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MASTER'S THESIS

CORRUPTION AS A MATTER OF SECURITY

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ABSTRACT

CORRUPTION AS A MATTER OF SECURITY

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Corruption has negative consequences by affecting many areas within countries. Many scholars consider corruption as a vital factor that hinders the economic development of each country while some study its way of existence in social life by focusing on the forms and types of corruption. This thesis mainly investigates the impact area of corruption which concerns the security of people and the world. The aim is to illustrate the role of corruption in the framework of five security threats including violent uprisings, transnational organized crime, terrorism, illicit trade, and migration. Accordingly, human security and international security concepts are taken into consideration in order to establish a correlation between corruption and security more comprehensively. In the study, answers are examined for the substantial questions on the role of corruption within five security problems through a number of cases that happened in various countries around the globe. Moreover, the study explores international regulations, norms, and both well-known intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations particularly the United Nations and Transparency International. Along with studying the implementations of organizations, Corruption Perception Index (CPI) survey data related perception of corruption from the year 2021 is shown in order to have a better understanding of the current prevalence of corruption throughout the world countries. The findings of the study suggest that corruption motivates violent uprisings and migration, whereas it significantly facilitates the activities of transnational organized crime groups, terrorist groups, and illicit trade.

Keywords: Corruption, Security, Transparency International

ÖZ

CORRUPTION AS A MATTER OF SECURITY

LAMAN GURBANOVA

Yolsuzluk, ülkeler içerisinde birçok alanı etkileyerek olumsuz sonuçlar doğurmaktadır. Birçok bilim insanı, yolsuzluğu her ülkenin ekonomik kalkınmasını engelleyen önemli bir faktör olarak görürken, bazıları da yolsuzluğun biçimleri ve türleri üzerinde durarak toplumsal yaşamdaki varlığını incelemektedir. Bu tez temel olarak insanların ve dünyanın güvenliğini ilgilendiren yolsuzluğun etki alanını incelemeyi hedeflemiştir. Amaç, şiddetli ayaklanmalar, uluslararası organize suçlar, terörizm, yasa dışı ticaret ve göç dahil olmak üzere beş güvenlik tehdidi çerçevesinde yolsuzluğun rolünü göstermektir. Burada yolsuzluk ve güvenlik ilişkisinin daha kapsamlı bir şekilde kurulabilmesi için insani güvenlik ve uluslararası güvenlik kavramları dikkate alınmaktadır. Çalışmada, yolsuzluğun beş güvenlik sorunu içindeki rolüne ilişkin önemli soruların yanıtları, dünyanın çeşitli ülkelerinde meydana gelen bir dizi olay üzerinden incelenmektedir. Ayrıca, çalışma uluslararası düzenlemeleri, normları ve hem tanınmış hükümetler arası hem de sivil toplum kuruluşlarını, özellikle Birleşmiş Milletler ve Uluslararası Şeffaflık Örgütü'nü araştırıyor. Kuruluşların uygulamalarını incelemenin yanı sıra, dünya ülkelerindeki mevcut yolsuzluğun yaygınlığını daha iyi anlamak için 2021 yılına ait yolsuzluk algısına ilişkin CPI anket verileri gösterilmektedir. Çalışmanın bulguları, yolsuzluğun şiddetli ayaklanmaları ve göçü motive ederken, ulusötesi organize suç gruplarının, terörist grupların ve yasadışı ticaret faaliyetlerini önemli ölçüde kolaylaştırdığını göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yolsuzluk, Güvenlik, Uluslararası Şeffaflık Örgütü

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Corruption is highlighted in many public sources as a negative and unethical situation, while efforts to combat it often remain in words. Many people in different parts of the world still face corruption in their daily lives. The worst part of the situation is the terrible consequences that corruption may result in, regardless of the amount or size of the profit gained by a corrupt official, and no possibility to guess beforehand what kind of problems may occur later on. Academic research in this field is just as difficult as doing research in real life. Data and proof availability are limited as corruption is covert action by nature. Moreover, investigating corruption can be dangerous considering many workers of different organizations against corruption exposed to physical and different types of harm in previous years. However, highlighting the importance of corruption in terms of security and raising awareness is substantial to prevent detrimental outcomes.

I want to thank my esteemed advisor Prof. Dr. Saadet Gulden Ayman who is always beside me with her support and experience. Her directives were crucial for me in order to analyze the literature more objectively and address the problem comprehensively. She encouraged me to handle any type of difficulty that I faced during my studying period and taught me to be objective and critical. Thanks to her, I gained a wider perspective to analyze different situations.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BPI	: Bribery Index
CPI	: Corruption Perception Index
EPAC	: The European Partners against Corruption
FCPA	: The Foreign Corrupt Practices Act
GCB	: Global Corruption Barometer
GRECO	: The Group of States against Corruption
GOPAC	: The Global Parliamentary Organization against Corruption
IACCC	: The International Anti-Corruption Coordination Centre
NGOs	: Non-Governmental Organizations
OECD	: The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PKK	: Kurdistan Workers' Party
TCOs	: Transnational Criminal Organizations
TI	: Transparency International
UN	: The United Nations
UNCAC	: The United Nations Convention against Corruption
UNODC	: The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
USSR	: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WHO	: The World Health Organization
WMD	: Weapons of Mass Destruction

INTRODUCTION

The beginning of corruption dates back to ancient times, but it has become an increasingly widespread problem throughout the world in recent years. Although corruption has had a limited area of interest on the agenda of states and in the academic literature for many years, high-level corruption has revealed and continues to cause irreparable results in the economic and social lives of many countries. At the same time, considering the possibility that corruption can be present in almost every field, corruption concerns the whole world, individuals, the state, and society, as can be seen from here, all people. So corruption should be accepted as one of the most fundamental problems seen in countries today.

Obviously, the factors that corruption affects in the economy such as investment, growth, and income distribution are destructive. These major macroeconomic factors are adversely affected by corruption. However, unless action is taken against corruption within states; the sense of trust, justice, and equality, which are the basic values that ensure social peace and tranquility in the state, are also destroyed. Corruption undermines the rule of law by reducing the effectiveness of the performance of state institutions and damaging good governance, by doing so it opens the way for instability, insecurity among people and the chance for criminals to operate (Vlasic, Noell, 2010). As a result, an atmosphere of turmoil occurs within the state, where no one trusts each other and individuals get the opportunity to gain undeserved wealth. In other words, corruption harms the country in many ways, and regardless of its level, it affects the welfare of people. Despite the fact that the roots of corruption have a very old history as it is somehow related to human nature and has been of great interest in the literature in recent decades, corruption deserves even more attention. Because corruption is not only a problem that lowers the country's economic indicators and shows that it is morally incompetent. Corruption poses also a security threat. Although when we think of corruption, the first thing that comes to mind is the behavior of at least two parties in the context of mutual interest, which does not comply with the law and moral norms, these behaviors can also lead to severe security problems.

From the international security perspective, the certain role of corruption related to international security threats is not to be disavowed. Perceiving the role and influence of corruption on international security threats is important in order to combat both security threats and corruption in practice. Despite corruption is not a single factor in the existing or evolving process of such security threats, its role should not be underestimated. Without considering the interaction of all independent factors including corruption, effective preventive measures can not be achieved in the area of combating security threats (Working Group on Corruption and Security, 2014, p.3).

Specially, after the demise of communism, expanding democracy has given way to the existence of more anarchy along with the advantages of freedom. As a result of globalization, a more broad environment occurred for those who are willing to actualize the illegal activities that require the inclusion of corruption at some point. For instance, the fact that international trade is carried out at large rates led to an increase in the number of corruption cases involving multinational companies. Thus, global integration created conditions for the globalization of businesses, and no one considered that this environment would be in favor of villains who unraveled the new world order. By doing so, globalization helped corrupt officials to enlarge their channels and make different types of transnational crime happen. Through the situation, such groups of people are able to put into practice conspiracies that endanger international security (Thachuk, 2005, p.143). Mentioned conspiracies encompass the transportation of abundant illegal trade products including weapons, drugs, etc, or other activities of criminal groups and terrorists. Without such networks of corruption, controlling international security would require less effort. It demonstrates that in today's world, corruption is a vital problem that needs to be dealt with on a global scale.

However, unfortunately, corruption as a security matter remains insufficiently dealt in the literature as well. Thus, this thesis seeks to examine corruption from a security point of view. The study will explore the existence and the role of corruption in certain security issues. Security threats to be investigated for corruption include

violent uprisings within countries, transnational organized crime, terrorism, different illegal trade networks and migration. It is expected to be found that corruption is not often the first-hand cause or result of these security threats, but a strong motivator and facilitator. For the methodological basis of the study, different scientific theoretical sources have been used to create correlations, considering this problem to be handled as a multidimensional concept.

This study contains three main chapters. In the first chapter, the main purpose of the research is to carry out a conceptual analysis of the phenomenon of corruption. Along with analyzing the concept of corruption, the chapter describes the types of corruption and portrays the detrimental impact areas of corruption. Afterwards, the chapter contains an investigation of the basic interrelation between corruption and security. Corruption-related security concepts have been evaluated.

Following the first chapter, in order to establish a possible connection between corruption and security, in the second chapter, it is aimed to investigate the measurement of corruption in security problems by reducing it to specific cases. In this part, the study aims to analyze the role of corruption in certain security threats theoretically. In the chapter, corruption is examined under five headings. Based on the available evidence, the corruption incidents that have certain contributions to terrorism, violent uprisings, transnational organized crime, illicit trade, and migration will be evaluated.

Since in almost all international agreements, acts related to corruption are included in the structure of international crimes, norms, regulations and the role of organizations should be evaluated. For instance, transnational corruption, ie payoffs for officials from foreign countries and international organizations in exchange for leaking information or for other reasons, is considered the most dangerous form of corruption. All these possibilities make the activities of international anti-corruption organizations and the establishment of international cooperation important and necessary. Therefore, the third chapter aims to examine the handling of corruption in international organizations and multinational organizations and to cover an analysis of their role.

FIRST CHAPTER

SECURITY APPROACH TO CORRUPTION

In this chapter, starting from the clarification of the concept of corruption, types of corruption will be presented. Also, the relationship between corruption and globalization, the detrimental impact areas of corruption, and its measurement will be elaborated. Afterwards, establishing the basic mutual connection between corruption and security is aimed. Therefore, the main purpose of this section is to explain corruption, a phenomenon that can cause various problems depending on the objectives for which it is used, and focus extensively on its relation to security. Human security and international security are key concepts covered throughout the chapter in relation to corruption and security connection.

1.1. The Conceptual Framework of Corruption

Corruption has been happening in every place and period where the human factor is present since ancient times, it still happens and it is a phenomenon that will continue to happen. The reason is that man always exists with a desire to maximize his utility. The method of approaching the concept of corruption altered from the 1970s. Concentrating on the nature of corruption and its visualization in the minds of the people, more luminary academic efforts started to emerge. Academicians have developed multiple meanings by considering the underlying idea. Undoubtedly, some of these are known as more accepted and easily identifiable approaches. However, according to Laura Underkuffler's discussion, none of the mainstream theories capture the exact conception of corruption. In every conceptualization of corruption, it has been possible to object existence of peculiarities that do not cover all acts of corruption, the existence of elements that are too broad to be limited to corruption, or both situations. For example, corruption should not be interpreted as a consequence of a mere violation of the law in all cases. As an example, Laura Underkuffler mentioned nepotism which is mostly considered corruption even if it is not against the current law. In the study, she also discussed combination theories in

which different concepts were united. Therefore, while the combination of these elements helps to constrict the borders, this theory still is not able to take into account all acts that cause corruption and problems of incomplete containment. The author highlights that the fundamental problem stays, regardless of what kind of combination is used. Because the elements determined by different academic theorists only contain important parts of the notion. In the end, she emphasizes the moral perspective of the idea of corruption. Hence, the point underlined here is that if one tries to comprehend the phenomenon of corruption adequately, the power of this understanding must be acknowledged (Underkuffler, 2009). Consequently, corruption has brought with it some different definitions and interpretations in terms of the meanings it imposes. Therefore, there is no consensus on its definition. The concepts of corruption are based on different as well as somewhat similar experiences of different critics. That is why the difficulty of the agreement on the exact definition of corruption is understandable. Various definitions made regarding the concept of corruption, for which it is difficult enough to reach a common consensus, are as follows: Corruption is the public personnel's fulfillment of duties that are not in their job description and that do not fall within their field, or that they gain benefits by speeding up the transactions within their field of duty even more than their normal time. In this sense, it is used for all behaviors incompatible with ethical principles such as embezzlement, extortion, money laundering, fraud, and bribery.

Corruption in Article 2 of the Private Law Convention against Corruption of the Council of Europe dated 4 January 1999; defined as "...requesting, offering, giving or accepting a bribe or any other unlawful benefit, which directly or indirectly leads to deviations in the lawful performance of duties or required behavior of the person who provides bribery and an unlawful benefit ". According to the World Bank, corruption is an abuse of public power for private gain. Accordingly, it is the abuse of public office in the event that those in public office demand or accept bribes for their interests. The phenomenon of corruption, which is not only related to racial, ethnic, and religious groups, varies considerably from country to country and even between different regions of the same country (Asher, 2001, p.32). Some scholars

mention that prevalent definitions of corruption diverge according to the way of approaching the situation, aims, and needs of policy-makers (Basabose, 2019, p.14).

Corruption does not always have to involve public officials. Corruption can also occur between private organizations. As a matter of fact, it is also a form of corruption that the manager of a private institution receives personal payment in return for awarding a tender. On the other hand, when a staff member waiting to be appointed in the country offers bribes to the personnel of the institution that will carry out this appointment in return for being assigned to the region he/she wants, and this personnel receives it, we come across as corruption. As it can be understood, it is possible to make very broad definitions that cover all concepts such as voluntary or forced, public or private sector, and administrative or political dimensions. For this reason, it would be a mistake to put the concept of corruption into a certain mold. For example, the act of the dealer, who makes an unfair profit by selling a fraudulent vehicle that looks normal from the outside but has a chronic malfunction to the consumer, and the receipt of these vehicles by a public official who was bribed to buy the said fraudulent vehicles on behalf of the state should be evaluated at the same point. While the individual wants to buy this tool for himself, on the other hand, the public official's desire to buy and ultimately receive the said fraudulent tools on behalf of the state shows that corruption includes the same scope in different dimensions (Asher, 2001, p.43).

In order for corruption to occur, it must contain certain elements on its basis. Of these elements, it should include the element of authority, the rules authorizing, the violation of the rules, and the element of interest separately or all at the same time. Corruption should not be considered an individual act because it concerns more than one side. One of these parties provides a direct or indirect benefit and is therefore authorized. However, this authority is not only in the public sphere but also in associations, companies, cooperatives, etc., which have the power to use the authority. It also includes private institutions, thus no sectoral distinction is made. Due to the fact that corruption is for the purpose of gaining profit, one of the parties chooses to use these powers to obtain benefits. In other words, the party that will

commit the corruption has the authority to serve its interests. This is the element of authority. There are certain legislations put in place for the organization of the state and the regular and systematic functioning of the established hierarchical system. These legislations include written rules such as social laws or verbal rules such as customary customs that the people who use or have the power to use authority have to comply with while exercising such authority. These are the authorizing rules. Corruption can occur by violating the rules regulating social life due to personal ambitions or by pushing those who have the duty to maintain the rule of law out of the control. These rules, which are mostly not followed for a benefit, are hidden from society because they are not legitimate. This is a violation of the rules. However, corruption does not always occur by acting against the rules. The personnel can allocate the opportunity provided by the state for their field of duty to others who benefit them. In this case, the personnel gives the rights provided to them in return for personal benefit, without violating the rules. For corruption to take place, a party or parties must have an interest. The party that causes corruption gains a material or moral profit in return of the promise. The desire of any official to use his authority for his own benefit may cause corruption, as well as the aspiration, to affect the official to use his authority for special purposes through intangible influence factors such as closeness, kinship, and friends also causes corruption (Wei, 2001, p.14).

Although there are types of corruption that can be applied in many different ways, new types of corruption find application areas and are applied in various ways day by day. However, no matter how many and various types of corruption are practiced, they all have some common characteristics. These:

- Corruption occurs with the interaction of at least two people. Since this interaction is not a legitimate interaction, there is no written document and takes place by making a verbal agreement.
- Corruption is still hidden from people because it is not legitimate. However, if corruption has spread and normalized throughout society then there is not secrecy anymore.

- The concept of corruption includes mutual benefits. One has authority, but both have common interests.

- Parties that engage in acts that cause corruption seek to hide behind legal excuses by seeking legal loopholes in order to hide their attempts and not openly violate the law.

- The phenomenon of corruption is based on keeping personal interests above the common interests of the whole society.

- Since corruption aims not to comply with the rules, it damages the sense of trust in society and eventually ends it (Podobnik et al, 2008, p.24).

1.2. Types of Corruption

As there is no single and concrete explanation for corruption, it also does not have a single type. Jean de Dieu Basabose provides a general schedule of corruption types according to several different sources, such as different institutions and individual researchers around the world. It includes twenty-two species, although the author calls the list non-exhaustive. Some of these types pose no threat to security, while others act as a motivator to violence. For this reason, some types of corruption lead to violent conflicts which generate security threats for that society. Depending on the areas where corruption is present in society, the following types available in the literature are distinguished:

- Grand corruption encompasses large-scale transactions which take place predominantly at the financial, administrative, and political centers, that is, at the highest footings of national, regional or international systems.

- Petty corruption is referred to small-scale transactions where a citizen consciously requests to avoid existent rule order or a worker utilizes his/her responsibility by demanding material benefits to provide routine services.

- Bureaucratic or administrative corruption which is not considered a kind of crime, is more regarded as a tool for quickening the business process. In such cases,

customers are exposed to the extortion of money or property for a transaction by the authorities and it is argued that it is only a speeding-up operation, since it does not change the result. However, citizens who do not have the wherewithal for survival in such a system, suffer from waiting in an unfair queue.

- Political corruption is attributed to the political sphere where assigned politicians vote with infraction of rules. In this manner, some purchase political power for personal or corporate interests for affecting regulations at national, regional, and international levels. Also, corruption is not excluded in other types of interventions used by politicians such as awarding journalists for coverage of candidates and parties, cronyism, nepotism, providing voters with money or food. For instance, politicians have dispersed even food and drink to buy citizens' votes in some African countries, which has resulted in violent clashes many times.

