

Republic of Ireland

(Éire)

Capital: Dublin

Inhabitants: 4.339.000 (2007)

Area: 70.273 km²

1. Introduction



Ireland is an island which lies off the west coast of Europe. It covers an area of 84,431 square kilometres (32,599 square miles). The island encompasses the Republic of Ireland (70,283 sq. kilometres/27,136 sq. miles) and Northern Ireland (14,148 sq. kilometres/5,463 sq. miles). Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom (UK) and therefore a separate jurisdiction. In 2006 the population of the Republic of Ireland was 4,239,848 (Central Statistics Office, 2008).

Dublin is the capital city and centre of government in Ireland. In 2006 the Greater Dublin Area had a population of 1,187,176 people (Central Statistics Office, 2008a).

Ireland gained independence from Great Britain in 1922. It has a written constitution, *Bunreacht na hÉireann* (1937). There are two houses of Oireachtas or parliament – the Dail (upper house) and the Seanad or Senate (lower house). There are 166 seats in the Dail and 60 in the Seanad. Members of the Dail are elected by geographical constituencies while membership of the Seanad is achieved through election by vocational constituencies or through nomination by the Taoiseach (Prime Minister) who is the head of government¹.

Origin and Main Stages in Local Government Development

The Irish system of local government was originally derived from the British system, and its key features were established in nineteenth century legislation.

Before independence the most significant development in Irish local government was the Local Government (Ireland) Act of 1898. Prior to this act, a plethora of diverse and non-elected bodies was concerned with the provision and management of services such as poor houses. The 1898 Act sought to co-

¹ In accordance with the Constitution, 49 members of the Seanad are elected and 11 are nominated by the Taoiseach.



ordinate these bodies and established the county² as the basic administrative unit and the elected county council as the means of administering local government. To this day the county and county council are the most important elements of Irish local government. The 1898 Act also introduced urban and rural district councils at sub-county level.

After independence the Local Government (Temporary Provisions) Act of 1923 enabled central government to suspend local authorities. Other developments in the 1920s and 1930s included the introduction of professional city managers or chief executives in the larger cities and the establishment of the Local Appointments Commission (LAC), which until recently was responsible for the appointment of local government and health board employees. The Local Government Act 1925 abolished rural district councils, while urban district councils continued to function until 2001.

In the 1940s and 1950s, the two main pieces of legislation were the County Management Act of 1940, which introduced professional county managers and the County Management (Amendment) Act 1955, which sought to limit the power of managers by requiring them to inform councillors before undertaking new works other than maintenance and repair. County and city councillors have a number of reserved functions, while managers have executive functions. Reserved functions include the making of development plans and bye-laws, adoption of the budget, borrowing, significant planning decisions, disposal of council property and overseeing the executive branch. All non-reserved functions are executive functions and are the preserve of the manager. These

include preparation of the annual budget, appointment and control of staff, recovery of debts, court actions, collecting rents and rates, and determining planning applications. The range of functions for which managers are responsible has grown over time and they have become concomitantly more powerful.

In the 1970s and 1980s the main developments were the abolition of domestic rates under the Local Government (Financial Provisions) Act, 1978 and the establishment of the city of Galway as a county borough under the Local Government (Reorganisation) Act 1985. The abolition of rates deprived local government of an important source of income and increased their reliance on central government.

Local Government Reform

In 1996, the most comprehensive process of Irish local government reform since independence commenced with the publication of the White Paper *Better Local Government*. *Better Local Government* is one of the dimensions of the Strategic Management Initiative (SMI), a programme of public service reform initiated in 1994.

The local government reform process had four aims: enhancement of local democracy, serving the customer better, developing efficiency, and providing proper resources for local government (Department of the Environment and Local Government (DoE), 1996). The White Paper acknowledged the weaknesses of the existing system of local government, including its inability to respond in a comprehensive manner to the problems facing local communities, curtailment of the policy-making role of elected representatives and over-reliance on non-elected officials in this area, and dependence on central government for

² Territorially Ireland is divided into large territorial units known as counties. There are 26 counties in the Republic of Ireland.



