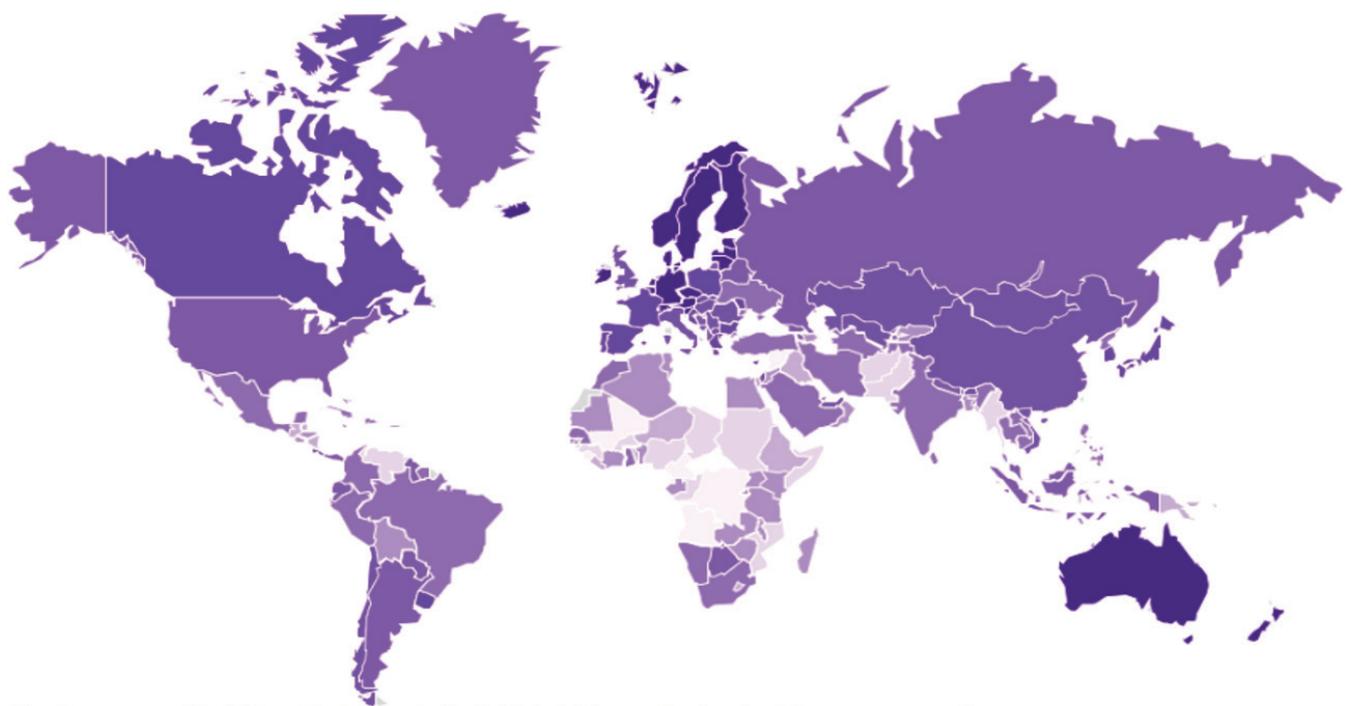
The Governance World Map. Dark areas indicate high, light areas low levels of Governance quality

Figure 4. Governance World Map, 2023.

Source: Solability Sustainable Intelligence

As shown in Figure 4, Solability Global Governance Index (2023) report highlights a significant difference in governance quality across the East African region countries (see Appendix A). According to this report, some countries like Mauritius and Seychelles lead with relatively high governance

standards, while others like Somalia and South Sudan, far behind, face severe governance failures. This difference emphasizes the importance of targeted reforms and international support to enhance regional governance, focusing on political stability, institutional strength, and anti-corruption measures.

According to Solability Governance Index (2023), Mauritius leads the East African region with a rank of 41 and a score of 58.9, reflecting its strong governance structures, effective institutions, and relatively low levels of corruption. Mauritius has cultivated a stable political environment, which is key to its success in governance. Similarly, Seychelles, with a rank of 56 and a score of 57.0, proves effective governance characterized by political stability, strong legal frameworks, and proactive anti-corruption measures. These two nations serve as benchmarks for governance excellence in the region. Ethiopia ranked 93 with a score of 52.1. The country has made notable progress but still faces political stability, internal conflict, and corruption control challenges. Kenya, with a rank of 116 and a score of 49.0, and Tanzania, ranked 122, with a score of 47.9, are similarly positioned. Both countries have made strides in improving their governance but are hindered by issues such as public sector inefficiency and persistent corruption. Zambia ranked 134 with a score of 45.0, and Rwanda ranked 136 with a score of 44.2, followed closely. Despite its low ranking, Rwanda is known for its strong anti-corruption stance and government efficiency, although concerns about political freedoms persist. These mid-range performers highlight the ongoing struggle between progress and persistent governance challenges in East Africa. Uganda (rank 143, score 43.3), Djibouti (rank 157, score 40.4), and Zimbabwe (rank 160, score 39.1) face significant governance challenges. Uganda and Djibouti are particularly hampered by corruption and weak institutions, while Zimbabwe's issues are exacerbated by political instability. Madagascar (rank 162, score 38.6) and Burundi (rank 164, score 38.4) are similarly plagued by governance issues, with ongoing political instability and weak institutional capacity being major concerns. With a rank of 169 and a score of 36.9, Mozambique struggles with severe governance challenges.