Corruption has been distinguished into 2 opposing groups in several ways by various researchers, considering different characteristics of corruption.

- Corruption is divided into two different types (organized and disorganized) by knowingly or unknowingly arranging who will be involved or not from another party to achieve the goal.

- Corruption splits two different types, active and passive, depending on the side that a person participates in the crime of corruption. The party receiving the bribe is passive, while the party giving the bribe plays an active role. However, a bribe taker may also be the same person who starts the interaction by demanding the bribe in some cases.

- Two types are distinguished regarding the causes that trigger corruption. People in the first group are triggered because of human needs that they could not otherwise meet. Whereas in the second group, people are encouraged by the desire of being wealthier.

- According to the offer made by the "supply" side, profit contains two types, material-oriented profit, and non-material-oriented profit. The material benefit

includes money, expensive gifts, or any alternative material valued things, while non-material corruption encompasses all other types of benefits such as cronyism, nepotism, or sex-related corruption, etc.

- Regarding the prevalence of corruption in the certain system, there are individual (also called incidental) and systemic corruption types. Individual corruption refers to a person which individually demands a bribe or distinct types of benefit utilizing his/her entrusted power in a system. However, in a system where corruption is entrenched in the way of work, prevalent corruption is observed.

- Also, two cases are grouped depending on the degree of mutual consent of the parties in corruption. In some cases, the party demanding corruption bullies the other side by not providing the service they should have done without receiving a bribe, while in other cases, bribes or any type of corruption are offered by the party's personal will. The first case, which is more common in the public sector, is called extortion and indicates a lack of consent, unlike the second case.

- There are centralized and decentralized types of corruption regarding in which structure it appears. In the centralized version, corruption can occur in both formal and informal departments. However, the decentralized version of corruption encompasses only the informal sector where monitoring operations are needed.

There is a type of market corruption where some power holders kill the competitiveness of certain commodities by excluding potential competitors in the market in exchange for personal gain. Also, in some situations, kinship relations and other similar factors contribute to keeping in touch with powerful officials, which is called parochial corruption. Because those who do not have such connections are clearly left out of the game. Lastly, there is the type of corruption that does not contain monetary profit, which the World Bank describes as quiet corruption. This implies improper fulfillment of duty in forefront service providers such as teachers, police, doctors, etc. that affect the poor on a vast scale (Basabose, 2019, p.16-20).

Additionally, there is also a list of corruption forms which includes bribery, abuse of discretion, embezzlement, fraud, trading in influence, and others. However,

these forms do not change the basic meaning of the act of corruption. It is the whole of behavior that is done illegally without acting according to the necessity of the duty. In sociological and legal terms, it is the use of public authorities for personal interests by contradicting the legal and social norms that constitute the main theme of the social order.

1.3. Corruption and Globalization

Regarding globalization's impact on corruption, different views exist. Some scholars have considered globalization as one of pivotal factors that have a positive impact on reducing corruption as countries must carry out anti-corruption policies and standards of international organizations in order to take part in the modern world economy (Das & Dirienzo, 2009, p.42). However, globalization also has made corruption a serious problem that needs to be solved at the international level by removing it from being an internal problem that takes place within the borders of the country. Some scholars argue that globalization has created a simpler environment for the act of corruption in comparison to the past. The fact that international trade is carried out more and at large rates has led to an increase in corruption cases involving multinational companies. More broadly, globalization helps corrupt officials to enlarge their channels and to make different types of transnational forms of crime happen. Without such networks of corruption, controlling international security would require less effort. However, as a result, security threats such as terrorism and others have become more problematic and complicated to handle around the globe (Rotberg, 2009, p.25). On the other hand, several studies have been conducted on the connection between corruption and globalization which verify the non-linear relationship of these two phenomena (Attila, 2013, p.21). For the first time, Das and Dirienzo's research results proposed that globalization has both favorable and unfavorable consequences on corruption and highlighted the relationship as nonlinear between the two. Favorable consequences include pressure that international organizations, regulations, and norms put on states to operate in transparent environments. From an economic point of view, foreign investors consider the level of corruption when choosing a country to invest in. For instance, a

high level of bureaucratic corruption withdraws investors, and CPI reports become helpful for them during this period, while it concerns developing countries to a marked extent. Therefore, as a result of globalization, countries may take responsibility against corruption more seriously within both private and public sectors in order to be sufficient to take part in the modern world economy and keep pace with the demands of the current world order. However, unfavorable results of globalization, include more broad environment occurred for those who are willing to actualize illegal activities that require the inclusion of corruption at some point. Global integration created conditions for the globalization of businesses and by doing so, globalization also helped corrupt officials to enlarge their channels and make different types of transnational crime happen. Through the situation, such groups of people are able to put into practice conspiracies that endanger international security (Thachuk, 2005, p.143). Mentioned conspiracies encompass the transportation of abundant illegal trade products including weapons, drugs, etc, or other activities of criminal groups and terrorists. In the study conducted by Das and Dirienzo, the importance of the globalization level of the country was underlined for the process of analyzing the consequences of the relationship between corruption and globalization (Das & Dirienzo, 2009). According to the analysis of researchers who collected data from 127 countries, if the study was confined to middle and high-income countries, there would exist a positive connection between corruption and globalization. This means globalization affected developed countries to succeed in the lower level of corruption practices. However, imagining globalization as a tool for decreasing corruption in developing countries might guide useless tactics against corruption (Lalountas, Manolas, and Vavouras, 2011). Because globalization alone is not a solution to the problem of corruption in developing countries where common steps against corruption do not work as it works in developed countries.

1.4. Detrimental Impact Areas and Measurement of Corruption

If the direct relationship between corruption and any other concept could be evaluated, perhaps it would be easier to fight against corruption. However,

conceptually, when the behaviors involved in corruption are not completely clear, it is not possible to measure corruption. When measuring corruption, if the basis of corruption is bribery, the correct result will not be obtained without other cases of corruption that are ignored. When attempting to measure all acts of corruption, measurement becomes difficult as it is not possible to define lots of relatively unimportant cases or concepts that are not fully agreed upon (Tanzi, 1998, p.20). Corruption emerges as a covert action by nature within states, as it is both against social values and in most cases legally constitutes a crime that makes measurement more problematic. Therefore, although there may be discrepancies or other deficiencies between corruption measured by surveys and the actual situation, most measurements for use in cross-country comparisons and empirical research in general have for many years been derived from subjective data such as surveys.

Considering the challenges of measurement, detrimental impact areas of corruption are not always based on direct causal links. For instance, according to the extensive literature review, many researchers have found that corruption has an unfavorable influence on micro and macroeconomics, while other indicators take a more considerable role. So that the country's economic growth rate is not affected by corruption directly, but its cost can be seen in depth productivity, profitability, and other elements. The damages of corruption in the economy aggravate other detrimental results considering the synergistic nature of all spheres. Ample size of research and proofs demonstrate positive interlink between corruption and inequality; attenuated public service supply as a result of corruption; and an environment where no one trusts state agencies and government. Hence, the cycle and the stream of events hit legitimacy which is a constructive element in any country. According to the survey data released by GCB, the level of corruption is a major parameter that establishes people's contentment with state agencies regardless of income standards. In spite of the available evidence, while in some context corruption gives legitimacy to elites, the direct connection stays indefinite between legitimacy and corruption. Consequently, in accordance with the evidence paper on corruption, reasons and detriments of corruption often arise as intensifying each other and correlated (The UK Department for International Development, 2015). While elements such as trust,

justice, and equality, which are the basic values that ensure social peace and tranquility in the state, are deeply affected, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of corruption as a domestic security problem that can transform into an international security issue.

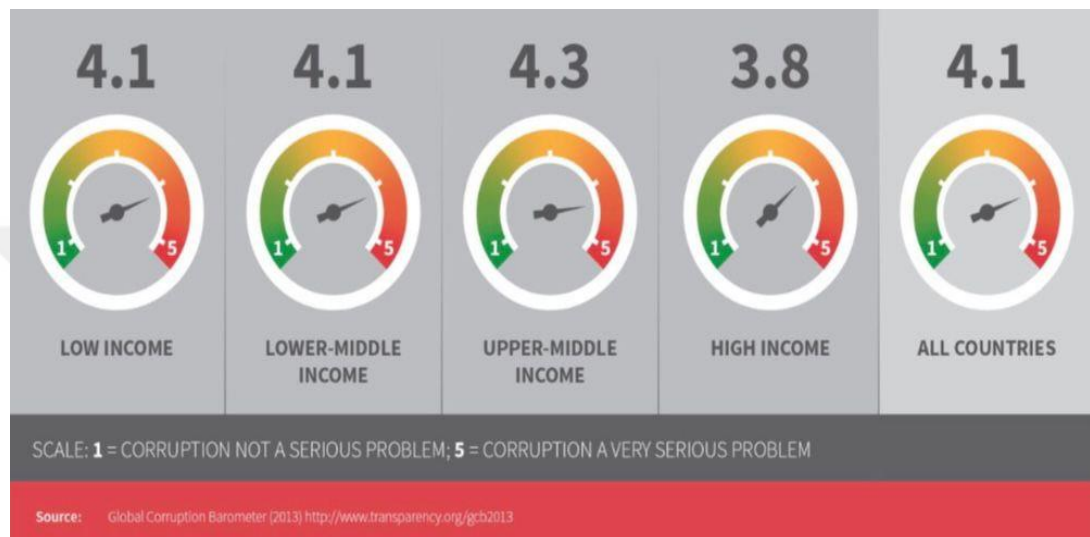


Figure 1: Perception of Corruption by people from different countries around the world

Resource: (The UK Department for International Development, Evidence Paper on Corruption: Why corruption matters: understanding causes, effects and how to address them, 2015, p.50)

As discussed above, making an assessment by only measuring the amount of bribe received and given will cause many corruptions that do not include bribery to be ignored. Rather than calculating the amount of bribery going around, an attempt to measure corrupt activity would require accounting for many of its relatively minor activities and identifying them all separately. This turns out to be a difficult process and while it is not possible to measure the concept of corruption accurately, the perception of corruption gains more importance. There are four characteristics that a 'successful' corruption indicator must contain. These:

Reliability: The measurers should be objective and the index should reflect the general view, not the opinion of some segments.

Validity: What is actually intended to be measured should be measured exactly without going beyond its purpose.

Accuracy: There should be no errors in the measurement, standard deviations should not be large. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the high number of respondents will increase the accuracy.

Precision: Everyone should agree on what quantity measures and questions should be clear and precise.

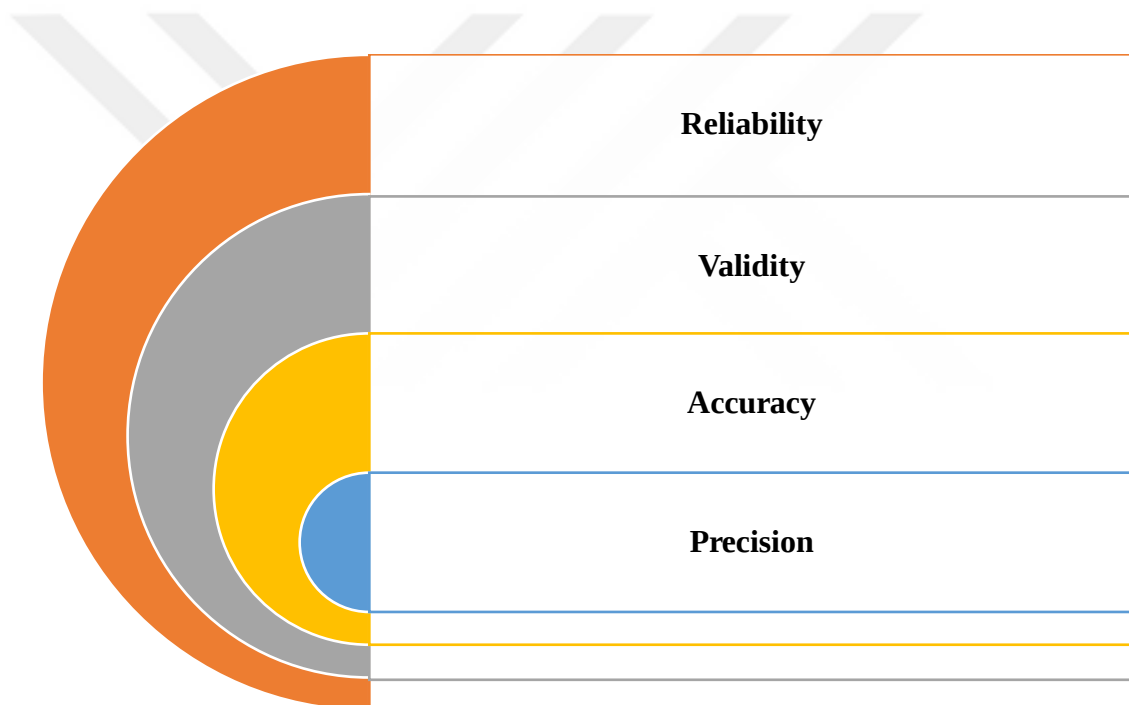


Figure 2: Successful Corruption Indicators

Resource: (Wei, 2001, p.42), Corruption in Economic Development: Grease or Sand, the UNECE Spring Seminar in Geneva.

As Ibrahim Lamorde states, corruption emerges in two different types of environments. The first environment is where individuals abuse public office for their personal gain. Therefore, the main figures to investigate are certain individuals in these cases. Whereas in the second environment, the problem is not individuals or their moral values. The problem is a system in which corruption is entrenched in society and becomes institutionalized. Regardless of the environment in which it occurs, corruption can undermine the laws of the states, all types of procedures and

regulations (Lamorde, 2012, p.3-4). In this case, measurements of the level of corruption conducted by global institutions ease to differentiate environments in states. Within the framework of all these, there are indices of many organizations that conduct research. Some of those; International Transparency Indices, which include 3 indices (Corruption Perceptions Index, Bribery Index, Global Corruption Barometer), International Country Risk Guide, Non-Transparency Index (OPIN), the Global Competitiveness Index (GCI), and the Kaufmann, Kraay and Zoido-Lobaton Corruption Index (KKZ). The most comprehensive of these indices is the Corruption Perceptions Index created by Transparency International. In this index, countries are ranked according to the degree of corruption. The index creates a general indicator by combining the factors that cause corruption, thus enabling countries to compare each other in terms of corruption. The comparison is made on the points given from 0 to 100. According to the said scale, a country index score of 0 indicates that the perception of corruption is very high, that is, it is very dirty; A country index score of 100 explains that the perception of corruption in that country is very low, that is, it is very clean. It should be noted here that the index should not be confused with actual measures of corruption. These indices reflect perceptions of corruption, not actual, objective, and quantitative measures.

While there were only 41 countries included in the index in the first report published by the organization in 1995, 180 countries are now included in the system. In addition, index criteria adapt to current conditions in every passing time period. This contributes to more realistic measurements. Also, many countries are worried about their rankings on published scales. According to Jean de Dieu Basabose, the concerns of countries are based on two reasons. First is a concern of being more corrupt in comparison with neighbors and second is the role of CPI on international investors (Basabose, 2019, p.26-29). Because corruption is considered a major restraint on investment. It affects the evaluation of countries' general competitiveness especially (Kaufmann, 2004, p.84).

1.5. Corruption and Security

According to the findings of the working group on corruption and security, confrontation of demonstrators of corruption and coercion or destabilization uncover a correlation between variables. The fundamental correlation between corruption and security can be discerned when comparing distinguished indices such as the World Justice Program, the World Bank, the World Governance Indicators, the CPI, and the Peace Fund (failed states index) (see figures 1.3 and 1.4). Here it should be mentioned that the concept of failed state may generate different understandings for different organizations, state agencies as well as researchers. Therefore, this concept may not be considered objective to use as a measurement for the connection between corruption and security or any other correlation. Additionally, while corruption can be a driving force but not a sole cause of threats to human security at any level, deeper analysis is needed by taking into account other independent variables in order to investigate the role of corruption as a threat to security (Working Group on Corruption and Security, 2014, p.4).