funding. Under enhancement of local democracy, *Better Local Government* indicated that local government would receive constitutional recognition and that the government would ratify the European Charter of Local Self Government. It introduced a number of new participatory structures to Irish local authorities. These include Strategic Policy Committees (SPCs), to 'allow councillors a more meaningful role in policy review and development' (DoE, 1996, p. 19), Corporate Policy Groups (CPGs) to monitor the work of the authority and assist the manager in preparing the annual budget, and City and County Development Boards (CDBs) which are charged with drawing up and overseeing integrated strategies for economic, social and cultural development within each city/county and overseeing the implementation of these strategies over a ten-year period. In addition, new area committees of local representatives were introduced to 'deal with area issues, area delivery of service, area development and detailed operational and representational matters' (Boyle et al, 2003, p. 31). Civil society groups are entitled to representation on both SPCs and CDBs. An assessment of these initiatives is provided in section 3.

The White Paper announced a number of reforms in the areas of service provision, enhancement of efficiency and local government finance. These initiatives are discussed in other sections of the Fact Sheet.

The Local Government Act 2001 gave a statutory basis to the key provisions of the White Paper. Crucially the Act provided for the holding of elections to each local authority in 2004, and in every fifth year after 2004. The provision follows a constitutional amendment in June 1999 facilitating the holding of local elections every five years. Previously it had been possible for governments to postpone local

elections, which they did fifteen times since the foundation of the State (Greene, 2003). This demonstrates that the level of credibility and recognition that central government has traditionally accorded to local government has been quite low. The Act legislated for the introduction of elected mayors in county boroughs but this provision was repealed in 2003. Furthermore, following the Act county boroughs (the five main cities in Ireland) were renamed city councils, borough corporations became borough councils and urban district councils and town commissioners were renamed town councils. Section 2 provides a detailed discussion of these structures.

The Local Government Act 2003 disqualified members of the Dail and Seanad from membership of a local authority from the 2004 local elections onwards. Prior to 2004 many members of parliament also held seats in local authorities (dual mandate).

2. Territorial Organisation

Ireland is a unitary state with two principal tiers of government – central and local. While regional government has never featured strongly, services such as health care and tourism are managed on a regional basis by semi-state bodies³.

There are currently 114 Irish local government structures comprising 29 county councils, 5 city councils, 5 borough

³ In 1994 eight non-elected regional authorities were established to co-ordinate the work of local authorities in their regions, review local authority development plans and monitor the use of National Development Plan and EU Structural Funds. Two regional assemblies - the Border, Midlands and West and Southern and Eastern Regional authorities - have been responsible for administering the EU Structural funds since 1999.



councils and 75 town councils. The number of local government structures is low relative to other European countries while the population per elected councillor is high in relative terms⁴ (Hughes, Clancy, Harris and Beetham, 2007).

The county council is the largest and most powerful local authority unit. It has responsibility for all local government functions in its area. Each county council is elected on the basis of electoral areas by the entire population of the county apart from the population of a city council which is a separate entity. Each year a councillor is chosen by the elected members to serve as county council mayor. County councils employ administrative and executive staff, including a county manager.

City councils in the metropolitan areas of Dublin, Cork, Galway, Limerick and Waterford have similar powers to the county councils and function independently of them. Each city council is elected on the basis of electoral areas by the entire population of the city. Dublin is the largest city council with a membership of 52. Every year a councillor is chosen by the elected members to serve as city council mayor. Each city council has a city manager and other executive and administrative staff.

The five borough councils in the large towns of Clonmel, Drogheda, Kilkenny, Sligo and Wexford are elected bodies with 12 members each. Most borough councils comprise a single electoral area. While officially borough councils have the same functions as county and city councils and while they have some paid staff they are actually reliant on the county council for the provision of services such as roads, water supply and building control.

⁴ (see Knox, 2002, cited in Hughes, Clancy, Harris and Beetham, 2007).

The 75 town councils each have 9 elected members. Most town councils comprise a single electoral area. They rely to a great extent on the county council for provision of services in their areas.

Electors in borough and town councils may vote in both county council and borough/town council elections.

Territorial Reform

To date the reform process has not included significant territorial reform. Any changes that are proposed are concerned with boundary change and not with changing the long-standing structures of local government or the predominance of the county.

Financial Indicators

According to the Indecon Report, *Overview of Local Government Finance in Ireland* (October 2005), in 2004 local public expenditure was €958 per capita, compared to €445 in 1996. In 2004 local public expenditure was 9.5% of total public expenditure, compared with 8.3% in 1996. Finally, in 2004 local public expenditure was 3.1% of GNP, compared with 3% in 1996. The Report predicts ongoing significant increases in local expenditure between 2005 and 2010 and forecasts a sharp shortfall between income and expenditure in that period.

