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Public Sector Corruption in Nepal: Causes and Consequences

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Abstract

The research paper discusses corruption in Nepal's public sector, a significant challenge in the development agenda. The main objective of this study is to find the causes and consequences of corruption in the public sector. This study used primary and secondary data to determine the causes and consequences of corruption in Nepal. The results found that the political, court, and administration sectors are the most corruption-prone zones, losing the government's credibility. The leading causes of corruption are non-compliance with existing rules and regulations, lack of political commitment, transparency, accountability, consistency, and institutional weaknesses. Corruption reduces competitiveness and increases the cost of living, becoming a significant obstacle to economic growth, social development, and political stability. The government has taken various measures to combat corruption, including establishing anti-corruption bodies and laws. However, these measures have yet to be effective in curbing corruption, and there is a need for more significant reforms. The political leader, bureaucrats, civil society, and media should take responsibility for controlling corruption in the public sector of Nepal.

Keywords: corruption, cause and consequence, public sector

Background

Corruption is a pervasive issue found in both public and private sectors, as well as in profit and nonprofit organizations. It is prevalent in developing and developed nations, with a higher incidence in developing countries.

Corruption is defined as the misuse of public office for private gain, encompassing bribery, extortion, fraud, embezzlement, nepotism, and influence peddling. It erodes trust, weakens democracy, hampers economic development, and exacerbates inequality, poverty, and social division. Corruption can have wide-ranging effects, including undermining the attainment of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, hindering economic growth, and decreasing popular accountability and political responsiveness.

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Corruption is a dishonest, fraudulent, or even criminal act of an individual or organization, using entrusted authority or power to make a personal gain or other unethical or illegal benefits. It happens not only in political fields but also in social and economic fields, such as business, education, and media. A lack of transparency and effective regulations are often the leading causes of Corruption. Corruption undermines institutions' reputations, prevents economic development, distorts individuals' freedom and rights, and attacks democracy and justice. Instituting rules that prevent gray areas and establishing transparent processes are some solutions to combat Corruption.

Anna (2003) mentions that corruption hurts people experiencing poverty by diverting funds intended for development, undermining a government's ability to provide essential services, feeding inequality and injustice, and discouraging foreign aid and investment. Corruption is a crucial element in economic underperformance and a major obstacle to poverty alleviation and development. Similarly, according to Mathew and Barnabas (2012), Corruption consequently ranges from the broad terms of misuse of public power and moral decay to strict legal definitions of Corruption as bribery involving a public servant and a transfer of tangible resources.

Corruption is a pervasive and detrimental issue in Nepal, affecting both the public and private sectors. It hampers economic development, undermines trust in public institutions, and disproportionately impacts the enjoyment of human rights, particularly by marginalized groups. Widespread Corruption, cumbersome bureaucracy, and inconsistent implementation of laws deter potential investment in the country. Corruption is evident in various sectors, including public procurement, the judiciary, and the police, reducing competitiveness and increasing business costs. Despite the government's shared commitment to attracting foreign investment, a lack of understanding of international business standards and practices and a legal and regulatory framework that is only partially aligned with international norms continue to impede foreign investors. Corruption in Nepal is a multifaceted challenge that requires comprehensive measures to address its far-reaching impacts on governance, economic growth, and social development.

Expert opinions on Corruption in Nepal highlight that it is a deeply rooted and substantial social issue rather than just an economic and legal problem. However, Nepal has launched several legal and administrative frameworks to control Corruption. Nepal's Media and Civil society have been continuously exploring corruption news and raising questions to the government. Anti-corruption agency Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA) has been raided frequently in bribery cases. However, the rate of corruption control mechanism could be more practical for controlling. This is not only the government's responsibility; everyone has a responsibility to it, but Nepalese society is encouraged to corrupt and become a culture. The main reason for Corruption is its social recognition. The community cares only about money, no matter its sources. Black or white money is equally worshiped, and rich people are always respected. Transparency Internal Report (2020) shows that Nepalese ranks in the corruption perception index are 117th worldwide. It shows that Corruption is a significant problem for various reasons. Expensive elections, economic

disparity, political instability, educational inequality, and social security are the main reasons for Corruption in Nepal. Corruption is widespread, and various studies have analyzed Nepal's level, pattern, and trend. Corruption is considered one of the effects of the black market caused by excessive state interventionism. Low bureaucrat salaries are one of the main reasons for Corruption. Corruption, laws limiting the operations of foreign banks, lingering challenges in the repatriation of profits, controlled currency exchange facilities, and government control over specific sectors of the economy, such as electricity transmission and petroleum distribution, undermine foreign investment in Nepal.

