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The grand challenge: Effective anti-corruption measures in projects

Abstract

A grand challenge in projects involves employing anti-corruption measures effectively for dealing with corruption. Existing research is scattered across a wide range of disciplines and thus understanding of the effectiveness of anti-corruption measures in projects remains obscure. Focusing on construction projects, which are the most studied and affected by corruption, we aim to establish what kinds of anti-corruption measures are effective, and how. We use design-oriented research synthesis to systematically study existing empirical evidence related to anti-corruption measures in construction projects, found in management journals across various disciplines. Our study shows that there is scarce empirical evidence documenting the effectiveness of anti-corruption measures in projects. Nevertheless, our findings show that compliance, managerial, probing, reactive, and regulatory measures can be effective. The two main mechanisms explaining how the different anti-corruption measures are effective are enhanced transparency of project operations and incentivised stakeholders. We conclude with a research agenda focused on project governance.

Keywords: Anti-corruption, Project management, Project governance, Construction, Design-oriented research synthesis

20 1. Introduction

21 Corruption, i.e., the abuse of entrusted power for private gain (Transparency International, 2021), is
22 one of the major barriers to successfully planning and delivering projects (Treisman, 2007; Tabish and
23 Jha, 2011; Loosemore and Lim, 2015; Locatelli *et al.*, 2017). Corruption increases costs, creates delays,
24 decreases benefits, and limits projects' positive social and economic impacts (Sonuga, Aliboh and
25 Oloke, 2002; Loosemore and Lim, 2015; Damoah *et al.*, 2018). Locatelli *et al.* (2017) submit that
26 corruption includes, among others, bribery, extortion, fraud, abuse of power, embezzlement, conflict
27 of interest, and nepotism.

28 To prevent corruption from taking place or mitigate the aforementioned negative
29 consequences, practitioners and academics are paying increasing attention to anti-corruption, i.e.,
30 measures to substantially reduce corruption in all its forms (Owusu *et al.*, 2019). Building on (Tabish
31 and Jha, 2012), when we use the word "measures", we include "leadership, rules and regulations,
32 training and fear of punishment" (p. 23) but also policies, managerial approaches, arrangements,
33 measures, practices, etc., derived by individual groups of organisations to reduce corruption.

34 Despite the relevance of anti-corruption measures, there is a paucity of research on anti-
35 corruption measures, particularly their effectiveness in projects. To establish an initial understanding
36 of anti-corruption measures for our research, we searched and analysed articles in project
37 management journals from Scopus on January 31, 2020 (search and analysis updated on March 11,
38 2022). The project management journals included the *International Journal of Project Management*,
39 *International Journal of Project Organization and Management*, *International Journal of Managing*
40 *Projects in Business*, and *Project Management Journal*. The research question that guided this research
41 was: *What kinds of anti-corruption measures are effective in projects, and how?*

42 We found only ten articles with the words "corruption" OR "anti-corruption" in either the
43 article title, abstract, or keywords (see Appendix A1 for a summary of the analysis). Five of these
44 articles (Osei-Tutu, Badu and Owusu-Manu, 2010; Bowen, Edwards and Cattell, 2015; Locatelli *et al.*,

45 2017; Damoah *et al.*, 2018) deal with construction projects and focus on corruption rather than anti-
46 corruption. These articles examine the root causes of corruption, how corruption occurs, how
47 corruption impacts projects, and how different project actors perceive corruption. Five other articles
48 (Sonuga, Aliboh and Oloke, 2002; Ling *et al.*, 2014; Walker and Lloyd-Walker, 2014; Damoah and Kumi,
49 2018; Wang *et al.*, 2019) focus on other phenomena such as ethical dilemmas of project management
50 and project failure factors, again, not on anti-corruption measures. The remaining article (Owusu *et*
51 *al.*, 2019) focuses on anti-corruption in projects and is the first and only paper in project management
52 journals focused explicitly on anti-corruption measures.

53 While the existing research on anti-corruption measures and their effectiveness is limited in
54 project management journals (as indicated above), it is obvious that there may be relevant research
55 outside project management journals. However, to our best knowledge, the research on anti-
56 corruption measures in these journals have not been accompanied by integration efforts, which might
57 have resulted in a few small and largely isolated pockets of research across several journals and
58 scientific communities that extend beyond project management discipline. Given the relevance of
59 anti-corruption in projects, a systematic analysis of this growing body of knowledge is missing and
60 needed. Therefore, this study aims to develop a systematic understanding of anti-corruption
61 measures and their effectiveness in projects. We achieved this aim by mapping the existing empirical
62 evidence extending beyond project management journals, using design-oriented research synthesis
63 as our research approach.

64 Corruption is widespread across businesses, and projects are no exception, particularly
65 construction projects. Therefore, in this research, we focus on projects within the construction sector
66 for five reasons: (i) the construction sector is one of the industries most prone to corruption (Treisman,
67 2007; Tabish and Jha, 2011; Transparency International, 2012; Locatelli *et al.*, 2017; Investopedia,
68 2020); (ii) construction is a project-based sector and one of the most studied in project management;
69 (iii) pragmatically, there are likely enough data to perform the analysis; (iv) focusing on one sector
70 only is ideal for obtaining consistent results; (v) developing a more systematic understanding of anti-

71 corruption measures and their effectiveness in construction projects can, in addition to theoretical
72 implications, have widespread beneficial managerial implications.

73 The rest of the paper is organised as follows. Section 2 introduces our design-oriented
74 research synthesis approach, including the article search and review process and analysis protocol.
75 Section 3 presents the findings regarding anti-corruption measures, and Section 4 discusses the
76 findings. Section 5 outlines this paper's managerial implications and theoretical contribution and
77 concludes with research limitations and future research ideas.

78

79 **2. Research methods and analysis**

80 We used design-oriented research synthesis as our research approach (Briner and Deyner, 2012).
81 Design-oriented research synthesis is appropriate when empirical evidence of the study phenomenon
82 is scattered across a broad range of publication outlets within different disciplines (Denyer, Tranfield
83 and van Aken, 2008), as in this research. Figure 1 summarises the employed design-oriented research
84 synthesis.