3. Local Democracy

3.1 Local political system

There are several national political parties in Ireland, due in part to the operation of a proportional representation (PR) voting system. In accordance with the constitution, PR by means of a single transferable vote is the voting system used for presidential, Dail, Seanad and local elections.



The biggest parties are Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, both of which were established after independence and which took opposing positions on the partition of the island of Ireland after the break with Britain. The third largest party is the Labour Party which pre-dated independence. Smaller parties are the Green Party, Sinn Fein (an all-Ireland republican party) and the Progressive Democrats, a liberal party that was formed after a group of party members split from Fianna Fail. All political parties consistently contest the local elections and most seats on local authorities are filled by representatives of political parties. There are no local political parties, although independent candidates regularly contest both national and local elections. In the 2004 local elections, the six main political parties took 787 of the 883 seats (ElectionsIreland.org, 2008).

Under section 23 of the Local Government Act 2001 the administrative area of a county, city, borough or town may be divided into local electoral areas or constituencies for local authority elections. The Act requires that an independent local government commission report to the minister on the division of electoral areas before such a division can be made.

Local elections are pluralistic in nature. According to section 12 of the Local Government Act 2001 any person who is at least 18 years of age and a citizen of Ireland or ordinarily resident in the country is eligible for election or co-option and membership of a local authority.

Primary research conducted by the Democratic Audit Ireland Project in 2005 revealed that 70% of respondents are very satisfied or quite satisfied with democracy in Ireland (Clancy et al, 2005). In contrast, satisfaction ratings with individual state services are lower. A survey conducted in 2004 revealed that just 40% of Irish people rate the service provided by

local authorities as good, despite the introduction of service indicators under *Better Local Government*⁵ (MORI Ireland, 2004).

3.2 Citizen Participation

Neither the constitution nor the law provides for democratic forms of participation below the municipal level. In fact the 80 municipalities (i.e. borough and town councils) cover just over 15% of the country's population (Quinn, 2003) and are reliant to a significant extent on county councils to provide their services. This underlines the centralisation of Irish local government.

Figure 1 indicates voter turnout at Irish local elections between 1967 and 2004. There was a steady decline in turnout between 1967 and 1999 but the turnout significantly increased in 2004. This increase may be attributed to the holding of the 2004 local elections simultaneously with a referendum on citizenship. The decline in voter turnout mirrors the fall off in turnout for general elections and reflects international trends in voter turnout.

Procedures of Direct Democracy

A corporatist or 'social partnership' approach has characterised Irish economic policy since 1987 when the first national agreement between the Government, trade unions and employers was instituted. In the ten years since 1997 the Irish institutional landscape has been dominated by neo-corporatist arrangements, whereby a broad range of civil society groups and organisations, known collectively as the Community and Voluntary Pillar (CVP), has been included in negotiations leading to

⁵ A survey by the Institute of Public Administration (IPA) in 2003 found that two thirds of local authorities used service indicators only a little or a 'fair amount' (Boyle et al, 2003).



Table 1: Percentage voter turnout at Irish Local Elections 1967-2004

Election Year	1967	1974	1979	1985	1991	1994	1999		2004
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		%
Co. Borough Councils	67	57	59	51	54	-	46	City Councils	53
Dublin County Borough Council	52	40	48	43	43	-	35	Dublin City Council	52
Co. Councils	72	68	67	63	58	-	53	Co. Councils	60
Borough & Urban District Councils	69	65	64	62	-	59	54	Borough Councils	56
Town Commissioners	73	70	70	66	-	56	52	Town Councils	58
Total	67	62	64	60	56	59	51		59

national agreements, of which there have been seven to date. Like the traditional social partners (trade unions and employers' organisations) before them, these groups have become incorporated into the apparatus of what has become the 'dispersed' (Shaw, 2008) or 'interactive' (O'Donovan, 2000) state.