The bottom list countries of this global governance index globally are Eritrea, Somalia, and South Sudan. Eritrea ranked 174 with a score of 34.6, suffers from extreme political repression and weak governance frameworks. Somalia, with a rank of 179 and a score of 31.5, and South Sudan, ranked 180 with a score of 31.4, are in terrible straits, facing ongoing conflict, corruption, and the collapse of state institutions. These countries represent the most challenging governance environments in the region, where international support and internal reforms are urgently needed.

This contrast highlights the impact of governance on corruption and vice versa, where a strong governance system and institution often leads to lower corruption and vice versa. These rankings emphasized the critical need for implementing appropriate strategies to improve regional

Causes of Corruption

Corruption is a complex problem with many underlying institutional, cultural, and personal causes. Corruption is frequently caused by a lack of transparency and accountability in organizations and governing authorities. The following are some of the primary reasons for corruption in the East African region:

10-25

Journal of Law and Corruption Review. Florida (EUA), v. 7, e086, 2025.

Size and Structure of Government

A larger government can both worsen and mitigate corruption (Franz, 2012). On one hand, increased government spending may provide more opportunities for corrupt practices, particularly in countries with weak regulatory oversight, like Somalia and South Sudan. On the other hand, a larger government might be more effective in combating corruption if it has adequate resources for enforcement and anti-corruption measures, as seen in Rwanda's efforts to strengthen its institutions. The impact of decentralization also varies; it has sometimes increased local-level corruption due to weaker oversight, while in other cases, it may reduce corruption by bringing governance closer to the people (Šumah, 2018).

Democracy and the Political System

Studies have shown that democracy can reduce corruption, although this impact frequently depends on how developed and stable the democratic system is (e.g., Kaufmann & Kraay, 2016). His study investigated a highly positive link between democratic involvement and reduced levels of corruption; however, this is reliant on democratic institutions operating effectively. As democratic processes take root, countries in East Africa like Somalia and South Sudan that are still in the early stages of their democracy may first see an increase in corruption. while democracy has the potential to reduce corruption, this effect is contingent on the maturity and effectiveness of democratic institutions. Simply transitioning from authoritarian rule to a nominal democracy is insufficient for effectively combating corruption (Lambsdorff, 2006).

Quality of Institutions

The degree of corruption is significantly influenced by the quality of institutions (Frahm, 2018). People have more opportunities to participate in corrupt activities without worrying about the consequences when there are gaps in regulatory frameworks or inadequate enforcement procedures. Studies indicated that increased institutional quality, as determined by the efficacy of government and the rule of law, mitigates corruption (see Sauve et al., 2023). Therefore, stronger institutions and efficient rules are the best way to reduce corruption.

The Extent of Competition

Competition is another aspect that affects corruption. Many findings indicated a negative link between the degree of corruption and various proxies for competitiveness despite the fact that some empirical analyses struggle with significance. According to Saha et al. (2009), economic freedom also lessens corruption, especially in more democratic nations where competition has a greater effect. According to Sandholtz and Gray (2003), bribes function as a tax, making it more difficult for nations involved in international trade to compete, so corrupt activities come at a higher cost to those countries. Additionally, international organizations urge the adoption of anti-corruption standards by its member nations.

11-25

Journal of Law and Corruption Review. Florida (EUA), v. 7, e086, 2025.

Recruitment and Salaries

Corruption levels can be impacted by hiring practices, compensation, and the salaries of public servants. Raising wages in the public sector makes it harder to lose a job as a result of corruption, which in turn reduces corruption. The reason is that high-paid officials are less likely to commit corruption, especially if monitoring is successful. Furthermore, higher wages may reduce the moral justification for corrupt behavior, as officials may believe that their compensation is fair.

Legislation and Freedom of Press

Press freedom and a strong judiciary are essential in reducing corruption in African countries. A free press plays a crucial role in exposing corrupt activities, making it more difficult for corruption to go unnoticed. Studies showed that increased press freedom significantly reduces corruption (Freille et al., 2007). Although there are concerns about potential media bias, the general consensus is that a freer press correlates with lower corruption levels (Brunetti & Weder, 2003). Similarly, a strong judiciary has a critical role in deterring corruption by holding officials accountable and ensuring consistent law enforcement. Strengthening press freedom and judicial

Cultural Determinants

Cultural factors, such as trust, religion, and social norms, significantly influence corruption levels. Societal norms and cultural acceptance of corruption spread its prevalence. High generalized trust correlates with lower corruption, enhancing societal cooperation and institutional quality (Uslaner, 2004). However, bonding social capital, which fosters trust within close groups, can increase corruption by encouraging favoritism and exclusion of outsiders, leading to entrenched corrupt networks (Harris, 2007). The influence of religion is also significant. Protestant nations typically have fewer hierarchical structures and lower levels of corruption, whereas hierarchical religions such as Islam and Catholicism are linked to higher levels of corruption (Treisman, 2000). Thus, the dynamics of corruption are greatly influenced by cultural attitudes.

