## 18/07/2024

# Capstone Project Dissertation

How corruption has affected Ireland's Economy

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#### **Submission of Thesis and Dissertation**

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#### **Abstract**

The effect of corruption on Ireland's economy is examined throughout this dissertation, with particular attention paid to the way corrupt activities affect employment, foreign investment, and economic development. Although Ireland is known for having strong laws against corruption, this research explores the less obvious effects of corruption on the economy and how it is perceived. By means of an extensive examination of legal frameworks, practical instances, and conversations with experts. The study investigates recurring themes and trends that emerge during the investigation. Although despite Ireland's excellent corruption prevention framework, the dissertation emphasises the requirement for ongoing development and attention to detail. Improving disclosure, accountability, and trust among citizens is essential to reducing the damaging economic effects of corruption. The findings of the research offer suggestions for improving anti-corruption initiatives and point to sectors that should be investigated further to protect Irish economic growth from corruption's hidden consequences.

#### Introduction

According to the (Transparency International Ireland, 2023), Ireland has been placed in the top 10 countries out of 180 countries with the least corruption with a score of 77 points out of 100. For the first time since 1997, Ireland is judged to be less corrupt than the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada. However, even though Ireland is placed as a country with the least corruption this study aims to dispel the misconception and increase public awareness of the detrimental effects corruption has on Ireland's economy in the past and present.

Comprehending the definition of corruption in the larger academic literature is helpful when analyzing it within the Irish context. It's also critical to go beyond the stereotype of exchanging "brown envelopes" or bribes in exchange for specific favors. Single transactions are not the only instances of corruption. According to some, corruption is just another aspect of illicit activity's economics, where decisions are made purely based on benefits and costs. (Collins, N. and O'Shea, M., 2000)

According to (Svensson, J, 2005), The misuse of public office for personal gain is a standard description of corruption in society. This definition of corruption would include the selling of assets owned by politicians, incentives in public contracting, bribery, and misuse of public funds, amongst other things. When people pay bribes to avoid punishments for unlawful conduct, corruption arises. A variety of concepts for discussing corruption have been presented. Although every one of these descriptions has its own means of portraying corruption, there is no perfect term.

In my opinion, corruption is the improper utilization of public and private resources that has an adverse and favorable effect on a nation's economy. As previously stated, corruption can be interpreted in several ways, including bribery and the misappropriation of public funds. However, fraud and embezzlement are major contributors to corruption which were left out.

There is a tonne of scholarly literature that looks at this particular subject because it is an extensive subject. However, the referenced literature is current and important. Primary and secondary data was obtained by searching academic publications on the internet that were

based on books, articles, and new research and also by conducting semi-structured interviews with various property developers and planning agencies.

In order to help individuals and businesses prepare for this possibility, the results of this paper are intended to point out and emphasise any potential effects that corruption has previously had on is having on the Irish economy.

In order emphasize how vulnerable Ireland is in terms of corruption, this research provides a summary of its country's history. To determine how vulnerable, the Irish economy is to corruption this research will aim to investigate the factors that led politicians to accept bribes, including gifts and payments, in exchange for their support of rezoning. (O'Kelly, B 2023) claims that corruption is influencing Ireland's economy because the country's planning system continues to be manipulated for both commercial and housing projects.

The Flood Tribunal, The Planning Trap, Law Enforcement and Anti-Corruption Organizations are the four main fields where this research will focus on how corruption has impacted the Irish economy.

As has been talked about, the study's aims are divided into four separate groups. The goal is to lay the groundwork for a study that will examine how corruption is assessed in Ireland and whether components of corruption which are thought to have a detrimental effect on the Irish economy are necessary for the country's economy to thrive. The researcher's objective in conducting the current research is to educate other individuals about the various kinds of corruption that exist in their country along with ways to prevent them from happening.

All these issues are highly pertinent to Ireland's current economic status, which citizens should not just keep an eye on but also be prepped for.

I will include intriguing questions, observations, and difficulties that several politicians, property developers, planning agencies and law enforcements have raised in my interviews during this research.

#### Dissertation Structure

The dissertation's goals and objective are described in the first section, along with the intended outcomes of the study. The researcher has provided a little historical information and reasons for the current study discussed in this section.

The literature review, which includes an outline of Ireland's history to provide insight into the nation's earlier and current corruption activities, has resulted in an impact on Ireland's economy in several ways, including leaving it prone to the implementation of corruption inside the entire country.

In the methodology section the researcher will conduct a further analysis as part of this study in third section. In addition, the third section will detail how interviews with politicians, property developers, planning agencies and law enforcements have assisted themselves to prepare for unexpected events.

like appeals towards their development approvals that are afterwards removed in exchange for compensation or payments in cash, as well as their opinions on these pressing issues.

Qualitative data is utilized in this research project to produce an additional crucial analysis. Gaining understanding of the viewpoints held by planning agencies and real estate developers improves the research by providing a clearer picture of the ways in which corruption has impacted Ireland's planning systems and economy.

The fourth section will provide an explanation of the research findings. The results of all the studies conducted using the selected methods of study will be in this part of the dissertation. The purpose of gathering these results was to accomplish the goals outlined in the prior section.

The purpose of the discussion section is to clarify upon the conclusions drawn in the previous section. This section incorporates the data from the literature review and serves as an overview of all the discoveries. The objective of this section is to provide those reading it with an understandable illustration of the way the information was discovered.

This dissertation's conclusion is the last section. A detailed summary of the investigation's primary outcomes is provided to those reading by the researcher in this section. After that, an overall conclusion is drawn from all this information, considering any suggestions the investigator believes will help with the present-day issues.