From the mid-1990s neo-corporatism was extended to the local level where a local development system⁶ consisting of a range of state-led targeted socio-economic initiatives was developed. Following *Better Local Government* (1996), the local government system was integrated with the local development system through the establishment of neo-corporatist structures including strategic policy committees (SPCs) and county and city development boards (CDBs). These structures may be criticised on a number of grounds. In the first instance, rather than replacing existing structures they have been added to these structures, thereby increasing

rather than ameliorating the complexity of local government systems. Thus, SPCs co-exist with traditional functional committees and county/city councillors sit on both forms of committee. Furthermore, research (Harvey, 2002; Forde, 2005) has shown that SPCs and CDBs have proved an unsatisfactory experience for both councillors and representatives of voluntary and community groups and have not improved the policy-making capacity of councillors (Keogan, 2003).

The Irish government planned to introduce electronic voting for the local and European Parliament elections in 2004. Due to doubts about the verifiability of the system the plan was abandoned and the government established a Commission on Electronic Voting to review the new system. In its final report in July 2006 the Commission recommended the use of the voting and counting equipment but was unable to recommend the election management software that was purchased. Traditional paper voting was used for the general election in 2007 and it is unclear as to whether electronic voting will be introduced.

⁶ The local development system consists of a range of area-based partnership companies, EU-funded LEADER groups and city and county enterprise boards. All of these initiatives are neo-corporatist in nature.



In the late 1990s the Irish government initiated a system of e-governance. This system encompasses local authorities, which have developed a number of online services (e.g. payments, planning enquiries and a community directory) and online access to a range of state services.

The current Minister for the Environment, Heritage and Local Government announced in April 2008 that he will introduce local town hall meetings, petitions and plebiscites in order to enhance citizen participation at local level (McGee, 2008)⁷.

Traditional customary institutions

Clientelism⁸ or patronage is one of the longest-standing practices in Irish local (and national) politics. Members of parliament and county and city councillors hold 'clinics' at which constituents can seek advice and assistance on matters affecting them such as access to services. Clientelism endures despite greater transparency in the advertising of public services through initiatives such as e-governance. Its persistence may be attributed in part to the PR voting system which encourages a personality-driven form of politics (Hughes, Clancy, Harris and Beetham, 2007). This peculiarly Irish practice is beneficial for elected representatives who garner votes through getting to know constituents and attending to their needs.

⁷ These initiatives are included in a new Green Paper *Stronger Local Government – Options for Change* (April 2008). The Green Paper will also propose a directly elected mayor of Dublin.

⁸ Clientelism occurs when individuals depend 'on an elected intermediary to address their grievances' (O'Halloran, 2004, p. 22) instead of invoking his/her right to go directly to the service provider to seek redress.

3. Centre-Local Relationships

4.1 General Issues

Local authorities are governed by Acts of the Oireachtas (parliament), statutory instruments, provisional ministerial orders, and their own bye-laws. In addition to the Local Government Act 2001, there is comprehensive national legislation on matters such as finance, elections, housing, roads and transportation, environment and waste.

Until 1991 the principle of *ultra vires* operated in relation to local government. Under *ultra vires* a local authority could be deemed by the High Court to be acting beyond its powers and restrained from doing so. The Local Government Act 1991 introduced a general competence provision for local authorities. This provision was reiterated in section 66 of the Local Government Act 2001. Given that local authorities are dependent to a significant extent on central government for funding the power of general competence 'is in the main hypothetical' (O Broin and Waters, 2007, p. 31).

Local government is subject to judicial review and the High Court has the power to direct a local authority to carry out a duty which it fails to undertake (Tierney, 2003). Local authorities can also be sued for actions that are damaging to others or for neglect or default. As well as legal recourse, individual or corporate complaints against local authorities may be made to the Office of the Ombudsman which investigates complaints against the civil service⁹.

⁹ In 2005 approximately one third of complaints to the office of the Ombudsman concerned local authorities (Hughes, Clancy, Harris, Beetham, 2007).



Callanan (2002) points out that Ireland belongs to a group of European countries in which such formal consultation between the central and local levels of government is irregular and haphazard. Similarly, John (2001, p. 78) notes that, in Ireland, central government 'runs most things related to Europe', leaving little scope for input by local authorities which are nonetheless charged with implementing national and EU legislation. In fact, the Local Government Act 2001 (Section 69) specifically requires each local authority to have regard to the 'policies and objectives of the Government or any Minister of the Government in so far as they may affect or relate to its functions'.