Natural Recourses

In African countries, abundant natural resources often lead to higher corruption levels, a phenomenon known as the resource curse. While resource wealth theoretically enhances development through trade and investment, it often results in rent-seeking behavior where citizens and officials compete for resource-related profits, leading to inefficiency and corruption. This indicates that resource-rich African countries are especially prone to corruption, particularly in the absence of strong institutions (Wasuge & Özkan, 2021).

Empirical Review

Having outlined the general information and current data on the variables of corruption relevant to this study, the researcher must now explore empirical studies regarding the causes and impacts of corruption, along with its association with governance and economic growth.

Causes and Consequences of Corruption

Klitgaard (1998) argued that corruption can be clarified in the following ways: $R + D - A = C$. In this equation, the letters A, D, R, and C stand for accountability, discretionary power, economic rent, and corruption, respectively. According to the equation, corruption will increase with the number of chances for economic rent (R) present in a nation. Similarly, corruption will increase with the extent to which administrators are granted discretionary power (D). However, the more administrators are held accountable (A) for their actions, the less corruption there will be. The East Africa region, particularly the Horn of Africa, is currently a focal point of conflict and internal instability. Corruption is both a major cause and a significant consequence of the internal conflicts and instability affecting countries such as Sudan and Somalia.

A large number of researchers have previously studied the causes and effects of corruption. Numerous investigations have looked into the root causes and impacts of corruption. (e.g., Khan, 2006; Adit, 2009; Šumah, 2018; Jama, 2021; Abdulai, 2023). Much literature on the causes of corruption has often focused on political systems, legal traditions, and economic development (see Hope, 2017; Jama, 2017; Šumah, 2018). Additionally, causes related to education, foreign investment, religion, and culture have been examined (see also Hope, 2017; Jama, 2017; Abdulai, 2023). Understanding these diverse influences provides critical insights into how corruption manifests and persists in various contexts around the world. According to Lamin (2019), the main factors contributing to corruption in Africa are public officials abusing their positions of authority, a lack of accountability and transparency in the political system, weak monitoring and auditing system, and an absence of rule of law. Some studies also investigated factors such as professional ethics, traditional practices, and demography related to corruption (Swaleheen, 2011; Kunieda et al., 2014; see also Jama, 2021). One factor that has been linked to corruption is the absence of the rule of law. By undermining democratic institutions, which are necessary for just and equitable societies, corruption threatens the rule of law.

Many African countries suffered from the social and economic effects of corruption, especially in East Africa where it became deeply rooted in the routines of the majority of public and private sector workers. A considerable number of researchers studied that higher-corrupt countries also have lower rates of economic growth and poorer infrastructure (see Kunieda et al., 2014; International et al., 2016), less investment, and higher rates of poverty (see Zidi & Dhifallah, 2013; Kunieda et al., 2014). Haydaroğlu (2020) and Hope (2017) also investigated the negative effect of corruption on public policy effectiveness, employment, quality of education, and health care. The nature of a country's political system, economic disparities, social capital, and moral values all influence the magnitude of corruption and its impact on society.

13-25

Journal of Law and Corruption Review. Florida (EUA), v. 7, e086, 2025.

Corruption and Governance

A number of studies have demonstrated that corruption undermines good governance and erodes public administration (e.g., Blackburn et al., 2010; Méon & Weill, 2010; Swaleheen, 2011; Kunieda et al. 2014; Hope, 2017; Abdulai, 2023). These studies claimed that weak institutions, ineffective execution strategies, and insufficient legal and regulatory frameworks characterize absence of good governance. According to Haydaroğlu (2020), corruption in East African countries is mostly caused by weak institutions, lack of transparency, low public sector wages, and cultural norms that tolerate unethical behavior. World Economic Forum (2015) reported that efficient institutions promote good governance and facilitate effective resource allocation. On the other hand, inadequate institutional quality, such as corruption, causes unproductive tax collection, wasteful government spending, and inadequate allocation of resources. Dhifallah and Zidi (2013) studied the association between corruption and governance in 30 developing countries from 1998 to 2011. The results showed that lower corruption levels in developing nations correlate with better political governance. These comprehensive literature findings emphasize how people are encouraged to engage in corruption on a daily basis by ineffective government and a failure to enforce laws and regulations. Some economists argue that the quality of governance, whether strong or weak, can significantly influence the relationship between corruption and economic growth (Méon & Sekkat, 2005; De Vaal & Ebben, 2011; Gründler & Potrafke, 2019).