#### Literature review

#### Introduction

Irish political life during the course of the 1990s and the 21st century was characterised by corrupt influences. It was received in the form of payments to political organisations. (Garrard, J. and Newell, J. eds., 2006) As (O'Boyle, B., 2017.) has stated that the Irish government has unveiled new initiatives aimed at strengthening the legislation against white collar crime. Two bills that would eliminate the Office of the Director of Corporate Enforcement (ODCE) while implementing stiffer penalties for corporate crime and bribery in the public sector was presented to the Dáil. The governing parties has been dishonorably shielded by Fianna Fáil's Confidence and Supply Agreement, who haven't been any better. The horrible criminal histories of both major parties involving bribery and corruption were undoubtedly an influence in this. According to (O'Boyle, B, 2017.) major members of both Fianna Fail and Fine Gael have frequently accepted payments while turning a blind eye to corporate corruption. This became especially true when the Irish state established a number of "Tribunals" within the latter part of the 20th century.

The creation of multiple tribunals of inquiry as per (Garrard, J. and Newell, J. eds., 2006) stated allegations of corruptions including both politics and commercial interests led to investigations into development issues and pay-outs to politicians. As we are about to discover, although the tribunals have been quite successful in bringing the corrupt practises to light, the consequences of the ensuing scandals and tribunals is still unclear. (Garrard, J. and Newell, J. eds., 2006)

Sub-section 1 – The Mahon/Flood Tribunal (1997 – 2013) – Payments to Politicians

The Mahon/Flood Tribunal

The Flood Tribunal achieved impressive achievements in exposing complexities of transactions made to politicians in exchange for backing on re-zonings.

According to (Garrard, J. and Newell, J. eds., 2006), The Flood Tribunal identified €250,000 that circulated through Frank Dunlop's bank accounts however it was unaccounted for. It was

believed that the money was intentionally donated to politicians during the 1990s. Fianna Fail conducted its own internal examination to whether or not any of its members of parliament at the time took payments in return for favours in planning. On 7<sup>th</sup> June 2000, Fianna Fail published its findings. Although a wide range of payments made to different members were made public in the investigation, the primary attention was on Liam Lawlor, the Dublin West TD at the time. (Garrard, J. and Newell, J. eds., 2006)

As per (Garrard, J. and Newell, J. eds., 2006) Liam Lawlor received forms of payment from Frank Dunlop that ranged from €12,000 to €14,000 before the turn of the 20th century and additional €38,000 in consulting fees in 1994 and 1995. It is possible to view the payments that Liam Lawlor took as a kind of bribery which had an impact on Ireland's economy within the 1990s and the early 2000s.

Fine Gael carried out an internal audit, that was handed over to former Taoiseach John Bruton on 12<sup>th</sup> May 2000. The investigation was centred around "payments made to Fine Gael Representatives on Dublin Corporation and Dublin County Council by builders, developers, or their agents since June 20, 1985." According to the investigation, payments from Frank Dunlop, formerly the press secretary for Fianna Fail, were accepted by a total of six members of Fine Gael Oireachtas. These members informed the party's investigation that Frank Dunlop payments were political contributions and that it had no impact on the way they voted. (Garrard, J. and Newell, J. eds., 2006).

The report put Fine Gael in a difficult situation, regardless of strong refusals of any improper conduct and threats of action in court from city council members. (Garrard, J. and Newell, J. eds., 2006). When the chairman of the Flood Tribunal in May 2003 questioned Don Lydon as to why developers of property were offering council members money, Don Lydon commented "I believe that they hoped to influence (them). That's my firm belief. They did it then, they did it before, they do it now". (Garrard, J. and Newell, J. eds., 2006.)

The Flood Tribunal determined that "corruption affected every level of Irish political life" and that "those with the power to stop it were frequently implicated in it," notably Charles Haughey and Bertie Ahern. (Garrard, J. and Newell, J. eds., 2006.)

#### Payments to Politicians

#### Charles Haughey

According to (O'Boyle, B 2017), Charles Haughey, the former Taoiseach, was discovered to have accepted bribes and cash payments from individuals such as Dermot Desmond, P.V. Doyle, and Ben Dunne. It is believed that Haughey accumulated over €45 million in corruption payments/bribes during his career, The amount of wealth indicates widespread corruption. The volume of money indicates that corruption went significantly further, as a variety of entrepreneurs bought favorable treatment.

Des Traynor was assigned the responsibility of enabling shady transfers to Haughey's financial accounts coming from top executives. (O'Boyle, B 2017). Due to his service on behalf of the former Taoiseach Charlie Haughey, Mr. Traynor acquired his nickname, "Charlie's Bag Man" because he helped Haughey to avoid paying taxes, by establishing offshore bank accounts. (Morgan, G 2014) According to (O'Boyle, B 2017), Haughey's personal finances were made accessible to everyone, but the Irish Revenue opted not to prosecute him over missing tax payments in the amount of €6,000,000.

Real estate builder, Matt Gallagher, proved an additional notable figure. Haughey got a big financial boost from Gallagher. A short while after Haughey paid £10,000 for real estate in the city of Dublin, the property had been sold to Mr. Gallagher for £204,000 after becoming rezoned so it could accommodate for the development of 386 homes. To prevent having to foot the bill for ensuing property fees, a business referred to as "Merchant Banking" arranged the transaction.

The Fianna Fáil party was to have special influence over building developers due to government influence over a redevelopment as well as permitting procedures. In this way, real estate developers had a significant advantage from insider status, which was typically obtained by buying off elected officials. (O'Boyle, B 2017).

