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Review

Corruption Trend Analysis and Problem in Nepal

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ABSTRACT

Corruption involves the misuse of entrusted authority for personal gain or the inappropriate utilization of public resources for private interests. This unethical practice undermines social, political, and economic progress and erodes trust in public institutions. This article aims to examine the corruption scenario in Nepal, which is a major obstacle to overall development. The study adopts a descriptive and analytical approach, drawing data mainly from various secondary resources. It explores several corruption scandals directly linked to Nepal's good governance and raises crucial questions regarding government accountability, the rule of law, social justice, and public policy. Additionally, this paper provides a concise overview of the theoretical framework surrounding good governance and public policy, emphasizing the long-term implications of weak governance on the federal democratic system and poverty reduction efforts. Applying descriptive and bivariate analysis, it draws a level, trend, and pattern of corruption and improper conduct using the disaggregated level data. The study reveals that corruption is multi-dimensional, widely prevalent, and institutionalized in Nepal. Corruption is intrinsically tied to politics, and it has vastly increased as democratization, economic liberalization, educational levels, personal wealth, geographic mobility, and life expectancy have also all increased. There are fierce moral contests about corruption within Nepal, and these contests often focus on what the proper locus of reciprocity is and on what counts as negative reciprocity. The study highlights the importance of good governance and public policy in addressing corruption and emphasizes the long-term implications of weak governance on the federal democratic system and poverty reduction efforts. The study calls for increased government accountability, the rule of law, and social justice to combat corruption in Nepal.

Key words: corruption, descriptive, good governance, public policy

Introduction

Corruption

Corruption is a global condition that affects every type of government, at every level, and has bewitched scholars of governance from ancient times to the present day (Powell et al., 2019). It is an issue in public debates and everyday conversation in many countries. The legal definition of corruption, though seems concerned more with legal procedure and evidences, ignores the people's own assessment of actions. Neglecting the socially sanctioned sphere while prioritizing legally, one poses significant challenges in the fight against corruption in Nepal. To address this issue comprehensively, it becomes imperative to take into account both the legal and social dimensions of corruption, allowing for a more holistic approach towards combating this pervasive issue. Corruption is related to democratization process. Economic and political competition, transparency and accountability, coupled with democratic principles of checks and balances, are the necessary instruments to restrict corruption and power abuse. The corruption is defined as encompassing a wide spectrum of activities, ranging from the misuse of power and authority to a manifestation of moral decay (Amundsen, 2000). Some of the basic characteristics of corruption are bribery, embezzlement, fraud, extortion, favoritism, and, nepotism.

Governance

The concept of governance has evolved over time, starting from ancient societies where people united in families, communities, and larger societies. Today, governance has reached a global level, with interconnected and interdependent societies. To ensure smooth functioning, societies require a form of social order, which is maintained through mechanisms known as the governance system. This system regulates human activities, upholds social norms, values, religion, culture, customs, and societal standards, fostering respect and adherence to these elements for the well-being of the society. According to Mark Bevier, "governance is all processes of governing undertaken by a government, market, or network over a family, tribe, formal or

informal organization, or territory through laws, norms, power, or language." Governance in a broader sense, is referred to emphasize changes in the nature and role of the state following the public sector reforms of the 1980s and 1990s. These reforms led a shift from a hierarchical bureaucracy to a greater space for public service delivery through markets, quasi-markets, and networks. The effects of the reforms said above intensified increase in transnational economic activity and also helped the rise of regional institutions such as the European Union. Thus, governance offers a broad and holistic belief that the state increasingly depends on many organizations at different government and non-government sectors to secure its intentions and deliver as per its policies.

Good Governance

Justice occupies a central position in the framework of good governance, highlighting its significance in creating a fair society where individuals, regardless of their backgrounds or beliefs, can coexist harmoniously, free from any form of prejudice or discrimination (Ali, 2020). The good governance encompasses the interplay of various elements, including institutional frameworks, procedural mechanisms, and established customs, which collectively shape the exercise of power, decision-making processes, delivery of service and the provision of opportunities for citizens and stakeholders to express their perspectives and concerns (Sangroula, 2020). It is legitimate, accountable and effective ways of obtaining and using public power and resources in the pursuit of widely-accepted social goals (Ali, 2020). Therefore, good governance standards are skeleton to continue and flourish the state offering citizen friendly governance system. It is widely believed that good governance is predominantly linked to western values, particularly those grounded in European principles (Addink, 2019). In Western democracies, governance is perceived in two ways: as a managerial function or as a leadership responsibility carried out by various entities including government, politicians, businesses, academia, nonprofit organizations, community groups, or specific individuals within civil society (Marinova, et al., 2014). Good governance relates