Corruption and Economic Growth

The correlation between economic growth and corruption is nonlinear. Two theories—"sand the wheels" and "grease the wheels" explain the correlation between corruption and development in the economy (Spyromitros & Panagiotidis, 2022). The first theory states the negative correlation between economic growth and corruption, whereas the second "grease the wheels" theory explains the positive effect of corruption on economic growth. The consequence of corruption on economic growth could vary between nations based on how well their institutional systems are designed. Several researchers and empirical studies have confirmed the validity of the "sand the wheels" theory, which argued that corruption slows economic growth and productivity (e.g., Blackburn et al., 2010; Swaleheen, 2011; Hope, 2017). Kunieda et al. (2014). The researchers claimed that opening up capital accounts will worsen the negative impacts of corruption on economic growth, meaning that corruption reduces GDP levels in relatively open economies but has little to no influence in relatively closed ones. Gyimah-Brempong's (2006) study also discovered that corruption has a detrimental impact on capital investment, which in turn directly and indirectly lowers economic growth. Corruption decreases per capita and GDP growth rate income by 0.39–0.41 and 0.75–0.9 yearly percentage points, respectively. This study also investigated that there is a positive linkage between income inequality and increasing levels of corruption, and the researcher concluded that corruption decreases growth and income and increases income inequality in African countries. Several studies concluded that corruption and economic growth are inversely correlated (e.g., Jonhson & Yamarik, 2011; Swaleheen, 2011; Zidi & Dhifallah, 2013; Hope, 2017). On the other hand, a few studies have found a positive correlation between corruption and economic growth under certain conditions, especially in countries with limited economic freedom, which supported the second "grease the wheels" view (see Méon & Weill, 2010; Heckelman & Powell, 2010; Huang, 2015).

14-25

Journal of Law and Corruption Review. Florida (EUA), v. 7, e086, 2025.

For instance, the study by Chakravorty (2019) investigated that corruption positively affects economic growth. Similarly, a study finding showed that corruption positively influences economic growth (GDP) in western countries (Cabaravdic & Nilsson, 2017). These researchers argued that countries with less effective institutional frameworks experience much lower levels of corruption. In addition, they suggested that corruption reduces bureaucracy and motivates corrupt officials to work more efficiently. These findings can be considered insightful in understanding the nonlinear nature of this relationship and how corruption may hinder and promote economic growth in certain circumstances. The differences in corruption prevalence across East African countries highlight varying levels of progress in combating this issue; while Rwanda demonstrates notable success, Somalia and South Sudan struggle with severe corruption challenges.

Countries Corruption Experience

When studying the issue of corruption in East Africa, two countries stand out for their contrasting experiences: Somalia and Rwanda. Somalia is consistently ranked among the world's most corrupt nations, struggling with deep-rooted governance challenges, ongoing conflict, and institutional collapse. On the other hand, Rwanda has emerged as a model of effective anti-corruption efforts within the region, with a remarkable shift from a history of internal conflict and instability to becoming an exemplar of fighting corruption and governance reform. Although Seychelles and Mauritius boast better Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) scores, their status as small island nations with unique socio-political dynamics makes them less representative of the broader challenges faced by mainland African countries.

Corruption in Somalia

Somalia has experienced civil war for decades. Although the country is currently recovering from the civil war and fighting against the Al Shabaab terrorist group, corruption is the biggest obstacle to political development and achieving strong institutions. Corruption in the Somali government has destroyed both the overall political stability and the governing system.

The prolonged conflict, rivalry between traditional clans, and periodic starvation guarantee that there is little chance of political stability. As one of the main causes and effects of persistent political unrest, corruption is widespread in Somalia, which has consistently scored lowest on CPI since 2006. Corruption is an obvious and expected behavior at all levels in the public and business sectors. Politicians and public servants abuse public resources for their personal benefit and request payments in exchange for providing essential services to the networks of clan based favor that aid in their employment and appointment to political positions. Somalia's low ranking emanates from its weak and fragile government structures, an absence of accountability, and an inadequate record of openness (Wasuge & Özkan, 2021). Somalia appears to be ensnaring itself in the fragility trap and becoming another country devastated by war and turmoil. According to CPI (2023), public sector corruption perception is frequently high in nations that have experienced extensive conflict, war, and violence. Somalia, Yemen, South Sudan, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria are among the war-

15-25

Journal of Law and Corruption Review. Florida (EUA), v. 7, e086, 2025.

torn countries that are considered to have the greatest levels of corruption. The accountability of institutions is weakened by war and conflict, and the moral and ethical principles that deter people from committing crimes of corruption in society are also undermined (Ronan & Jenkins, 2017). Due to ignorance and inadequate civic education, many people in post-conflict situations often lack an understanding of corruption, another major contributing factor. Political instability that results from corruption both causes and affects economic development and leaves limited room for the media and civil society players (Freedom House, 2017).

The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) 2022 study states that Somalia had significant difficulties in several governance-related areas. The extremely low scores highlight the pervasive problems with Somalia's political and administrative structures. Somalia receives a score of -1.73 in the Voice and Accountability category, which is very poor and can be attributed to the country's restricted media, absence of free and fair elections, and limitations on political freedom. With continuous violence and terrorism, Somalia has a score of -2.5 in political stability and absence of violence, making the situation even more grim. With a score of -2.03, Government Effectiveness is similarly extremely poor, indicating impaired public service delivery due to inadequate institutions and resources. The governmental capacity to enact solid policies is restricted, as indicated by the Regulatory Quality score of -1.9. This has an inverse effect on the growth of the private sector and the economy. Somalia has a low score of -2.3 for the Rule of Law, which indicates serious issues with judicial independence, property rights, and law enforcement—all of which add to the general public's mistrust of the legal system. Lastly, Control of Corruption is an area of major concern, with Somalia scoring -1.79, indicating that corruption is pervasive, with public offices often used for private gain. Collectively, these scores paint a bleak picture of governance in Somalia, highlighting the severe obstacles the country must overcome to improve governance and stability.