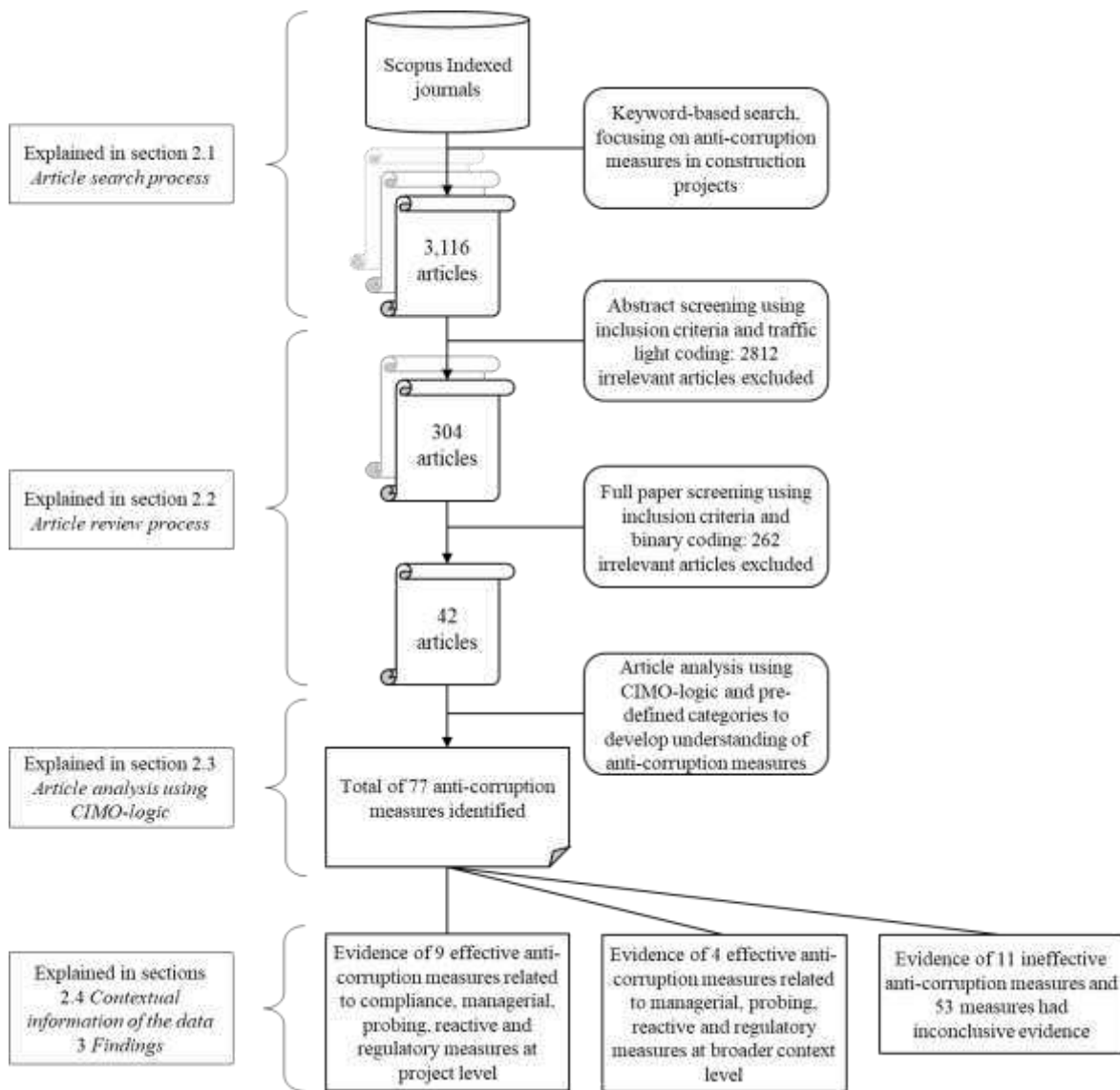


Figure 1. Article search, review, and analysis process.

85

86

87

88 2.1 Article search process

89 We targeted our search to Scopus indexed journals to ensure sufficiently thorough coverage of
 90 relevant data. We used a keyword-based search protocol to capture data across disciplines. We
 91 devised keywords related to anti-corruption and construction projects directly related to our study
 92 phenomenon, as suggested by (Snyder, 2019) when integrating interdisciplinary empirical findings.

93 The following keyword-based search was conducted on 18/11/2020, resulting in our initial
 94 sample of 3,116 articles: (TITLE-ABS-KEY(Corrupt* OR Anticorrupt* OR Anti-corrupt* OR Bribe* OR

95 *Extort* OR Fraud* OR Embezzl* OR "Abuse of power" OR "Conflict of interest" OR Nepotism OR*
96 *Favoritism OR Favouritism OR Illegal*) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY(Project)) AND (LIMIT-TO (DOCTYPE, "ar"))*
97 *AND (LIMIT-TO (LANGUAGE, "English"))*. We developed our list of keywords for anti-corruption
98 measures because there is no comprehensive list of words readily available. We relied on the words
99 *corrupt**, *anti-corrupt**, and *anticorrupt** to capture articles discussing anti-corruption directly. We
100 also used the established concepts describing the forms of corruption, bribery, extortion, fraud,
101 embezzlement, nepotism, favouritism, conflict of interest, and abuse of power (see, e.g., (GIACC,
102 2014; Locatelli *et al.*, 2017)) for searching evidence related to anti-corruption measures dealing with
103 specific forms of corruption. We combined the above list of words (separated with the *OR* operator)
104 with the search word *project** (using the *AND* operator) to capture relevant articles. An initial search
105 indicated that labels for construction projects vary hugely (e.g., infrastructure project, a project for a
106 new stadium, district development project, etc.), so including an exhaustive list for all variations
107 proved unfeasible. However, papers with a construction project very commonly include the word
108 "project(s)", so we used this to identify and manually screen papers that focus on construction
109 projects. Using several search terms increased the number of articles and reduced the percentage of
110 relevant ones, but we wanted to be confident that we were not omitting relevant research from the
111 search. We limited the results by setting the language to "English" and document type to "articles".
112 We focused on journal articles to capture peer-reviewed research.

113 **2.2 Article review process**

114 Consistent with design-oriented research synthesis guidance (Tranfield, Denyer and Smart, 2003;
115 Briner and Deyner, 2012), the article review process included two main phases: an abstract and a full
116 paper review. We randomly assigned the initial sample of 3,116 articles among four authors (779
117 articles for each) for abstract review. Each author read their allocated articles' titles, abstracts, and
118 keywords and coded them following the traffic light coding (Tanskanen *et al.*, 2017), meaning '0' for
119 excluded, '1' for included, and '2' for uncertain. If the article's title, abstract, and keywords did not

120 offer sufficient information to make an informed decision about inclusion or exclusion, the article was
121 coded 2 for uncertain, meaning that a full paper review was required. We used the following three
122 jointly-agreed inclusion criteria for the papers:

- 123 1. Must focus on the relevant sector, including any construction project or related project
124 organisation/actor embedded or related to the sector.
- 125 2. Must describe or analyse anti-corruption measures in the relevant sector.
- 126 3. Must include verifiable empirical data or evidence related to anti-corruption measures (either
127 first-hand or secondary analysis via a review).

128 The first author reviewed and integrated all authors' codings for consistency. We included 304 articles
129 (135 coded as '1', 169 coded as '2') for further analysis based on the abstract review. Next, in the full
130 paper review, we randomly assigned the 304 articles among the same four authors. Each author read
131 the full papers reflecting the same inclusion criteria. The papers were coded '1' for included and '0'
132 for excluded, and a brief reason was documented in case of exclusion. The three main reasons for
133 exclusion were: lack of verifiable empirical evidence or data related to anti-corruption measures; not
134 related to construction projects; duplications. The final sample after the full paper review was 42
135 articles. The final list of articles represents the empirical evidence, and it constitutes the data on which
136 the claims in this paper are based.

137 **2.3 Article analysis using CIMO-logic**

138 We analysed the final sample of 42 articles using CIMO-logic. CIMO-logic is a qualitative analysis
139 approach, often used in design-oriented research synthesis, that approaches each article as a case and
140 seeks to develop an understanding of how, in particular Contexts (C), management Interventions (I)
141 invoke specific Mechanisms (M) which lead to certain Outcomes (O) (Denyer, Tranfield and van Aken,
142 2008; Jones and Gatrell, 2014). Thus, in our research, CIMO-logic offers a feasible analysis framework
143 to, in the context of construction projects (C), develop an understanding of anti-corruption measures
144 (I) and how (M) they are effective in dealing with corruption (O).

145 The analysis consisted of three phases. In the first phase, a pilot coding round was conducted
146 to finalise the CIMO-logic component definitions (see second column of Table 1) and thus assure a
147 unified understanding of the coding principles and consistency for the analysis. Each author coded
148 two articles independently and then reviewed each other’s coding. A meeting was held afterwards to
149 discuss and reach a consensus about the CIMO-logic component definitions before the analysis.

150 In the second phase, we created a codebook based on the component definitions (see third
151 column of Table 1). Each bullet point represents a coding unit, and we analysed the 42 articles
152 following the codebook. Each author independently analysed the same articles they had included from
153 the full paper review, and thereafter the first author reviewed and integrated the analyses. The second
154 phase resulted in 77 anti-corruption measures from the 42 articles.

155

Table 1. The used definitions for CIMO-components and coding structure.