to the political and institutional outcomes that achieve the goals of development. Human Rights Council has identified the key attributes of good governance that are transparency, responsibility, accountability, participation and responsiveness. Without good governance, human rights cannot be protected and become difficult to realize. It aims at protection and promotion of rights, welfare and well-being of the citizens through legitimized democratic governance under the rule of law (Lamichhane, 2021).

Corruption and Good Governance

Corruption is an alarmingly growing concern in Nepal. The issue of corruption has become more prominent in Nepali bureaucracy, politics and other sectors. Bribery, embezzlement, fraud, extortion, favoritism and nepotism are the major corruption incidents in Nepal (Amundsen, 2000). The escalating frequency of corruption incidents raises inquiries about the effectiveness of democratic institutions, public service delivery, the rule of law, and anti-corruption measures. Good governance encompasses the entirety of governing processes, including institutions, procedures, and practices that determine and regulate matters of common interest. This article aims to examine multiple instances of corruption, which are rapidly growing and primarily pertain to the issue of good governance in Nepal. Corruption has existed throughout human history and extends to both the public and private sectors, encompassing profitoriented, non-profit, and charitable organizations (Shah, 2017). It persists in both developing and developed nations, albeit being more prevalent in developing countries. Corruption is a multifaceted and intricate phenomenon that manifests in diverse forms and functions across different contexts. Specifically, corruption entails the exploitation of public resources by individuals holding public positions for personal benefits (Subedi, 2005).

The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) for 2022 reveals persistent and widespread corruption on a global scale, with an average global score remaining stagnant at 43 out of 100 for the eleventh consecutive year. More than two-thirds (68 percent) of countries score below 50 out of 100. While 25 countries have shown improvement in addressing

corruption, 31 countries have experienced a decline in their corruption ranking, leaving 124 countries maintaining their previous positions. Countries with strong institutions and well-established democratic systems tend to occupy top positions in the Index, while countries facing internal conflicts or restrictions on personal and political freedoms receive the lowest scores. In 2022, Denmark is identified as the least corrupt country with a score of 90, while Somalia is recognized as the most corrupt country with a score of 12. Western Europe secures the highest regional ranking with a score of 66, followed by Asia-Pacific with 45, the Americas with 43, the Middle East and North Africa with 38, Eastern Europe and Central Asia with 35, and Sub-Saharan Africa with 32.

Nepal's position in the CPI, is 110th out of 180 countries and territories. Although there has been a slight improvement, with a climb of seven places compared to the previous years' ranking of 117th, Nepal's score in the Transparency International report is 34 out of 100. This score reflects a notable presence of corruption within the public sector, underscoring the significant challenges Nepal faces in tackling this issue.

The governance system of Nepal is guided by its history, geography, religion, societal values and norms, and culture that influence politics, policy and its relationship and geopolitics with other countries (Bhattacharya, 2022). Practically, the recent governance system seems more guided by politics. Hence, the good governance is still a big challenge for Nepal to achieve.

Research Objective

The objective of this article is to discuss a series of corruption scandals that have been on the rise in recent years in Nepal. These scandals have raised concerns about the state of good governance in Nepal, which, in turn, has a direct impact on crucial aspects such as the rule of law, democracy, accountability, social security, freedom, and respect for the people. Furthermore, the article aims to highlight the long-term consequences of such corruption on society, including increased criminality, poverty, and hunger, all of which significantly hinder Nepal's development.

Methodology

The study gathers data and information from books, journals, annual reports of organizations such as the Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA) and Office of the Auditor General (OAG), relevant laws, development plans, policies, and other pertinent sources. Additionally, newspaper publications were analyzed to extract relevant content. The collected secondary data were categorized and organized into themes. The data were then presented using descriptive and analytical methods, utilizing tables, case studies, and descriptive narratives. Both descriptive and analytical approaches were employed for data analysis.