#### Bertie Ahearn

Tom Gilmartin gained his financial success within the United Kingdom's building industry prior to concentrating on two significant construction endeavors in the city of Dublin location. Among of those concerned illicit activity associated with the construction of Quarryvale Shopping Centre. Gilmartin received requests for payoffs and reimbursements related to corrupt behavior across a ten-year period. (O'Boyle, B 2017).

The subsequent blow to Gilmartin was dealt by Bertie Ahern, who was the minister of labor at that point in time and was asked to provide a payment of £500,000 by an Ahern supporter and according to (O'Boyle, B 2017) In the end, several fraudulent elected officials drove Gilmartin to abandon his own building projects.

Additionally, Owen O' Callaghan asserted that he provided Ahearn £30,000 throughout 1992 as a gesture to prevent the Blanchardstown retail development. The Dáil minutes show that O' Callaghan, Frank Dunlop, and Ahern met on multiple occasions. (O'Boyle, B 2017)

O' Callaghan provided Dunlop £360,000 for guaranteeing that the Mahon Tribunal would not bring any more issues. Following that on, it became apparent that Dunlop provided the court an extensively controlled collection of documents, therefore there had been sufficient proof to investigate Ahern's financial situation. There was a great burden on Ahern to defend his own career. (O'Boyle, B 2017)

Ahearn stated that during his separation from his wife, he received "dig outs" worthy of £37,000 from 12 of his dearest acquaintances as well as a "gift" for £8,000 from several Manchester business owners. That wasn't the conclusion of Ahern's absurdities Later, he informed court legal professionals the fact The wall had provided him £30,000 for the payment of the building's taxes as well as £30,000 for restorations, which was followed by an additional £50,000 himself as well. The tribunal dismissed his justification over the origin that resulted in significant amount of money that entered his financial accounts to be "untrue." (O'Boyle, 2017)

According to (O'Boyle, B 2017), Ireland was well-known for its open-to-corruption capitalist development paradigm, in which it remains in existence today.

#### Sub-section 2 - The Planning Trap

Developer David Hogan received planning authorization in November 2022 for the construction of 74 homes, expanding his Watergrass hill project in Cork, in which there has been substantial demand for these entry-level homes. Using a trademark of an environmental organization called An Lucht Inbhuanaithe, or "The Sustainable People," two brothers John Callaghan and Michael Callaghan filed an appeal against David Hogan on January 5, 2023. (RTÉ Player, 2023).

According to (RTÉ Player, 2023) there is no evidence that An Lucht Inbhuanaithe is listed either online or with the Charities Regulator or Companies Registration Office. In September 2023, David Hogan met with John Callaghan in a Hotel in Co. Meath. While Mr. Hogan attempted to discuss the issues surrounding the environment concerns in which were brought up in the appeal, John Callaghan changed the discussion to the topic of money to remove An Lucht Inhumanities' appeal against David Hogan. (RTÉ Player, 2023).

Following the September 2023 meeting, David Hogan said "On the record, I'm not prepared to pay them any money because it's against my principles". (RTÉ Player, 2023).

The cost of Mr. Hogan's refusal to pay the Callaghan's has been substantial because their 11-month-old appeal is preventing David Hogan from building his 74 houses in County Cork which is causing a delay to his development and impacting the housing crisis that is currently in Ireland because of the manipulation in the planning system from people such as John and Michael Callaghan that can be named. (RTÉ Player, 2023).

Development planner Richard Hoare was given approval for the construction of 59 homes in Drogheda's Linenfield in 2023. Through the environmental group Sustainability 2050, John Callaghan filed an observation on planning application on 4<sup>th</sup> September 2023. An Lucht Inbhuanaithe, an environmental organization founded by John and Michael Callaghan, had no affiliation with the company registration office or the charity regulator, as previously indicated. Regarding Sustainability 2050, this is also true. (RTÉ Player, 2023).

According to (RTÉ Player, 2023) a service agreement that was sent by John Callaghan to Richard Hoare on October 16, 2023, stated that Richard Hoare's firm agrees to hire John

Callaghan as a consultant in the environmental field on a nonexclusive arrangement and paid him an initial deposit fee of €10,000. (RTÉ Player, 2023).

In an interview with RTÉ Investigates, Richard Hoare said he felt helpless because the planning appeal could've destroyed his multimillion-dollar development plans in Drogheda. As a result of this agreement Mr. Callaghan agreed to not file an appeal against the approval of the construction of 59 homes at Linenfield in Drogheda. (Halligan, M, 2023)

Furthermore, an appeal was made by the Callaghan brothers regarding a massive residential project. The Callaghan's were initially offered &10,000 by the anonymous property developer in exchange for them dropping their appeal. Nonetheless, the Callaghan brothers maintained that &100,000 should be the price they were seeking. The Callaghan's finally agreed to accept &50,000 as given that the money was all in cash. The developer had only managed to raise &11,000 in cash on that day, in which John Callaghan drafted a handwritten agreement which stated that "the developer agrees to sell sites No.1 & No.2 for the consideration of 1k each". At that point in time, the buildings were thought to be valuable up to &50,000 apiece. On May 16, 2023, when the Callaghan brothers as well as the property developer agreed upon their contract, the appeal was removed. (O'Kelly, B 2023)

The Callaghan brothers' appeals of this kind are perceived as corrupt practices that are detrimental to the Irish economy. The Callaghan's' readiness to accept financial payments in exchange for their appeals being dropped further damages Irish public perception of planning decisions and undermines public confidence in the planning system. The Callaghan's are taking advantage of the reality that An Bord Pleanala is unable to complete their work on time.