CIMO-logic component	First phase: Definition in the present research	Second phase: Coding units	Third phase: Synthesis
Context (C)	The underlying geographical area, industry type, project setting (e.g., public, private, PPP), project size (i.e., regular or mega) and actor(s) (e.g., individuals, organisations, institutions) involved in an anti-corruption strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Geographical area (country + city) - Project type (e.g., infrastructure, healthcare) - Project setting (e.g., public, private, PPP) - Project size (e.g., small, large, mega) - Key actors related to the measure (e.g., contractor, government actor) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Geographical area (continent) - Industry: established sector labels - Project size: mega or regular
Intervention (I)	Anti-corruption measure is a trigger (impetus), ultimately having (or intending to have) an anti-corruption impact: An intentional or unintentional management strategy, approach, arrangement, measure or practice dedicated to oppose or inhibit corruption.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Measure label (unique, e.g., a specific anti-corruption body) - Verbose empirical description of the measure - Level for devising measure (i.e., country, permanent organisation, project organisation, mixed-levels, person) - Level for implementing measure (i.e., country, permanent organisation, project organisation, mixed-levels, person) - Open comment (i.e., for communicating observations among authors) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Category of anti-corruption measure: probing, managerial, regulatory, compliance, promotional, or reactive measure - Primary level of anti-corruption measure: project or ecology level
Mechanism (M)	The subsequent activities/actions, steps, and events triggered by an anti-corruption measure that explain how the measure produced outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Verbose explanation of the mechanism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Two main mechanisms: enhancing transparency and incentivising stakeholders
Outcome (O)	The measure's impact on corruption (e.g., actors' behavioural change and effects on corruption and the project) with evidential information. The outcome also includes examining the motivation behind the measure (i.e., intended outcome of measure), assumed based on or supported by evidence, to understand and analyse the effectiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intended purpose (e.g., reduce incidences of bribery) - Impact of anti-corruption measure (verbal explanation) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Anti-corruption measure outcome: effective, ineffective, or effect unknown - Corruption level: minor or major

157

158 In the third phase, the first and second authors synthesised the second phase codings by
 159 incorporating the third and fourth authors' ideas (see fourth column of Table 1). Regarding the
 160 "context", we synthesised the geographical area according to continent and project type according to
 161 the industrial sector with established labels, e.g., oil & gas or infrastructure. We also synthesised
 162 project size into two categories, regular and mega. Regarding the "intervention", we relied on the
 163 comprehensive conceptual framework developed by Owusu and colleagues (2019), which includes six

164 categories of anti-corruption measures: probing, managerial, regulatory, compliance, promotional,
165 and reactive measures (categories are introduced in Section 3, and more information of the definitions
166 is available in (Owusu *et al.*, 2019)). The framework is specifically developed for categorising various
167 empirical anti-corruption activities, thus being applicable for synthesising our findings. We categorised
168 the identified 77 anti-corruption measures according to these 6 categories. We also synthesised the
169 level of anti-corruption measure into two categories – project and ecology – to better distinguish
170 project level measures, i.e., those anti-corruption measures implemented at the project level that
171 relate to project management issues (thus are manageable at the project level) from ecology level
172 measures, i.e., activities implemented outside the focal boundaries of a project (e.g., measures at the
173 national/regional level such as governmental anti-corruption regulations) that have profound
174 implications on how projects are planned and managed. The key idea is that looking at a project “in
175 isolation” is relevant but narrow. At the very least, a project (temporary organisation) should be
176 thought on the intersection between the business of a project-based company and a client (both
177 permanent organisations) (Winch, 2014). Expanding the perspective, projects can be seen as an
178 element of project business (Artto and Kujala, 2008) or better project ecologies (Söderlund, 2004;
179 Grabher, 2016; Hedborg, Eriksson and Gustavsson, 2020). In particular we subscribe to the ecology
180 perspective since it is able to describe the environment in which the project is delivered and “*the links*
181 *between projects and actors (e.g., firms), the sociology of projects, in the economics of projects and in*
182 *the links between project participation and company development (p.661)” (Söderlund, 2004). Also*
183 *“Project ecologies are links and interdependencies between projects with multiple organisational*
184 *actors in project-intensive contexts. Important aspects include the personal relations, localities and*
185 *corporate networks, where the focus lies on interdependencies between projects, actors and their*
186 *contexts (P. 394)” (Hedborg, Eriksson and Gustavsson, 2020). Therefore, anti-corruption measures*
187 *related to the planning and delivery of projects should also be examined at the ecology level.*

188 Regarding the “mechanism”, we first interpreted and sought to identify the logic behind each
189 verbose mechanism description of the chronological events/actions/activities that started from an

190 anti-corruption measure and led to an outcome. We summarised the logic behind each mechanism
191 with a short sentence. After that, we iteratively compared the brief sentences for similarities and
192 differences and synthesised two main mechanisms, the first related to enhancing transparency and
193 the second to incentivising stakeholders. Lastly, regarding the “outcome”, we synthesised the anti-
194 corruption measures into three categories: effective, ineffective, and effect unknown. We considered
195 an anti-corruption measure effective when it (even partly) achieved the intended outcome related to
196 dealing with corruption. Appendix A2 shows the final data and coding structure with two examples.

197 **2.4 Contextual information of the data**

198 Table 2 shows the distribution of the 77 anti-corruption measures identified in 42 articles in 40
199 different journals with all the references. Table 3 offers information on the context of the 77 anti-
200 corruption measures. Most anti-corruption measures have been implemented in Asian (45) and
201 African (16) countries. The previous resonates with earlier research emphasising that corruption is
202 widespread in those areas (Transparency International, 2020), and thus it is likely that there is also
203 empirical research on anti-corruption measures in these countries. Surprisingly, South America and
204 Eastern and Southern Europe are not well presented in the data, even though these areas are often
205 plagued by corruption (Transparency International, 2020). Anti-corruption measures found from
206 countries within Europe covered Western Russia (St. Petersburg) and Italy, but many Eastern
207 European (e.g., the former Soviet Union) and Southern European countries (e.g., former Yugoslavian
208 area) are missing completely, despite the existence of corruption in these regions (Transparency
209 International, 2022). The anti-corruption measures have been used especially in public sector
210 construction and infrastructure projects of both regular and mega sizes, which resonates with the
211 extant research arguing that corruption is prevalent, particularly in public sector construction and
212 infrastructure development (Transparency International, 2012; Investopedia, 2020). Most of the 77
213 anti-corruption measures (54) have been implemented at the project level. The remaining measures
214 (23) have been implemented at the ecology level.

Table 2. Distribution of anti-corruption measures across different journals and articles.

Journal	N of ACM†	Article reference*
International Journal of Construction Management	11	(Yap <i>et al.</i> , 2020)
Journal of Infrastructure Systems	6	(Owusu, Albert P. C. Chan, <i>et al.</i> , 2020)
Cities	6	(Owusu, Albert P.C. Chan, <i>et al.</i> , 2020)
Public Money and Management	5	(Deng <i>et al.</i> , 2014)
International Journal of Climate Change: Impacts and Responses	3	(Fadairo <i>et al.</i> , 2018)
International Forestry Review	3	(Hill, 2000)
Journal of Political Economy	3	(Olken, 2007)
Journal of Professional Issues in Engineering Education and Practice	3	(Damit, 1983)
Development Policy Review	2	(Suhardiman and Mollinga, 2017)
Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences	2	(Jiménez <i>et al.</i> , 2020)
Eurasian Geography and Economics	2	(Trumbull, 2010)
Crime, Law and Social Change	2	(Anechiarico and Jacobs, 1994) (Marquette and Doig, 2004)
International Journal of Project Management	2	(Locatelli <i>et al.</i> , 2017) (Sichombo <i>et al.</i> , 2009)
Culture, Theory and Critique	1	(Goldstein, 2018)
Journal of Public Procurement	1	(Tanaka and Hayashi, 2016)
Information Technology and People	1	(Johri and Nair, 2011)
Foresight	1	(Abdul Rahim, Mohd Amin and Mohd Razali, 2020)
Journal of Social Studies Education Research	1	(Pujiyono, Setiawan and Hutabarat, 2019)
Journal of Theoretical and Applied Information Technology	1	(Zakaria <i>et al.</i> , 2014)
Journal of Management in Engineering	1	(Hosseini <i>et al.</i> , 2018)
Journal of Urban Economics	1	(Cai, Wang and Zhang, 2017)
Eurasia Journal of Mathematics, Science and Technology Education	1	(He, Yang and Gao, 2017)
Political and Legal Anthropology Review	1	(Yessenova, 2012)
Journal of Siberian Federal University - Humanities and Social Sciences	1	(Damm <i>et al.</i> , 2019)
Construction Economics and Building	1	(Aduwo <i>et al.</i> , 2020)
Journal of South Asian Development	1	(Sabet and Tazreen, 2015)
World Affairs	1	(Werlin, 2005)
Asian Politics and Policy	1	(Mendoza and Cruz, 2020)
Leadership and Management in Engineering	1	(Hartley, 2009)
Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers: Forensic Engineering	1	(Signor <i>et al.</i> , 2017)
Proceedings of Institution of Civil Engineers: Management, Procurement and Law	1	(Yakubu, 2019)
Public Works Management and Policy	1	(Haynes, 1999)
Theoretical and Empirical Research in Urban Management	1	(Ebekozien, 2019)
International Journal on Advanced Science, Engineering and Information Technology	1	(Hesna <i>et al.</i> , 2019)
Research and Politics	1	(Buntaine and Daniels, 2020)
International Studies Quarterly	1	(Winters, 2014)
Water Alternatives	1	(Venot, Andreini and Pinkstaff, 2011)
Journal of Construction Engineering and Management	1	(Mahpour and Mortaheb, 2018)
Asian Journal of Political Science	1	(Mahalingam, 2006)
Journal of Financial Crime	1	(Sofe, 2020)
Total of 40 journals	Total 77	