Constitutional Guarantees of Local Self Government

Until 1999, the Irish constitution did not provide for local government. This was symptomatic of the centralisation of the Irish state since independence. *Better Local Government* (1996) gave a commitment to constitutional recognition for local government and following a constitutional referendum in June 1999 a new article that acknowledges the role of local government was included in the constitution. The Irish government ratified the European Charter on Local Self Government in October 1997¹⁰.

4.2 Supervision of Local Government

According to section 216 of the Local Government Act 2001 a minister may remove the elected members of a local authority and appoint a commissioner to carry out their functions.

This provision has not been invoked since 1985 but Callanan (2003) points out that local authorities have been threatened with dissolution on a number of occasions and that such a power is incompatible with the idea of local democracy.

Centrally Led Specialised Sectoral Bodies

In recent years a number of centrally led specialised bodies have been established by the state. The impact of their establishment is explored in section 5 below.

4.3 Protection of local self-government rights and interest

Local authorities have recourse to the High Court which has the power to review and nullify ministerial decisions that exceed the statutory powers of the minister.

There are three representative groupings in Irish elected local government. These are the Association of County and City Councils (ACCC), the Association of Municipal Authorities of Ireland (AMAI) and the Local Authority Members Association (LAMA). All three groups have statutory recognition in the Local Government Act 2001. GCCC represents the views of county and city councillors to the state; AMAI is a representative body for city, borough and town councillors and LAMA works for the interests of councillors in all local authorities.

The County and City Managers Association (CCMA) represents the views of managers to the state.

¹⁰ Hughes, Clancy, Harris and Beetham (2007) note that Ireland does not comply with many of the principles of the Charter, particularly those that relate to local autonomy.



5. Local Responsibilities (functions)

Since the 1970s the principal functions of Irish local government have been categorised into eight programme groups. The main activities of local authorities are listed under each category.

1. Housing and building: provision and management of local authority housing and administration of social and affordable housing; enforcement of housing standards; provision of Traveller accommodation and accommodation for homeless people.
2. Road transportation and safety: road construction and maintenance; road safety; driver licenses and collection of motor tax; traffic management; public lighting.
3. Water supply and sewage: provision of public water supply and sewerage schemes; public toilets.
4. Development incentives and controls: physical planning policy; housing strategy; urban and village development.
5. Environmental protection: provision and management of burial grounds; pollution and litter control; fire protection and safety.
6. Recreation and amenities: provision of public swimming pools; provision of libraries; parks and open spaces.
7. Agriculture, education, health and welfare: administration of higher education grants; appointments of elected members to Vocational Education Committees (VECs).
8. Miscellaneous services: financial management; rate collection.

As the list above indicates, housing, roads, water supply and development incentives are the functions on which Irish local authorities concentrate. In 2004, housing and building, roads and environmental protection accounted for the largest proportions of local authority spending

(Indecon, 2005). Most of the other functions are residual and are primarily carried out by other agencies. All local government functions are governed by national legislation and local authorities are not empowered to make policy concerning their functions.

A study by Coughlan and de Buitelir (1996) compares local government in nine western European countries across a range of 30 functions. It reveals that in terms of functions local government in Ireland compares extremely unfavourably to its counterparts in the other countries. Irish local authorities carry out just 10 out of 30 functions whereas in the other countries local government is responsible for most of these 30 functions.

Both the White Paper (1996) and the Devolution Commission (1997) recommended the devolution of a wide range of functions to local authorities on a phased basis, starting with the establishment of 'one-stop-shops' in local authority areas, and culminating in the transfer of functions from national public agencies to local authorities. To date, the development of this phased process has been quite slow and uneven across the country. Section 72 of the Local Government Act 2001 states that the Government *may* transfer functions from central government to local government but that this must be done by provisional order and must be confirmed by an Act of Oireachtas (Parliament). Hughes, Clancy, Harris and Beetham (2007) point out that central government is taking functions from local government rather than increasing its scope. Since the 1970s several national state-sponsored bodies have been established by law in areas such as planning, roads and environment. In effect these specialist bodies have detracted from the functions of local authorities, which are charged to cooperate with them.



The State Authorities (Public Private Partnership Arrangements) Act, No. 1 2002 facilitates the establishment of public-private-partnerships (PPPs) between state agencies and the private sector for the delivery of public infrastructure and services. The Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government is one of several government departments that have entered into PPPs¹¹. While one of the arguments for PPPs is that they can expedite public projects, criticisms refer to concerns about value for money (Seanad Éireann, 2004), the privatisation of public services and the removal of services from the control of public bodies such as local authorities.