#### Sub-section 3 – Law Enforcement Corruption

According to (Byrne, N. 2023), one common corruption wrongdoing is misconduct in positions of power. It refers to an individual acting improperly in their official position while representing the public. Moreover, they typically act in this way without cause. The offence must be considered severe enough to qualify for a criminal penalty.

#### Michael McCabe / Disclosure Tribunal

Thus, to what extent does Irish society suffer from garda corruption? (Clifford, M 2021). The Oireachtas established the Disclosures Tribunal in the month of February of 2017 to investigate allegations regarding several garda whistle-blowers among the most well-known of whom is Sergeant Maurice McCabe. According to (Clifford, M 2021) the purpose of the tribunal had been to investigate whether Gardaí who reported misconduct inside the organization faced retaliation. A remarkable number of prominent figures, which includes both previous commissioners, have had their distinguished careers abruptly ended by the McCabe story. (Kenna C 2018)

The central argument in the protracted dispute was that McCabe suffered unjust treatment from senior Garda leadership along with various parties because of his disclosure. Following an inhouse inquiry into McCabe's 2008 complaints regarding the Cavan and Monaghan area's police standards, the Garda produced a report known as the Byrne / McGing report. Following this, McCabe filed concerns with the Department of Justice regarding the Garda administration of the penalty point structure, that resulted in the implementation of changes. (Kenna C 2018)

#### **Penalty Points**

According to (O'Doherty, G 2013), two sources revealed that Garda were widely involved in erasing points for penalties through a form of corruption. The occurrence only surfaced in the last few days as a Garda Commissioner acknowledged the fact that he had his points of penalties removed when a roadside camera in the year 2007 captured him exceeding the posted speed limit.

This did not appear associated with the 189 disputes filed by a pair of Gardai sources, that analyzed records gathered from the Garda's internal Pulse computer network regarding the withdrawal of penalty points. Subsequently has been recognized that specific authorities overreached when utilizing their respective positions to cover up points. (O'Doherty, G 2013),

An active member of the Garda Siochana had been investigated due to the possible involvement in removing point deductions from drivers' permits without properly any evident justification. When it became known that members of the garda were depriving the State of revenue which might've been generated by the instances by terminating points, an investigation into fraudulent activity was launched. (Lally, C 2013)

According to (Lally, C 2013) the examination started in June 2012, in addition the facts and specifics surfaced in the year 2013, a mere day shortly after the outcomes of an important inquiry concerning the termination of several thousand points for penalties were made openly. Following termination of points across 661 instances, a private inquiry was conducted on a supervisor and a pair of auditors. (Lally, C 2013)

#### Guerin Report

The Cabinet of Ireland directed more senior attorney Seán Guerin to investigate severe claims regarding certain garda actions that Michael McCabe constructed. The Guerin Investigation addresses an extremely particular collection of accusations. (Bohan, C 2014)

Recent months have seen a great deal of controversy surrounding the Irish Garda Service as they have been embroiled in several scandals, including the spying on of the Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission, the manipulation of penalty points, the forced departure of former Garda Commissioner Martin Callinan, and more. It would be simple to combine them everything and view them as confirmation of violations or incompetence inside the Garda Force. (Bohan, C 2014)

In early 2014, Tánaiste Micheál Martin, received a report from former Sergeant Maurice McCabe that contained accusations regarding the way in which Gardai have handled numerous instances. Taoiseach Enda Kenny received the report and stated the information featured

"extremely serious allegations of garda misconduct". The Guerin Report addressed a narrow range of accusations and investigated the possibility that the Gardai participated in prior improper conduct or perhaps more severely had engaged in significant concealment. The investigation delves into the awareness, actions, and timing of Alan Shatter who is the former Minister for Justice in Ireland. (Bohan, C 2014)

The document, being excess of 300 pages long, involved instances like one related to fabricated Garda documents and another featuring fraudulent incarceration that was improperly looked at. (Bohan, C 2014)

Fake Roadside Breath Tests

It became known during the 2017 year that a significant portion of the driving under the influence tests performed carried out by Gardaí reported were false. The Fianna Fail party in the Republic of Ireland asked for increased surveillance over the Gardai in response to the recent controversy involving fraudulent roadside breathalyzer inspections. As opposed to the 1.45 million previously estimated, the Policing Authority discovered that there may be an additional 400,000 counterfeit tests which were reportedly conducted by Gardaí. (Harrison, S 2017)

In March 2017, the controversy started when a senior Gardaí member acknowledged the fact that nearly 50% of their documented roadsides breathalyzer tests were probably never performed. To improve their perceived success at road safety, guards received criticism for merely "making up" the findings of tests. (Harrison, S 2017)

According to Jim O'Callaghan, a politician from the Fianna Fáil party, there are several issues with leadership and oversight at the center of the Garda force. The Policing Authority's data increased the responsibility on Donal O'Cualain, the previous Garda Commissioner, to punish the guilty. The chairperson of the Police Authority stated they had urged former Commissioner O'Cualain to outline the steps he intends to implement towards chief superintendents in fourteen departments that refused, on the managerial demand, to look over the exaggerated numbers within their jurisdictions. (Harrison, S 2017)

As soon as one considers the 4.8 million individuals who live in the Republic of Ireland, the magnitude of the corruption controversy becomes evident. Then, everyone beneath the age of

eighteen along with people without a driver's license are excluded. This would've required testing of almost all drivers in the country, even though everybody realizes to be untrue. (Harrison, S 2017)

#### Sub-section 4 – Anti-Corruption Organizations

According to (Corruption, A., and Bribery n.d,) there's no single organization within the Republic of Ireland is tasked with control of establishing and carrying out strategies to combat corruption. Rather, there's many divisions, institutions, and bodies which have duties and obligations related to this matter. An Garda Síochána as well as several additional departments mandated for fighting corrupt behavior possess the power to avoid, identify, examine, as well as bring charges against corruption. Several examples regarding such organisations include auditors, committees of inquiries, and trials of inquiry.