*Full reference details included in the reference list

†ACM = anti-corruption measures

218

Table 3. Contextual information of the 77 anti-corruption measures.

Geographical area									
Continent	Asia	Africa	North America	Multi-context	South America	Europe	Oceania		
N of ACM*	45	16	5	4	3	3	1		
Project setting									
Project setting	Public		Mixture	Private		NGO	PPP		
N of ACM*	33		31	8		4	1		
Industry type									
Industry type of ACM*	General construction	Infrastructure	Forest	Oil & Gas	Residential	Agricultural	Energy	Irrigation	Real estate
	41	22	6	2	2	1	1	1	1
Project size									
Project size			Both	Regular			Mega		
N of ACM*			44	23			10		
Intervention level									
Intervention level			Project	Ecologyt					
N of ACM*			54	23					

*ACM = anti-corruption measures

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224 3. Findings

225 To summarise our findings, Table 4 categorises the 77 anti-corruption measures into six distinct
 226 measure categories. We have further classified the anti-corruption measures into either the project
 227 or ecology level, which also indicates the level of effectiveness in dealing with corruption in
 228 construction projects. Throughout the remainder of this section, we outline the measure categories
 229 and explore the studies that highlight where corruption (in construction projects) was effectively
 230 planned/managed.

231

Table 4. Categories of anti-corruption measures with information on their effectiveness.

Anti-corruption measure category	Project level				Ecology level				Total
	N of anti-corruption measures with:				N of anti-corruption measures with:				
	Effective outcome	Ineffective outcome	Unknown outcome	Subtotal	Effective outcome	Ineffective outcome	Unknown outcome	Subtotal	
Compliance measures	1	-	4	5	-	-	1	1	6
Managerial measures	1	3	9	13	2	1	4	7	20
Probing measures	4	2	7	13	1	1	3	5	18
Promotional measures	-	1	7	8	-	-	2	2	10
Reactive measures	1	1	4	6	1	-	-	1	7
Regulatory measures	1	2	6	9	1	-	6	7	16
Total	8	9	37	54	5	2	16	23	77

232

233

234 **3.1 Compliance measures**

235 Compliance measures relate to anti-corruption activities that ensure adherence to stipulated anti-
236 corruption norms, regulations, demands, requests, and principles (Owusu *et al.*, 2019).

237 We found one anti-corruption measure related to contractual compliance that effectively
238 dealt with corruption in construction projects, as shown in (Mahpour and Mortaheb, 2018). Mahpour
239 and Mortaheb examine the role of a financial-based incentive plan (anti-corruption measure) to
240 reduce illegal dumping in the residential building industry of Iran. They designed a financial-based
241 incentive plan based on guidelines elicited from survey respondents' comments, content analysis, and
242 plugging gaps of previous known incentive-based plans. The plan incentivises stakeholders to change
243 their behaviour and save money by reducing purchased materials, wasted materials, landfills, and
244 illegally dumped waste. The savings are then shared in an 'alliance-type' situation among the
245 stakeholders. Mahpour and Mortaheb then conducted a quasi-experiment, where the plan was
246 implemented in a construction project and compared to a situation in the same project without the
247 incentive plan. The outcome of said experiment showed that the financial-based incentive plan
248 reduced the costs associated with illegal dumping by 50%. Thus, this study makes a strong case for the
249 importance of contractual incentives, demonstrating their ability to help mitigate the abuse of
250 entrusted power for private gain in construction projects.

251 **3.2 Managerial measures**

252 Managerial measures relate to proactive administrative activities that are often project- and
253 organisation-specific, and are intended to effectively administrate the internal structures and related
254 organisations against corruption (Owusu *et al.*, 2019).

255 We identified three anti-corruption measures related to administrative activities that
256 effectively dealt with corruption in construction projects. By way of example, (Haynes, 1999)

257 investigated how three administrations (Inspector General, State auditor, and Attorney general) in
258 Boston, USA established an independent project oversight coordination commission (anti-corruption
259 measure) to manage waste, fraud, and abuse of public funds in the Boston Central Artery/Tunnel
260 (CA/T) Project. All three administrations in this committee had individual responsibilities to oversee
261 the project and support its management, making all project operations more transparent to the public.
262 The Inspector General pursued statutory mandates, reviewed budget and finance plans, reviewed and
263 approved building construction, monitored contracts, investigated criminal/civil violations, and
264 frequently published case studies about the project. The State auditor monitored change orders,
265 audited, provided technical assistance on finance/accounting systems, reviewed oversight,
266 construction, and design of contracts, and published audit reports. The Attorney General enforced
267 civil/criminal laws, cut costs through alternative dispute resolution, reviewed legality of bidding
268 processes, and trained project managers on cost avoidance measures.

269 In addition to individual duties, the three administrations shared some responsibilities,
270 including joint investigations, launching competitive bidding initiatives, and mediation and dispute
271 resolution. The committee successfully dealt with corruption in the case project: *“stellar performance*
272 *by the individual commission members in any traditional sense—such as corruption uncovered,*
273 *mismanagement revealed, wasteful practices identified, and criminal cases prosecuted”* ((Haynes,
274 1999), p. 237). Although the evidence demonstrates that the committee had successfully detected
275 and extirpated corruption, Haynes emphasised that a proactive anti-corruption approach may be
276 more effective in the long term.

277 **3.3 Probing measures**

278 Probing measures relate to proactive anti-corruption activities that have the purpose of facilitating a
279 functioning reporting and recoding system and an effective investigation and/or auditing process in
280 the a construction project (Owusu *et al.*, 2019).

281 We found five anti-corruption measures related to probing measures that effectively dealt
282 with corruption in construction projects. One anti-corruption measure concerns whistleblowing, as (Olken,
283 2007) discusses. Olken designed an anonymous form for whistleblowing (anti-corruption measure)
284 through which community members could anonymously report corruption and corrupt practices in
285 Indonesian village road projects. They then distributed said form to villages where new roads were
286 developed, allowing the villagers to report corrupted practices about the projects without fear of
287 retaliation. The forms were collected in sealed drop boxes dedicated to whistleblowing, and the
288 results were summarised at periodical village meetings. The form was incredibly effective, serving two
289 main functions. First, it was a deterrent as it incentivised those in charge of project decisions (e.g.,
290 village government and village elites) to not engage in corruption (and embezzlement of funds
291 specifically) because they would likely get caught. Second, the anonymous form made project
292 operations more transparent, as villagers could report their perspectives on what was going on in the
293 projects at the grassroots level. Summarising the findings, Olken (2007, p. 204) notes that "*form*
294 *treatment did reduce missing expenditures [indicator for embezzlement]..., but only when the*
295 *comment forms were distributed entirely via village schools, completely bypassing the village*
296 *government and preventing village elites from disproportionately channelling the forms to their*
297 *supporters*". This evidence suggests that anonymous and unbiased (i.e., not controlled by a third party
298 with a conflict of interest) channels for whistleblowing can effectively reduce the incidence of
299 embezzlement.