Results and Discussion

Demand of Public Policy and Relation to Good Governance

Regarding the historical development of public policy, the first articulation of the concept of public policy sciences by Harold Lasswell in 1951 holds significant relevance in the realm of politics and society (Torgerson, 1985). Before this, the term public policy was used by John Dewey, in 1972 who published The Public and Its Problems as a response to doubts about the democracy and capacity of the public in the wake of First World War. Laswell's case for a preventive politics believes on the concern that policy should significantly be relied on the democratic principles and values. The policy scientists and advocates distinguish between political science, public administration, communications, psychology, jurisprudence, sociology, etc.

Public policy is an institutional tool to solve the real-world problems through the government. It is the relationship of government units to the specific field of political system in a given administrative environment. Good governance and public policy are interrelated. However, without good government and good governance, public policy cannot be effectively implemented. During 1861 and 1871, the process of nation-building brought changes to political debates and the perspectives

of political scientists. Good governance plays a crucial role in creating a favorable environment for preparing and effectively implementing public policies. However, in fragile governance environments, the implementation of public policy becomes a significant challenge, leading to increased corruption at various levels of government and the private sector. Corruption often stems from the intentions and actions of those in power, leading policymakers and decision-makers to prioritize their own interests over those of the general public. Elites may exploit their authority to manipulate public policies, resulting in limited benefits and welfare for society at large.

Despite constitutional advancements and political transformations, the implementation of public policies often falls short. To address this issue, it is essential for the government to adopt a proactive approach, ensuring the effectiveness of public policies through adherence to the principles and values of good governance.

Rising Corruptions and Fragile Governance in Nepal

In the past three decades, Nepal has experienced significant political transformations, including a decade-long armed conflict from 1996 to 2006, and the adoption of seven constitutions within the last 70 years. The constitution establishes Nepal as a federal democratic republic country, with federal (central), provincial (seven), and local (seven hundred and fifty-three) governments. Each tier possesses its own legislative, executive, and judicial powers and responsibilities. The government's development policy is outlined in the 15th periodic plan, which is currently being implemented. This plan aims to achieve socioeconomic transformation and alleviate poverty through high economic growth, productive employment, and equitable distribution. Over the past decade, Nepal has experienced an average annual GDP growth rate of 4.3 percent, which significantly reduced to 0.2 percent due to the extensive damage caused by the 2015 earthquake. The World Bank has updated the global poverty line from \$1.90 to \$2.15 per day, and approximately 9.2 percent of the world's population, or roughly 719 million people, are living below this daily income threshold. According to the Economic Survey 2022/23, 15.1 percent of Nepalese live below the poverty line. The national poverty rate has decreased from 30.9 percent in 2004 to 15.1 percent in 2018, indicating that the growth process has generally been inclusive (ADB, 2018).

Despite the shift towards a new constitutional framework, Nepal continues to grapple with a persistent issue of corruption that is rapidly worsening over time. As per the Transparency International's (TI) report, Nepal's position in the CPI stands at 110 out of 180 nations, with a corresponding score of 34 out of 100 (TI, 2022). The available data indicates Nepal's CPI rank and its index since 2004 to 2022.

Table 1: Corruption Rank and Index of Nepal

Year	CPI Rank	CPI Index
2004	90	28
2005	117	25
2006	121	25
2007	131	25
2008	121	27
2009	143	23
2010	146	22
2011	154	22
2012	139	27
2013	116	31
2014	126	29
2015	130	27
2016	131	29
2017	122	31
2018	124	31
2019	113	34
2020	117	33
2021	117	33
2022	110	34

Source: TI Report, 2022

Global Scenario of CPI Results

Several countries have consistently demonstrated a high level of integrity and minimal corruption, as evident from their rankings in the CPI. Denmark leads the CPI, securing the top position with an impressive score of 90. Finland and New Zealand

follow closely behind, both sharing the second position with scores of 87. Norway and Sweden secure the fourth and fifth positions respectively, with scores of 84 and 83. Singapore, known for its stringent anti-corruption measures, ranks sixth with a score of 83 in Asia. Switzerland, Netherlands, Germany, and Ireland complete the top 10, each showcasing their commitment to combating corruption with scores of 82, 80, 79, and 77 respectively. These countries showcase effective governance and provide valuable insights into anti-corruption strategies and practices.