The Republic of Ireland is a signatory to several worldwide agreements designed to fight bribery, including UNCAC, OECD AND GRECO. Ireland is therefore bound by the oversight plans and assessment procedures related to those measures. The taking of bribes, corruption other forms of inducement are illegal under Irish law. In 2018, the Criminal Justice Act was enacted. This Act established several new charges, including making trades in influencing and persuasion as well as combined previous violations into one. Most crimes are punishable by a maximum of ten years within jail along with an indefinite fine if found guilty. (Corruption, A., and Bribery n.d,)

Bribery and other forms of corruption have detrimental effects on businesses that operate in global markets. Businesses face considerable strain to operate in such a setting, which makes running a company challenging. As a result, companies worry about their ability to secure an agreement, acquire a permit, or launch their goods on schedule. (Corruption, A., and Bribery n.d,)

Irish businesses, individuals who tend to live in Ireland, along with Irish nationals are all subject of the international scope of Irish corruption legislation when they travel overseas. Ireland is devoted to making guarantees that paying payoffs to foreign or domestic authorities is considered an unlawful act. To establish equal opportunities for any organisation functioning

worldwide, it is additionally devoted to bringing attention to their responsibilities under global agreements or rules. (Corruption, A., and Bribery n.d,)

To strengthen Ireland's capacity to tackle business-related, financial, and regulating criminal activity, the Irish government released a "White-collar crime package" in the fall of 2017. Among them was an assurance to "review and strengthen anti-corruption and anti-fraud structures in criminal justice enforcement". (Corruption, A., and Bribery n.d,)

Corrupt behavior has a detrimental effect on companies, the community, and people. It erodes freedom along with encourages the growth of organized criminal organizations, dangers to public safety, discourages expenditures; contributes to unequal treatment; prevents people from accessing essential services and offers the incorrect promotions. (Corruption, A., and Bribery n.d,)

#### **Research Question**

The following research question "How is corruption affecting Ireland's economy today" will be the specific focus of the dissertation. In the dissertation, semi-structured interviews will be held with multiple independent TDs from various political parties currently in Ireland such as Fianna Fail, Sinn Fein, Fine Gael, Labor Party, and Independent Ireland. According to (Aodha, 2023), Independent Ireland is a new political party recently registered with electoral authority as of 10<sup>th</sup> November 2023 and Ireland's 27<sup>th</sup> political party. It has been positioned as a "comfortable alternative" to Sinn Féin. Michael Collins of Cork Southwest and Richard Donoghue of Limerick County officially founded the political party. (Ryan, 2023)

Furthermore, as a part of my research process, I will also be holding semi-structured interviews with various property developers and Dublin city council members to gain their perspective and thoughts on the current issues in the planning systems in Ireland who has led to appeals being submitted and withdrawn for cash pay offs or gifts as mentioned above in the literature review sub-section two.

Several study objectives have been set to respond to the main research question:

- Objective 1: To question whether certain elements of corruption are needed for the Irish economy to survive, as corruption is perceived as a negative impact.
- Objective 2: To investigate how is corruption measured in Ireland.
- Objective 3: To investigate the appeals which have been submitted against residential
  and industrial developments in Ireland and withdrawn for an agreement (bribes) and
  how this form of corruption is influencing Ireland's economy.
- Objective 4: To investigate the consequences of corruption in Ireland.

#### Methodology

The methodologies used in this research and the rationale for their selection for this particular investigation will be covered in the methodological section. After considering qualitative and quantitative research methodologies, this study's methodologies apply a qualitative method to the imperative model. The methodological strategy seeks to respond to the following research query: "How does corruption affect the Irish economy today? By conducting interviews with experts, this proved to have been the most effective means of obtaining valuable information and skills in the chosen field of work. The goal of these interviews aims to generate particular details from those interviewed on the subjects covered in the literature analysis in order to strengthen the basis of the research question.

Together with topics such as sample size, dependability, and verification, this approach will additionally involve the investigation's design, that will cover over the specifics of the research tool plus the scope of the subject matter. The kind of evidence that has been gathered as well as the methods employed for evaluating it will get determined by the data assessment. The study limits are examined and analysed, and the project's ethics are talked about.

#### Research philosophy

The information that the researcher acquires while conducting the study is referred to as research philosophy. Selecting the kind of research model to be applied in this study also proves essential. (Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A., 2009). Interpretivism is the chosen philosophy method in this research. According to (Alharahsheh, H.H. and Pius, A., 2020) interpretivism tends to concentrate on the intricate details and context-related variables since it considers variances including cultures, situations, and historical periods that have contributed to the creation of distinct social reality. This approach seeks to acknowledge the personal nature of human encounters while delving into and comprehending the significance individuals give their own relationships and actions in light of the study topics. Interviews that are semi-structured will act as the qualitative research approach utilised for this study report. When examining the topic of the current study, the interpretivist method of study recognises the need of taking the historical and social frameworks associated with human interactions into account.

Throughout interviews, those interviewed are given the opportunity to share their personal experiences and perspectives on view, which yields an array of qualitative insights which may reveal deeper and more complex knowledge about the topic at hand. Establishing credibility among the investigator and the interviewees through interviews can lead to improved engagement and the acquisition of useful information that may not be collected through alternative methods.