Somalia, one of the most prominent and prolonged instances of a failed state globally, struggles with numerous corruption issues that plague countries devastated by war. These issues are compounded by the absence of a robust and efficient central government, insufficient resources and administrative ability, poor leadership frameworks, and restricted financial means for public servants (Transparency 2016). Politics is dominated by clan identities, and those belonging to such clans are expected to protect their clans' interests over the public interest if they get government jobs or ministerial positions. Corruption in Somalia facilitates arms trafficking and empowers violent groups like Al-Shabaab, further deepening poverty and hindering development. One of the main causes of corruption in Somalia is a lack of political stability brought on by internal, external, and historical factors.

Corruption in Rwanda

Rwanda has made tremendous progress in combating corruption but has not been abolished. The Rwandan government has continued to take exemplary action against corruption ever since the genocide's transition period. Kagame is in charge of a government that is committed to holding people accountable, regardless of their status or reputation. Compared to other nations in the East Africa region, Rwanda has accomplished an extraordinary achievement in combating the issue of corruption. Transparency International's CPI score for Rwanda in 2011 was 5 on a scale of 0 to 10,

16-25

Journal of Law and Corruption Review. Florida (EUA), v. 7, e086, 2025.

placing the country 49th globally. Rwanda has consistently achieved a CPI score of 53 out of 100 in 2023, maintaining its 49th-place ranking. This accomplishment demonstrates the effectiveness of Rwanda's all-encompassing anti-corruption strategy and its influence on development and governance. The anti-corruption experience of Rwanda offers hope to East African nations struggling with the pervasive corruption problem. Rwanda has proved that it is possible to dramatically reduce corruption and its negative consequences on society by displaying the power of strong leadership, efficient legal systems, and public involvement (Franz, 2012). The adoption and adaptation of Rwanda's anti-corruption policies could be an essential move toward establishing good governance and socio-economic growth as East African states pursue sustainable development (Oyamada, 2017). Rwanda employs a multifaceted strategy that combines punitive and preventive actions to tackle corruption actively. President Paul Kagame's administration has imposed a zero-tolerance attitude against corruption, which is mirrored in the nation's strong institutional and legal frameworks. The anti-corruption agency's active role, strong political will, efficient governance reform, and energetic leadership have all contributed to Rwanda's anti-corruption efforts (Oyamada, 2017).

The anti-corruption initiatives of Rwanda provide invaluable lessons for other East African nations. The necessity of political leadership and will is one of the most important lessons to be learned; Rwanda's experience highlights how important it is for political leaders to be sincere in their commitment to combating corruption. Furthermore, since successful corruption prevention depends on strong institutions and strong laws, it is essential to strengthen legal and institutional frameworks. East African countries should prioritize the establishment of anti-corruption bodies and make sure they have the resources and autonomy they require. Public participation is also essential; governments can promote an accountable culture by involving the public in anti-corruption campaigns, increasing public awareness, and offering avenues for exposing misconduct.

Within this context, the question of how much extent corruption affects governance and economic growth in each specific country cases remains an important research area. This section has discussed a literature review on the impact of corruption across different factors. The next part of this paper will discuss anticorruption policies and strategies and draw conclusions.

3 POLICY DISCUSSION

There is no single strategy, formula, or policy to eliminate corruption; rather, it requires a holistic approach depending on specific country cases. Corruption is an unethical and economically destructive behavior. It is a sign of a state that is not working well. Addressing corruption demands a holistic approach that addresses its underlying causes at institutional and personal levels while encouraging transparency, accountability, and ethical leadership. While corruption is a problem in any economy, it is more prevalent in transitional economies, perhaps due to high levels of poverty, a lack of political and economic stability, and lax enforcement of the law. The following are some of the strategies and policy recommendations for enhancing anti-corruption efforts.

Build Anti-Corruption Culture and Norm

These approaches focus on embedding ethical values and integrity within an organization to prevent corruption. A key element in preventing corruption is creating and maintaining an organizational culture prioritizing ethical behavior. Changing the company's culture is challenging but essential. This involves fostering an environment where ethical behavior is rewarded and unethical behavior is swiftly addressed. Leadership plays a crucial role in setting the ethical tone of an organization. Senior management's commitment to integrity and anti-corruption principles sets a positive example for all employees. The idea is that if the leadership is visibly ethical, it sends a clear message to everyone in the organization that corruption will not be tolerated. In addition, organizations can implement training programs that educate employees about the importance of ethical behavior and how to identify and respond to potential corruption. These programs are typically designed to raise awareness about the forms that corruption can take, the risks it poses, and the appropriate ways to address suspicious activities. Intrinsic motivation involves encouraging employees to act ethically because they believe it is the right thing to do, not just because of external rules or fear of punishment. By cultivating a sense of personal and professional integrity, organizations can help employees internalize anti-corruption values, leading to more consistent and genuine ethical behavior.