Table 2: Least corrupted countries in the World

Country	Rank	Index
Denmark	1	90
Finland	2	87
Newzland	3	87
Norway	4	84
Sweden	5	83
Singapore	6	83
Switzerland	7	82
Netherland	8	80
Germany	9	79
Ireland	10	77

Source: TI Report, 2022

In contrast to the least corrupted countries, certain nations around the world face significant challenges in combating corruption, as indicated by their rankings in the CPI. Burundi, Equatorial Guinea, Haiti, Libya, and North Korea share the 171st position with the score of 17, emphasizing the pervasive nature of corruption within their governance systems. Yemen follows closely behind at the 176th rank with a score of 16, while Venezuela ranks 177th with a score of 14, underscoring the pressing need for comprehensive anti-corruption measures in these countries. South Sudan and Syria share the 178th position, both receiving a score of 13, highlighting the significant corruption-related challenges they face. Somalia ranks at the bottom of the CPI, securing the 180th position with the lowest score of 12, indicating the urgent need for systemic reforms and anti-corruption efforts.

Table 3: Most corrupted countries in the World

Country	Rank	Index
Burundi	171	17
Equatorial Guinea	171	17
Haiti	171	17
Libya	171	17
North Korea	171	17
Yeman	176	16
Venezuela	177	14
South Sudan	178	13
Syria	178	13
Somalia	180	12

Source: TI Report, 2022

In Asia, Singapore emerges as one of the least corrupted countries, securing the 5th position with an impressive score of 83 in the CPI. Hong Kong ranks 12th with a score of 76, showcasing its robust anti-corruption measures. Japan also demonstrates a commendable performance, standing at the 18thposition with a score of 73, reflecting commitment for transparency and integrity. Bhutan and Taiwan share the 25th rank, with scores of 68 and 67 respectively, indicating need to combat corruption and uphold good governance. The following graph provides the least corrupted ten countries in Asia.

Table 4: Least corrupted countries in Asia

Country	Rank	Index
Singapore	5	83
Hong Kong	12	76
Japan	18	73
Bhutan	25	68
Taiwan	25	67
United Arab Emirates	27	63
Israel	31	63
South Korea	31	62
Burnai	35	60
Qatar	40	5 8

Source: TI Report, 2022

Cambodia, Lebanon, and Tajikistan share the 150th position with a score of 24, reflecting the prevalence of corruption. Azerbaijan, Iraq, and Myanmar also rank at 157, with a score of 23, highlighting the need for comprehensive anti-corruption measures. Turkmenistan, at the 167th position, has a score of 19, indicating persistent corruption-related issues. North Korea follows closely behind at the 171st rank, with a score of 17, while Yemen stands at the 176th position with a score of 16, signifying significant corruption challenges. Syria ranks 178th with the lowest score of 13, suggesting a pressing need for anti-corruption efforts in the country.

Table 5: Most corrupted countries in Asia

Country	Rank	Index
Cambodia	150	24
Lebanon	150	24
Tajikistan	150	24
Azerbaijan	157	23
Iraq	157	23
Myanmar	157	23
Turkmenistan	167	19
North Korea	171	17
Yemen	176	16
Syria	178	13

Source: TI Report, 2022

Within the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) member countries, CPI rankings and scores vary notably. Afghanistan and Bangladesh share a similar rank at 150, with CPI scores of 24 and 25 respectively, indicating significant corruption challenges. Bhutan, on the other hand, performs relatively better, securing the 25th position with a score of 68, showcasing its commitment to combating corruption. India and Maldives share the 85th rank, both obtaining a score of 40, signifying the presence of corruptionrelated issues. Nepal, standing at the 110th position, has a score of 34, reflecting corruption challenges. The variations in CPI rankings and scores among SAARC member countries underscore importance of strengthening anti-corruption efforts and promoting transparency and accountability within their respective governance systems.