#### Sampling

Selecting the right individuals for interviews who are relevant to the research that can offer field knowledge was essential while establishing the approach to interviews. Emphasising individuals employed in the political field, the construction sector, law enforcement, or fighting corruption organisations in relation to the frequent topics in the research would offer the ideal counterbalance to foster a deeper comprehension of the ways in which corruption impacts Ireland's economy.

The selection includes name, position, and what political party their in. The purpose of obtaining these tenants for the purpose of questioning them had been to enhance our comprehension of Irish corruption and its historical and current effects on the country's economy. The participants in the interview concentrate on their own encounters with such concepts as they relate to their own areas and reality. Rather than picking other candidates for the interview, individuals who took part offered their expertise. Their years of accumulated expertise, along with a steady stream of relevant information that will be applied to the study, will contribute to strengthen this study. The examination of abilities and certifications is intriguing as well because of the variety of circumstances they address.

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Interviewee	Area of employment
P1	Fianna Fail Politician
P2	Irish Green Party Politician
P3	Department of Justice Representative
P4	Labour Party Representative

P5	Fine Gael Politician

#### Pilot Study

The procedure of improving the format of interviews will be aided by the Pilot research, serving as a crucial guideline. While the initial interview may yield significant information, it provides a chance for adjusting shortly after it is conducted. The key concepts may be organized more effectively with a redesign which better aligns them with the results of the study. Consequently, from the pilot interview, adjustments regarding the questioning style can be made to discuss the questions in deeper meaning and collect better precise and detailed data on the topics which emerge from the research.

#### Data Analysis

According to (Guest, G., MacQueen, K.M. and Namey, E.E., 2012., a themes examination is a technique used to evaluate qualitative information that entails looking for recurrent concepts, or themes, within a set of data. The method used to analyse the data from the interviews falls in accordance with the theme framework that was incorporated into the question development. For the sake of the study, the themes are arranged according to the way the academic research reads, with an emphasis on the understanding that each subject seeks to teach throughout each interview. During the interview and subsequently to help with the breaking down and further examination, comments are taken and significant situations and words are highlighted. Subsequently, follows the stage of evaluation, which involves classifying the responses collected during interviews into concepts based on their level of relevance to the study.

This method facilitates the identification of themes as well as the deconstruction of correlated data. To get a better sense regarding the way the ideas are understood, the final component in thematic examination is going to be to synthesise the lessons gained from each area of the discussions and underline relevant information regarding how corruption in Ireland is affecting today's economy and by receiving instances from the actual world as well. Any the arguments and presumptions made during the interview process are pertinent to the subject of investigation, and because it is interpretative in nature, all viewpoints are going to be

considered into account because they frequently have the potential to change the study's overall conclusion.

#### Research Design

According to (Philliber. Schwab & Samsloss, 1980) research design can also be thought of to be a "blueprint" for your study, addressing four main issues: what questions to investigate, which information are useful, what information to gather, and how to interpret the findings. Written sources as well as both visual and audio data can be used as data for a qualitative study. To enable in-depth analysis, audio recordings will be converted into form of writing. (Bailey, J., 2008). The present study is focused on clarifying individuals' knowledge and experiences concerning the study's primary question, "How does corruption affect the Irish economy today? Qualitative analysis comes in a variety of forms, such as surveys, focus groups, interviews, observations, and case studies. For this study subject, methods that are qualitative have proved more suitable than assessments provided by quantitative studies. Qualitative findings give the specific information required to back up the investigation's broad aspects. Individuals who complete surveys typically consider them to be unpleasant. Due to this, those taking part are likely to flick through each query fast and tick off areas without thinking.

Those taking the survey do not have a similar option to provide a thorough explanation of their opinions. The use of quantitative methodologies has additional limitations: respondents may fail to finish the survey entirely or could respond to a question distinctively then planned. A set of topics and issues are going to be addressed during the semi-structured interviews; however, these factors may differ from a single interview to the next, Considering the type of the occurrences within specific groups, additional information might be needed to fully investigate the research questions and objectives. (Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A., 2009). The approach of interviews was selected for the present research because it can help prevent misunderstandings and ensure that the data gathered is accurately understood. It is also possible to pose additional questions with the goal to receive the best possible answer from those who participated.

#### **Interview Questions**

In accordance with the major topics that were discovered in the literature review, the questionnaire was created. The main concepts are as follows: The Mahon / Flood Tribunal - Payments to Politicians, The Planning Trap, Law Enforcement Corruption and Anti-corruption Organisations

The primary topics act as the focal points of conversation that aid in the study process of addressing the study's issue. As each question will require an alternate response, distinct differences ought to be presented to aid with comprehending the reason for the topic of study. Additionally, there are going to be ten questions in all.

First, Question 1 serves as an introductory inquiry that asks a brief history of the attendees, detailing reasons that motivated them to move on from their prior job and seek a profession in politics. Asking an introductory question is crucial since it gives you a quick overview of the individual and helps you gauge their personality.

Question 2 and 3 centre around Ireland's economic expansion and anti-corruption measures. It encourages individuals to talk about their personal experiences and offer examples from real-world situations. This enables the researcher to gain knowledge regarding other real-world cases that they may have had no idea about and information regarding the best practices for enhancing Ireland's transparency.

Questions 4 and 5 centre with how corruption undermines trust among the public and public opinion. The population's key worries about the impact of financial resources in Irish politics are addressed, which aids the researcher in identifying effective strategies for Ireland to enhance the public's view and preserve confidence among government workers.