This study focuses on the causes and consequences of Corruption in Nepal and is divided into several sections, including literature reviews, objectives, methodology, result discussion, and recommendations. The study aims to determine the reasons behind Corruption in Nepal and its impact on the country's development. The literature review examines the existing research on Corruption in Nepal, while the objectives outline the specific goals of the study. The methodology section describes the research design, data collection, and analysis methods used in the study. The result discussion section presents the study's findings, while the suggestions section provides recommendations for addressing Corruption in Nepal.

This study aims to identify the primary cause of corruption in the public sector in Nepal and explore the conceptual and theoretical issues of corruption. The study seeks to determine the significant responsibility for controlling corruption in Nepal, the area most affected by corruption in society, and the ranking of the corruption-privileged sector in Nepal. The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

- Identifying the primary causes contributing to corruption in Nepal and assigning responsibility.
- Determining the sectors or regions within Nepali society most adversely affected by corruption.
- To discover the ranking of the sectors in Nepal most prone to corruption.
- To identify suitable solutions and recommendations for effectively controlling corruption in Nepal.

Literature Review and Theoretical background

According to Koltgaard (1991), corruption can be represented by the following equation: C = E+D-A where, C=Corruption, E=Economic Rent, D=Discretion, and A=Accountability. The equation suggests that corruption increases when an individual has discretionary power over the control of goods or services of a country with little or no accountability and decides who gets it when he gets it, and how much the receiver receives. Corruption takes various forms, including bribery, embezzlement, fraud, and extortion, and it is a systemic phenomenon that affects governance, development, and economic growth. Corruption hampers the attainment of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, undermines the quality of goods and services, and increases inequality. It is necessary to subvert the arithmetical signs of the corruption equation by regulating

monopolies, limiting the discretion of the civil service, and increasing transparency. Additionally, the probability of being caught committing a corrupt act must increase, which can be achieved through horizontal control and reducing permissive culture. Corruption is a multifaceted challenge that requires comprehensive measures to address its far-reaching impacts on governance, economic growth, and social development.

Sarah and Timilsina (2020) stated that corruption is a significant problem that costs individuals and businesses an estimated USD 1.5 trillion annually in bribes, while the health sector alone loses USD 500 billion to corruption, which is more than the total cost of Universal Health Coverage. Corruption, theft, and tax evasion cost developing countries USD 1.6 trillion annually. Transparency International's (2020) report shows that Asian countries face a significant corruption problem, with nearly three people out of 20 believing that most or all parliament members are corrupt. Additionally, one out of five Asians has paid a bribe in the last 12 months, and one out of seven citizens has been offered a bribe in exchange for votes in the past five years. According to estimates by the World Economic Forum, the global cost of corruption is at least USD 2.6 trillion, or 5% of the global Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Corruption erodes trust, weakens democracy, hampers economic development, and exacerbates inequality, poverty, social division, and the environmental crisis. Corruption can take many forms, including public servants demanding or taking money or favors in exchange for services, politicians misusing public funds or granting general jobs or contracts to their sponsors, friends, and families, and corporations bribing officials to get lucrative deals. Corruption can happen anywhere, involve anyone, and adapt to different contexts and changing circumstances. It is necessary to embrace transparency, expose corruption, and hold the corrupt accountable.

According to the Transparency International Report (2020), New Zealand is in the first position, then our neighbor countries China, 78th, India 86th, and Nepal, 117th position, scored 33 in the Corruption Perception Index (CPI). While Nepal scored 29 in its CPI in 2014 (measured on a 1-100 scale), it scored only 27 in 2015 and 31 in 2017 and 2018. TI is in 124th position in the ranking of 180 countries in 2018. TI reported that in 2018 and 2019, Nepal's rank was 134th, as shown in Table 1. Nepal's corruption rank fluctuates from 2009 to 2022.

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Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Rank	121	143	146	154	139	116	126
Year	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Rank	130	131	122	113	117	117	110

Table 1. Trend of Corruption Perception Index and Rank of Nepal

Source: Transparency International

TI report (2020) shows that water costs are 30% higher, and available products cost 20% more than the actual price due to corruption. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) estimates that corruption costs more than 5% of the global GDP (Nearly 2.6 trillion USD) and money

laundering is almost 500 billion USD annually, affecting countries' inability to achieve Sustainable Development Goals.