6. Local Finance and Management

6.1 Local government incomes

Central government exerts considerable control over local authority finance. The government abolished domestic rates in 1978 and undertook to meet the shortfall from central funds. In 1983 the Local Government (Financial Provisions) (No. 2) Act relieved the state of this responsibility and empowered local authorities to raise revenue through levying domestic service charges for water, refuse and sewerage. Local authorities experienced considerable problems in imposing these charges. Following recommendations in *Better Local Government* (1996) domestic water and sewerage rates were abolished and a system whereby the entire proceeds of motor taxation were assigned to local authorities was introduced. The Local Government Act 1998 superseded the provisions of the White Paper and introduced a Local Government Fund into

which the entire proceeds of motor taxation are paid, as well as a yearly Exchequer contribution. The Fund is to be used to meet the expenses incurred by local authorities in performing their functions. Equalisation between local authorities is a key dimension of the Fund's operation. The Local Government Act 2001 (Section 97) confirms the establishment of the Local Government Fund, and also provides for the establishment by each local authority of a Community Fund (Section 109) to promote 'community initiatives'.

While *Better Local Government* (1996, p. 54) suggested that these changes would 'ensure significant improvements in the funding available to local government', problems remain. The most significant of these is the control which central government exerts over the Local Government Fund. Under Section 3 of the 1998 Act, the Minister for the Environment and Local Government 'shall manage and control the Fund', while Section 4 enables the Minister to determine the Exchequer contribution on an annual basis. Given the high degree of central control over the Local Government Fund, it is difficult to see how this represents an improvement on previous arrangements.

In addition to the proceeds of motor taxation and the Exchequer contribution, most local authorities (apart from some town councils) can levy rates on commercial property. Revenue is also obtained from rents and loans on public housing, commercial water charges, refuse charges, planning application and landfill fees (Davis, 2003).

Figures from the Indecon Report (2005) indicate the extent of local government reliance on central government grants and subsidies. In 2004, 44% of local funding was derived from a combination of government grants and subsidies and a

¹¹ In March 2008 the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government was responsible for 38 of the 81 PPPs in operation in Ireland (Central PPP Policy Unit, 2008b).



general purpose grant. Charging for goods and services accounted for 31% of funding, while commercial rates made up the remaining 25%. Indecon points out that locally based revenue is lower than in most EU and OECD states.

6.2 Local Government Personnel and Management

In 2002 Irish local authorities employed 36,000 people¹² (Tierney, 2003). The Strategic Management Initiative (SMI), of which the current local government reforms are a part, aimed to improve the strategic position of government departments and to focus public service delivery on the customer. Keogan and Callanan (2003) argue that progress on achieving these aims has been unsatisfactory and cite the failure of the state to grant greater discretion and financial independence to local authorities as a case in point.

Integrity of Elected Officials and Personnel¹³

According to the 2007 Corruption Perceptions Index of Transparency International, Ireland ranks twelfth (12) amongst European countries and seventeenth (17) globally in terms of perceived corruption¹⁴. Evidence of considerable political corruption in Ireland has been uncovered over the past ten years. Collins and O'Shea (2000, p. 27)

note that 'Local government decision-making on land use planning has been an area of suspicion for some years'. In 1997 the government established the Flood Tribunal to investigate corrupt payments to politicians within the planning process. The Flood Tribunal has revealed corruption amongst both elected representatives (ministers, members of parliament and local representatives) and local authority officials. The Tribunal (now known as the Mahon Tribunal) is ongoing and has yet to produce its final report. Two individuals – an ex-government minister and an ex-city manager for Dublin – have been prosecuted and jailed for accepting bribes from land developers.

¹² Recruitment for local government is carried out by the Public Appointments Service (PAS), a centralised recruitment, assessment and selection agency for the Irish civil service.

¹³ Two recent pieces of legislation seek to promote transparency and prevent corruption amongst elected representatives. These are the Ethics in Public Office Act 1995 and the Standards in Public Office Act 2001.

¹⁴ The Corruption Perceptions Index ranks 180 states according to their perceived levels of corruption as determined by experts and opinion surveys.