300 In the same article, (Olken, 2007) also designed an audit treatment in Indonesian village road
301 projects where certain villages were told beforehand that the central government audit agency would
302 audit their construction project. Projects with this treatment were compared to similar village road
303 projects that had no treatment (which acted as the control group). Olken found that, in construction
304 projects subject to government audits compared to projects with no auditing treatment, missing
305 expenditures (indicator for embezzlement) were reduced by eight percentage points. This effect was
306 measured by quantifying discrepancies between official project costs and independent engineers'

307 estimates of costs. In sum, the study suggests that auditing (or at least fear of auditing and public
308 transparency of project activities) can play a pivotal role in reducing corruption (specifically
309 embezzlement in this case), even in highly corrupt environments.

310 Another finding relates to supervision, contract monitoring, and auditing simultaneously,
311 shown in (Zakaria *et al.*, 2014). In their study, they examined the role of a new e-tendering and e-
312 procurement system in Malaysian public construction projects. In 2000, the Federal Government of
313 Malaysia adopted an e-tendering system, a virtual trading environment based on Internet
314 technologies that enables government agencies to procure construction industry services and
315 products internationally and locally. This new system was intended to improve public sector
316 procurement's overall efficiency and quality and avoid unethical practices. The authors gathered
317 experiences and insights from contractors who had used the system, finding that although the system
318 was not yet flawless and completely corruption free, it could improve the situation and mitigate
319 corruption in the public construction industry. For example, the e-tendering system enhanced
320 transparency in procurement measures as every procurement was carefully monitored and recorded
321 down to every detail through the new system, making corruption more visible. The study therefore
322 demonstrates that this kind of e-tendering/e-procurement system facilitates transparent supervision,
323 monitoring, and auditing, which can reduce the rate of corruption in construction projects.

324 A fourth finding relates to auditing (Anechiarico and Jacobs, 1994). Anechiarico and Jacobs
325 examined the role of auditing (anti-corruption measure) within the public administration of New York
326 City, USA. The New York municipality began continuous and accurate auditing of all of its activities
327 (including construction projects), pursuing corruption-free government during the 20th century. The
328 auditing took place in different forms, and different actors initiated it throughout the century – even
329 some new agencies were established to implement auditing. Auditing was based on a random
330 sampling of public sector activities, and led to meticulous investigations. Investigations were not
331 disclosed until they had reached conclusive results, meaning that public officials could be unaware
332 that they or their construction projects were being audited. Said public officials had to continuously

333 provide detailed and transparent information about their construction projects so that every activity
334 was transparently observable to every detail. The case study shows that this auditing has been a major
335 deterrent for public officials in New York City to not engage in corruption, especially when detailed
336 auditing became more intensive, meticulous, and overall bureaucratic. However, the study also
337 showed that detailed auditing could have its downsides as too much control and bureaucracy can
338 paralyse the officials from doing their work: “[a]s one former commissioner told us, ‘It’s more
339 important to look honest than to get anything done’” (Anechiarico and Jabocs, 1994, p. 374). Still, the
340 evidence presented suggests that auditing can have a positive effect in dealing with corruption of
341 public sector actors involved in construction projects.

342 **3.4 Promotional measures**

343 Promotional measures include activities designed to publicise or propagate other anti-corruption
344 measures and educate construction project organisations and stakeholders about corruption (Owusu
345 et al., 2019).

346 We did not find evidence in our analysis that promotional measures effectively deal with
347 corruption in construction projects. Altogether, we identified ten promotional measures, of which one
348 was found ineffective, and for nine, the effect was unknown (e.g., inconclusive evidence). The analysis
349 does not indicate that promotional measures are ineffective, but this issue needs further research to
350 make sound conclusions.

351 **3.5 Reactive measures**

352 Reactive measures relate to anti-corruption activities that seek to punish organisations and individuals
353 found guilty of engaging or committing corruption in construction projects (Owusu et al., 2019).

354 We found two effective reactive measures related to investigations and court proceedings
355 that effectively dealt with corruption in construction projects. For example, (Signor et al., 2017) show
356 how the forensic investigators of the Federal Police in Brazil investigated and uncovered evidence of

357 collusive bidding in Brazilian infrastructure projects that led to disclosing the cartel and shutting it
358 down (anti-corruption measure). The Federal Police observed that a noteworthy part of the national
359 oil company's bids was clearly higher than other bids, being an indicator for analysing the suspected
360 organisation in detail. Their detailed investigation uncovered the following: *"the same set of bidders'*
361 *proposals [...] were significantly higher than the estimated market value. Evidence [...] indicated a*
362 *consortium had been formed, which comprised the country's largest construction/engineering firms*
363 *that were capable of submitting independent proposals. In addition, the winning bids [...] were*
364 *significantly higher than tenders submitted by the same bidders in unfettered bids, either as a*
365 *consortium or individually. Moreover, evidence has revealed that there had been a proclivity for losing*
366 *tenders to have been submitted as 'cover' prices. [...] collusion had taken place with the 'oil' company*
367 *and the member construction firms of the League of 16"* (Signor et al., 2017, pp. 115-116). To find
368 further evidence, the Federal Police investigators continued the inquiry by comparing the bid patterns
369 of the suspected 16 actors against those that were not under suspicion for similar projects of the 'oil'
370 company (Signor et al., 2017, p. 117). The case study presents in detail the approach adopted by the
371 Brazilian Federal Police that made the bidding behaviour of suspected firms transparent and yielded
372 statistically significant results of different behaviour between the two groups, offering evidence of the
373 collusion behaviour of the 16 firms. The investigations of the Federal Police led to holding the firms
374 accountable, and the cartel was disclosed and shut down. Many of the involved firms and officials
375 have admitted being guilty, and many have been found guilty, indicating that inquiries and
376 investigations can effectively eliminate corruption in construction projects.

377 **3.6 Regulatory measures**

378 Regulatory measures relate to statutory acts, decrees and laws and institutional regulations that have
379 been established to inhibit corruption in construction projects (Owusu *et al.*, 2019).

380 We found two regulation based anti-corruption measures (i.e., anti-corruption policies) that
381 effectively dealt with corruption in construction projects. For example, (Winters, 2014) studies the

382 effect of the World Bank’s policy on precision targeting of funding (anti-corruption measure) on the
383 incidence of capture (misappropriation of funds) in projects in developing countries. The policy
384 ensures that funds are allocated to projects precisely targeted at a particular constituency, e.g., single
385 cities, regions, businesses, industry, or particular social groups. Winters contemplates that the policy
386 leads to greater clarity of responsibility and clearer lines of accountability within the host country’s
387 government, facilitating a constituency to detect those responsible for poor performance and lodge
388 complaints about problems. When the lines of responsibility are clear and transparent,
389 misappropriation is less likely to occur as it is easier to hold politicians and officials accountable. Thus,
390 they are more likely to face the consequences of improper project implementation. Also, when a
391 project is implemented in a single area, the local community has better opportunities to monitor and
392 report whether the project and its services and goods have arrived compared to projects at the
393 national level where outputs are more difficult to monitor. Using several estimators and control
394 variables at the project- and country-level, Winters tested the effect of the policy on the incidence of
395 capture quantitatively using World Bank’s data on nearly 600 World Bank-funded investment projects
396 (including construction projects). He found that “*the probability of a targeted project experiencing*
397 *capture [misappropriation of funds] is 11.4-percentage points less as compared to a non-targeted*
398 *project*” (Winters, 2014, p. 400), indicating that targeting funding policy can be effective in dealing
399 with corruption.

400

401 **4. Discussion**

402 Our analysis identified that compliance, managerial, probing, reactive, and regulatory measures
403 relating to anti-corruption can effectively deal with corruption. Conversely, we found no evidence
404 about the effectiveness of promotional measures. We acknowledge that the absence of evidence is
405 evidence of absence, meaning that promotional measures can still, in fact, be effective. It is interesting
406 to contemplate how the anti-corruption measures were effective. We identified two fundamental

407 mechanisms explaining the effectiveness of anti-corruption measures: enhancing transparency and
 408 incentivising stakeholders, as summarised in Table 5.