According to a report by the Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA), corruption complaints in Nepal are most prevalent in the local government sector (32.72%), followed by the education sector (15.61%), land management (9.09%), forest and environment (5.01%), health and population (3.93%), Ministry of Finance (2.09%), fake certificates (5.61%), illegal property earning (3.38%), and others (12.25%) in the fiscal year 2076/77. The total number of complaints received was 22,625, with 14,532 complaints addressed within the same fiscal year.

Corruption in Nepal is challenging despite various rules and regulations aimed at controlling it. The country has implemented several anti-corruption laws, such as the Prevention of Corruption Act of 2002, the Commission for Investigation of Abuse of Authority Act of 1991, the Judicial Council Act of 2017, the Money Laundering (Prevention) Act 2008, and the Revenue Leakage (Investigation and Control) Act, 1996. Additionally, Nepal has established different agencies, including the Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority and the Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers, to serve as watchdogs and oversight bodies. However, the effectiveness of these agencies in combating corruption has been questioned, and corruption in Nepal has been attributed to various factors, including a culture of impunity, political instability, and widespread bribery and embezzlement. Corruption in Nepal is a multifaceted and pervasive issue that hampers economic growth, social development, and political stability. Despite anti-corruption laws and institutions, the enforcement and effectiveness of these measures still need to be improved, leaving the levels of corruption primarily challenged. The significant challenges sector for corruption controls are discussed in the following section:

Political and Governance Sector

The political system in Nepal is more favorable for corruption, and political leaders and parties often fail to fulfill their commitments to the people. The election system in Nepal is becoming more expensive, fueling corruption, and Nepal's politics has become a money-generating industry. Most facilities are centralized in the capital city, Kathmandu Valley, leading to migration from outside the valley. To fulfill this requirement, employees, politicians, and businesspersons start to earn more money by being involved in illegal activities, including corruption. Corruption is one of the significant reasons for Nepal's underdevelopment, and it has hit Nepal's political, economic, social, and environmental development. Corruption is a symptom of a country's deep-seated and fundamental economic, political, and institutional weaknesses and shortcomings. Corruption is on the rise in Nepal because of the changes. Nepalese society is going through, and it is recognized as one of the causes of Nepal's underdevelopment. The causes of corruption are a terrible system of governance, wrong incentives, and a weak civil society. Corruption is pervasive throughout the nation, leading to inflation, secretiveness to trade, and underdevelopment.

Socio-cultural Sector

Corruption is becoming a culture in Nepalese society, and corrupt officials and politicians enjoy social recognition. The Nepalese community is quite reluctant to raise its voice against corruption, and a zero-tolerance policy in the public sector confines it to a slogan. Joseph E. Stiglitz (2012) states that greater equality and improved economic performance are complements. One of the reasons for the poor financial performance in many countries in recent years is the high and growing level of inequality. Corruption is pervasive throughout the nation and has led to inflation, secretiveness to trade, and underdevelopment. Corruption is a moral and cultural problem among individuals in their dealings. It has become a part of life accepted publicly as corrupt officials and politicians walk freely. Corruption is visible in every sector, and some ministries are considered gold mines for corruption.

Economic Sector

Economic factors such as unequal opportunities in employment, unequal distribution, weak regulations in the market, unnecessary state intervention, inadequate infrastructure, discrimination, lack of reward and punishment, mass poverty, and economic insecurity stimulate corruption. Lambsdorf (1919) researched corruption in empirical research and found that corruption commonly goes along with policy distortions, income inequality, and lack of competition. Corporate governance has become weak, and intermediaries, black marketing, smuggling, prostitution, kidnapping, drug, and human trafficking have soon flourished. Nepalese society has become over-crazy about money and forces corruption.

Administrative and Legal Sector

According to British politician Acton (1902), absolute power corrupts absolutely, and other incentives and motivations can influence employees to be corrupted. Those with power can misuse it and create insecurity among the people. Nepalese citizens often try to maximize their benefits by paying bribes to corrupt officials. Corruption is one of the major, if not the principal, reasons for Nepal's underdevelopment, and it has hit Nepal's political, economic, social, and environmental development. Corruption is a symptom of a country's deep-seated and fundamental economic, political, and institutional weaknesses and shortcomings. Corruption reduces competitiveness and leads to moral decay, which is more dangerous than corruption. Corruption has been pervasive throughout the nation, leading to inflation, secretiveness to trade, and underdevelopment. The multiparty system in Nepal has contributed to the bloom of corruption, and the lack of information can lead to bribery. Nepalese society can be blamed for being silent about government irregularities and weaknesses, which may be due to historical and socio-political reasons.