Table 6: Corruption Rank and Index of South Asian Countries

Country	Rank	Index
Afghanistan	150	24
Bangladesh	147	25
Bhutan	25	68
India	85	40
Maldives	85	40
Nepal	110	34
Pakistan	140	27
Sri-Lanka	101	36

Source: TI Report, 2022 Reports of Commission for Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA) and Growth of Corruptions

According to the CIAA report, the Ministry of Federal Affairs and General Administration is identified as the most corrupt ministry, followed by the Ministries of Education, Land Reforms, Forest and Environment, Health and Population, and Home Affairs. In the past years, out of the total 24,331 complaints received by the commission, 17,169 complaints were dismissed, while the remaining 7,162 complaints are still under investigation and have been carried forward to the fiscal year 2079/80. The report also highlights the CIAA's filing of cases at the Special Court, with a total of 131 cases registered. These cases involve various offenses, including 32 related to bribery, 6 involving fake academic certificates, 7 related to illegal property earning, 35 pertaining to damage to public property, 34 involving unlawful gain or loss, 5 related to revenue irregularities, and 12 cases classified as others. During this period, the CIAA filed a total of 131 cases, resulting in 649 defendants and claiming fines exceeding 2,792,748,100 Nepalese rupees. In the fiscal year 2078/79, 70.56% of the 24,331 complaints were addressed, while the remaining cases were carried over to the fiscal year 2079/80. The CIAA has implemented an institutional strategy encompassing preventive, curative, promotional, and capacity building measures. These findings

provide insights into the efficiency of the CIAA in handling public complaints and highlight the variations across different provinces in terms of case addressing numbers.

Table 7: Addressed cases at CIAA and agencies under CIAA at provincial level.

Country	Cases Address	Total No. of Complaints
Koshi	1348	2636
Madhesh	3446	5506
Bagmati	4123	5478
Gandaki	1096	1731
Lumbimi	2497	3180
Karnali	1238	1857
Surpashchim	1478	2315
Not Stated	1125	1628
Total	171 68	24331

Source: CIAA Annual Report 2022

Moreover, the CIAA has reached to the finding that the prevailing electoral system is more responsible for the escalated corruption and has proposed a thorough evaluation and reform of the system. The CIAA highlighted that the exorbitant expenses associated with elections contributed to the inflation of commodity prices and fostered corruption. It has recommended a banking transaction for receiving donations by political parties, major stakeholder organizations, and independent candidates as a means to ensure transparency. However, these may not be enough to check, control and address corruption issues; still more tools need to be devised, put in place and thus assured.

Means of Complaint

The table below illustrates the breakdown of complaints received by the CIAA in the fiscal year 2078/79. Highest number of complaints (4,495) were received through written applications. Additionally, complaints were also received through postal services, emails, websites, and other channels, while the fewest number of complaints were received via SMS, with only 4 registered.

Table 8: Details of complaints based on the means of complaint registered in CIAA FY 2078/79

Complaints	No of Complains
Written Request	4495
Postal Service	2760
Email	2757
Website	2165
Telephone	750
Newspaper	290
Mobile App	102
Facebook	93
Viber	15
SMS	4
Others	2807

Source: CIAA Database FY 2078/2079

Areas of Complaints

The CIAA received complaints in various thematic areas, with a notable concentration in federal affairs, education, health, land administration, forest and environment, health and population, physical infrastructure and transportation, and home affairs. Additionally, there were significant reports of complaints regarding illegal acquisition of wealth and fake educational certificates. Table 9 below provides a detailed overview of the different areas of complaints received during the fiscal year 2079/80.

Table 9: Areas of complaints

Areas	Areas of Complaints
Federal Affairs	33.14
Education	15.31
Land Administration	7.71
Forest and Environment	4.62
Health and Population	3.99
Physical Infrastructure and Transportation	3.88
Home Affairs	3.75
Tourism, Industry and Trade	3.23

Areas	Areas of Complaints
Energy, Water Resource and Irrigation	3.09
Water Supply and Urban Development	2.98
Agriculture and Livestock	1.88
Finance and Revenue	1.96
Communication and Information Technology	0
False Academic Certificate	5.6 8
Illegal Wealth	4.79
Others	3

Source: CIAA Database FY 2078/2079

The CIAA filed cases in various provinces, with the highest number of cases in Madhesh (28%); followed by Lumbini (15%), Sudurpashchim (13%), Koshi (13%), Bagmati (12%), Karnali (10%), and Gandaki (8.47%).