409 *Table 5. The two main mechanisms explaining how anti-corruption measures are effective*

Anti-corruption measure category	Main mechanisms explaining the effectiveness of an anti-corruption measure			Total
	Enhancing transparency	Incentivising stakeholders	Both	
Compliance measures	-	1	-	1
Managerial measures	2	-	1	3
Probing measures	5	-	-	5
Promotional measures	-	-	-	-
Reactive measures	2	-	-	2
Regulatory measures	1	-	1	2
Total	10	1	2	13

410
 411 The idea that transparency is critical for anti-corruption is not new in project studies (Sohail and Cavill,
 412 2008; Kenny, 2012; Locatelli *et al.*, 2017). However, we went a step forward, identifying ten specific
 413 anti-corruption measures that enhance transparency in construction project activities and lead to
 414 effective outcomes in dealing with corruption. The findings also showed that individual anti-corruption
 415 measures alone seldomly suffice for enhancing transparency. On the contrary, transparency results
 416 from multiple coordinated anti-corruption measures implemented both at the project and ecology
 417 level, as shown in the data, e.g. (Haynes, 1999). Therefore, a ‘holistic’ and comprehensive approach
 418 to anti-corruption in construction projects needs to engage not only actors at the project level but
 419 also at the ecology level. As we know from Locatelli and colleagues’ study (2017), the institutional
 420 context plays a key role in corruption as they coined the term ‘corrupt project context’, meaning
 421 project environments where corruption is endemic. The previous sections highlights the importance
 422 of anti-corruption measures at the ecology level when considering how to deal with corruption within
 423 the focal boundaries of a project (e.g., measures at the national/regional level such as governmental
 424 anti-corruption regulations). Anti-corruption measures outside the focal boundaries of a project can
 425 have profound implications on how the project is planned and managed. Hence, focusing anti-
 426 corruption measures only at the project level ‘in isolation’ is relevant but offers a narrow view that
 427 may have severe shortcomings in effectiveness via enhanced transparency. The project ecology
 428 perspective (Söderlund, 2004; Grabher, 2016; Hedborg, Eriksson and Gustavsson, 2020) can help us

429 better understand anti-corruption measures and their effectiveness in the intersection between the
430 business of a temporary project organisation and its surrounding permanent environment (Locatelli
431 *et al.*, 2017).

432 When transparency is properly enhanced, i.e., multiple measures targeted at both project and
433 ecology levels, it plays a central function for anti-corruption purposes. It reduces the opportunities of
434 corruption by exposing wrongdoers and increasing their risk of being caught, which might lead to legal
435 consequences (e.g., criminal liability) and reputational damage. Ultimately, transparency is a critical
436 deterrent that increases the accountability of project stakeholders. This deterrent has an effect in the
437 present and future because evidence of corruption can expose the wrongdoers pre-emptively and
438 post hoc. A further reflection concerns the advancement in technology, for instance, artificial
439 intelligence and other technologies (e.g., e-tendering/e-budgeting that was visible in our data as well)
440 that bring new prospects for the potential to process large sources of evidence and documentation,
441 so the ability to identify traces of corruption is likely to increase in the future in a transparent
442 environment.

443 Transparency is more than a mere deterrent. It reduces the opportunity for corruption which
444 is one of the key determinants for white-collar crimes such as fraud (Cressey, 1953). If transactions in
445 projects are to be fully documented and public, some forms of corruption are simply no longer viable.
446 Yet, large construction projects pose a significant challenge for transparency due to their socio-
447 technical complexity (Maylor and Turner, 2017). Even if available and documented, the complexity
448 associated with decisions and contracts (and governance arrangements in general) makes project
449 transactions complicated to understand and obscure, leading to difficulties in enhancing transparency.
450 We further elaborated the role of transparency as a mechanism and developed three components
451 that deal with corruption by enhancing transparency:

- 452 1. Documentability: project information (particularly decisions, activities and motivations,
453 underlying processes, and contract information) must be recorded and stored systematically.

454 For example, a critical decision should be reported in a 'Minute of Meeting' saved in an
455 electronic format, rather than a discussion with no recordings.

456 2. Publicity: The existence of well-documented information alone is not sufficient to enhance
457 transparency in construction projects. Confidentiality arrangements can prevent interested
458 people from accessing such information. Therefore, another critical component of
459 transparency is the ability to access recorded information. Openly consultable project
460 documents (e.g., concessions) are more transparent than those hidden from the public.

461 3. Simplicity: The most critical information concerns project decisions, the decision-makers, the
462 process followed for making decisions, and the justification of such decisions. The less
463 complex the documented information associable with the project, the more transparent it is.
464 A project's information can become complex for two main reasons. On the one hand, the
465 decisions and governance arrangement can be inherently complex, so their documental
466 representation is also complex, even if well-documented. On the other hand, simple
467 governance arrangements can be documented in a complex and ambiguous way so that even
468 if the information is documented and public, it is not meaningful. Hence, simplifying the
469 complexity of project governance and associated decisions in documentation is a key
470 component of transparency.

471 The second fundamental mechanism underlying the effectiveness of anti-corruption measures is
472 incentivising stakeholders to not engage in corrupt practices. For instance, (Mahpour and Mortaheb,
473 2018) presented a financial-based incentive plan for the parties to comply with the legal and
474 regulatory requirements. The empirical evidence considered mainly financial incentives, but
475 incentives do not necessarily need to be financial, so we prefer to consider them to be more general
476 and comprehensive, i.e., incentives that align stakeholders' objectives and activities with anti-
477 corruption goals.

478 Incentives can apply to potential wrongdoers and other observers who are not involved in
479 corruption. In the former case, stakeholders refrain from participating in corruption because the

480 incentive provides a valuable alternative, like the financial-based plan (Mahpour and Mortaheb, 2018),
481 and their risk exposure is reduced. In the latter case, observers (e.g., external stakeholders) have an
482 additional motivation to denounce corruption, e.g., due to a form of whistleblowing channel that
483 makes it easy to report corruption or suspicions of corruption. As a result, the risk for wrongdoers to
484 get caught is much higher because any informed person has the incentive to denounce corruption.

485 Incentives can form a powerful mechanism behind the effectiveness of anti-corruption
486 measures. Assuming rational wrongdoers (i.e., actors who try to maximise own gain through corrupt
487 practices), incentives inhibit corruption because the legitimate alternative is more valuable, especially
488 if they are adjusted by the risk of being caught. Effectively, incentives increase the opportunity cost
489 for corruption and provide a low-risk alternative with some advantages, e.g., financial benefits. In
490 principle, incentives can lead to effective outcomes, but they can also be counterproductive. When ill-
491 designed, incentives can distort the market and create the opportunity for fraud (i.e., engaging in
492 corruption covertly and also taking the valuable alternative). That is, if ill-designed incentives are not
493 mutually exclusive with corruption, wrongdoers can potentially combine the benefits derived from
494 both corruption and anti-corruption incentives. With this respect, active assessment and enforcement
495 are critical, so wrongdoers cannot benefit from anti-corruption incentives.

496

497 **5. Conclusions**

498 **5.1 Theoretical contribution**

499 Our analysis of anti-corruption measures and previously published evidence yielded an understanding
500 of 13 effective anti-corruption measures, offering second-hand evidence of how different anti-
501 corruption measures can be effective in dealing with corruption in projects, enhancing our
502 understanding of anti-corruption measures in previous project studies (Osei-Tutu, Badu and Owusu-
503 Manu, 2010; Bowen, Edwards and Cattell, 2015; Locatelli *et al.*, 2017; Damoah *et al.*, 2018). More

504 importantly, our study offers a new understanding of transparency and incentives that are two key
505 mechanisms explaining how anti-corruption measures effectively deal with corruption. This study
506 supports the idea that transparency is a pivotal mechanism for effective anti-corruption measures in
507 construction projects, and we contribute by elaborating the concept of transparency further.
508 Transparency is characterised by three main components (i.e., documentability, publicity, and
509 simplicity) that need to be considered when devising anti-corruption measures to enhance
510 transparency. In addition, achieving transparency can depend on multiple coordinated anti-corruption
511 measures targeted both at project and ecology levels, highlighting the importance of planning and
512 implementing anti-corruption measures outside the focal boundaries of a project (i.e., ecology level)
513 in collaboration with relevant actors. The mechanism is two-fold since anti-corruption measures can
514 incentivise stakeholders to not engage in corrupt practices and/or align stakeholders' objectives and
515 activities with anti-corruption goals.