Human Behavior Sector

Degradation in morality, lack of accountability, integrity, and transparency at the individual, professional, or organizational level has led to corruption. Nepalese political leaders and others who hold power only make money by posting and transferring employees rather than focusing on employee welfare. At the grass-roots level, people are reluctant to do their duty toward society and

the country, enjoying cheating others, suffering others, and trying their best to grab all the opportunities for themselves. Human behavior is one of the essential tools for corruption control, and if there are obedient and honest people, there is less corruption. Corruption is a transnational phenomenon that affects all societies and economies, and it is the enemy of rule, accountability, and good governance. Corruption erodes trust, weakens democracy, hampers economic development, and exacerbates inequality, poverty, and social injustice. Corruption is rightly called one of the most insidious social phenomena, and it has a disproportionate impact on the enjoyment of human rights, particularly by people who belong to marginalized or disadvantaged groups. Corruption may take many guises beyond bribes, such as conflicts of interest.

Based on the literature reviewed, it found that Nepal's governance system remains weak, as evidenced by Nepal's fluctuating rank in the Corruption Perception Index from 2009 to 2022. This fluctuation underscores the urgent need to address the governance system's shortcomings as dissatisfaction with government policies prevails. Identifying the primary causes of corruption in Nepal's public sector is crucial, as corruption control poses a significant challenge for any government. By understanding the root causes of corruption, effective measures can be implemented to combat corruption in Nepal's public sector. Therefore, this study holds significant importance in the present context, as it aims to shed light on the causes of corruption and contribute towards addressing this pressing issue.

Methodology

This research understands Nepal's corruption determinants using inductive and descriptive approaches. The study collected data about corruption through a questionnaire from different societies in Nepal, with 100 respondents involved in the interview based on the questionnaire. The study used Survey Monkey software to collect and analyze data. The primary source of information was academic research, and the corruption data were taken from Transparency International, which uses the Corruption Perception Index (CPI). The secondary data were from the World Bank Data Set, Asian Development Bank (ADB), and Economic Surveys of Nepal published by the Ministry of Finance (MOF). The study aims to identify the primary cause of corruption in the public sector in Nepal, find the significant responsibility for controlling corruption in Nepal, see the more affected areas from corruption in the society of Nepal, find the rank of the corruption privilege sector in Nepal, and provide appropriate solutions and recommendations for corruption control in Nepal.

The study employed qualitative and quantitative analysis methods to achieve its results. The quantitative method used descriptive analysis to find the relationship between two variables. Corruption is a transnational phenomenon that affects all societies and economies, and it is the enemy of rule, accountability, and good governance.

Results and Discussion

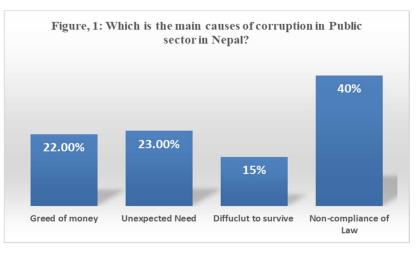
This study discusses different dimensions or aspects of Nepal's corruption control in the public sector. The primary cause of corruption in Nepal's public sector is poor governance and weak

institutional frameworks. Nepalese bureaucracy is often criticized for being inefficient, opaque, and lacking accountability, which creates corruption opportunities. Political instability, low salaries, and limited resources also contribute to the prevalence of corruption in the public sector. Nepalese citizens have reported that corruption is often seen as a norm and a way of life, making it difficult to combat. However, this survey report shows in Figure 1 that there are many reasons for corruption in the public sector of Nepal; among them, major corruption cases have been found non-compliance with the existing rule of law. Almost 40% of respondents replied that non-compliance with the law is the leading cause of corruption in the public sector in Nepal. However, it is not only one reason for corruption; there are many more reasons. Twenty-three percent of respondents replied that political leaders and bureaucrats have an unexpected need from the public sector, which is the other reason for corruption.

According to the survey report, 22% of respondents replied that the greed for money of public sector employees and Nepal's political leaders is another reason for corruption. In the context of Nepal, which served for a short period in the public post, many political leaders became millionaires.

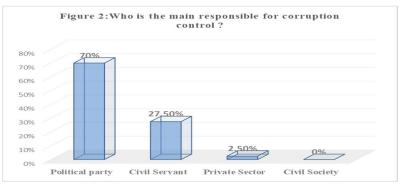
Political leaders and some civil servants also collect more money by using their public positions.