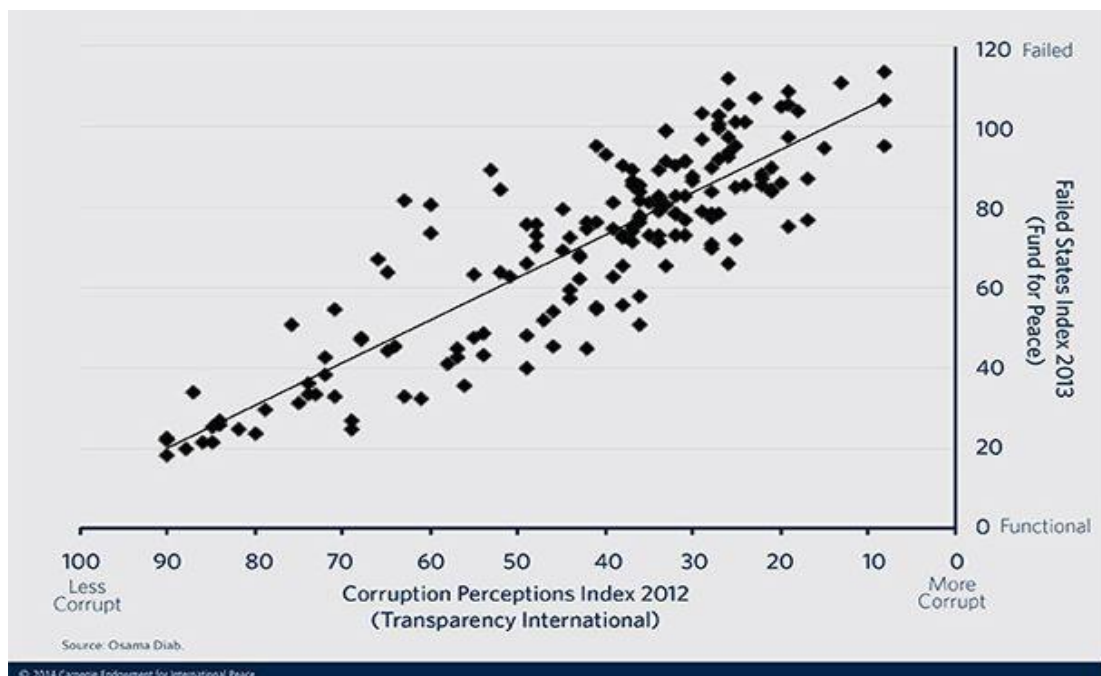


Figure 3: Corruption and State Failure

Resource: (Chayes, 2014), Corruption the Unrecognized Threat to International Security, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2014/06/06/corruption-unrecognized-threat-to-international-security-pub-55791>, accessed 20/08/2022

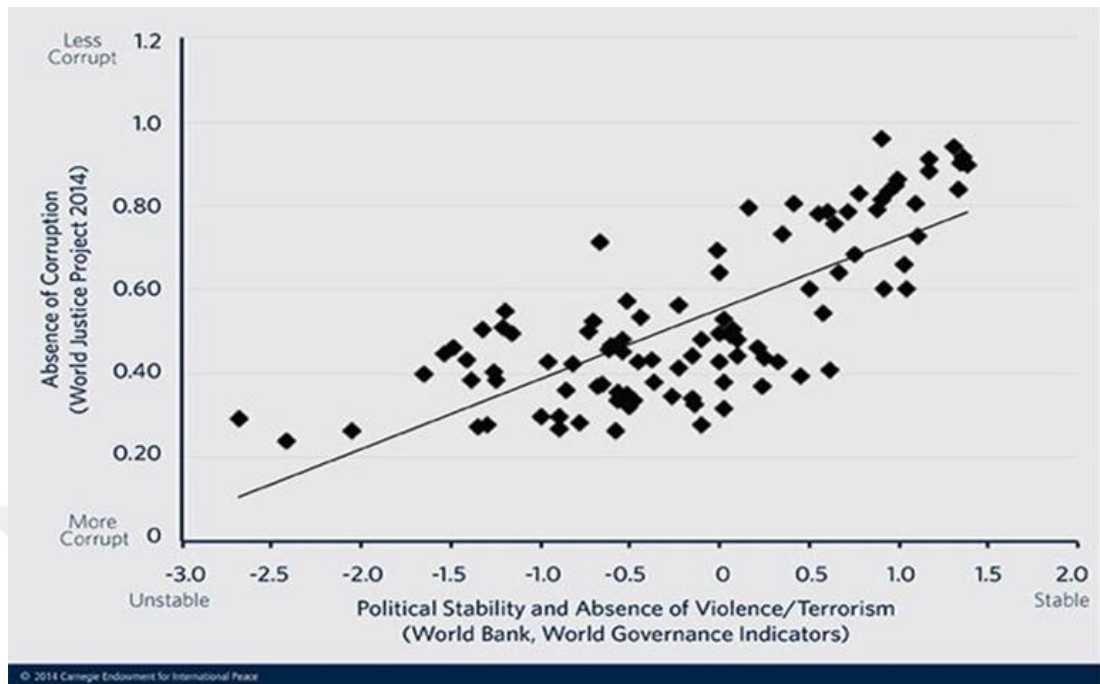


Figure 4: Political Stability, Absence of Violence/Terrorism, and Absence of Corruption

Resource: (Chayes, 2014), Corruption the Unrecognized Threat to International Security, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2014/06/06/corruption-unrecognized-threat-to-international-security-pub-55791>, accessed 20/08/2022

Corruption and bribery is a big problem that cannot be prevented for years and is very difficult to completely prevent. One of the most negative features of some countries, particularly in the developing world, is that corruption has reached incredible proportions. According to TI's report on corruption and stability, there are three possible situations for corruption in which insecurity can emerge as an issue. Firstly, corruption in the social and political sphere can incite people when basic daily services are not provided by workers disrupting official governmental decisions. Another situation may appear when the desire to have chances based on corruption leads to violent collisions among people who want the attainment of these chances, particularly in resource-rich states. Lastly, if national resources are used for private gain, the state's capacity to provide services is impaired and hence economic consequences of corruption can be observed in all public service sectors as well as the security sector (TI, 2014, p.13). For instance, in the case of Nigeria, we observe a resource-rich country where citizens are obliged to live with very low living conditions. There are many studies in the literature that emphasize corruption as one

of the main causes of the situation in Nigeria. The looting of the natural resources belonging to the whole nation by the various political authorities, the use of the resources for the purpose of generating profit for 'elites' rather than for the social development of the state has limited the development of the country reasonably (Ogbeidi, 2012, p.18).

However, corruption in countries with colonialism history should be evaluated considering the impact of that historical period in spite of years passed. According to Dr. Arno Boenner's research on Nigeria from 1830 (many years ago colonizing) to 2007, political corruption started to have taken root during the colonial period in the state with the involvement of colonial forerunners, and foreign companies processing on the land of Nigeria. The area was taken over at the end of the 19th century by the Royal Niger company, which demanded the land after commercial relations. After a while, British companies started to work more freely in the region only with minor norms and it established a suitable environment where corruption would thrive (Boenner, 2021). Generally, for England, dominating the political structure of Nigeria had never been substantial, while making use of the resources and raw materials as much as possible in these lands was the core purpose. To achieve this purpose, although various ethnic groups were distinguished in Nigeria, the colonial managers improved their influence in these lands by 'collaborating' with all the notables of the society without disturbing the social structure in the country (Kavak, 2021). This is how different types of corruption became a habit of management within the country. Unfortunately, after the independence of Nigeria in 1960, the situation of political corruption did not change. Corruption as a cultural practice is rooted in both the public and private sectors, where ordinary people see bribery as the only means of achieving fundamental human rights. Instead of providing water, electricity, roads, building hospitals, and ensuring the accessibility of education, for people to reach a normal quality of life, investments have been made in projects that cause a great financial cost by using national resources (Okolo, Raymond, 2014, p.36). According to Nurudeen Abu and Marcin Waldemar Staniewski's findings, the link between corruption and rents demonstrates that as a result of Nigeria's dependence on resources such as oil and

gas, rental opportunities occurred between high-level government officials and foreign oil companies. It is no coincidence that the lack of transparency in the state oil corporation has always been a subject of corruption controversy in Nigeria (Abu, Staniewski, 2019, p.3069).

Adopting the human security concept is one of the most useful ideational security concepts to explore the correlation between corruption and security. According to the work of the United Nations Development Program, ensured human security demands considering seven various spheres of security including economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security. The concept of human security encompasses freedom from fear (any kind of physical violence), freedom from want (basic economic, environmental, and social needs), and freedom from indignity (promotion of improved quality of life, opportunities, and human welfare) (IIHR, 2022). The approach is people-centered within the framework of human security. One of the most prominent and accepted demonstrators is poverty as some researchers highlight that individual human security is provided when poverty is not experienced. In this view, since poverty is a demonstration of an ill situation in the whole economy of any country and is difficult to get rid of, it seriously challenges human security (King, Murray, 2001, p.592). Therefore, the concept of human security involves people's level of living standards in all spheres such as political, economic, social, environmental, health, and nutritional which is related to society in general.

Ahmed Mohamed Hassan carried out a study concentrating on the impact of corruption on the human security of societies in transition in the example of the Iraq case. In this study, the researcher used the survey methodology and the case study methodology to promote qualitative and quantitative research and to investigate the nature of the connection between both phenomena. The relationship between corruption and human security was confirmed by this research where results demonstrated approximately 77 percent of the explanatory capability of the variables. Therefore, obtained percentage of problems that can take place in human security is connected to different corruption variations. Consequently, the findings underlined

the contrary correlation between corruption and human security. It means, if a higher level of corruption exists, a lower level of ensuring human security is observed (Hassan, 2020).

On the other hand, the existence of human security problems in any country is substantial for the world in general as they may become international security problems. For example, terrorist groups mainly recruit people from fragile states where their fundamental rights are being violated. Thus, such people face human security problems and join terrorist groups for providing their own needs which end with helping terrorists. In the case of Afghanistan, many unemployed men agreed to join the Taliban with the aim of being financially and socially gainful (Qazi, 2011, p.596). As a result of problems within a failed state, terrorism and other threats to the international arena thrive on a large scale. As another example, in some countries where health security cannot be achieved, different types of illnesses occur and when in other countries there are state agencies of crucial vulnerability, especially at borders, such ill people are able to leave their own country and spread illness all around the world. According to WHO, health emergencies (Ebola, cholera, yellow fever, etc.) which continuously take place in African countries are manageable with appropriate public health interventions (WHO, 2022). Such a situation can be shown as an example of a human security threat that turns out to be an international security threat since many African countries cannot provide needed equipment and health services for citizens.

When it comes to the international security perspective, the certain role of corruption related to international security threats is not to be disavowed. Despite corruption is not a single factor in the existing or evolving process of security threats such as terrorism, and organized crime networks, or else, it should not be underestimated. However, there are some researchers that emphasize the stabilizing role of corruption when sides split the loot. Some case studies demonstrate how corruption can affect the stability of the political system in detail. According to the findings of the case studies in Donetsk and Luhansk conducted by Gabriella Gricius, individual citizens and business managers were involved in petty corruption on a

large scale, while it never led to destabilization. In such a coping economy, the patronage system even sometimes contributes to maintaining a steady government. In Donetsk and Luhansk cases there was Russia's rising impact on the economy and policy and sustaining stability was one of the priorities (Gricius, 2019, p.53). To be specific, cases, where corruption is endemic but does not affect stability are found in those countries where the power over main resources exists through the patronage order. On the contrary, where sides that dominate the resources are divided, corruption cannot contribute to maintain stabilization by bringing parties together in countries like Afghanistan (Stiftung, 2014, p.14). In other words, if there is more than one ruling party in a country, corruption will not bring one party to the other to maintain stability. Because one side will not accept another higher than itself. Therefore, corruption can be "useful" for stability as long as there is a patronage system within such situations. In spite of the possible existence of exceptional situations, it does not allow overpassing the role of corruption, considering the heavy interconnection between different international security threats and corruption (Working Group on Corruption and Security, 2014, p.3). On the other hand, since the poor are the most affected segment of society by endemic corruption, such situations also do not exclude the possible emergence of insecurity in the future.

SECOND CHAPTER

CORRUPTION AS A THREAT TO SECURITY

Currently, many countries suffer from corruption in different ways considering the existence of many sectors that are being affected. However, corruption is mostly seen as a factor that undermines the economy and inhibits economic growth. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the importance of corruption as a serious security problem. Corruption cases which are present to the extent of many different forms in the literature and in real life can lead to security problems regardless of the size of the bribe and the characteristics of certain actors. Even if corruption does not bring out security problems directly, it is one of the means that stimulates security problems to occur. Corruption and security issues have versatile and complex correlations. In the chapter, corruption is examined under five headings. Based on the available evidence, the corruption incidents that have certain contributions to violent uprisings, terrorism, transnational organized crime, illicit trade, and migration will be evaluated. Also, the purpose of the chapter includes collecting and elaborating on corruption cases as a motivator or facilitator in the above-mentioned security problems.

2.1. Corruption and Violent Uprisings

Governments do not always act in the best interests of citizens and sometimes high level of corruption triggers the problem to become a security issue. It is possible to divide the corrupt countries into two classes: First-class countries have systemic corruption where even government affairs can be intervened and corruption-related barriers are present at every step of life that people experience; In second-class countries, corruption is less reinforced in the upper state system and corruption is not as systemic as in others (Working Group on Corruption and Security, 2014, p.7-8).

The worst scenario is when the government is highly corrupt and does not provide citizens with basic social services. Especially if a country has systematic corruption, it creates more problematic situations for citizens. Because the state,

whose main purpose is to serve society, has important duties in the fight against corruption and if the state can not carry out these duties on a national and international scale, the sense of trust in the state becomes damaged. We have seen a lot of governors and officials in history, usually in less developed countries, who use their dominance for their own profit. For instance, it was recently claimed by a Pakistani journalist that 56 million dollars of wealth were exploited by Pakistan's Chief of Staff whose term of office expired in 2022, and his family members. While blaming the military is a serious matter, a media delegate of the army directed the Finance Minister's statements to find a basis for answering these claims. Finance Minister Mohammad Ishaq Dar's office named it a violation of the tax law and an infringement of official confidential data (VOA news, 2022). While the exploitation of such a huge amount of money is a matter of discussion on the agenda of this country, the public service index for 2022 demonstrates 7.7 points out of 10 in Pakistan (10 is the lowest level of supply of fundamental needs which is included in the state functions) (The Global Economy, n.d.). In such cases, the feeling of being fed up with government employees and anger can lead to a security threat no matter in which country the situation occurs. Appropriately, the working group on corruption and security collected corruption-related security incidents between 2008-2014 (See Figure 5).

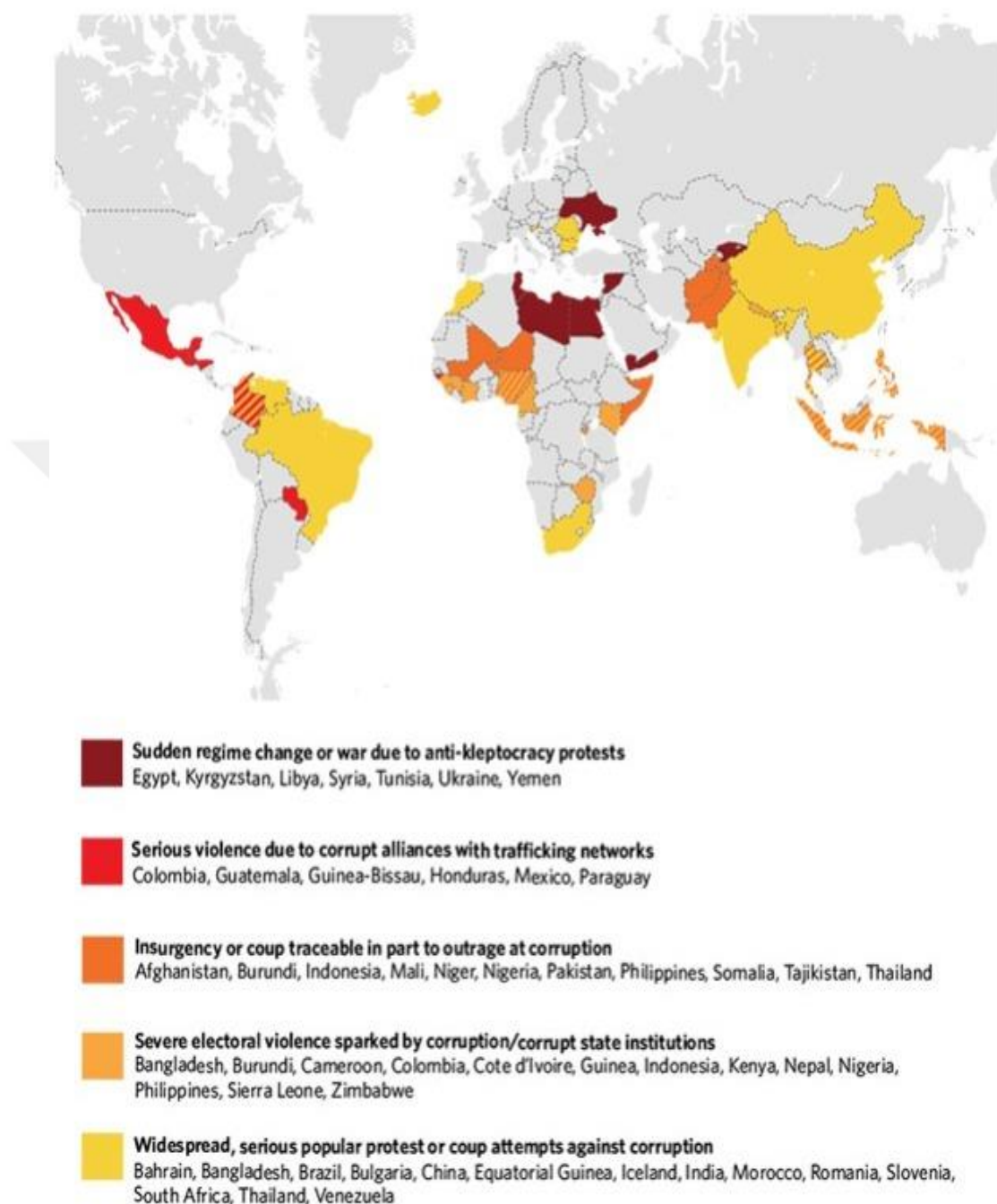


Figure 5: Corruption Related Security Incidents (2008-2014).

Resource: (Chayes, 2014), Corruption the Unrecognized Threat to International Security, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2014/06/06/corruption-unrecognized-threat-to-international-security-pub-55791>, accessed 20/08/2022

It should be noted that in all countries with a high level of corruption, the hatred against government does not turn into rebellion and violence. Because, in every country, there are other factors that have an influence on people's reactions. For instance, a number of state agencies operating within Turkmenistan such as the

Ministry of Social Security of Turkmenistan should serve in favor of citizens whereas many sources uncover that these state agencies are highly engaged in corruption (ACCA, 2022). In addition, the state legitimacy index shows that citizens' trust in state institutions in Turkmenistan is quite low. The average value between 2007 and 2022 was 9.3 out of 10, and 10 is the lowest level of state legitimacy. In 2022, this value was estimated as 9.8 for Turkmenistan (The Global Economy, n.d.). According to the report of the embassy of the United States in Turkmenistan, the nontransparent order of economic and financial structures in Turkmenistan results in extensive corruption in the public and also private sectors. Moreover, individual connections with government officials are enormously substantial in the process of implementation of laws and regulations to a certain area. Despite the existence of legislation against corruption, American companies have determined government corruption on a large scale inside Turkmenistan (US embassy report, 2015). Additionally, the index of human rights and rule of law presented data from 2007 to 2020 which was equal to 8.81 (10 is the lowest level of procurement of human rights and rule of law) on average for Turkmenistan during the given period. In 2022, this value was estimated as 8.3 for this country (The Global Economy, n.d.). Regarding corruption, it was highlighted that corruption is not restricted to the government level and is quite widespread in daily life (Volkov, 2013). Despite the problematic state of the situation, people have considered it a manner of living and it has never transformed into a violent rebellion among people living in Turkmenistan.