516 **5.2 Managerial implications**

517 In managing projects, particularly in corrupted contexts, there is the grand challenge of dealing with
518 corruption. Our research findings offer project managers practical guidance on dealing with corruption
519 effectively. Based on our findings, we recommend managers and decision-makers (including project
520 managers) to incorporate multiple anti-corruption measures (related to compliance, managerial,
521 probing, reactive, and regulatory) simultaneously when planning and implementing their anti-
522 corruption strategy. In doing so, managers are advised to consider both project and ecology levels,
523 looking beyond the focal boundaries of their project to broaden the perspective on anti-corruption.
524 In practice, this means that managers and decision-makers need to engage deeply with relevant actors
525 outside the project's typical stakeholder boundaries, for example, by contacting NGOs, local
526 communities' representatives, and governmental organisations/authorities, and by investing
527 resources in developing the anti-corruption measures for a particular project. By doing so, managers
528 and decision-makers can plan relevant measures for tackling corruption both within the project and

529 outside of it (e.g., issues related to endemic corruption and corrupt project context), which is essential
530 for effective anti-corruption.

531 When doing the above, managers should consider the two main mechanisms that essentially
532 yield effective results. First, anti-corruption measures need to enhance the transparency of project
533 activities. For example, regulatory measures can dictate that all project activities must be documented
534 systematically and be accessible publicly, and the information must be simplified for enhanced
535 accessibility. Also, compliance measures can be implemented to ensure that the regulatory measures
536 are followed appropriately. This example highlights the role of transparency in dealing with
537 corruption. Second, anti-corruption measures should incentivise stakeholders not to engage in corrupt
538 practices and/or align stakeholders' objectives and activities with anti-corruption goals. Incentives,
539 e.g., financial alternatives to corruption, can prevent corruption because the legitimate alternative is
540 more valuable. Incentives can also increase the opportunity cost for corruption and provide a low-risk
541 alternative with some advantages, e.g., financial benefits. However, project managers need to be
542 cautious because ill-defined incentives can distort the situation and create perverse opportunities,
543 including fraud. That is, engaging in corruption covertly and taking the valuable alternative as well.
544 Therefore, project managers need to ensure that incentives are mutually exclusive with corruption so
545 that wrongdoers cannot combine the benefits derived from both corruption and alternatives.

546 **5.3 Limitations and Future research**

547 Our design-oriented research synthesis has two main limitations. First, the analysis of the literature
548 was focused on peer-reviewed publications. While the process of selecting relevant papers was not
549 too stringent, we found few (42) journal articles with strong empirical evidence to demonstrate the
550 effectiveness of anti-corruption measures. Further empirical evidence needs to be gathered to make
551 more definitive conclusions about the effectiveness of various anti-corruption measures. Books, book
552 chapters, conference proceedings, and non-peer-reviewed literature in general (including grey
553 literature such as institutional reports and standards) might include other relevant empirical evidence.

554 The second main limitation of this study is the complexity of the research phenomenon and
555 the utilised analysis approach that made it difficult to derive and analyse the combinations of different
556 anti-corruption measures. Using the CIMO logic, we identified the main types of anti-corruption
557 measures and derived the main mechanisms associated with them, namely enhancing transparency
558 and incentivising stakeholders. Yet, the data also included a few scenarios where multiple anti-
559 corruption measures were utilised concurrently. The employed analysis approach was not feasible to
560 evaluate the combined effects of multiple anti-corruption measures comprehensively and
561 systematically. Also, due to the complexity of the research phenomenon and limited empirical
562 evidence available, it was not possible to distinguish effective measures from ineffective ones in
563 combination scenarios.

564 To our surprise, the research showed that there is limited empirical evidence on the
565 effectiveness of anti-corruption measures in the context of projects. Even though there are many
566 publications on corruption and anti-corruption, very few of them empirically assess the effectiveness
567 of anti-corruption measures. More broadly, reading the wider literature on anti-corruption and
568 analysing our findings is clear that project governance (Ahola *et al.*, 2014) plays a central role in anti-
569 corruption. Existing research has emphasised the relevance of governance for governability (Müller,
570 Pemsel and Shao, 2014), financing (Sainati *et al.*, 2020), and ultimately project performance (Joslin
571 and Müller, 2016). Yet, limited attention has been placed on the role of project governance for anti-
572 corruption. Our research highlights the relevance of project governance for transparency and
573 incentives, which are the two fundamental mechanisms underlying the effectiveness of anti-
574 corruption measures. There is very limited emphasis on transparency in the existing studies about
575 project governance, which can be investigated further in future research.

576 Also, transparency and governance are connected with complexity (Baccarini, 1996), a
577 popular topic in project studies (Brady and Davies, 2014; De Rezende, Blackwell and Pessanha
578 Gonçalves, 2018). Incentives are widely studied in project governance (Meng and Gallagher, 2012;
579 Müller, Pemsel and Shao, 2014). Yet, the typical focus is about aligning stakeholders' objectives among

580 themselves (Müller *et al.*, 2016; Ahola, Ståhle and Martinsuo, 2021), and along with the objectives of
581 the underlying project (Kaiser, El Arbi and Ahlemann, 2015; Müller, Pemsel and Shao, 2015). We
582 suggest considering a further perspective: aligning the stakeholders' objectives with anti-corruption.
583 The evidence assessed by this research suggests that traditional governance frameworks ignore the
584 purpose of anti-corruption. If the objective of multiple stakeholders is too corrupt because it provides
585 value to all parties involved (as is often the case), then the traditional governance approach favours
586 corruption by aligning their interests. Project governance alone provides a set of instruments that can
587 be used for whatever purpose. What matters is the intention of designing, implementing, and
588 operating within the governance framework. This counterintuitive issue can be particularly severe in
589 corrupt contexts, where the stakeholders are more likely to embark on corruption. We advocate for
590 identifying anti-corruption incentives as part of project governance. Even in corrupt contexts, the
591 interest expressed by the legal and ethical principles has tangible incentivising effects for project
592 stakeholders. All this considered, a research agenda grounded on project governance and corruption
593 might include the following research questions:

- 594 • How is it possible to align stakeholders' interests in project governance with anti-corruption?
- 595 • What is the relationship between forms of project governance and corruption/anti-corruption?
- 596 • Why are certain forms of project governance more prone to corruption than others?
- 597 • How is it possible to enhance transparency in project governance?
- 598 • What are the incentives for stakeholders involved in the project governance to develop anti-
599 corruption measures?
- 600 • Which form of project governance is better to deliver projects in a corrupt context?
- 601 • How is it possible to exclude 'corrupted stakeholders' from the project governance?
- 602 • Which ethical principles should be used to design project governance resilient to corruption?

603 **Declaration of Competing Interest**

604 The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Appendix A1. Articles published in leading project management journals dealing with corruption in alphabetical order by authors.