Similarly, difficulty to survive was scored only 15%. It means that this is one of the reasons for corruption. However, it is a low-priority cause. Compared to other countries, the salaries of political leaders and civil



servants are small in Nepal. So, in some cases, public servants need help surviving in the expensive market regarding their compensation.

Figure 2 illustrates that 70% of respondents believe political leaders should take primary responsibility for controlling corruption, while 27.5% attribute this responsibility to civil servants. Additionally, 2.5% of respondents hold the

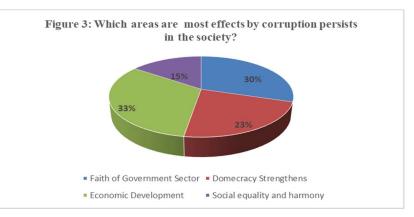




private sector accountable for supply-side corruption. The study emphasizes the need for civil society to play a more effective role in combating corruption in Nepal. The prevalence of corruption in the country has hindered its development and progress, impacting various sectors such as education, health, and public services. Despite the government's efforts to address corruption, it remains a significant challenge, affecting good governance, economic growth, and political stability. The study's findings underscore the importance of strengthening anti-corruption measures and promoting transparency and accountability across all sectors of Nepalese society.

Figure 3 demonstrates that respondents identified the economic sector as the most prevalent site of corruption, with a 33% score. The "Strengthening Democracy" process received a 23% score, while the government sector scored 30%. Social equality and harmony were prioritized by 15% of respondents. Corruption undermines trust in political parties, leaders, democracy, and the governance system. Efficient, effective, and reasonably priced public administration is essential. It

should not permit organized crime, terrorism, and policy The capture. study emphasizes the need for public administration reform and the efficient use of resources to combat corruption in Nepal. The findings highlight the importance of addressing various corruption in

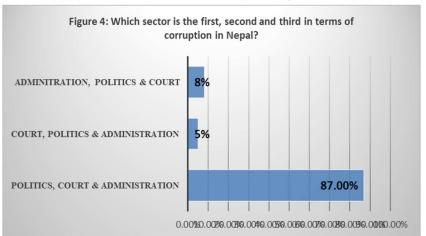


sectors, including the economy, democracy, and government, to ensure sustainable development and progress in the country.

The study identified three main categories of sectors affected by corruption and surveyed to

determine the most prevalent ones. The results showed that 87% of respondents identified the political, court. and administration sectors as the most corrupt ones.

The result shows that the administration,

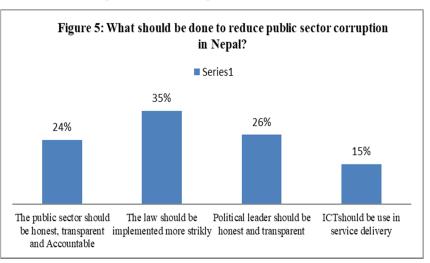


politics, and court category is the second most corrupted sector, with an 8% score, and the court, politics, and administration sectors are the third, with only 5% of respondents attributing high levels of corruption to these areas. These results underscore the urgent need to address corruption in the political and administrative spheres to ensure good governance, the rule of law, and the effective functioning of democratic institutions in Nepal.

Figure 5 presents the results of a survey on the reform priorities for controlling corruption in Nepal's public sector. The study identified five essential categories for reducing corruption, and respondents were asked to prioritize them. The results showed that almost 35% of respondents suggested prioritizing the strict implementation of anti-corruption laws. This underscores the importance of enforcing existing anti-corruption measures and promoting transparency and accountability in Nepal's public sector. Other categories identified by respondents included the promotion of ethical values and integrity (25%), the strengthening of anti-corruption institutions (20%), the improvement of public service delivery (15%), and the enhancement of public participation and awareness (5%). The findings highlight the need for targeted interventions and reforms to address the root causes of corruption and promote good governance in Nepal.

The survey results indicate that 26% of respondents believe political leaders should be honest and

transparent, while 24% prioritize honesty, transparency, and accountability in the public sector. ICT in service delivery received the lowest percentage of responses 15%. at However, it is still considered an essential tool for controlling corruption in Nepal. The study emphasizes



the need for strict implementation of anti-corruption laws and the promoting of ethical values and integrity in the public sector.