In the case of Georgia, the public's reaction to corruption has set a different example in history in which people were able to achieve the change of president through protests that took 20 days without using violence. At the time there was massive resentment related to corruption and some factors that made this 'victory' possible. A group of young people under the name of the Kmara movement had mobilized in the request for essential change within the corrupt system. These activists had been supported by a local NGO called the Liberty Institute in terms of technical, legal services, coordination, and logistical assistance for the campaign. The vital contribution of the free media and security forces that did not preserve the autocratic order consciously ensured the success of protestors around the country

(Kandelaki, 2006). As a result of protests that took place in 2003, President Eduard Shevardnadze quitted and the new president became Mikheil Saakashvili who was one of the pioneers of Rose Revolution. The new government put anti-corruption reforms to the front of the list and solid arrangements in the public sector produced positive results without taking too long. For instance, in the decade after 2004, TI's global corruption surveys conducted among the Georgians revealed that the cases of corruption that people face and pay bribe within the public sector significantly reduced. The public service index demonstrated that the average rate from 2007 to 2022 was 5.01 out of 10 (a closer point to 10 means lower fulfillment of state duties of supplying fundamental services such as health, education, etc.). The latest data from 2022 showed 4.1 points in Georgia, whereas the minimum point has been seen in 2020 by being 3.4 (The Global Economy, n.d.). According to the national chapter of TI in Georgia, corruption in public spheres and executive organs particularly decreased. In 2012, CPI aligned Georgia in front of each post-soviet country except Estonia and Lithuania, and some European countries as well (TI, 2013). Although Georgia had not improved considerably in the CPI reports since 2012, it still ranked 45 out of 180 countries in 2021 and its score is equal to 55 (CPI, 2021) (see figure 12). After this event, government officials of countries around the world could draw different results, some of them might be encouraged to keep themselves and the system in a more transparent order, while others might prefer to control the media or local NGOs more harshly in order to avoid such a situation.

Furthermore, although the new government which was prominent with anti-corruption discourse achieved appropriate results in Georgia, all parties claiming anti-corruption measures as a first principle for the progress of a country before the election do not actually implement it. Since such cases exist to the extent that cannot be called exceptions, there is no guarantee for the future when electing officials at the top to serve the country. For instance, in Pakistan previous Prime Minister namely Imran Khan who served from August 2018 to April 2022 was known for his declarations against corruption. He used low CPI scores to blame preceding Prime Minister. However, according to CPI, the rank of Pakistan was becoming closer to 180 year by year which presents a decline instead of progress against corruption

within the country. In 2021, Pakistan ranked 140 out of 180 countries, whereas it was in 117th place in 2018 (Deutsche Welle News, 2022).

Nonetheless, examples of violent uprisings due to corruption are known to the world. In this part, as an example, the case of Kyrgyzstan is investigated. Kyrgyzstan is one of the republics that gained its independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union and it was considered a thriving democracy on the international stage. However, Akayev, the first elected President of this country, was removed from power in 2005 due to high-level corruption accusations in the Tulip Revolution. The next president Bakiyev, who had rhetoric such as anti-corruption and economic and social reforms for welfare of the citizens, shaped the reforms according to his personal interests and acted as a manager by raising his family members to critical positions. Like Akayevs, Bakiyev and his family were charged with nepotism, cronyism, and corruption. Circumstances led to the violent uprising and more than a hundred people died during the protests in Bishkek in 2010. After the situation, the Bakiyev administration was overthrown in the same year (Jacob Zenn and Kathleen Kuehnast, 2014, p.3). Then the next president Atambayev stated in his speeches that the country's economy was damaged by roundly 500 million dollars due to corruption and emphasized the importance of the fight against corruption (Nichol, 2013, p.10). Hence, not accidentally, the index of state legitimacy was equal to 9 in 2011 which was the maximum rate seen from 2007 to 2022 in Kyrgyzstan (being close to 10 means lower state legitimacy). This index considers the openness of government and relations with citizens, the faith that people have in state agencies, and other components of legitimacy. The minimum index has been seen in 2020 by being 6.8 during the given years (The Global Economy, n.d.).

In 2022, one of the recent samples of a violent uprising occurs in Iran. Since the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran, economic development and legitimacy have been undermined to the extent that results in protests recently. Initially, protests started with the death of a young woman who was accused of not wearing a hijab thoroughly. However, the background to the uprising began to form a long time ago, as political deterioration had already affected core elements of

contemporary governance, including the state, the rule of law, and accountability over the years. For instance, according to the human rights and rule of law indicator, the average index in Iran equals 9.2 from 2007 to 2022, while a score closer to 10 means that human rights and the rule of law are less protected. The peak of the index was seen as 9.8 in 2022 (The Global Economy, n.d.). Moreover, corruption forms that exist in Iran such as clientelism which means getting a job or achieving promotion in return for political support, and other types of political, administrative, and coercive corruption contributed to the current rebel condition (Azadi, 2020, p.1). According to Pooya Azadi, vicious circulation emerged in Iran through corruption and political decay (see Figure 6).

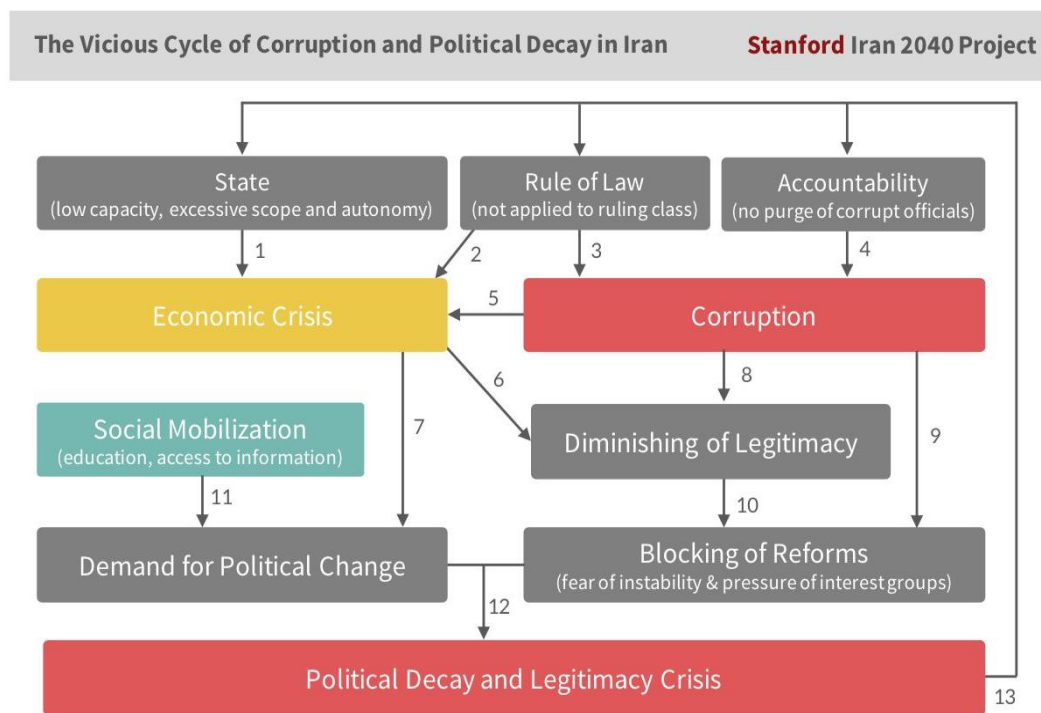


Figure 6: The Vicious Cycle of Corruption and Political Decay in Iran

Resource: (Azadi, 2020, The Structure of Corruption in Iran, Stanford Iran 2040 Project, p.1, <https://iranian-studies.stanford.edu/iran-2040-project/publications/structure-corruption-iran>, accessed 27/11/2022)

Additionally, Iran was placed 150 out of 180 in 2021 in CPI reports, while it was 130 in 2017 which demonstrates solid growth regarding people's perception of corruption within Iran statistically year by year (Iran International, 2022). Although

the ongoing uprising is not considered as a result of corruption up to date, there are some sources highlighted police extortion regarding women's hijab as a prevalent type of police corruption in Iran where women are obliged to pay a penalty or to be judged in a trial (Azadi, 2020, p.3). In this case, the woman called Mahsa Amini was detained by police and died in custody. Afterwards, at least 300 protests have happened whereas such uprisings have not been seen for many years in Iran (BBC, 2022). Therefore, corruption can be a key motivation that made people reach the peak of anger which may only end with a change of regime.

2.2. Corruption as a part of Organized Crime

Organized crime is not a crime committed by a particular group, but a large-scale collective criminal activity. The main subject of this activity is a stable organized criminal group acting as a single organism. It is a controllable criminal act and it happens when people engage in criminal business, create a system of protection from social control through corruption. Systematic criminal activity is a part of the lifestyle of members of organized criminal groups. Although they are generally profit-oriented since their existence, in modern times, the object of criminal activities of organized criminal communities may be various spheres of social relations (economic, political, etc.). They are engaged in drug trafficking, smuggling, corruption, money laundering, terrorism, kidnapping, arms trafficking, etc. accompanied by various forms of violence. Crime, on the other hand, is only part of this system. Organized crime is more dangerous and complex because it changes the quality of different types of crime.

One of the main features of the concept of organized crime is the presence of a stable highly hierarchical structure. Criminal organizations are characterized by the presence of criminals and strict rules of behavior and discipline. The simplest types of organized crime refer to the following fixed groups with a simple organizational structure: leader - participants. The number of participants in the group is 3-10 people. Crimes such as theft, robbery, fraud, and burglary are common. Very rare cases of corruption are reported. Secondly, medium-level organized crime is a stepping stone to high-level organized crime, which has a more complex and

dangerous structure. The mid-level criminal organization consists of several units: fighters, scouts, enforcers, criminals, "financiers" and so on. A gang of 10 to 50 people engaged in racketeering, drug trafficking, smuggling, and illegal transactions in the credit and banking system. As a rule, they have contacts with government officials. Lastly, a high-level organized criminal organization has a 2 or more multi-level structures. The number of members sometimes runs into hundreds. The scope of criminal activities of these organizations extends beyond the country level to a number of foreign countries (Ryan, 2005, p.43). When the power in the group is concentrated in the hands of one or more leaders, and the number of participants ranges from several hundred to several thousand, these groups include a large number of group leaders, who transmit orders from the leader to the executors. In addition to organizers and perpetrators, organized criminal groups may also include ideologues; consultants; special groups engaged in intelligence and reconnaissance; specialists in recruiting various officials for money or by other means; specialists in various types of criminal activity (specialists in assassins, computer technology, alarm systems, etc.). With their help, the activities of the leader of the organized criminal group remain unimpeded and it can be said that their involvement is not proven mostly.

Another feature of organized crime is the creation of an economic base and obtaining material benefits by engaging in criminal business mainly through illicit trade. The main purpose of criminal activity is the accumulation of capital. It is no coincidence that all of the investigated criminal organizations were established to commit crimes on a regular basis in order to make a lot of money as a profession. The third prominent characteristic of organized crime is corruption which has been widespread since the end of the last century. Many factors contributed to this, beginning with globalization, including the mass influx of government employees into commercial structures. Everything was bought and sold through a system of personal contacts and in environments which are suitable for corruption, these illegal activities thrive easily at the local level. But corruption is used to keep connections with government officials at every level by transnational organized crime groups. Therefore, organized crime, corruption, and illicit trade are extremely interconnected.

In the American statute, the importance of corruption is considered to be at the center of the fight against organized crime. However, an accepted connection does not belong only to the United States or somewhere else where the Mafia arose for the first time. This is valid for all organized crime groups in the world that have differences among themselves (Shelley, 2014, p.83). These entangled threats together challenge international security.

In the study conducted by Shelley, old criminal groups are compared to new criminal groups, in order to differentiate the role of corruption. One of the biggest differences between the new and old criminal groups is their attitude toward the state. Old organized crime groups support the stability of the state in line with their own benefit and they use violence only in exceptional situations. On the contrary, the resistance of the state is of no importance to the new organized crime groups and even inconstancy in the state and its apparatus create more fertile atmosphere for them. Also, the use of violence is seen on a much larger scale and it makes organized crime even greater threat to security. About corruption, new transnational crime groups operate under the circumstances of systemic and institutionalized corruption, whereas old organized crime groups use it to reach a political impact, interfere with state affairs in a good way or impede the investigations related to them (Shelley, 2014, p.106).

In many cases, the public safety of organized crime is not clearly assessed by the authorities who have to deal with it and its danger is underestimated by thefts, robberies, burglaries, and lootings. In fact, the activity of organized criminal organizations undermines the economy of the country, strengthens the position of the shadow economy, and threatens the normal functioning of the credit and banking system. Because the financial profit of TCOs mainly comes from different types of illegal trade. Organized criminal groups carry out especially dangerous commercial terrorism in the conditions of restructuring of the market economy. As can be seen in the graphics, the global criminal market and criminality averages should not be underestimated. In this sense, the social protection of organized crime solely helps for further expansion of activities of unification of criminal elements.

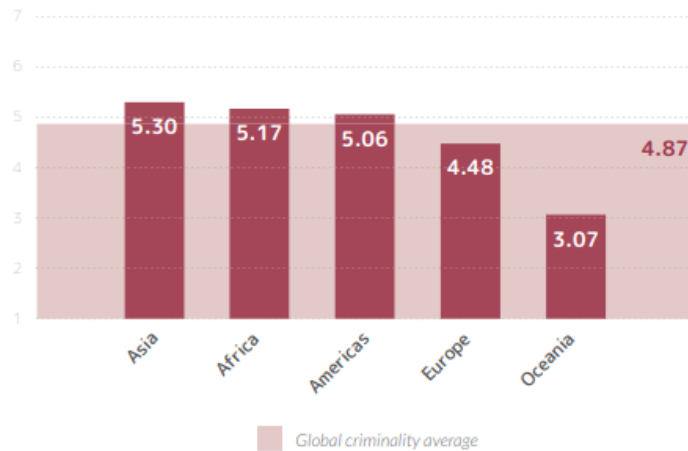


Figure 7: Criminality by the Continent (2021)

Resource: Global Organized Crime Index 2021, Of all the continents, Asia has the highest levels of criminality, <https://ocindex.net/assets/downloads/global-ocindex-report.pdf>, accessed 18/03/2022

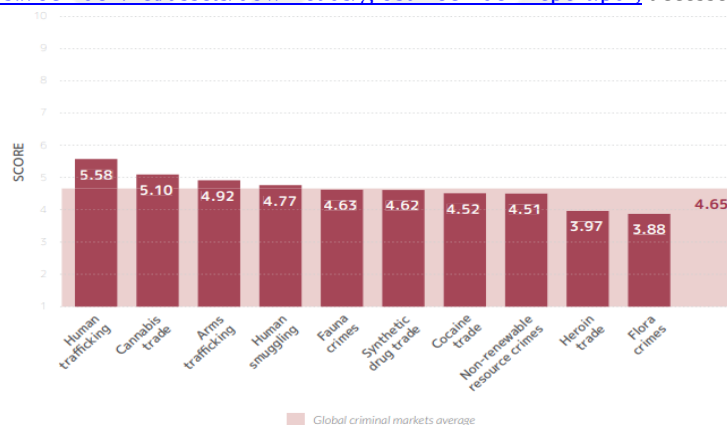


Figure 8: Criminal Markets, Global Averages (2021)

Resource: Global Organized Crime Index 2021. Human trafficking is the most pervasive of all criminal markets globally, <https://ocindex.net/assets/downloads/global-ocindex-report.pdf>, accessed 18/03/2022

Corruption in the criminal markets can appear in various forms, such as straight complicity and under the name of ‘ineffective control’. The first type of corruption contains involvement of government officials in relation with members of organized crime group whereby they operate together. According to the Greenhill’s discussion, transnational criminal organizations protect themselves and enlarge the size of their criminal activities because of their connections with government officials. Even, this type of corruption can have the effect of increasing the self-protection of criminal groups by raising incentives by corrupt officials to protect those who might endanger them. For instance, Secret Police Chief Vladimiro

Montesinos recorded his bribes as proof, in Peru (Mcmillan, Zoido, 2004, p.71). The ‘ineffective control’ type of corruption may emerge at the police and military level or judicial and penal level. In these cases, corrupt officials of law enforcement refuse to see and turn a blind eye to organized group activities in passing borders, posts et cetera, in return for money or reward (Greenhill, 2009, p.99). Both cases are dangerous, but the direct participation of government officials can cause greater consequences for the state.

When it comes to the geographical deployment of transnational criminal organizations, it should be noted that since almost every country somehow has connections with such groups, it is not possible to presume that these criminal groups are based on the countries which have a high-level ranking of corruption according to the reports of international organizations (CPI, BPI, et al). In the same study, Greenhill collected countries that have the most famous and biggest transnational criminal organizations and there was no literal link that demonstrates corruption and criminality flourish in ‘ill-governed’ countries (Greenhill, 2009, p.109). It also represents that transnational organized crime is a very dangerous trend. Because these relationships between TCOs and ‘others’ do not know the border or ethnicity and they may blossom anywhere in the world. A number of objective factors contribute to this: the transparency of borders, the expansion of interstate economic ties, the weak regulation of these processes and others. Thus, half a century ago, organized crime began to transform, clans in the economic sphere and various criminal groups began to emerge and now TCOs are accepted as an international security threat.

The presented table (1) is an assessment of the 9 most robust transnational criminal groups established in different countries. It demonstrates the prevalent illegal activities that such groups were involved, as well as the level of interdependence of such groups with corrupt officials.

Table 1: Transnational Criminal Organizations and Kleptocratic Interdependence

TCOs	Illegal activities	Kleptocratic Interdependence
Albanian Mafias	Drugs, people, and arms	Always high
Chinese Triads	Counterfeiting and drugs	Unclear, according to experts, they could become the most dangerous 21 st -century TCO.
Colombian Cartels	Drugs, kidnapping, and other human-focused crimes	Medium to high, somehow uncertain
Italian Mafia	Diverse (except prostitution and kidnapping)	Low to medium
Japanese Yakuza	Drugs, extortion, fraud, gambling, pornography, and prostitution	Previously very high, declining since the mid-1990s
Mexican Cartels	Human and drug trafficking, murder for hire	High formerly, declined under Calderon
Nigerian Groups	Drugs, fraud, and money laundering	Generally high
Russian Mafia	Very diversified	Always high
American Mafia	Drugs, gambling, fraud, and pornography	Generally low, while medium-high in local areas

Resource: (Greenhill, Kleptocratic Interdependence: Trafficking, Corruption, and the Marriage of Politics and Illicit Profits, 2009, p.112-113)

2.3. Corruption and Terrorism

Terrorism is a well-known international security threat to the world, which has been behind mass human deaths for the past decades. Terrorism can count in all kinds of disruptive, provocative, oppressive actions against individuals and groups in order to create fear in individuals or society until they realize their desires and intentions. Although these desires and intentions mainly serve political interests, not everyone has political interests in this process. Different stories and reasons are told by many different terrorists, but social problems are often the trigger. Terrorism is not a simple process or single-shaped organism and it varies according to time, place, and field. Similar to the concept of corruption, it is defined with different understandings depending on various factors and situations. These two concepts are in such a relationship, that without addressing the issue of corruption, there will be no victory in the fight against terrorism (Thachuk, 2005, p.144). Therefore, the connection between these two multifaceted concepts is remarkable in terms of security.