Bibliographical information	Aim and context	Design / method	Data	Key findings	Authors' conclusions related to anti-corruption measures in construction projects
(Bowen, Edwards and Cattell, 2015) International Journal of Project Organisation and Management	Analysis of the experiences and opinions of clients and construction professionals regarding corruption in the South African construction industry	Survey design with construction sector clients, managers, architects and engineers	Questionnaire responses N =493 (response rate 4%)	Government officials, contractors and sub-contractors engage in many but different forms of corruption, which are most prevalent during the bid evaluation and tendering phases. Lack of confidence in the criminal justice system, a belief that no action will be taken, and a perception that whistleblowers are not adequately protected are identified as barriers to anti-corruption measures	The research focuses on how different project actors perceive corruption in construction projects. ➤ Knowledge of anti-corruption measures is not available
(Damoah and Kumi, 2018) International Journal of Managing Projects in Business	Investigates the factors that cause government construction projects' failure in Ghana	Sequential multi-method design: In-depth semi-structured interviews and questionnaire survey	16 interviews: 7 Project Management professionals, 4 contractors and 5 clients. 230 usable questionnaires out of 500 distributed	Political interferences, delays in payment, partisan politics, bureaucracy, corruption, inadequate supervision, lack of commitment by project leaders, poor planning, starting more projects than the government can fund and change in government cause construction projects' failure	The research focuses on factors that cause project failure, and corruption is one of the emerged factors. ➤ Knowledge of anti-corruption measures is not available
(Damoah <i>et al.</i> , 2018) Project Management Journal	Analysis of corruption impacts on the failure of government projects in Ghana	Semi-structured interviews	30 interviews: clients (5), contractors (6), practitioners (14), and the general public (5)	Different forms of corruption drive project failure (e.g., overrun schedule & cost, abandonment, stakeholder dissatisfaction) at the individual-, organisational- and institutional-level	The research focuses on how corruption impacts construction projects. ➤ Knowledge of anti-corruption measures is not available
(Ling <i>et al.</i> , 2014) International Journal of Project Management	Comparative analysis of drivers and barriers to adopting relational contracting practices in public construction projects in Beijing and Sydney	Survey research design focusing on construction sector professionals	Structured questionnaires from Beijing, N = 59 (out of 259) Structured questionnaires from Sydney, N = 30 (out of 322)	Lack of training and lack of initiative in Beijing hinder the adoption of relational contracting practices. Public sector accountability is recognised as a barrier in Sydney.	The research focuses on barriers and drivers of relational contracting practices, and corruption is one of the barriers. ➤ Knowledge of anti-corruption measures is not available
(Locatelli <i>et al.</i> , 2017) International Journal of Project Management	Analyses the impact of a corrupt context on megaproject's delivery and outcome using Italian high-speed railways	Single case study of Treno ad Alta velocità High-speed railway programme	Secondary data: Italian parliamentary enquiry	Corruption is harmful to both project management success and project success: Overbudget, overrun schedule, fails to deliver expected benefits, sub-optimal allocation of resources	The research focuses on the impact of corruption in large infrastructure projects. ➤ Knowledge of anti-corruption measures is not available
(Osei-Tutu, Badu and Owusu-Manu, 2010) International Journal of Managing Projects in Business	Analyses corruption practices inherent in public procurement of infrastructure projects in Ghana	Literature review: a multi-stage critical review of pertinent literature	Two public documents: 2007 Annual Report of the Public Procurement Authority, and Public Procurement Act, 2003 (Act 663)	Conflict of interest, bribery, embezzlement, kickbacks, tender manipulation and fraud are observed corruption practices in the delivery system of Ghanaian infrastructure projects	The research focuses on corruption practices in construction projects. ➤ Knowledge of anti-corruption measures is not available
(Owusu <i>et al.</i> , 2019) Project Management Journal	Analyses and develops anti-corruption measures to mitigate the pervasiveness of corruption in construction project management	Systematic literature review: a two-stage process	38 articles published in relevant project management journals	Findings comprise 6 constructs about anti-corruption measures, each including multiple indicators. Six constructs are regulatory, managerial, compliance, promotional and reactive measures	The research focuses on anti-corruption measures in construction projects. ➤ Knowledge of the effectiveness of such anti-corruption measures is missing
(Sonuga, Aliboh and Oloke, 2002) International Journal of Project Management	Analyses the root causes and possible solutions of abandoned large-scale water supply and irrigation projects in Nigeria	Multiple-case study design (2): The Zobe Water Supply Project and The Hadejia Valley Irrigation Project	Not reported	Inadequate sources of funding, price variation and corruption influence the delivery of projects negatively. Definition of alternative sources of funding phased completion of projects, and the review of specific clauses in the Particular Conditions may help overcome the above barriers	The research focuses on general barriers and remedies of construction projects. Corruption is one barrier, but only general remedies are offered for all barriers. ➤ Sufficient details of remedies are unavailable to understand their role as anti-corruption measures
(Walker and Lloyd-Walker, 2014) International Journal of Managing Projects in Business	Analysis of ethical dilemmas faced by client-side project management employees of a large Australian University	A single-case study design	Four interviews with the director, a programme manager, a project manager and the client	Four ethical dilemmas were uncovered: (1) fraud/bribery/corruption, (2) favouritism and special treatment, (3) occupational health and safety and duty of care, (4) professionalism and respect for others	The research focuses on the ethical dilemmas of project management, and corruption is one of the identified dilemmas. ➤ Knowledge of anti-corruption measures is not available
(Wang <i>et al.</i> , 2019) International Journal of Project Management	Analyses the effect of risk transfer on private investment in PPP markets in developing countries and the moderating role of the governance environment	Statistical analysis of the World Bank's Private Participation in Infrastructure database using censored regression modelling	4560 PPP delivered in 138 developing countries from 2001 to 2015	Findings show that government effectiveness, control of corruption, the rule of law and regulatory quality reduce the negative influence of risk assumed by private partners on private investments	The research focuses on risk transfer on private investments in construction projects, and control of corruption is used as a moderating variable. ➤ Sufficient details of 'control of corruption' are unavailable to understand its role as an anti-corruption strategy

Appendix A2. Examples from the final data and coding structure.

Bibliographical information	Context: Geographic area	Context: Industrial sector	Context: project size	Intervention: empirical label	Intervention: description	Intervention : Category	Intervention: Level	Mechanism: description	Outcome: Intended purpose	Outcome: corruption level	Outcome: Impact	Outcome: Category
Olken, B. A. (2007). Monitoring corruption: evidence from a field experiment in Indonesia. <i>Journal of Political Economy</i> , 115(2), 200-249.	Asia	Infrastructure	Regular	Increasing local community participation in project meetings	An experiment to enhance local community participation at the village-level 'accountability' meetings where project officials account for how they spent project funds. Hundreds of invitations were distributed throughout the village to encourage direct participation in the monitoring process and reduce elite dominance. The invitations increased the number of people participating in the accountability meetings by about 40%	Probing measures	Project	The participation experiment—the invitations—was associated with much smaller and statistically insignificant average reductions in overall missing expenditures. The idea behind community monitoring is that while the village implementation team has incentives to steal from the project, the village would benefit from the higher road quality associated with less corruption. The intervention did raise community participation in the monitoring process. Moreover, villages in the invitations treatment were more likely to openly discuss corruption problems at the accountability meetings, and villages receiving both invitations and comment forms were more likely to take serious action at the meeting to resolve corruption-related problems. However, the magnitude of these changes in behaviour at the meetings was small, and these treatments did not measurably reduce overall missing expenditures.	Inhibit project officials from embezzling project funds (measured as missing expenditures)	Major	Increasing grassroots participation in project meetings had no average impact on reducing missing expenditures	Ineffective
Olken, B. A. (2007). Monitoring corruption: evidence from a field experiment in Indonesia. <i>Journal of Political Economy</i> , 115(2), 200-249.	Asia	Infrastructure	Regular	External governmental auditing	An experiment where external government auditing took place in village road construction projects, and project officials were informed beforehand that auditing will take place during the project.	Probing measures	Project	Auditing treatment was associated with reductions in missing expenditures of about eight percentage points. These reductions came from reductions in both unaccounted-for materials procured for the project and unaccounted-for labor expenditures. However, the number of project jobs given to family members of project officials actually increased in response to the audits, which provides suggestive evidence that alternative forms of corruption may be substitutes. While the auditors' findings are positively correlated with the findings from this independent study, in the vast majority of cases the auditors' findings were procedural in nature, and not the sort of "caught-red-handed" evidence that could be used to prove criminal malfeasance. This may help explain why almost 20 percent of expenditures were still unaccounted for even in villages facing a 100 percent probability of an external government audit.	Inhibit project officials from embezzling project funds (measured as missing expenditures)	Major	Auditing treatment was associated with reductions in missing expenditures of about eight percentage points	Effective

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