Table 10: Cases filed by the CIAA in Fiscal Year 2078/79

Provenance	Complaints %
Koshi	13%
Madhesh	28%
Bagmati	12%
Gandaki	8%
Lumbini	15%
Karnali	10%
Sudurpaschim	14%

Source: CIAA Database FY 2078/2079

Corruption as a Barrier for Development in Nepal

Nepal has witnessed several corruption scandals raising serious concerns about the government's adherence to the rule of law, justice, accountability, and transparency. These scandals predominantly involve high-ranking politicians and bureaucrats. Notable examples include the 33 kg gold scandal, Nirmala murder scandal, wide-body aircraft

scandal, Baluwatar land scam, etc. These shocking incidents further highlight the systemic inequality in the application of the rule of law. Unfortunately, the culprits responsible for these crimes are yet to face appropriate punishment based on the evidence, indicating a significant role of corruption at highest levels of authorities. The case of Nirmala Panta, a 13-year-old girl from Kanchanpur, brutally raped and murdered, remains etched in the collective memory of Nepali society. Disturbingly, investigations have revealed that evidence of the rape was tampered with by individuals with power and authority.

Likewise, the wide-body aircraft scandal is another largest corruption scandal. The procurement of two wide-body Airbus A330 jets by Nepal Airlines Corporation, amounting to a \$209.6 million deal, has been determined by the Sub-committee under the Parliamentary Public Account Committee to have caused a loss of Rs 4.34 billion to the government. This shameful disclosure has highlighted the magnitude of corruption within the aviation sector (Prasain, 2019). Additionally, the anti-corruption constitutional body, CIAA, has taken legal action by filing a charge-sheet at the Special Court, implicating 175 individuals for their involvement in irregularities related to the encroachment of government land in Baluwatar, Kathmandu. Notable high-ranking government officials, including former deputy minister, as well as other former ministers, have been implicated in this case (Online Khabar, 2020).

The prevalence of corruption scandals in Nepal has been demonstrated by many of the Nepalese media that countless incidents of corruption remain concealed, perpetuating a cycle of cruelty and emboldening criminals, while leaving the general populace vulnerable to their actions. Corruption has reached alarming levels and has become deeply ingrained in society, culminating in tragic outcomes such as an increase in suicides among those who face immense financial struggles. Corruption has led to brain drain, as individuals who adhere to their moral principles find it untenable to survive in such an environment and choose to leave the country. The consequences of this systemic corruption are evident in unnecessary inflation, rampant crime,

murders, and pervasive hunger, all stemming largely from the abuse of authority. Recently, the Nepal Police exposed its investigation into the Bhutanese refugee scam and recommended the prosecution of 33 individuals, including senior political leaders from various parties, on charges of fraud, organized crime against the nation, and treason.

The corruption poses a significant barrier to development in Nepal. Addressing corruption is crucial for Nepal to unleash its full potential, foster sustainable development, and improve the wellbeing of its people.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the issue of corruption in Nepal is a significant obstacle to the country's overall development, impeding economic growth and progress. The entrenchment of corruption, characterized by irregularities and rent-seeking practices, has deeply infiltrated the political and public administration systems, hindering economic advancement. The detrimental effects of corruption have impeded Nepal's ability to achieve sustainable growth, posing significant obstacles to its developmental aspirations. The research highlighted the escalating culture of corruption in Nepal and the government's failure to apprehend the main culprits behind major corruption scandals, raising critical questions regarding good governance, emphasizing the absence of the rule of law, democracy, freedom, accountability, and transparency, thus resulting in increased poverty, hunger, and crime rather than their alleviation.

To combat corruption, it is imperative for Nepal to undertake significant measures to promote good governance and achieve sustainable development. immediately This entails implementing comprehensive reforms, bolstering institutional frameworks, and actively involving citizens in the process. By fostering a culture of transparency, accountability, and integrity, in addition to good governance principles, Nepal can lay the foundation for a more just, inclusive, and prosperous society. The collective efforts of all stakeholders are crucial in addressing these challenges and steering the nation towards sustainable development committed in the global forum. The research recommends that the politicians, bureaucrats, and other authorities recognize the fragility of good governance and its far-reaching impact on societal progress, particularly within the federal democratic system. Raising awareness among the people about the corrosive nature of corruption is crucial, as it is not merely an economic or financial issue but a prime contributor to the rise of high-level crime and the perpetuation of a corrupt culture for generations.

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