However, to understand the link between terrorism and corruption, it is first necessary to perceive the characteristics of the latest version of terrorism. Global perspectives rather than state-related political goals occur which makes terrorism a more forbidding threat to international security. Additionally, corruption becomes more necessary for new terrorists in their criminal activities which are their main source for funding themselves. For instance, PKK is one of the most beneficial terrorist organizations from the drug trade which also has solid networks related to this business in plenty of countries around the world. PKK contains a well-regulated structure that helps to take a root at each stage of the drug trade including production, transportation and distribution for selling. PKK has a hierarchical structure and extensive networks particularly related to the drug trade which makes the group even stronger. Some support groups among Kurdish diasporas operating in different countries facilitate all stages of drug trade beyond the borders of Turkey. Moreover, PKK not only contributes to transport various drug types from East to West, but also carries pivotal chemical products for working on the crude drug forms from West to

East. According to an evaluation of deputy chief of the Turkish General Staff, PKK receives approximately 50-60 % of its annual income from the drug business (Laciner, Dogru, 2016, p.11). Since the role of PKK in the drug trade is quite substantial, many European countries should collaborate with Turkey in order to achieve a decline in the drug trade as it will also affect the funding of this terrorist group and thus terrorism. At this point, the importance of addressing corruption is seen more clearly within these intertwined security threats.

Widespread corruption creates favorable conditions for terrorist groups in two ways: they use corruption where necessary to carry out their planned scenarios, and they recruit by convincing vulnerable people living in a corrupt state that they are more decent than their government. Hence recruitment and funding sources of terrorist groups diverged over years (Shelley, 2014, p.107).

Many studies on terrorism often treat different groups as separate cases and take into account the importance of particular individual figures or the group's funding sources, preferably without viewing the process like a business. There are almost all types of terrorist crimes, from kidnapping to cybercrime, which terrorists use to secure themselves financially, and corruption is not functional in each type of crime. However, the likelihood and expense of corruption play a crucial role in specification of crime needed. Besides, illicit trade which contains substantial portion of the funding of terrorist groups has intertwined links with corruption. The most lucrative illicit trade spheres, drug, weapons, and human trafficking require transportation at least, which is not possible without corrupted workers. Hence, Louis Shelley suggests considering the business nature of terrorism in any case that is simplified by corruption (Shelley, 2014, p.179).

According to the relation between them, two different approaches exist in the literature. In the first approach, a direct connection between variables is assumed. From this perspective, a high level of corruption in countries triggers groups to sustain terrorist strategies and activities. More specifically, an emerging environment where corruption aggravates the public service system undermines the human security of citizens. As a result, dissatisfaction in the public makes them bolster these

groups. On the other hand, the second approach to the connection between corruption and terrorism supports the idea of circuitous relations rather than direct ones. Primarily, in corrupt states, such groups reach their needs more easily. To be specific, arms trade, illicit trafficking which is important for the funding of these groups, transportation, counterfeit document-making, and other needs occur smoothly because of the low level of law enforcement of corrupt states. Thus, the second approach defends the coexistence of these two but does not support the idea which considers the role of corruption in terrorism as a motivator. Because if it is a motivator, terrorism is expected to be seen in corrupt states (Teets, Chenoweth, 2009, p.167-168). Due to this separative approach in the literature, Teets and Chenoweth conducted quantitative research on terrorist activities to examine whether corruption is a motivator or facilitator. They used 30 countries from 1980-2001 and 169 countries from 1995-2001 in their research and the findings of this broad research are more supportive of the second approach. It is found that corrupt states are neither unavoidably targets of terrorism, nor emerging places of new homegrown groups. However, corruption definitely facilitates the work of terrorist groups by decreasing the costs of activities (Teets, Chenoweth, 2009, p.188).

Further, in the other study that analyzes the 6 heaviest terrorist incidents of the years 2001-2008, it is revealed that corruption was committed in every terrorist case in different continents of the world for different purposes, without being directly proportional to the CPI indices. This research includes 1)September 11, 2001, New York and Washington; 2) October 2002, Bali; 3)March 11, 2004, Madrid; 4)September 2004, Beslan; 5)May 2006, Sao Paulo; 6) July 2006 and November 2008, Mumbai attacks

1) In the 9/11 2001 attacks that made a real change in the way of approaching terrorism, 2 hijackers used corruption to get driver's licenses.

2) In the case of Bali, the main individual who managed the financing of the attack used a computer and the internet in prison through corruption.

3) Two weeks before the bombings in Madrid, three main individuals of the attack were arrested due to speed in a car by police. Although the car was stolen and documents were not provided except the forged passport of the driver, the police officer released them.

4) In the case of Beslan, the use of corruption appears more complicated. As a matter of fact, terrorists took advantage of corruption to deliver materials such as explosives and arms to the region.

5) Unlike other cases, the main motivation of the terrorist group in the attack on Sao Paulo, which surrounded the entire city, was the corruption of state officials. However, the situation did not exclude the use of corruption in the attack. Similar to the Bali incident, the extensive use of cell phones in the prison, which played an important role in the attack, shows corrupt guards.

6) In the case of Mumbai, corruption once again played a facilitating role in which corrupt customs officials did not interfere with explosive weapons coming into the country.

Based on the study, it should be noted that these are the only known parts where corruption is used. Although the role of corruption is crucial in all cases, it was emphasized that the government commissions regarding these terrorist acts did not pay due attention to corruption during their inquiries. Moreover, the role of corruption in terrorist acts was more pronounced in the cases of developing countries compared to the Madrid and New York cases. As Louis Shelley explains, the root causes of terrorist acts are diverse, and most of them are reconciled with violent extremism. In the example of Chechen terrorism, we can see also nationalist roots, in the Sao Paulo incident, there are political reasons, etc. On the other hand, as discussed above, corruption is used as a tool in different ways within terrorist incidents, and these two explanations demonstrate the complex interplay of the relationship between terrorism and corruption (Shelley, 2014, pp 29-52).

2.4. Corruption and Recruitment of Violent Groups

Terrorists and organized criminal groups constantly require new members as they are important for their existence and persistence. Since such groups are not able to perpetuate their activities without workers loyal to them, they search for favorable environments to recruit new people all around the world. It is quite understandable that a person who is provided with social services or has no problem related to the unfairness in the state during his/her lifetime would not want to join such groups by majority. In contrast, when people suffer from lack of supply of basic social services, various results may emerge in society. Thus, the failure of government and executive state agencies to ensure human security for people living in that country lead those people to find other ways to provide their basic needs. But how is this related to corruption? Corruption seriously hinders the protection of human and civil rights and freedoms, reduces public confidence in the state, and seriously impedes the rule of law. In some developing and transitional countries where corruption is embedded in society, corruption can be observed in all spheres of life including the education system, health system, etc. To be more specific, an ordinary citizen may need to pay a bribe for an actually normal procedure within his or her country. As it can be understood from here, corruption may be one of the major obstacles affecting lives in terms of human security. Obviously, such chances emerging from the situation are seen by groups who seek recruitment. Such groups gain legitimacy and trust among people by creating opportunities in line with people's needs in fragile states (Shelley, 2014, p.82). These opportunities include establishing religious education enterprises, medical care support, or other basic needs for poor people. The role of the Taliban in Afghanistan is one of the most prominent and researched examples in the literature. In such an environment, even some educated people suffer from unemployment on account of widespread corruption where they can not start to work without having an acquaintance (nepotism) or paying bribe. This is why some people join terrorists or organized crime groups simply because they see it as a job opportunity, while others join because of the hatred they have inside. According to the above discussion and some scholars' opinions, it can be said that without corruption such groups could not involve collaborators to their illicit activities.

In the recruitment process of Taliban, many factors are used as tools by violent groups including hatred, social oppression which can come from family or others around, ideology, the feeling of fear, etc., but, money-based recruitment plays a huge role. Although a precise proportion of recruitments with economic interests cannot be declared without having results of fieldwork, available pieces of evidence already demonstrate the importance of economic motivations (Qazi, 2011, p.590). Despite terrorism and violence caused irreverence towards the Taliban among the population as well, the group was able to recruit people using their disappointment with corruption within the country as mentioned in Sarah Chayes's research on Afghanistan. Most of the men who join this violent group are basically desperate for having social opportunities like education or work. In order to understand this argument, the public services index in Afghanistan should be highlighted here. The average point related to the procurement of main public services from 2007 to 2022 was 9.17 in Afghanistan (10 points is the minimum level of public services). In 2018, even 10 index score was evaluated for Afghanistan, while in 2022 this index was equal to 9.9 (The Global Economy, n.d.). So, unemployment, a high level of corruption, and a low level of human well-being awakes the interest of people towards the Taliban, where they are offered money, better social conditions, and power. The situation in Afghanistan strongly indicates how high levels of corruption, particularly government corruption, can pave the way for a violent group to gain legitimacy among the people.

2.5. Corruption and Illicit Trade

Illicit trade contains several sectors together. As it is distinguished: 1) prohibited goods and services (narcotics trade, arms, and human trafficking), 2) regulated commodities (fauna and flora, antiquities), 3) goods with high taxes (alcohol, cigarettes, etc.), 4) trafficking of stolen items (electronic items or cars, etc.) (Williams, 2001, p.107), 5) illegal trading of virtual goods that cannot be found outside of cyberspace (botnets, malware, ransomware) (Shelley, 2018, p.129). Only fourth illicit trade category excludes corruption. By looking at the scope of illicit trade, it is possible to say that corrupt officials are needed nearly in every stage of

both public and private sector. Yet the greatest damage comes from corrupt officials, those who have the power to influence politics within a country (Shelley, 2018, p.136). As an extra disadvantage, the level of corruption in government departments such as customs, border control and law enforcement in general, associated with pervasive illicit trade forces, makes it difficult to collect the data needed to highlight the importance of the situation (Shelley, 2018, p.130).

The multifaceted connections between corruption and criminal or terrorist groups that are a threat to international security as a whole have permitted illicit trade to take up a larger proportion in the world economy. Since terrorists and organized criminal group members have built connections and both have some common criminal interests, illicit trade expands around the world increasingly. As known, finance is a leading issue for any establishment to maintain its existence and validity. Illicit trade including drugs, arms, humans, natural resources, even electronic items and others accounts for a large portion of the financial income in such groups and without corruption none of this activities can survive. Therefore, even if illicit trade is not a clear security threat, it is a part of security threats considering the importance of illicit trafficking for such groups. When corruption happens in law enforcement procedures, illegal smuggling materials can reach where they are needed and it is perpetuated mainly by transnational criminal groups as they have divergent links with government officials in every level (Shelley, 2014, p.74). Therefore, terrorist groups need criminal groups in terms of connections. In addition to the financial significance of illicit trade as a security issue, there is also an argument that highlights that terrorist groups may utilize the criminal infrastructures of the illicit market in other ways, although empirical proof is missing here. For example, undercover terrorists pretending to be dealers may utilize infrastructures money laundering, transportation facilities, etc. But the certain role of corruption in the supply, transportation, and laundering processes of illicit trade is clear (Teets, Chenoweth, 2009, p.175-176).

2.5.1 Drug Trade

The spread of illicit trafficking of drugs and psychotropic substances is one of the global problems of mankind. Drug addiction dangers human security and drug trafficking undermine social, economic, and moral values. At the same time, this trade is a great source of profit for some groups. The annual income from illicit trade in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, for example, is second only to the legal arms trade, ahead of the oil trade. The international danger of this crime lies in the fact that trafficking in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances is intertwined with other crimes of an international nature – transnational criminal organizations activities, international terrorism, human trafficking, money laundering or other property, etc. In this sense, there is need for states to jointly combat this act due to the fact that no country can expect to succeed in combating these crimes of an international nature without joining forces with law enforcement agencies.

Drug trafficking and corruption are closely related phenomena. A number of corruption crimes, which occur with various actions that constitute the illegal circulation of narcotics, is a distinctive indicator that allows corruption to be investigated as a security problem once again. In this part of the study, the subject area is located at the intersection of two areas of social reality: corruption and drug trafficking. Corruption in this area is at the same time an integral part of both corruption as such and drug trafficking.

As it is known, corruption is a social negative phenomenon that is not limited to crime. In addition to corruption crimes, it also includes administrative offenses of a corruption nature. Both disciplinary offenses and civil law torts can lead to corruption. It should be emphasized that the study considered only that part of the drug trade that is associated with the commission of corruption crimes, providing there is a connection between corruption crimes and drug trafficking. This connection is most noticeable when they are committed by various participants in drug trafficking (whether a drug addict or a member of an organized criminal group operating in the field of drug trafficking or law enforcement officers planned to combat drug trafficking, workers in the prevention of non-medical consumption,

etc.). Accordingly, corruption in the drug trade can be classified into two large, relatively independent, and specific types: corruption associated with the legal drug trade (drugs such as Xanax that should be sold with a prescription given by a doctor) and corruption associated with countering drug trafficking.

1. Employees of state bodies, which are entrusted with the functions of issuing licenses for activities related to the drug trade, exercising state control and supervision over such activities, can be subjects of drug-related corruption violations. Also, the subjects of this type of drug corruption can be people that directly engaged in legal activities related to drug trade (for example, license applicant who has the right to engage in such activities) and representatives of organized criminal groups specializing in drug trafficking. If the danger of crimes of the first type lies in opening channels for the entry of drugs into illicit circulation, then crimes of the second type lie in creating conditions for illegal activities related to with drug trafficking.

Thus, if corruption associates with the implementation of the legal drug trade (trade of drugs that are also accepted as medical drugs and can only be sold with a prescription given by a doctor), its subjects can be employees not only of those organizations and institutions that are directly involved in any type of activity related to legal drug trafficking, but also of those state bodies that license these types of activity, as well as control and supervise their implementation. For employees of organizations and institutions engaged in activities related to the legal drug trade, corruption violations consist of violations of the rules of the drug trade, leading to the "leakage" of drugs from legal to illegal circulation.

2. Corruption in the field of combating drug trafficking may include, the involvement of law enforcement officials in drug trafficking, corrupt officials in combating drug trafficking and non-pharmaceutical consumption, and any other use of authority by officials involved in combating drug trafficking for selfish purposes.

It should be noted that the above distinction does not fully cover all possible connections between drug trade and corruption, as there are various conditions and consequences of the co-existence of variables. The above distinction takes into account the possibilities of corruption in conjunction with the legal drug trade as pharmaceuticals and the corruption possibilities in relation with the countering drug trafficking centers at the national or international level. However, being one of the most profitable branches of the shadow economy, the drug business brings huge benefits. In this illegal business, corruption is used by criminals to bribe law enforcement officers, allowing them to freely cross the borders of states, distribute drugs among the population of countries, and evade responsibility. Corruption as an indispensable feature of organized crime, including those associated with drug trafficking, was pointed out by many domestic criminologists who studied organized crime. The same situation goes with terrorism as well. The point to underline here is that the drug trade is a human security problem at the national level. However, it becomes also an international security problem as a part of the funding source of the world's lethal security threats. As in the discussion of the recruitment policies of violent groups, economic profits are significant for members, but a large amount of money is needed also for other sustenance elements of such groups. One of which is corrupting officials in every grade of state agencies or other service providers such as lawyers, bank workers, etc. However, since the drug trade in illegal business strongly becomes entangled with violence, it can also be a security issue. For instance, in the case of Mexico, wide-reaching violent acts related to the drug business have imposed fright on people (Shelley, 2014, p.245). In some cases, corrupt officials at the head of state lie behind the entrance of drugs into the internal economy. For instance, in Kyrgyzstan, the former president's brother utilized his power as chief of security services for material benefit coming from the drug business (Baimyrzaeva, 2011, p.40).

The situation that must be understood is that the drug traders use corruption in many ways, even if they don't involve government officials, it can be border control workers, breeders etc. Therefore, maybe it is not possible to gather all

corruption incidents, but, it should be underlined that corruption is a key mean for the drug business (Shelley, 2014, p.245).

2.5.2 Weapons of Mass Destruction

Guided by the Preamble of the UN Charter, states need to refer to the sources of international security to ensure peace and security in the world. The existence of different types of weapons is the simultaneous threat of the destruction of life on earth and it demands a comprehensive and critical reflection on war and peace. From this point of view, common security and regional security objectives are used to reduce such weapons and eliminate threats to peace through the joint efforts of states (Ryan, 2005, p.32). It is worth to note that while the legal arms trade itself costs many lives around the world, the illegal arms trade poses a serious challenge to the safety of people all over the world.

The growing role of international organizations increased the importance of their resolutions as an auxiliary source of law in the field of armaments. However, there are no existing rules in international law placing direct responsibility for disarmament on states. The essence of the core obligation in this area is to "voluntarily conclude under strict and effective international control a treaty on comprehensive and complete disarmament" (Article 6 of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons). This has become a tradition in most arms control treaties. There is also a body of norms defining partial disarmament measures. Part of the essence of the measures is the prohibition and elimination of certain types of weapons, the prohibition of their production, the reduction of opportunities to improve the quality of weapons, the reduction of the areas of deployment of various types of weapons. Confidence and security-building measures that do not involve arms limitation but create favorable conditions for its implementation can also be included here.