Questions 6 and 7 examine how Ireland might improve both the effectiveness of its own anticorruption initiatives as the safety provided to whistle-blowers. For the purpose of to monitor the effects of corruption, the interviewee is also asked to talk about economic indicators they're familiar with. The success of several measures in connection with corruption and the suitability for the whistle-blower process to bring to light potential cases of corruption will be assessed by the researcher. Those interviewed can address the main obstacles to locating and reclaiming assets associated with corruption, and also the ways in which corruption worsens economic disparities, in response to questions 8 and 9. Further, it solicits feedback from those participating regarding the best ways to combat corruption through international collaboration or legislative changes. The respondents' varying perspectives on necessary but effective changes and on whether or not corruption leads to inequality will provide useful information for the researcher to learn about.

The 10<sup>th</sup> question serves as a suitable outro, asking interviewees to discuss what measures they consider must be taken to successfully tackle corruption and protect Ireland's economic strength. The researcher will be able to learn about the significant measures that must be implemented as well as how crucial it is that Ireland take such steps.

Be sure to refer to Appendix A in order to look at the questions.

#### **Recruitment Process**

Approximately 80 individuals received emails throughout the one-month interviewing procedure, as well as two of them were contacted via LinkedIn through establishing connections with them and messaging them a 200 character word message. Just 22 from the 82 participants replied, and after speaking with them and receiving information regarding the purpose of the study, as of now only 3 of the individuals have agreed to be a part and engage as part of the research for this study. Thus far, three individuals were recently questioned: one representative coming from Fianna Fail, one Irish Green Party politician, along with a representative from the Labour Party. Instead of taking into account variables such age and sex, those who participated were selected according to their willingness to participate, expertise, and knowledge.

#### Limitations

It was discovered that there were numerous constraints to this study, including the body of literature review and not having enough of individuals with the necessary experience, education, and training who were willing to participate as part of study out of such a big sample size.

The preliminary part which was seen when this investigation started was the literature review. Finding newer data that would back this study—as opposed to findings from before the 2000s—was found to be fairly difficult. Since the foundation of the research is corruption and how it affects Ireland's economy today. As was already said, it was discovered that there weren't numerous resources available in the Irish context until more recent years. As a result, material from the year 1990 to the 2017s were employed to conduct the study. A new RTE series, nonetheless, premiered in December 2023 regarding planning requests towards housing and corporate projects that were eventually withdrawn in exchange for cash payments. This series had a huge impact on the literature review and how it was structured.

The data collection method selected for this study entailed having individuals complete inperson interviews. Considering those who participated in the study faced limitations in
accessibility, the procedure of scheduling interviews proved occasionally a little challenging.
In general, in-person face-to-face interviews were favoured; but, owing to scheduling conflicts
plus time spent travelling, a small number of those interviewed opted to complete their
interviews digitally. Online interviews, conducted through Microsoft Teams, are easier as well
as quicker for both the investigator and the interviewee. However, there is a chance that
technical difficulties, like a poor internet connection, may arise. Additionally, finding
appropriate subjects for the research proved difficult by the small number of people who
accepted the offer to take part.

#### **Ethical Consideration**

Everyone who participated were made aware of the kind of methodological strategy that was employed in order to guarantee the achievement of the study's intended outcome. Every precaution has been made to guarantee the confidentiality and anonymity of study subjects at all times. Consent forms were provided to the participants and signed by them before the interviews started. The study's purpose and the conditions under which those taking part in the

study had to agree were described in the consent documents. Speech and video clips, among other interview-related data, are kept on the investigator's encrypted drive in a secure location. Only the researcher has access to this, and it is kept for a maximum of five years encoded.

Anyone involved in this research project has the option to discontinue involvement at any point in time; they have no obligation to give a justification for doing so. Audio recordings of interviews across all platforms as well as forms of consent shall be password-encrypted, maintained in an appropriate place, and kept in accordance with university and National College of Ireland policies.

#### **Analysis and Findings**

In order to respond to each of the many components of the investigation's issue, this section of the research paper analyses the information gathered during the conducted conversations. This stage involved tracking and interacting with various backgrounds and skill sets in order to provide the study with the greatest benefit and increase the amount of information that could be gathered regarding the topic. Some of the occupants which took part in the study include a Fianna Fail Politician, Irish Green Party Politician, Labour Party Representative, Department of Justice Representative and Fine Gael Politician / Former Lord Mayor of Dublin. To facilitate the examination and segmentation of data emphasised in the methodological chapter, the interviews were conducted in a themed manner. Many components of this study are tailored to a specific person, therefore their perspectives are very interpretative. Clear knowledge about the subject under study was obtained by adding up the answers across the themes and comprehending the various components inside each.

#### Effect corruption has on trust

P1 emphasised the difficult balancing act that Ireland must take to preserve public confidence while fighting corruption. He underlined that although corruption can occur, confidence in society is maintained in part by the media's vital role in uncovering misconduct. P1 said, "I would have thought that having a very active media that follow up issues is beneficial.". "There's obviously a downside to corruption. It undermines the system, it damages trust and confidence." He said acknowledging that it undermines trustworthy relationships. He also emphasised the value of openness in preserving public confidence particularly the success of the Irish whistleblowing laws. P1 did, however, issue a warning against overly openness, as this could discourage individuals who are going into politics. He came to the conclusion that Ireland's strong structures of democracy, investigating press, and safeguarding legislation all aid in combating corruption. P2 emphasises throughout the interview the prevalent nature corruption is in Ireland and how it undermines trustworthiness. He emphasises the way people's general doubt has been fed by corrupt practices and unethical conduct, which have made a decline of assurance especially clear in the business field. According to P2, trust is a vital component of an efficient economy. He goes into more detail on how such distrust is circular, with general dissatisfaction feeding more corrupt behaviour and so on, establishing an endless