Establish Anticorruption Body and Legal formworks

Establishing anti-corruption bodies and strong legal frameworks is essential in deterring and fighting against corruption. People can participate in corrupt activities without worrying about the consequences when there are holes in the regulatory framework or poor enforcement measures. Transparency International (2017) emphasized that in order to discourage corrupt activities, it is critical to establish strong laws and create anti-corruption organizations.

Anti-corruption institutions are commonly independent, multi-functional agencies that combine law enforcement powers with preventive and policy advisory roles. The mandate of these institutions varies depending on the presence of other agencies involved in anti-corruption efforts or policy-making. These bodies often propose and implement measures for corruption prevention, provide education on anti-corruption practices, and collaborate with other institutions or government ministries. Regarding law enforcement, anti-corruption agencies have the authority to initiate investigations based on complaints or on their own initiative, with varying degrees of investigative power. Establishing a strong system that not only penalizes corrupt behavior but also takes proactive measures to stop it is dependent on these functions. Laws are only effective against corruption if they are enforced and followed. These strategies are directed toward ensuring that every citizen abides by the rules of law and morality. These initiatives encourage ethical behavior and compliance with anti-corruption policies. A strong deterrent to corruption is the presence of clear and enforceable legal penalties for unethical behavior. These can range from fines and dismissal to legal action, depending on the severity of the corruption. Traditionally, the main strategy for combating corruption has been implementing punishments and penalties. The idea is to create a tangible risk for those considering engaging in corrupt practices, making the potential consequences outweigh any perceived benefits.

Risk Assessment, Monitoring and Investigation

Risk assessment is about identifying and mitigating the risks of corruption before they manifest. These corruption preventive strategies are proactive and systematic, focusing on minimizing opportunities for corruption. Organizations must regularly assess their operations to identify areas where corruption is most likely to occur. Several anti-corruption organizations have stressed the significance of having effective risk-management frameworks and auditing functions (Transparency International, 2016). By understanding where the risks are, organizations can implement specific measures to address them. Once risks are identified, the next step is to put in place strategies to mitigate these risks. The most effective corruption preventive mechanism is Asset disclosure, which is all employees' or officials' assets, sources of income, conflicts of interest, and more information that might negatively or positively influence their ability to make decisions must be disclosed.

Transparency International (2018) emphasizes the importance of asset disclosure processes as vital instruments for preventing, identifying, investigating, and addressing corruption. Anti-corruption organizations recommend Asset declarations as a means of combating corruption. In addition, rotating staff members among various roles to avoid power consolidation and minimize corruption, as well as following merit-based recruitment, hiring, and promotion decisions, is essential. The four-eyes principle can also be taken as one strategy to reduce corruption based on the idea that two people are less likely than one to engage in corruption. One individual reviews, verifies, approves, and signs off on a colleague's decisions and vice versa.

Anti-Corruption Literacy and Public Participation

This approach focuses on raising awareness about corruption, promoting ethical behavior within society, and encouraging active public participation in anti-corruption efforts across all levels. Engaging the public in corruption prevention raises awareness and strengthens checks and balances, increasing the chances of detecting and reporting corruption (Boly et al., 2019). A crucial approach to deterring corruption in both public and private domains is providing public awareness training. Public campaigns to educate the public about the dangers of corruption and encourage them to demand integrity and accountability from organizations. One effective weapon in the fight against corruption is transparency. A more transparent organization's ability to hold public officials more accountable and impose greater electoral duty can help to decrease corruption and foster trust. Having access to government information and data is a privilege that people and other interested parties can exercise without proving a legal interest. Develop safe and anonymous reporting mechanisms to encourage employees to report unethical behavior without fear of retribution. Allowing staff members, a prompt and efficient way to report misconduct and unethical behavior in the event that they become aware of it is a crucial part of establishing robust whistleblowing protocols. Engaging with all relevant stakeholders, including employees, customers, suppliers, and the broader community, is essential for a robust anti-corruption strategy.

19-25

Journal of Law and Corruption Review. Florida (EUA), v. 7, e086, 2025.

Fighting corruption is often more effective when done in collaboration with others. This technique involves working with other organizations, governments, and civil society groups to strengthen anti-corruption measures. By sharing best practices, resources, and strategies, collective action helps create a unified front against corruption, making it more difficult for corrupt practices to persist. Automating services and establishing an E-government system is also important for minimizing human contact, thereby reducing opportunities for bureaucratic manipulation and corruption.

4 CONCLUSION

Corruption is a social disease which is contagious. It is transmitted by direct or indirect interaction with an afflicted person. This paper aimed to review existing literature about the prevalence, causes, and consequences of corruption and investigate the empirical linkage between corruption, economic development and governance in the East Africa region. Corruption is an immoral and detrimental economic practice. It is a symptom of a poorly functioning state and governance system. When the circle of corrupt people increases, the danger is even more serious. Corruption is a pervasive problem in both rich and poor countries; corruption hinders economic growth, undermines public confidence, and weakens the governance system. Government officials and civil servants who depend on corrupt practices for their income often use illegal resources to expand their corrupt networks and neglect activities that contribute to broader economic growth.