The norms over weapons of mass destruction are developed. According to the 1948 UN definition, such weapons include nuclear weapons, chemical and biological weapons, as well as future weapons of mass destruction. One of the concerns

regarding the links between criminals and terrorists is that terrorists obtain WMD through a network of criminals. Unlike other illicit trade materials, the trade of biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons is more confidential, making it more difficult to collect data on transactions. On the other hand, the use of weapons of mass destruction can cause the spread of diseases or millions of deaths, as well as endanger life on earth. Therefore, the only universal organization, the UN, recognizes the devastating costs of the chemical, biological, and nuclear arms trade and states it as a threat to international security and peace. The first UN resolution was adopted in 2004 which constitutes binding obligations for states to accept and implement all forms of non-supportive attitudes towards the possible proliferation of WMDs. Since the creation of the resolution, the directive status of the 1540 committee has been prolonged with the passing years. Lastly, on 25 February 2022, resolution 2622 was adopted with the same intent by Security Council. Also, managing an exhaustive investigation over the application of resolution 1540 and reporting it to the Security Council was requested (UN, 1540 Committee, 2022).

Current international law prohibits the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in space, and underwater (1963 Atmospheric, Space and Underwater Nuclear Weapons Test Ban Treaty). Existing norms (the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1968) prohibit the acquisition of nuclear weapons by any state, except the five states already possessing nuclear weapons as successors to the USSR (the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, and China) aimed at preventing (Ryan, 2005, p.60). However, these efforts have not yielded the expected results. India and Pakistan have already acquired nuclear weapons and have even managed to test them. Some states are also expected to join the ranks of states possessing nuclear weapons.

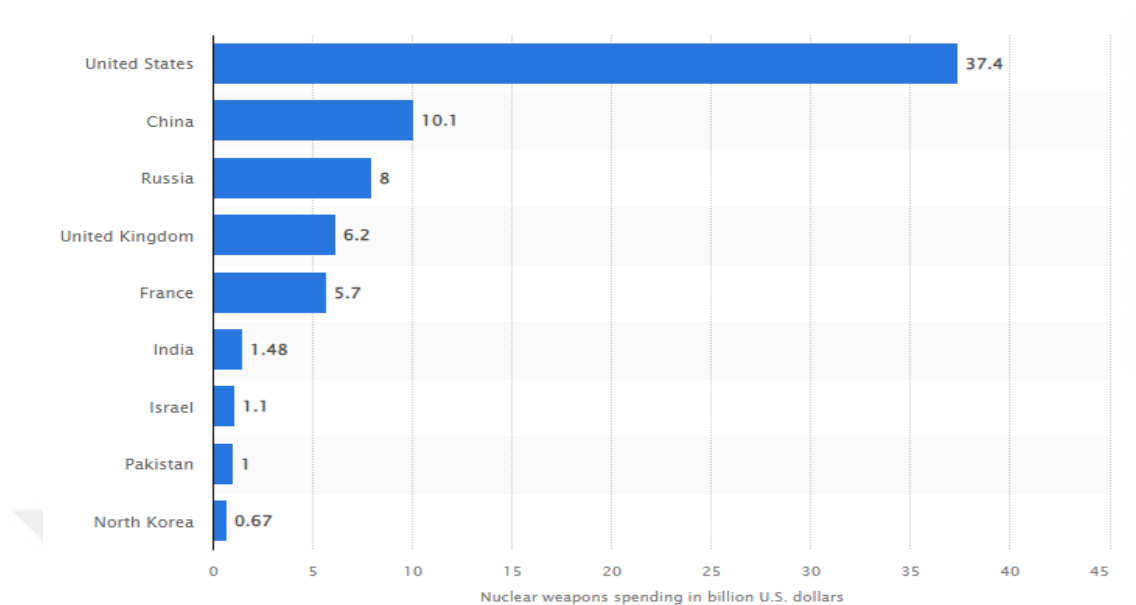


Figure 9: Estimated Amount Spent on Nuclear Weapons Worldwide in 2020, by Country

Resource: Statista, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/752531/nuclear-weapons-spending-worldwide-by-country/>, accessed 16/04/2022

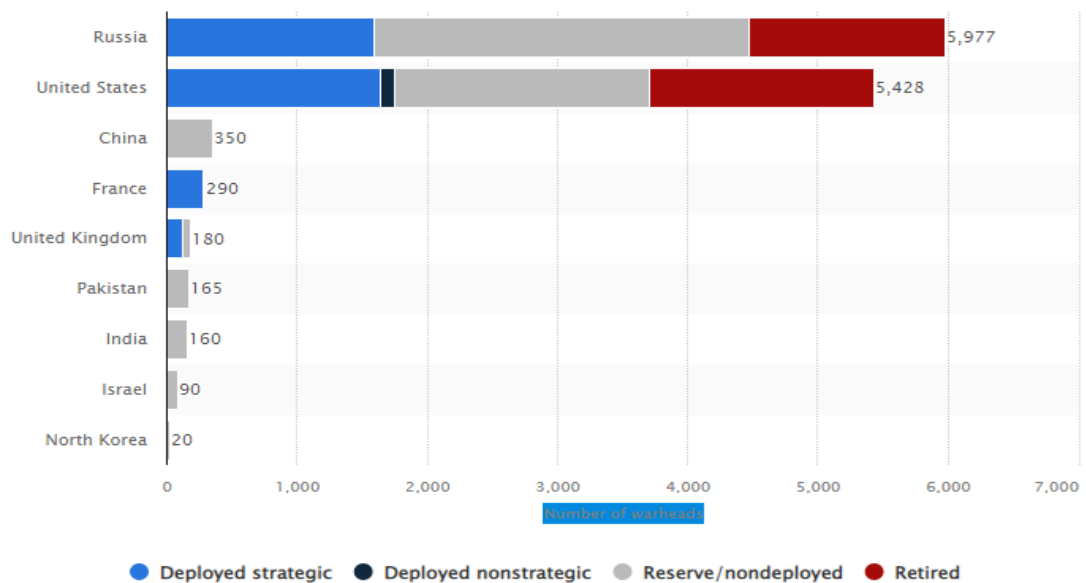


Figure 10: Estimated Numbers of Nuclear Warheads Worldwide in 2022, by Country and Deployment Status

Resource: Statista, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/696410/size-and-composition-of-nuclear-arsenals-around-the-world/#professional>, accessed 16/04/2022

Corruption is an under-perceived supporter of atomic multiplication. It has been a focus-enhancing factor in each of the atomic weapons projects of states and criminal groups for years. Corruption is founded vital for most instances of atomic

expansion, except if a state or gathering can get every part of the materials and innovation required for its atomic weapons program from its very own blend native assets; or outside sources roused exclusively by a craving to help that atomic program; or outside sources really tricked into giving innovation that they accept is for another reason. Other than these three versions, unlawful sources spurred with money will be integral to an atomic program's prosperity. Obviously, since corruption and atomic multiplication are both mystery exercises, the exact proportion of weapon expansion-related corruption is not accessible. Nobody knows whether the recorded cases address essentially each of the cases that have happened, or just a hint of something larger (Bunn, 2009, p.124).

Although states ordinarily look for innovation to make their own atomic bomb material, simple-to-conceal uranium advancement rotators have been the innovation for atomic miscreants. Since the import of these nuclear weapon materials to potential states from states which had it, was for the most part prohibited, adulterating individuals to persuade them to sell illegally is central to these projects. Not surprisingly, a commonplace obtainment exchange could include a few phases such as convincing an individual or firm to give delicate innovation, gear, or materials, in every one of which could expect money to lube the pallet. According to Matthew Bun, these phases may include: 1) bypassing or acquiring endorsement from anything inward survey cycle that might exist at the firm; 2) bypassing or acquiring endorsement from anything trade control framework the state might have, and 3) bypassing or acquiring endorsement from customs and boundary control authorities. (Bunn, 2009, p.129).

In the same research, Matthew Bunn contends that the global network of illicit smuggling of nuclear weapons-related technology, led by Khan, first supplied his own country's (Pakistan) nuclear program needs with the consent of government officials and then took a binding role for other countries such as Libya to procure themselves with the same technologies. Therefore, it should be emphasized that the nuclear weapon-related global network is centrally dependent on corruption at every phase of its decades of existence (Bunn, 2009, p.126). As a case known to the world

and academic literature, there are different approaches to the situation. According to western literature, Khan's black-market network won through corrupting suppliers of materials, technology, and information, while Khan was accepted as a hero in his own country.

It is known that not only states but also terrorists and criminal groups try to have nuclear bombs and when it comes to terrorist gatherings and criminal groups, they routinely invade police powers, or degenerate individuals from the police all over the planet, permitting these gatherings to be cautioned of looming searches or captures. Sometimes not only police but judges also are ruined to safeguard connections of criminal groups. Unfortunately, from the freely available report, it is not obvious whether multiplication networks have paid for such security. However, the example of Khan's broad degenerate organization gave significant alerts to understand that to what extent corruption may facilitate criminal operations (Bunn, 2009, p.136). Aum Shinrikyo and al Qaeda are the two fear-monger bunches whose endeavors to get atomic weapons have been the most significant to date. Both groups looked to get either stolen atomic weapons or atomic materials that could be utilized to make a bomb and to enroll or in any case secure the necessary mastery. Aum Shinrikyo, for instance, supposedly endeavored to organize a gathering in Russia with then-Minister of Atomic Energy Victor Mikhailov, to offer him \$1 million for a nuclear warhead (Bunn, Wier, 2001).

According to Matthew Bunn's assessment of the pertinent cases proposes that the two most significant sorts of expansion-related defilement incorporate innovation specialists who corruptly give delicate innovation to states and atomic staff or security and boundary authorities who partake in or work with burglary and sneaking of atomic materials. In every two cases, the central methodology is to offer enormous amounts of money to inspire individuals who could have approached such things for benefit (Bunn, 2009, p.130).

As above discussed, corruption and coordinated crime associations are essentially connected. Yet, there seem to be plenty of corruption events that include nothing looking like conventional terrorism gatherings or coordinated crime groups

in the instance of atomic multiplication. Nevertheless, there is little proof in the openly available reports (Bunn, 2009, p.139).

Different researchers contend that a more extensive methodology is required in order to counter the link between corruption and the proliferation of weapons. Considering the historical backdrop of triumphs and disappointments in battling corruption, moral discernments, contrasts in public societies, and how profoundly corruption has entered into a specific public framework proposes that what might work in one setting may not fill into another (Shah, Schacter, 2004).

Additionally, components of the set of experiences that have been portrayed by Matthew Bunn in the research, recommend that in any event a few parts of expansion-related defilement might be not the same as other corruption, and may require an alternate reaction. For example, states that want to acquire atomic weapons in recent years are among the most corrupt states in the world such as Iran, Iraq, Libya, and North Korea, while the other side of this trade is those who provide atomic, also chemical and biological weapons technology or a part of it are in the ranks of the world's least corrupt states such as England, Switzerland, Germany, and America. It shows that projects and precautions to lessen corruption in a specific country may cause practically nothing to decrease the gamble of expansion-related corruption (Bunn, 2009, p.141).

On the other hand, large numbers of the members involved in these interactions seem to have persuaded themselves that there was little damage in the thing they were doing in return of corruption and minimal possibility being gotten. Also, many assume that if they were captured, there was minimal possibility of severe results. It demonstrates people's unawareness of the security threat associated proliferation of weapons worldwide and in order to decrease the dangers of degenerate cooperation in expansion networks from here on out, these discernments should be changed (Bunn, 2009, p.142).

While in the current world order, new factors such as advanced technology, and a number of actors other than states exist, many scholars argue that preventing

the prevalence of WMDs will require more effort than in the past. In this sense, endeavoring to achieve prevent the threat successfully without considering the role of corruption is unrealistic (Shelley, 2014, p.309).

2.6. Corruption and Migration

People have moved to different places of the world and continued their lives in a completely distinctive place based on various reasons up till date. Particularly in failed states, the executive officials put their own material interests above the interests of the people that they govern. At the same time, social services are not distributed fairly and stability cannot be maintained in these countries. As a result of such internal problems, the citizens of the failed state search for opportunities to go other countries. Considering the ambiguity of the concept of failed states, it should be explained that in this part of the study, the usage of this term encompasses states which do not provide citizens with certain important services justly and where the role of corruption is clear. On the other hand, despite the fact that migration is a concept that has existed since ancient times, as a security problem, it has been on the agenda of many countries, especially in the West, for last decades. Problems posed by failed states to other states include cross-border refugee flows and the potential for violence to spread, which could destabilize the region. In recent years, the problem of international migration, which cannot be brought under control, has affected the economic, political, and social structures of countries that receive many immigrants, and has also caused the emergence of antipathy for foreigners that create insecurity problems in the target countries chosen by immigrants. In fact, as a result of restrictions, there was a stoppage in the percentage of international migration flow during the Covid-19 pandemic. According to the report of the international organization for migration, overall, 281 million international migrants were estimated in 2020. Europe was the continent that received the most immigrants in 2020, which was equal to 86.7 million worldwide. Asia comes second after Europe with 85.6 million immigrants in 2020. Thirdly, in the same year, North America hosted 59 million immigrants in total. These three regions were the new residence of

82% of all international migrants around the world in 2020 (World Migration Report, 2022).

About the relationship between legal migration and corruption, many pieces of research demonstrate the same results. For instance, corruption impacts on migration-related data were collected in 111 countries from 1980 to 2000 in the research conducted by Dimant, Krieger, and Meierrieks. According to the statistical results, corruption is one of the drivers of migration, particularly for educated people. Such capable citizens in countries where exist corruption, inequality, and lack of job opportunities are more likely to emigrate from their own country compared to other citizens (Dimant, Krieger & Meierrieks, 2013, p.1271).

When it comes to illegal migration, the role of corruption is more varied. Since the concept of illegal migration encompasses human smuggling, also human trafficking, understanding the difference between the two is substantial. Although in both situations the aim is to transfer a person from one place to another, in the process of human smuggling there is an agreement between the smuggler and migrant. However, human trafficking does not include acquiescence of a person and mostly but not certainly involve passing international borders. It is noteworthy to mention here that human smuggling or human trafficking, or both can be a source of financing for terrorist and transnational criminal organizations (OECD, 2015, p.2). Generally, human smuggling requires corrupted officials in similar state bodies such as border guards, police, etc. that are also needed for the transportation of other commodities of illegal trade. Since countries do not publicize the exact information about corruption cases in their law enforcement agencies, calculating the pervasiveness of corruption about human smuggling is tangled (Chene, 2018, p.21). However, it is not a secret that corruption can be a reason for citizens to emigrate illegally as it is a factor that hinders the level of life and also, it is a facilitator for the process of unlawful migration considering the need for forged documents and bribery for controllers, etc. According to some calculations, the financial gain obtained from human smuggling is approximately 26 billion dollars each year (Al-Jazeera, 2015).

On the other hand, organized crimes such as human smuggling and human trafficking have become a phenomenon that concerns all countries around the globe in terms of security, particularly, after the September 11 attacks and other violent attempts that have taken place subsequently in many parts of the world. In view of the fact that terrorists or other criminals may have patronage networks with these illegal immigrants, the situation threatens the security of states. However, in general, people leave their country for better living standards that they hope to find in other countries. Therefore, the point here to underline is that internal political, social, and mostly, economic problems within any country lead people to migrate illegally which becomes an international problem in a different context.

THIRD CHAPTER

INTERNATIONAL NORMS, REGULATIONS, AND ORGANIZATIONS

In the chapter, the importance of tackling corruption on a global level will be discussed since the security threats addressed in the second chapter leave global security under question. Afterwards, when corruption has been on the agenda of international organizations and how the most effective intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations handle corruption will be examined.

3.1. International Regulations on Corruption

Corruption is one of the most fundamental problems that endanger the security and stable development of the state and seriously damage the functioning of democracy, moral values, and ethical principles. Corruption is a serious problem that settles in easily when it finds a suitable environment for it, but is very difficult to remove once it is settled. The current global integration has also created conditions for the globalization of businesses. At the same time, integration processes have hit developing and developed countries by globalizing corruption. Together with globalization, the problems in question have become international, out of the national dimension. Therefore, corruption also has not been left out of the game in the globalized world. As an advantage of globalization, international, regional, and independent international organizations that are active in the fight against corruption have started to conclude agreements and prepare principles of fighting. If effective international cooperation is carried out, it contributes to the reflection of the principles in the domestic legislation of the countries and thereby increases the effectiveness of the internal mechanism in the fight against corruption. Particularly, since the aforementioned security threats are problems to international security, the fight against corruption, which contributes in some way to maintain the durability of security threats, is significant in terms of ensuring security at the global level. International cooperation is important in many ways for the problem of corruption.

Sometimes the state potential in the domestic level is not enough to formulate the right strategy. This can happen by the lack of sufficient funds to be spent on the relevant area or by the lack of motivation to build a proper strategy. In this sense, the presence of international norms in the fight against the problem gives more incentive for countries to follow and implement these rules.

International organizations could only put the fight against corruption on their agenda in the 1990s. As a result of the rapid spread of this phenomenon, the number of measures taken has tended to increase day by day. Until when the problems arising from corruption began to reach global dimensions, the struggle was not substantial in this field, considering many developed countries had not really suffered from corruption. Because it was not needed. However, the same situation was not valid in many developing and undeveloped countries. Corruption spread to all areas of some countries from the private sector to the public sector. Therefore, an effective fight against corruption has become inevitable for the country's administrators. In this sense, while some countries started a total struggle, the rulers of some countries increased their presence day by day and overlooked the ongoing corruption, and even took part in the corruption.

In almost all international agreements, acts related to corruption are included in the structure of international crimes. Transnational corruption, ie bribing officials from foreign countries and international organizations, is considered the most dangerous form of corruption. The existence of all these cases makes the activities of international anti-corruption organizations and the establishment of international cooperation important and necessary. Also, the advantages created by international regulations may include increasing the pressure on countries in the fight against corruption, the possibility that ordinary citizens' struggle against corruption may not remain at the local level, and in corruption-related cases involving international companies, the investigation and solution of problems can be made easier, if the respective country is part of the fight against international corruption. Hence, the role of international organizations in the fight against corruption is undeniable. International anti-corruption organizations, which have a non-profit and non-political

status, mainly try to remove corruption from people's daily lives by cooperating with states in the fight against corruption. International anti-corruption organizations bring together government officials, civil society, entrepreneurs and the media to promote transparency in a variety of areas. At the same time, these organizations support and pressure governments to assess corruption risks, educate the population, develop anti-corruption strategies, and implement reforms. As noted, the globalization of the economy has forced many international political and economic organizations to pay more attention to the problem of corruption. Thus, since 1996, many legal steps have been taken to reduce corruption at the international and local levels. The adopted international legal documents and established international anti-corruption organizations are the main steps taken in this direction to prevent corruption.