It concluded that nearly 40% of participants indicated non-compliance with the law is the primary catalyst for corruption in Nepal's public sector. As for accountability, 70% of respondents believed political leaders should bear the primary responsibility for curbing corruption. The economic sector is the most prevalent breeding ground for corruption, as identified by 33% of respondents. Furthermore, the survey revealed that 87% of participants considered the political, court, and administration sectors the most corrupt domains. Additionally, almost 35% of respondents recommended prioritizing the rigorous enforcement of anti-corruption laws.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The study confirms the pervasiveness of corruption in Nepal's political, judicial, and administrative sectors, aligning with previous research and media reports. Trade unions often exert influence, leading to unfair practices in appointing and transferring public employees. The Nepalese constitution guarantees equal and easy access to state-provided services and facilities. Fairness, competence, impartiality, transparency, accessibility, accountability, and public participation should be necessary to control the corruption.

The study strongly recommends that the government make it a priority to enforce anti-corruption laws effectively in Nepal. Adopting ICT in service delivery is crucial for combating corruption. Targeted interventions and reforms are necessary to tackle the root causes of corruption and promote good governance throughout the country. The findings underscore the significance of rigorously implementing existing anti-corruption measures and fostering transparency and accountability within Nepal's public sector. Therefore, policy recommendations should prioritize the strict implementation of anti-corruption laws in the following sectors:

Reform in the Politics and Governance Sector

The study's results indicate that corruption in Nepal's public sector has eroded public trust in the government. The relationship between the government and the people should strengthen, a democratic system of governance must be ensured, and the election system should be free and fair. All public institutions should be developed effectively, and accountability and transparency should be maintained. Good governance requires transparency, accountability, and integrity in political parties, and the financial transactions of political parties must be transparent. The government of Nepal should have emphasized the need for strict implementation of anti-corruption laws and (ICT) in service delivery to control corruption in Nepal.

Reform in the Economic Sector

The study's findings reveal that Nepalese employees are significantly underpaid, leading to their inability to meet basic needs such as providing food, education, and healthcare for their families. Therefore, ensuring fair compensation for employees and regularly monitoring the labor market is essential. The economic cost of human creativity, innovation, and productivity cannot be compared to the financial cost of employee compensation. The private sector is the engine of growth and economic development, so it should have formulated private sector-friendly economic policies. It is necessary to develop robust regulatory agencies.

Reform in the Socio-cultural Sector

This study shows that Socio-cultural encompasses the way of life for an entire society, including codes of manners, dress, language, religion, rituals, arts, and more, culture. Ethics, integrity, and honesty are included in this way of life. It is essential to provide moral education to children from school to graduation. Society must be supportive, cooperative, and creative in the anti-corruption campaign. Social exclusion of corrupt and corrupt cultures should be promoted. Developing people as honest is crucial. The members of society should adopt a zero-tolerance policy against corruption.

Reform in the Administrative and Legal Sector

This study found that law and order, rules, and regulations without compromise are crucial. However, the study shows that non-compliance with the rule of law is the leading cause of corruption. There are more active Acts and Regulations for corruption control. Therefore, accountability, integrity, and transparency at all levels of governance should be developed and strictly implemented. Quality services to the people should be guaranteed. Designing an appropriate strategy against corruption is equally vital for corruption control. It suggests that the use of resources and techniques must be chosen according to the strengths of corruption. Moreover, anti-corruption enforcement measures such as oversight bodies and more efficient law courts will only be effective with a serious effort to address the fundamental causes.

Reform in the Technological Sector

The study's results indicate that while technology received a low score from respondents, it remains essential for controlling corruption. Delayed service delivery, defined as corruption by the Anticorruption Act of Nepal, often leads to customer blame. Technological innovation can provide a foundation for delivering breakthrough services. Forensic and engineering labs are essential for combating corruption, and high technology, such as CCTV surveillance and cybercrime investigation, is a crucial success factor. The study recommends that the government focus on implementing more technology in the public sector to reduce corruption in Nepal. Policymakers should consider these findings when formulating corruption control measures using technology in the public sector.

Finally, it concludes that comprehensive reforms in multiple sectors are needed to address corruption in Nepal. It highlights the importance of strengthening politics and governance, ensuring fair compensation in the economic sector, promoting ethical values in the socio-cultural sector, improving administrative and legal frameworks, and leveraging technology. The study recommends the preventive part of corruption control by the government, especially on the executive head of the government and strict implementation of anti-corruption laws, promoting transparency and accountability, and fostering a zero-tolerance policy against corruption. Prioritizing these reforms will help control corruption, enhance good governance, and restore public trust in Nepal's public sector.

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