The prevalence of corruption varies widely among countries in the East Africa region, ranging from the relative success of Seychelles to the severe challenges faced in Somalia. Seychelles, the smallest island country, leads the African continent with a score of 71 out of 100 and is ranked 22nd out of 180 countries, maintaining the highest scorer position for consecutive years in Africa. On the other hand, Somalia and South Sudan scored the worst and ranked the lowest in the world, with scores of 11 and 13 out of 100, respectively, and ranked 180th and 177th. These differences showed the region's varied levels of progress and continuous battles in the fight against corruption, with some nations making progress and others still facing major barriers to development and good governance.

Corruption has many different root causes, multifaceted consequences, and possible solutions. The causes of corruption in the East Africa region are interdependent which includes political, social, economic, and legislative factors. Political instability and internal conflict are the primary causes of corruption in the most corrupted countries in the East Africa region and globally, such as, Somalia, South Sudan and Yemen. These factors create a conducive environment that worsens corruption by undermining governance structures, hindering economic growth, and fostering conditions that are conducive to exploitation and abuse of power.

The link between economic growth, governance, and corruption can be explained in these two theories; the "grease the wheels" hypothesis suggested that corruption increases economic growth, and the "sand the wheels" hypothesis predicted that corruption decreases economic growth. However, several empirical evidences investigated that corruption decreases economic growth. Similarly, a number of studies have shown that a lower level of corruption is correlated with a better governance system. Somalia, the most corrupt country in the world, has the weakest

20-25

Journal of Law and Corruption Review. Florida (EUA), v. 7, e086, 2025.

governance system, while Mauritius, with relatively lower corruption levels in the region, has a strong governance system. In addition, components of governance such as political stability, the rule of law, and regulatory quality play a crucial role in how corruption impacts economic growth.

Strategies to combat corruption should be holistic and comprehensive, and every potential cause and effect of the issue that is under investigation should be considered. Any effective anti-corruption plan should begin with a thorough evaluation and analysis of the underlying causes and associated corruption variables. The effectiveness of anti-corruption measures in East Africa is, therefore, closely tied to political stability, public awareness, and the strength of democratic and anticorruption institutions. Fighting corruption is not an easy task. That is why we say "fighting corruption is everyone's responsibility", today before tomorrow and now before then, and changes do not occur overnight.

The limitation of this study is that the data used for this study primarily relied on Transparency International's CPI report, which, being based on subjective perceptions, may not provide a fully accurate portrayal of corruption at each stage. Additionally, the researcher recommends that future research further test the findings and policy prescriptions of this study by using quantitative methods and empirical ways to strengthen its overall validity.

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21-25

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22-25

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23-25

Journal of Law and Corruption Review. Florida (EUA), v. 7, e086, 2025.

APPENDIX A

Governance Performance Index, 2023.