Today, there are a number of influential transnational anti-corruption organizations fighting corruption in the world. Some of the pivotal ones will be addressed throughout the chapter.

3.2. Transparency International

Transparency International is an international non-governmental organization and the world's leading anti-corruption movement that was founded in 1993 in Germany. An employee of the World Bank who was in charge as the country director in Kenya from 1988 to 1990 had observed how natural resources were exploited by the elite for a certain amount of money in a way that makes a little contribution in favor of the public. Later, Peter Eigen left his post at the World Bank and launched a dialogue with many people who felt it was necessary to establish an anti-corruption organization, to raise awareness of people. Therefore, Mr. Eigen is known as the founder of TI (Kimeu, 2014, p.232).

The organization's secretariat is located in Berlin and coordinates anti-corruption activities in more than 100 countries with the help of national units. In other words, TI is made up of local, independent organizations that fight corruption in their countries. From petty bribery to large-scale looting, corruption varies from country to country. Because the chapters are composed of local experts, they are

ideally placed to identify the most appropriate priorities and approaches to fighting corruption in their countries. This ranges from visiting rural communities, providing free legal support, and advising governments on policy reforms. Corruption does not stop at national borders. Thus, TI's multi-country research and advocacy initiatives are based on chapters. Units are free to choose their policies as independent local NGOs. Overall, TI is a large organization that has long analyzed the emergence of corruption in various fields and shows possible solutions to corruption problems. The chapters play a crucial role in shaping teamwork and achieving regional and global goals such as Strategic 2015.

TI is funded by various government agencies, international foundations, and corporations. According to the 2012 Annual Report, western governments (with about 5 million euros from the British government) and oil companies Exxon Mobil and Shell, hedge funds are funded by several multinational companies, including KKR and Wermuth Asset Management, Deloitte and Ernst & Young. Exxon Mobil was named the most transparent of the 42 largest oil and gas companies in 2008. As for the organizational structure, an important leadership structure is their advisory council. The Advisory Board is a group of individuals with extensive experience in Transparency International's work. These are from different geographical, cultural and professional backgrounds. The Board is appointed by the Board to advise them and support the work of the organization as a whole.

In the beginning, this organization concentrated on generating laws related to corruption offenses such as appropriate penalties, etc. Although laws are fundamentally vital for the fight against corruption, since in some countries law enforcement officers can consciously be involved in corruption, they are not enough to control the phase of implementation. Considering the situation, TI started to pay attention to improve various diagnostic tools for finding triggering motives that made people or state agencies prone to corruption in a certain country and to suggest regulating provision. Hence, the present approach of TI encompass interaction with people where representatives of the society are encouraged to be aware of corruption and believe the role that they actually can play in the fight (Kimeu, 2014, p.232).

One of the tools is known as Advocacy and Legal Advice Centres which was established in 2003 and currently exists in more than 60 countries. These centers present reliable channel that urges individuals to report corruption cases if they face or witness and ensure support and advice for victims. The data collected through this tool also facilitate the work of the national chapter of TI as it maintains a reason to stand up for a legislative, institutional, administrative, or procedural change (TI, Advocacy and Legal Advice Centers, n.d.).

The main objectives of TI are:

- To assist in the formation of citizens' legal thinking and worldviews against corruption;
- To assist in ensuring transparency;
- Prevention of corruption by ensuring the operation of anti-corruption mechanisms.

At the same time, the main activities of TI are carried out within the framework of the Strategic Action Plan adopted by it covering the relevant periods. Thus, the Strategic Action Plan, recently developed in 2007 and covering the years 2008-2010, includes the following strategic goals and priorities:

- Awareness-raising activities to combat corruption;
- Promotion of anti-corruption norms and principles;
- Strengthening the principles of dynamic communication and knowledge sharing;
- Establishment and development of strategic partnership;
- Monitoring of global trends;
- Implementation of diagnostic measures in the fight against corruption;
- Strengthening transparency, accountability, and control mechanisms in public institutions;
- Reducing corruption in the political sphere;
- Strengthening non-bribery standards in the private sector;
- Promotion of control mechanisms in the education system.

According to Transparency International, the main reasons for corruption are:

- a) lack of legal knowledge of the population;
- b) insufficient legislation;
- c) economic decline and non-political stability;
- d) weak judicial system.

TI is the first organization to deny that corruption is presented as a classic phenomenon without quantitative indicators. Thus, with the establishment of this organization, alternative statistics on the level of corruption in the world began to be conducted. As it is known, TI's non-profit goal is to combat global corruption, implementation of anti-corruption measures working with civil society as well and the prevention of criminal activity arising from corruption. Among the most notable publications of this non-governmental organization are the Global Corruption Barometer and the Corruption Perceptions Index.

The reports of Corruption Perceptions Index have become one of Transparency International's most promising projects. TI developed the Corruption Perceptions Index in 1995. The CPI report is based on various surveys conducted among citizens, foreigners permanently residing in the country and foreign and local entrepreneurs to assess the level of corruption in the country. It was initially criticized for its weak methodology and unfair treatment of developing countries but was also praised for highlighting corruption and embarrassing governments. In 1999, TI began publishing its annual reports.

Therefore, CPI relies on information gathered from a number of sources that demonstrates overall perception (including business workers) in the public sector. For instance, in 2019, the published data counted on 13 various sources from 12 institutions that were collected in the last 2 years (TI, 2020). Conducted surveys reflect the public's perception of corruption, ie public opinion on how active corruption is in society. This information allows us to understand and assess the level of corruption in the country.

The perception of corruption in any society is considered appropriate for the purposes of the CPI report. It is very difficult to make a comparative analysis of the level of corruption between different countries on the basis of factual material, ie the number of criminal cases or court decisions. Such information usually does not reflect the actual reality and can only be used to assess the effectiveness of law enforcement or the judiciary. According to Transparency International, the only way to gather information for effective comparisons is to gather the views of individuals directly exposed to corruption. However, the CPI has been criticized over the years. The main thing is that, by definition, it is difficult to measure the corruption behind the scenes. For this reason, the Corruption Perceptions Index must rely on a third-party survey that has been criticized as potentially unreliable. The information can vary widely depending on the public perception of a country, the completeness of the questionnaires, and the methodology used. Particularly, there are questions and critiques about the reliability of surveys conducted by different organizations in the literature. The second issue is that the data cannot be compared from year to year because Transparency International uses different methodologies and examples each year. This makes it difficult to assess the impact of new policies. The authors of the Corruption Perceptions Index responded to these criticisms by recalling that the CPI is a measure of perception and not "reality". They claim that "perceptions are important because firms and individuals act on perceptions". Consequently, the Corruption Perceptions Index ranks countries and territories according to how corrupt the public sector is. This is a combined indicator, using information related to corruption collected by various influential agencies - a combination of questionnaires. The CPI reflects the views of observers around the world.

Experience has already shown that the CPI is now an effective tool for assessing the level of real corruption. Therefore, TI's annual Corruption Perceptions Index is evaluated and a report is prepared. Along with the growing importance and development of this index in the world, in 2012 the method used to create the CPI was updated. In studies conducted after 2012, countries are now scored between 0 and 100 on the CPI. A score of 0 indicates that the country is extremely corrupt, and a score of 100 indicates that it is perceived as extremely clean. Some countries have scores close to 100, but none receive 100 points.

Table 2: CPI change for 2012-2021

Country / Territory	CPI 2021	CPI 2012	Score change
Afghanistan	16	8	8
Angola	29	22	7
Armenia	49	34	15
Australia	73	85	-12
Austria	74	69	5
Belarus	41	31	10
Bosnia and Herzegovina	35	42	-7
Botswana	55	65	-10
Canada	74	84	-10
Côte d'Ivoire	36	29	7
Cyprus	53	66	-13
Estonia	74	64	10
Ethiopia	39	33	6
Greece	49	36	13
Guatemala	25	33	-8
Guyana	39	28	11
Honduras	23	28	-5
Hungary	43	55	-12
Italy	56	42	14
Korea, South	62	56	6
Latvia	59	49	10
Lebanon	24	30	-6
Liberia	29	41	-12
Myanmar	28	15	13
Nepal	33	27	6
Nicaragua	20	29	-9
Saint Lucia	56	71	-15
Senegal	43	36	7
Seychelles	70	52	18
Syria	13	26	-13
Turkey	38	49	-11
Ukraine	32	26	6
Uzbekistan	28	17	11
Venezuela	14	19	-5
Vietnam	39	31	8

Resource: Corruption Perceptions Index 2021 Reports, <https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2021>, accessed 15/05/2022

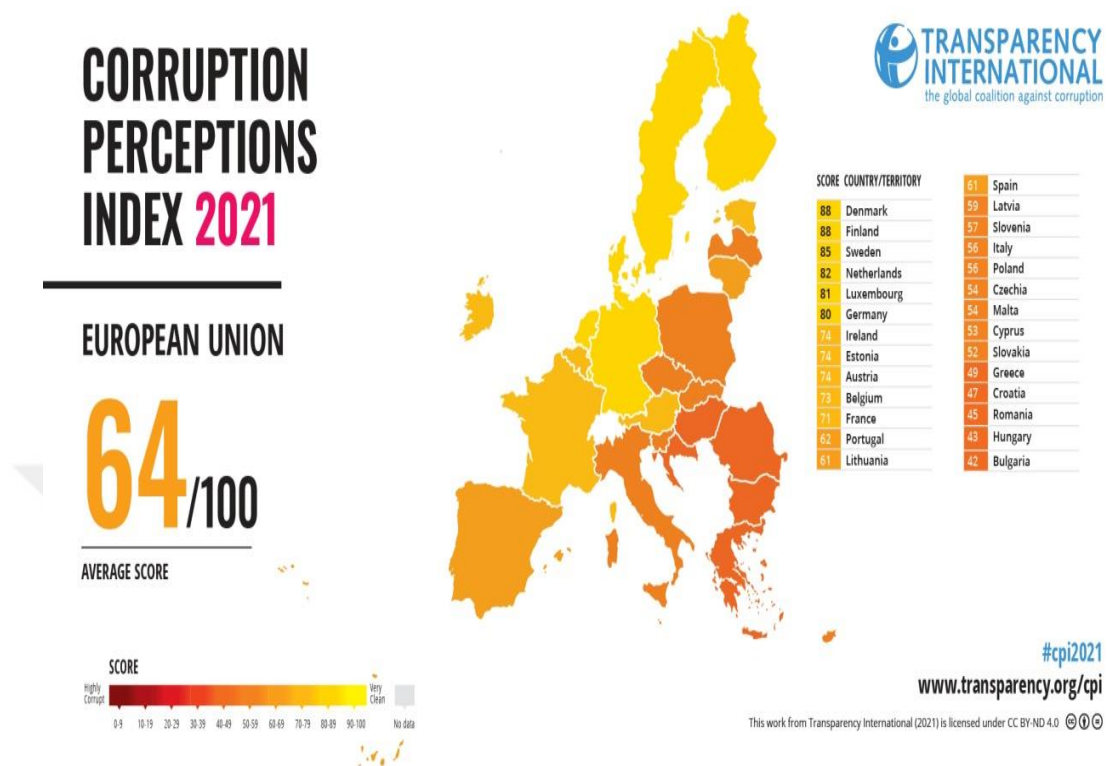


Figure 11: CPI for European Union

Resource: Corruption Perceptions Index 2021 Reports, <https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2021>, accessed 15/05/2022

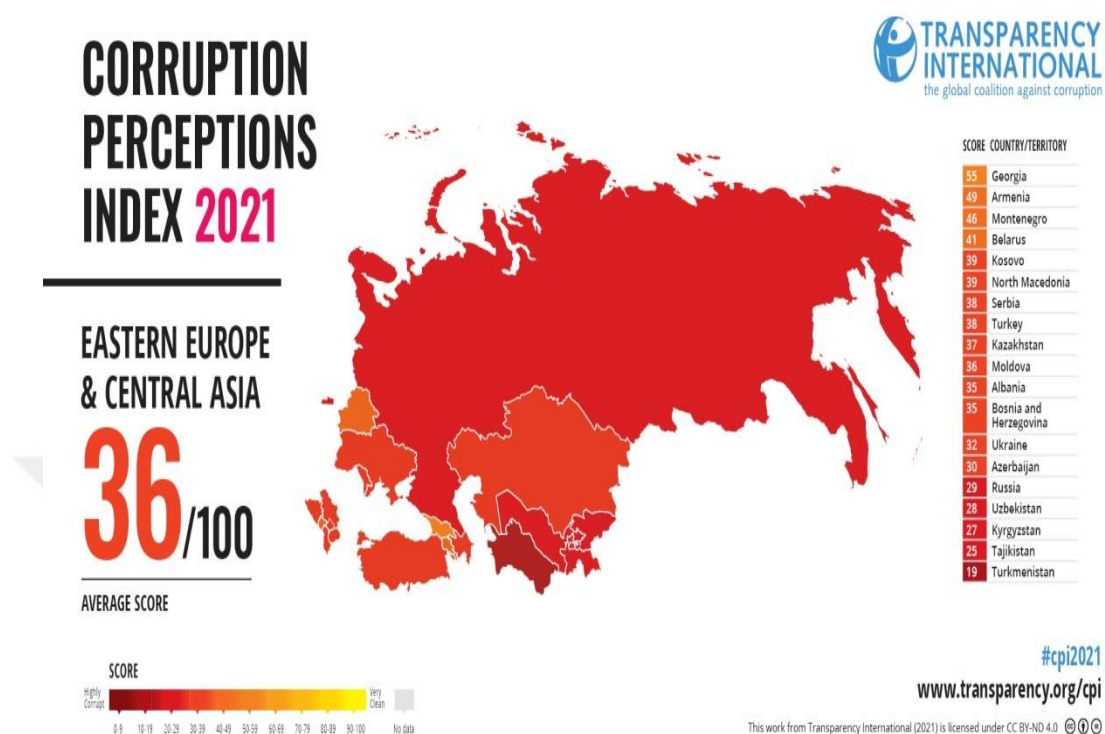


Figure 12: CPI for Eastern Europe & Central Asia

Resource: Corruption Perceptions Index 2021 Reports, <https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2021>, accessed 15/05/2022

The following methods are used to rank countries in the Corruption Perceptions Index:

(a) In addition to the data provided by independent organizations, the survey conducted by TI is also reflected in the CPI reports, ie the data of the organizations are compared with the results of the general survey. The combination of the data provided and the results of the surveys allows the exclusion of different data from different sources;

(b) the percentage of deviations from the standards is then deducted, and the number of studies conducted by independent organizations, as well as Transparency International, and the upper and lower limits of the 90 percent confidence interval for these studies are calculated;

(c) Finally, each country is ranked by average, with an average score ranging from 0 (high level of corruption) to 100 (virtually no corruption) (TI, Our organization, n.d.).

The Global Corruption Barometer is another important project published annually by Transparency International. The GCB is a large-scale report on public opinion on corruption and the measures needed to prevent it. In order to prepare the GCB report, Transparency International experts are conducting a public survey to determine the impact of corruption on people at the national and global levels. The World Corruption Barometer covers a wide range of corruption-related questions, including which public sectors are most vulnerable to corruption and how much the government's efforts to prevent corruption are assessed. At the same time, the barometer investigates cases of bribery and provides information on how often citizens who come in contact with government agencies pay bribes. Many national surveys are conducted by Gallup International on behalf of Transparency International.

Gallup International has offices in many countries, and these departments receive and translate inquiries. At the same time, Transparency International appeals to 15 other different organizations to conduct the survey in 18 countries. As the World Corruption Barometer reflects public opinion, the survey is conducted among the country's population, whose respondents are citizens over 16 years of age. In order to more accurately reflect the level of corruption in countries, respondents are selected by age, gender, and income level. The survey is conducted in each country taking into account local characteristics. Survey methods include face-to-face surveys, telephone surveys, and online interviews. The difference between the World Corruption Barometer and the Corruption Perceptions Index is that the Barometer assesses the general public's attitude to corruption, while the Perception Index reflects only the views of experts. At the same time, although the barometer reflects the personal experiences of respondents, the Perception Index conveys the perception of corruption in the public sector and politics through observers (GCB, 2022).

To sum up, this organization views corruption as an abuse of entrusted authority for personal gain, which upsets anyone who depends on the integrity of people in positions of authority. For this reason, TI develops anti-corruption tools and works with other civil society organizations, companies, and governments to implement them. There are also other tools than CPI and GCB published by Transparency International such as the Global Corruption Report, the Bribery Index, and the East Africa Bribery Index that address an assessment of particularly a certain region. In 2010, Transparency International developed a five-year strategy with six categories of priorities: People, Organizations, Laws, Values, Networks, and Impact. In 2015, TI developed a five-year strategy that sets out its collective ambitions for the coming years. Together Against Corruption: TI Strategy 2020 is a strategy by and for the Transparency International Movement. This strategy is based on both the current corruption environment and the more than 1,500 external and internal contributions that TI expects in the future (TI, n.d.).

- The Global Corruption Barometer is a survey that asks citizens directly about their personal corruption experiences in their daily lives.
- The Global Corruption Report selects a specific topic, such as corruption in climate change, and provides in-depth research.
- National Integrity System assessments are designed to provide a comprehensive analysis of a country's anti-corruption mechanisms.
- In 2013, Transparency International published the Government's Defense Anti-Corruption Index, which measures corruption in the defense sector in 82 countries. Some governments have criticized the report's methodology. Mark Pyman, the founder of TI's Defense and Security Program, defended the report in an interview, stressing the importance of transparency in the military sector. The plan is to publish the index every two years.

From the very beginning, TI also collaborates with many international, regional, and other non-governmental organizations including World Bank, OECD, etc. Additionally, TI cooperates with the G20 regarding illegal money flows which is a central issue in order to fight against corruption at international level (Kimeu, 2014,

p.234). Hence, TI is a member of G20 Think Tanks, a UNESCO Consultative Status, United Nations Global Compact, Sustainable Development Solutions Network that shares the goals of peace, justice, strong institutions and partnership (TI, n.d.).

