State Capture Matters: A global comparative and empirical perspective

Daniel Kaufmann Sr Fellow, R4D; Brookings; President Emeritus NRGI <u>r4d.org/resources/state-capture-index/</u>

Special Panel on Global Lessons of State Capture, hosted by NSI, GAH/R4D, and OTT Johannesburg, June 18, 2025

'Seize the State, Seize the Day' Research on Capture, 1999-2000: Differences in Transition Countries on the Extent of State Capture



State Capture – what were we talking about?

- Contrast -- Traditional notion of Administrative <u>Corruption</u> as acts in the *Implementation of the pre-set Rules of the Game,* vs. <u>State Capture</u> = Shaping of the Rules of the Game (incl. *Institutions, budget) by the Economic & Politically Influential,* at the expense of the public good
- The focus shifts away from a 'corrupt public servant' to the economic & politically influential 'captor': it can be *a powerful non-state actor, or a politician, or both colluding*
- State Capture can be Legal, by design (even if far from ethical)
- Related to acute <u>Inequality of Influence</u> by the few
- A fundamental driver of socio-economic and political outcomes (vs. corruption – more often a symptom)
- Rethink of corruption definition: from 'abuse' to 'privatization'

Evolution in the study of State Capture since the '90s

1. State Capture concept, and the field, has expanded, with a more political and interdisciplinary treatment

2. Scope of actors engaging in capture is larger. State actors can also be captors as well. Non-state & state actors can collude.

3. In-depth inquiry into the *process* of capture, & on the *'objects of capture'* – the institutions, policies, regulations, laws.

4. Empirical work expanded from initial focus on FSU/CEE transition (e.g. SAfr): a universal challenge, yet country variation

5. Awareness about the dire consequences & costs of capture, leading to Commissions of Inquiry and to focus on prevention

Extent of Corruption vs. State Capture (2020-2022): Countries in OECD



Extent of Corruption & State Capture (2020-2022): Selected Countries



Source: Kaufmann, D. (2024). State capture matters: Considerations and empirics toward a worldwide measure. In S. Rose-Ackerman (Ed.), *Public sector performance, corruption, and state capture in a globalized world* (pp. 31). Routledge.

Extent of (traditional) Corruption (WGI) vs. State Capture Index (SCI) for High Income and Low/Medium Income Countries (2020-22 period)



Extent of Corruption & State Capture (2017-2020) : Selected Countries



Source: Kaufmann, D. (2024). State capture matters: Considerations and empirics toward a worldwide measure. In S. Rose-Ackerman (Ed.), *Public sector performance, corruption, and state capture in a globalized world* (pp. 31). Routledge.

State Capture: some countries in Africa, 1996-2022



Source: Kaufmann, D. (2024). State capture matters: Considerations and empirics toward a worldwide measure. In S. Rose-Ackerman (Ed.), *Public sector performance, corruption, and state capture in a globalized world* (pp. 31). Routledge.

Evolution of State Capture, selected countries: 1996-2022



Evolution of State Capture, selected countries: 1996-2022



Source: Authors' calculations based on the ongoing construction of the SCI, September 2023 Initial draft not for circulation.

Unbundling: manifestations & Extent of State Capture differ across countries Capture of Rule of Law (CRL) vs. of Polity & Policy (CPP) in select countries



State Capture can be confined or broad in scope. Dire societal consequences

Scope: 5 broad pillars which are capture targets –

- 1. <u>Constitutional/Rule of Law (parliament, High Court,</u> Intel..)
- 2. <u>Economic Policy/Administrative (Public finances [budget/</u> tax], Central Bank, civil service, regulatory agencies, etc.)
- 3. Dismantling <u>Anti-Corruption/AML</u> framework (norms & laws)
- 4. <u>Cultural/Informational (incl. media; AI; narrative/</u> cognitive)
- 5. <u>Transnational & Sectoral (incl. Natural Res., finance,</u> *trade*)

Dire Consequences:

- Huge Socio-Economic & Developmental Costs: likely a multiple of the cost of traditional corruption
- Undermining of civil and political rights

Paths to Prevention of State Capture

- I. <u>Contextual elements</u> to develop strategies to prevent state capture -- *recognizing universality* & *country differences:*
- <u>'Early warning system'</u>: *diagnostic tools, red flags, data*
- Probing into <u>Inequality of Influence</u>: who wields inordinate hold on power & influence; what is direction of travel?
- Main <u>vulnerabilities</u> vs. areas of <u>institutional</u> strength for leveraging checks & balances and entry points
- <u>Multi-stakeholder</u> participation: government + civil society, & role of industry/financial sector also key.
- II. Specific Areas for diagnostic
- **1. Public Access in Norm-Producing Process**
- 2. Regulatory & Oversight Mechanisms
- 3. Electoral Process and Political Engagement Standards
- 4. Information, Transparency & Technology Integration
- 5. International, Systemic and Sectoral areas and reforms¹⁴

In sum

- Moving beyond traditional corruption notions and templates: <u>State</u>
 <u>Capture</u> -- to assess fundamentals, not symptoms. It can be broad.
- <u>Prevention</u> of full capture: possible -- via timely identification and exposure, collective action, & 'no resting on laurels'
- In-Country <u>Diagnosis</u> to understand: i) the <u>vulnerabilities</u> (judiciary, police, parliament, conflicts of interest in gov't?); ii) the <u>strengths</u> (media, citizens/civil society -incl. think tanks-, & iii) <u>agents of</u> <u>change</u> (exec/judiciary/legislative). Identify points of <u>entry/actions</u>
- <u>Audacity</u>: in exposing & addressing state capture, with evidence

r4d.org/resources/state-capture-index/

State Capture data in the FT & the Economist, 2025 articles

FT: In Defense of the State, Martin Wolf

Capture of the state by private interests has risen substantially in the US since the 1990s

Composite* index of state capture (0-100 range, 0 = absence of state capture)



COM Rachel Gisselquist and 232 others

27 comments · 55 reposts

The clean and the mean

State capture*, maximum=100 Selected countries



*Extent to which a government has corruption, antidemocratic politics, high inequality and lack of rule of law Source: "State capture matters", by D. Kaufmann, 2024

CHART: THE ECONOMIST

State Capture is a Growing Threat