Country	Rank	Score	Country	Rank	Score	Country	Rank	Score	Country	Rank	Score
Estonia	1	73.2	Cyprus	46	57.8	Morocco	91	52.3	Rwanda	136	44.2
Ireland	2	71.7	Greece	47	57.8	Montenegro	92	52.1	Comoros	137	44.2
Czech Republic	3	69.7	Italy	48	57.7	Ethiopia	93	52.1	Laos	138	43.9
Finland	4	66.3	Sweden	49	57.6	Kiribati	94	51.6	Nicaragua	139	43.4
Germany	5	65.0	Egypt	50	57.4	Jordan	95	51.6	Honduras	140	43.4
Japan	6	64.7	North Macedonia	51	57.2	Malaysia	96	51.0	Guinea	141	43.4
New Zealand	7	64.4	Belarus	52	57.2	Ecuador	97	50.8	Iraq	142	43.4
Liechtenstein	8	64.2	Russia	53	57.1	Grenada	98	50.6	Uganda	143	43.3
Iceland	9	64.1	Bangladesh	54	57.1	Colombia	99	50.5	Cameroon	144	43.2
Austria	10	64.0	Israel	55	57.1	Micronesia	100	50.5	Afghanistan	145	43.1
Denmark	11	64.0	Seychelles	56	57.0	Trinidad and Tobago	101	50.4	Eswatini	146	42.2
Uzbekistan	12	63.8	Bhutan	57	56.8	Nigeria	102	50.4	Mauritania	147	42.1
Spain	13	63.7	Mongolia	58	56.4	Bahrain	103	50.4	Namibia	148	42.0
Slovenia	14	63.7	Singapore	59	56.2	Timor-Leste	104	50.4	Haiti	149	42.0
Croatia	15	63.6	Kuwait	60	56.0	Tajikistan	105	50.2	Sao Tome and Principe	150	41.5
Malta	16	63.4	Cote d'Ivoire	61	55.9	Burma	106	50.2	Mali	151	41.5
Latvia	17	62.6	United Kingdom	62	55.7	Tonga	107	50.2	Niger	152	41.5
Luxembourg	18	62.5	Brunei	63	55.5	Samoa	108	50.2	Sierra Leone	153	41.4
Poland	19	62.3	Costa Rica	64	55.4	Oman	109	50.0	Belize	154	41.2
Switzerland	20	62.2	Paraguay	65	55.4	Qatar	110	49.7	Lebanon	155	40.8
Georgia	21	62.0	Senegal	66	54.9	Tunisia	111	49.6	South Africa	156	40.4
Moldova	22	61.7	Panama	67	54.8	Thailand	112	49.2	Djibouti	157	40.4
Kazakhstan	23	61.7	Saudi Arabia	68	54.6	Algeria	113	49.0	Guinea-Bissau	158	40.0
Bulgaria	24	61.7	Australia	69	54.6	Azerbaijan	114	49.0	Democratic Republic of	159	39.8
Romania	25	60.9	Philippines	70	54.5	Burkina Faso	115	49.0	Zimbabwe	160	39.1
Portugal	26	60.9	El Salvador	71	54.4	Kenya	116	49.0	Central African Republic	161	38.7
South Korea	27	60.8	Chile	72	54.4	Vanuatu	117	48.7	Madagascar	162	38.6
Armenia	28	60.7	Ghana	73	54.3	Dominica	118	48.5	Lesotho	163	38.5
Slovakia	29	60.7	Uruguay	74	54.3	Pakistan	119	48.4	Burundi	164	38.4
Serbia	30	60.5	Iran	75	54.2	India	120	48.3	Brazil	165	38.3
Belgium	31	60.4	Botswana	76	54.2	Canada	121	48.3	Malawi	166	37.8
Sri Lanka	32	60.0	Argentina	77	53.9	Tanzania	122	47.9	Syria	167	37.3
Norway	33	59.9	Cambodia	78	53.9	Guyana	123	47.4	Sudan	168	37.0
Netherlands	34	59.7	Fiji	79	53.6	Gambia	124	47.3	Mozambique	169	36.9
Bosnia and Herzegovina	35	59.4	Bahamas	80	53.6	Solomon Islands	125	46.9	Venezuela	170	36.8
Lithuania	36	59.3	Dominican Republic	81	53.6	Guatemala	126	46.4	Papua New Guinea	171	36.1
United Arab Emirates	37	59.2	Mexico	82	53.6	Cuba	127	46.4	Libya	172	36.1
Hungary	38	59.1	Kyrgistan	83	53.1	Bolivia	128	46.1	Angola	173	35.7
Turkey	39	59.1	Benin	84	53.1	Jamaica	129	45.5	Eritrea	174	34.6
St. Kitts and	40	59.0	Turkmenistan	85	53.0	Maldives	130	45.5	Chad	175	33.7
Mauritius	41	58.9	USA	86	53.0	Suriname	131	45.3	Republic of	176	33.4
Indonesia	42	58.7	Peru	87	52.9	Gabon	132	45.1	Liberia	177	33.1
Nepal	43	58.6	Albania	88	52.8	Togo	133	45.0	Equatorial Guinea	178	32.5
France	44	58.3	Ukraine	89	52.7	Zambia	134	45.0	Somalia	179	31.5
China	45	58.2	Vietnam	90	52.6	West Bank and Gaza	135	44.9	South Sudan	180	31.4

Source: Solability, State of the World Report, 2023.

24-25

Journal of Law and Corruption Review. Florida (EUA), v. 7, e086, 2025.

APPENDIX B

Sub Saharan Africa real GDP growth, Annual percent change 2022-2024.

	2022	2023	2024
Sub-Saharan Africa	**3.9**	**3.6**	**4.2**
Angola	2.8	3.5	3.7
Benin	6.0	6.0	5.9
Botswana	6.4	3.7	4.3
Burkina Faso	2.5	4.9	5.9
Burundi	1.8	3.3	6.0
Cabo Verde	10.5	4.4	5.4
Cameroon	3.4	4.3	4.4
Central African Republic	0.4	2.5	3.8
Chad	2.5	3.5	3.7
Comoros	2.4	3.0	3.6
Congo, Democratic Republic of the	6.6	6.3	6.5
Congo, Republic of	2.8	4.1	4.6
Côte d'Ivoire	6.7	6.2	6.6
Equatorial Guinea	1.6	–1.8	–8.2
Eritrea	2.6	2.8	2.9
Eswatini	0.5	2.8	2.5
Ethiopia	6.4	6.1	6.4
Gabon	2.8	3.0	3.1
The Gambia	4.4	5.6	6.3
Ghana	3.2	1.6	2.9
Guinea	4.3	5.6	5.7
Guinea-Bissau	3.5	4.5	5.0
Kenya	5.4	5.3	5.4
Lesotho	2.1	2.2	2.3
Liberia	4.8	4.3	5.5
Madagascar	4.2	4.2	4.8
Malawi	0.8	2.4	3.2
Mali	3.7	5.0	5.1
Mauritius	8.3	4.6	4.1
Mozambique	4.1	5.0	8.2
Namibia	3.8	2.8	2.6
Niger	11.1	6.1	13.0
Nigeria	3.3	3.2	3.0
Rwanda	6.8	6.2	7.5
São Tomé & Príncipe	0.9	2.0	2.5
Senegal	4.7	8.3	10.6
Seychelles	8.8	3.9	3.9
Sierra Leone	2.8	3.1	4.8
South Africa	2.0	0.1	1.8
South Sudan	6.6	5.6	4.6
Tanzania	4.7	5.2	6.2
Togo	5.4	5.5	5.5
Uganda	4.9	5.7	5.7
Zambia	3.4	4.0	4.1
Zimbabwe	3.0	2.5	2.6

Source: IMF World Economic Outlook Database, 2023.

25-25

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