Transparency International has the legal status of a voluntary association registered in Germany (Eingetragener Verein) and serves as an umbrella organization. As previously mentioned, its members grew from a few individuals to more than 100 national chapters fighting corruption in their home countries. According to political scientist Ellen Gutterman, TI's presence in Germany and its truly organizational development and rise from a small operation to a prominent international level is a substantial example for other NGOs to benefit (Gutterman, 2012).

Another main critique towards different initiatives started by TI is mainly volunteer characteristics which demand self-arrangement. On the other hand, since some work staff of anti-corruption initiatives of different organizations faced obstacles including severance from their job, etc., and being damaged physically, and mentally. As a result, although the importance of anti-corruption activities is recognized and supported, being not engaged physically is preferred, for instance, in many cases in Africa. These are some challenges that decelerate the improvement of anti-corruption activities (Kimeu, 2014, p.235).

3.3. United Nations implications (UN Convention against Corruption)

The United Nations Convention against Corruption has a broader geographical scope, covering the basic principles of the OECD Convention. This Convention has global standards as it is the first global and legal instrument in the fight against corruption. UNCAC was signed in December 2003 and entered into force in December 2005 after ratification by more than 30 countries. Although there were organizations operating against corruption, UNCAC substantially contributed to the understanding of corruption as a pivotal problem of the world countries at the time (Kimeu, 2014, p.232). To date, the Convention has been signed by 140 states

and ratified by more than 70 states. Article 15 of the Convention defines bribery: "Benefits directly or indirectly promised, offered or given to officials for the performance or non-performance of official duties in order to obtain any privileges". States signatories to the Convention must prosecute those who offer and accept bribes. The Convention also covers bribery in the private sector.

Other provisions of the Convention cover the looting of public and private property and money laundering. As in the FCPA and OECD Conventions, this Convention prohibits "black accounting". The following provisions are reflected in this Convention:

Prevention of corruption. The measures to prevent corruption provided for in the Convention are aimed at both the public and private sectors. The measures proposed by the Convention include a counter-policy model, such as the establishment of an anti-corruption body. Other countermeasures include the development of a Code of Ethics and increased transparency to prevent corruption in the civil service.

Recognition of corruption as a criminal act. The Convention requires states to consider acts of corruption as criminal and other offenses unless corruption is criminalized by domestic law. In other words, in order to work together effectively to combat corruption, states must make appropriate changes in their legislation.

International cooperation and mutual legal assistance. The Convention requires states to cooperate in all aspects of the fight against corruption, including prevention, investigation, and prosecution. At the same time, the Convention recommends that states establish special forms of mutual legal assistance in extraditing offenders and transferring detected cases to the courts of another state.

Return of assets. The return of assets is one of the fundamental principles of the Convention. It is important to identify and return assets acquired as a result of corruption. This is especially important for developing countries, where high levels of corruption lead to the plundering of national wealth. In addition, the UN provides support to developing countries within the agreed framework to improve their anti-

corruption programs. This support is mainly provided through technical assistance and information exchange. This includes the planning and development of state anti-corruption strategies and the training of anti-corruption officials. At the same time, the UN recommends that developing countries provide appropriate financial assistance to developing countries to effectively combat corruption and effectively implement the requirements of the UN Convention. In addition, the UN organizes regular conferences to achieve the requirements of the Convention.

At present, 181 member states have joined the convention. States Parties undertake to take measures to combat corruption in legislation, government, and law enforcement. Each of the States Parties to the Convention is called upon to develop and implement policies to combat and prevent corruption, increase the efficiency of existing institutions, combat corruption and promote cooperation in accordance with the principles of honesty, responsibility, and transparency in the fight against corruption at the international and regional levels.

As above mentioned, UNCAC calls member states to the formation of impartial agencies, particularly to operate against corruption. A number of countries around the world have achieved creating institutions for this purpose. Contradictorily, those countries which have anti-corruption agencies do not certainly acquire significant results while some developed countries that demonstrate the lowest levels of corruption for years such as Norway and Denmark have achieved it without such institutions (Kimeu, 2014, p.233).

In order to increase the effectiveness of the fight against corruption and deepen cooperation between the States Parties to the Convention, a special permanent conference was established by the Secretary-General of the UNODC. The Secretary-General shall provide the States' Parties with the necessary information, as well as ensure coordination at the regional and international levels. The conference is held every two years. The fifth meeting of the Conference of the States Parties to the UN Convention against Corruption was held on November 25-29, 2013. The delegation included representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Economic Development, the Prosecutor General's Office, the Investigative

Committee, the Chamber of Accounts, the Interior Ministry's Economic Security and Anti-Corruption Department, and the Ministry of Labor. The conference discussed international cooperation and the restoration of assets, deepening the exchange of information between the participating states, the promotion of the mechanisms of the Convention in the private sector and other issues.

Although UNCAC is the only exhaustive and extensively acknowledged document related to corruption obligations, the responsibility of application at the national level relies on the internal state system. If the states can implement the convention as it is, they will have reached a high level of accountability in all state institutions. Since illegal actors will not be able to operate in this environment, security and good governance will be achieved (Vlasic, Noell, 2010). Unfortunately, as existing researches suggest, legal and institutional measures and the preventive policies adopted by states do not go beyond giving the appearance of fighting against corruption in many cases. Hence, one of the main criticisms towards the role of anti-corruption organizations is the non-existence of particular improvement in practice.

3.4. Group of States against Corruption (GRECO)

The Group of States against Corruption, established by the Council of Europe in 1999, monitors member states' compliance with the Council of Europe's anti-corruption standards. The organization is headquartered in Strasbourg. The main goal of GRECO is to improve the capacity of member states to combat corruption in order to ensure compliance with the Council of Europe's anti-corruption standards through mutual assessment and pressure. Such monitoring helps to identify shortcomings in the national anti-corruption policies of states, adopt the necessary laws, and carry out institutional and practical reforms. At the same time, GRECO provides a platform for sharing best practices to detect and prevent corruption. Membership in GRECO, based on the enlargement agreement, is not restricted by the Council of Europe.

Thus, any state participating in the drafting of an enlargement agreement can become a member of GRECO by notifying the Secretariat General of the Council of Europe. In addition, any state that accedes to the Council of Europe's Criminal or

Civil Conventions on Corruption automatically becomes a member of GRECO. GRECO currently has 47 members (46 European countries and the United States).

GRECO performs its functions in accordance with its charter and rules of procedure. The main functions of GRECO include:

1. Monitoring of compliance with the Principles on Combating Corruption adopted at the 101st session of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 6 November 1997. These principles mainly define the following:
 - i. to take effective measures to prevent corruption, including the promotion of ethical conduct and public awareness;
 - ii. criminalizing domestic and international corruption;
 - iii. ensuring appropriate audit procedures to detect corruption in government and the public sector;
 - iv. ensuring the independence of the media to disseminate information on corruption;
 - v. establishing codes of ethics for public authorities and the private sector;
 - vi. development of international cooperation in the fight against corruption, etc.
2. Monitoring the implementation of international legal instruments adopted on the basis of the Anti-Corruption Program. In addition to this activity, GRECO has observer status in the OECD and the UN. The president and vice president, elected by the members, lead the GRECO, while the members of the GRECO bureau are responsible for ensuring that the organization's goals (work program and action plan) are met. GRECO conducts regular assessments for each member state. This assessment consists of several stages.

The duration of the assessment, the area being assessed and the specific provisions of such assessment shall be determined individually by GRECO experts. A maximum of 5 experts should be appointed by the assessed Member State to work with GRECO experts and competent authority for cooperation should be established.

The assessment by GRECO is based on surveys submitted to each member state. At the same time, GRECO experts can visit the assessed member state if there is a need to investigate additional issues based on the results of the surveys.

A draft evaluation report is prepared based on the information collected by the experts. Comments and suggestions on this project shall be submitted to the evaluated Member State and the proposals submitted by the Member State on the project shall be taken into account in the final draft of the report. The final draft of the report will be discussed at the GRECO Plenary Meeting and adopted based on the results of these discussions. In general, a report prepared for each member state is a confidential document. These reports provide recommendations to member states on how to improve anti-corruption legislation and measures and urge states to adhere to these recommendations. If GRECO considers that the recommendations are not taken into account by the Member State or is passive in implementing these recommendations, the report shall be made public, ie published.

As noted, GRECO's country-by-country assessments compare the provisions of the Convention on Criminal Law on Corruption, adopted by the Council of Europe on 27 January 1999 and in force on 1 July 2002. The Convention has a wide scope and legal instruments. The Convention covers the following illegal acts, which are considered special forms of corruption:

- active and passive bribes of local and foreign officials;
- active and passive bribes of local and foreign parliamentarians;
- active and passive bribes in the private sector;
- active and passive bribes of international civil servants;
- active and passive bribes of local, foreign, and international courts and their officials;
- money laundering due to corruption, etc.

States parties to the Convention are required to define the above acts in their domestic criminal law and to take appropriate punitive measures. According to

Article 24 of the Convention, its implementation is monitored by GRECO (GRECO, n.d.).

3.5. “Global Integrity” Anti-Corruption Organization

Founded in 2005 in the United States (Washington), Global Integrity is a non-governmental anti-corruption organization. The organization is mainly funded by charitable foundations, governments, regional organizations, and the private sector. The organization's main mission is to assist local and international anti-corruption organizations in implementing anti-corruption reforms. Global Integrity assesses anti-corruption measures, transparency, and anti-corruption measures in countries and regions. Global Integrity publishes an annual report called the Global Integrity Index. The last report (for 2009) was prepared in December 2009 and covered 38 countries. 11 The evaluation of the countries reflected in the Global Integrity Index consists of the following elements:

- The chronology of measures taken to combat corruption, ie reflects the chronology of political and historical measures taken to combat corruption at the national level. Local and foreign media sources are used in the preparation of such a chronology;

- Notes of country rapporteurs, ie brief summaries prepared by journalists covering the culture of corruption and public administration in the country;

- Integrity Scorecards. An evaluation schedule is prepared and evaluated by experts across the country. About 300 moral quality indicators for each country are collected, calculated, and included in the Global Integrity Index. The country's moral quality performance evaluation table analyzes the following three concepts:

- (a) Existing public moral mechanisms, including laws and organizations that promote social responsibility. Here, the indicator assesses the existing anti-corruption laws, rules, and mechanisms of ethical conduct in the country.

(b) The effectiveness of these mechanisms. The indicator assesses the effectiveness of public moral mechanisms in the country, ie the provision of political support for anti-corruption measures, the independence of organizations, including those implementing anti-corruption measures, the possibility of independent investigations, and the application of penalties.

(c) Access of citizens to these mechanisms. Here, the indicator assesses the availability of public awareness of the state, and the submission of reports to citizens (Global Integrity, n.d.).

3.6. Global Parliamentary Organization against Corruption (GOPAC)

It was established in October 2002 as a result of the Ottawa Global Conference, which brought together 170 parliamentarians and 400 observers and focused on fighting corruption and improving good governance. At present, the organization has about 900 members (parliamentarians) from 90 countries. The main functions of GOPAC are:

(a) increasing the joint efforts of parliaments to prevent corruption;

(b) Work with parliaments, governments, and international organizations to make the United Nations Convention against Corruption more widely accepted and more effective;

(c) reducing corruption by improving good governance;

(d) to combat money laundering at the international level (GOPAC, n.d.).

3.7. International Anti-Corruption Coordination Centre (IACCC)

The International Anti-Corruption Coordination Centre was established to strengthen international anti-corruption coordination. This group mainly includes international organizations and agencies (OECD, African Development Bank, UN,

Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe, Asian Development Bank, Transparency International, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, World Bank, etc.). IACCC brings together international organizations and agencies to coordinate the fight against corruption at the international and local levels. At the same time, IACCC serves as a platform for the exchange of experience and information to improve anti-corruption measures (UNODC, 2018).

3.8. European Partners Against Corruption (EPAC)

The European Anti-Corruption Partners was established on the basis of the Vienna Declaration adopted in 2004 at the Conference of Anti-Corruption Agencies of the European Union Member States in Vienna. The main purpose of the EPAC is to facilitate liaison and cooperation between anti-corruption agencies of EU member states, to provide a platform for the exchange of information and experience, and to apply common anti-corruption standards and anti-corruption mechanisms in the EU. EPAC covers all members of the European Union (27 countries) and the European Anti-Fraud Office (EPAC, n.d.).

It should be noted that along with these organizations, other international organizations, and alliances, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the OECD, the United Nations, and the European Commission fight corruption within their charters.

CONCLUSION

This thesis aims to describe the correlation between corruption and security, while mainly concentrating on five threats to human and international security. These security threats have been chosen from human and international security points of view and include violent uprisings, migration, organized crime, terrorism, illicit trade. Security is one of the fundamental necessities to be provided for every living creature in the world and it will only be possible to live on safe earth if all the factors that endanger life are taken into account. Particularly, the existence of human security problems in any country is substantial for the world in general as they may become international security problems. Thus, threats investigated in this study were chosen by focusing on human and international security.

In the study, the role of corruption in violent uprisings is examined through different countries. Findings demonstrate that violent uprising as a threat to human security is the most directly affected by corruption among the five focal points of the study. Nonetheless, it cannot be accepted as a first-hand cause for violent rebellions that occurred throughout history in various parts of the globe, since there are still many people living in countries where endemic corruption exist and violent uprising do not happen such as Turkmenistan (studied in Chapter 2). Consequently, all examined violent uprising cases conclude that corruption is a substantial motivator in the background of rebellions.

Since transnational criminal organizations can be accepted as one of the foremost international security threats that operate in various sectors through an extensive network, it is not surprising that corruption and organized crime linkage is significant in terms of security. This linkage is evaluated over the kleptocratic interdependence of the 9 most robust transnational criminal groups involved in illegal activities. It is mentioned that the geolocation of these famous criminal organizations does not depend on the level of corruption in the area as there are Italian Mafia, Japanese Yakuza, American Mafia TCOs operating. Therefore, corruption cannot be considered a trigger for TCOs, whereas it creates a suitable

environment to carry out their objectives. The findings of the study illustrate that corruption facilitates criminal business and illegal activities of TCOs regardless of the changes that emerged in the construction and purposes of organized crime groups over centuries.

Terrorism as a concerning issue of the twenty-first century caused a number of deaths and made a clear emphasis on the insecurity of ordinary people living in this world. In this sense, the possible contribution of corruption to the realization process of terror acts is essential to reveal. By doing so, each person may understand the potential consequences and the security perspective of corruption. The study mentions six heavy terror cases in which the role of corruption was confirmed. Regarding the connection between the two variables, it is possible to say that corruption facilitates terrorism in various situations. However, the doors corruption opens are more significant than facilitating for malicious purposes of terrorists. In some cases, it is not almost feasible for terrorists to reach their goals without finding corrupt officials in the relevant authority. For instance, counterfeited document makers may not be aware of what kind of people they communicate with, while at the end of the day, these actions can cause mass death. Moreover, when we look at the literature on terrorism, although the issue has been addressed from many aspects, it is remarkable that the number of studies considering the role of corruption is fairly low as available data is limited.

The thesis explains the link between corruption and illicit trade, particularly in the business of drugs and WMD. The chosen illegal trade areas are vital in terms of security. Firstly, the spread of illicit trafficking of drugs and psychotropic substances endangers human security and undermines social values. Since the drug trade is not legal in the majority of countries, it comprises some processes which definitely violate the law and involve officials working on border posts or other state agencies. In the study, it is highlighted that corruption is a tool used to ease illicit trade in the transportation, supply, and laundering phases. The international danger of this crime comes from the fact that trafficking in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances is intertwined with other crimes of an international nature including

transnational criminal organizations activities, international terrorism, etc. More specifically, the drug trade is a key activity for many criminal and terrorist groups to finance their establishment. If this illegal trade can be prevented, it will also undermine the sustainability of other security threats. The study also underlines that illegal arms trade poses a serious challenge to the safety of people all over the world and corruption is an under-perceived supporter of the proliferation of WMDs. Unlike other illicit trade materials, the trade of biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons is more confidential, making it more difficult to collect data on transactions. Still, it is clear that without corruption the export of these nuclear weapon materials to potential purchasers would not be possible as adulterating individuals to persuade them to sell illegally is central to these projects. Consequently, other than the international danger of mentioned illegal trade spheres as a financial source, these are also threats from the human security point of view and corruption facilitates illicit trade as well.

When it comes to migration which began to be considered a security problem at the international level during the last decade, legal and illegal dichotomy of migration comes to the stage. On the one hand, it is found that a high level of corruption contributes to legal migration where educated people tend to immigrate to developed countries for more fair opportunities. On the other hand, unprovided human security in countries results in increased illegal mobility which can create various types of problems at the international level. Hence, inner political, social, mostly economic problems and low levels of living standards caused by corruption lead people to migrate illegally. Thus, it is shown in the study that corruption is a serious motivator for migration and it has a triggering impact on both situations.

Since the establishment of international cooperation and activities of international anti-corruption organizations are necessary for this fight, the study also explores the way that the most effective intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations handle corruption. Currently, there are many organizations operating against corruption at the governmental, inter-governmental, and non-governmental dimensions. The advantages of international regulations encompass increasing the

pressure on countries in the fight against corruption, the opportunity given to ordinary citizens as their struggle against corruption may exceed the limits of national borders and if the respective country is part of the fight against corruption at the international level, the investigation and solution of problems can be made easier in corruption-related cases involving international companies. Furthermore, TI's CPI reports are significant in terms of having an understanding of the level of corruption in world countries and it also puts pressure on countries. However, although international and regional organizations are the key source in the fight against corruption undeniably, the effectiveness of norms and regulations is under question. Because corruption is an issue that should be dealt with mainly at the national level since being not engaged in person is preferred by staff members of anti-corruption initiatives of different organizations for some reasons including being damaged physically. Additionally, for instance, UNCAC is the only exhaustive and extensively acknowledged document related to corruption obligations, whereas the responsibility of fulfillment at the national level relies on the internal state system. For this reason, the international fight against corruption remains insufficient.

In conclusion, when corruption is involved, the exact situation is not mostly accessible as there is always a mystery. Therefore, the biggest difficulty is the lack of reliable data related to corruption and threats to human or international security. Specific research into the role of corruption in case studies is required to more clearly understand the correlation between corruption and security problems. Based on the findings of this thesis, corruption either facilitates or motivates studied security threats. Thus, preventing security threats requires considering the role of corruption and fighting against it in order to achieve a more secure world.

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