cycle. "Addressing corruption requires more than just policy changes; it necessitates a cultural shift towards greater transparency and accountability," says p2. According to p2, Ireland may obtain investments, and guarantee a more equitable community by re-establishing confidence. P3's observations regarding corruption in Ireland emphasise how detrimental it is to the trust of the people. He emphasises, "If there's any question of whether that vote can be influenced by anything other than action, then you've got a major problem." This remark emphasises how values of democracy erode if trustworthiness is lost. P3 highlights the necessity of thorough oversight and open disclosure to guarantee responsibility, highlighting previous cases when moral failings required changes. His backing on whistleblowing safeguards and a transparent society in all industries shows a pro-active stance against misconduct. According to P3, moral conduct is crucial to preserving people's trust in Ireland's economic and legislative bodies. As P4 pointed out, public confidence in Ireland's authorities is still fairly high, even if corruption does have a negative effect upon the entire world. He underlined how situations involving corruption weaken public confidence and threaten democracies. P4 emphasised that in order to keep the public's trust in political and financial organisations, it is critical to sustain openness and sustain guidelines. Although there aren't many problems with public confidence in Ireland right now, he made an argument that global agreements require constant development in order to maintain norms that preserve public trust. In addition to preventing misconduct, such deliberate approach is about assuring people that their governing bodies are accountable and open in all of the organization's operations. Therefore, even while Ireland may not be experiencing a crisis, P4's observations highlight the continued efforts required to protect and improve public confidence. P5 emphasised how crucial honesty and confidence are to the fight against corruption throughout Ireland's government agencies. He pointed out that although Ireland currently has strict laws governing donations of money and open contracting in place. P5 stressed that misconduct not just erodes public confidence but additionally stunts growth in the economy by taking funds out of critical services. He cited actions like Dublin City Council's open disclosure of expenses as successful in rebuilding trust since they make public spending by the authorities visible. P5 states that maintaining public trust necessitates regular attempts to guarantee transparency and prompt action in dealing with reported instances of corruption.

#### Existence of corruption in Ireland

When asked about the existence of corruption in Ireland, P1's observations during the interview suggest that while corruption is recognised in Ireland, it isn't a widespread occurrence from his experience. P1 stated, "I've seen very little corruption in Dublin City Council and very little corruption in Leinster House." Although he agrees that corruption happens everywhere, he speculates that the issue may not be prominent in Ireland entirely. His take on it highlights the need to acknowledge it with caution and highlights the country's attempts to lessen its effects using standards of liability and openness. In general, P1's opinions point to a complex awareness of corruption's possible presence in specific Irish governance. P2 addressed in his interview the existence of corruption in Ireland, highlighting its established history in a number of industries. He raised the case that elaborate chains involving favours and leverage allow corruption to flourish frequently, impacting either the political and economic sectors. P3 offered a varied viewpoint regarding the issue of corrupt behaviour in Ireland when he said, "I don't think that I have directly seen examples of corruption. I think what I've seen is things around the edges and I would never class them specifically as corruption." He drew attention to potential challenges to parliamentary procedures and stressed the value of following the law and being open and honest. With reference to permits for development and oversight organisations, P3 mentioned particular situations, stating, "Exactly and so much so that we've actually had to put the planning permission into an independent board but there have been questions over that independent board as well." His words seemed to acknowledge the possible effects from corruption. Addressing the possibility of corruption within Ireland, P4 recognises that corruption has a negative impact on the economy and emphasised that it can take money away from vital public services. He said, "I wouldn't say that it's particularly applied to Ireland". Even while Ireland has a relatively low rate of corruption, P4 emphasised the wider global consequence which will be discussed in the next theme. P5 disagreed with P4 in terms of answers provided during the interviews as he recognised the past difficulties associated with land use planning in Dublin and mentions measures such as the split among the Dublin County Council that were implemented to reduce the possibility of corruption during the interview. He highlights how tight Irish laws regarding political funding and contrasted them to more flexible rules in the United States, especially in presidential elections. P5 further described a particular instance of minor corruption from a local department that involved payment in cash for driving

licences. P5 comments "There was cash being transacted for a vehicle, a driver's license and the license was being handed out and the cash was being taken in and it wasn't going through the system." Given these issues, he pointed out that throughout his leadership, cases of corruption were very uncommon, partly because of better management and control procedures. P5 emphasised continuing attempts to fight corruption by using open procurement procedures and making thorough financial reports.

#### Consequences of corruption

When asked in what ways does corruption hinder Ireland's economic growth, P1 shed light on the effects of corruption on Ireland's economy, pointing out that even though it happens infrequently, it can nevertheless erode damage economic stability. He states, 'Corruption distorts fair competition for contracts and services, potentially favouring those willing to engage in illicit practices.'. He underlines how even occasional instances of corruption possess the power to damage Ireland's standing abroad, undermining trust between investors and hindering the country's chances for economic expansion. P1 recognises that strong news coverage and strict investigative structures such as the Criminal Assets Bureau are important tools in the fight against corruption. P2 addressed during his interview the negative impacts of corruption and its deep consequences on Ireland's economy. He made the argument that corruption erodes investment and consumer trust as mentioned in the theme above, which stifles equal rivalry and progress in the economy. As P2 stated, in his interview, "Corruption leads to a misallocation of resources and inefficient economic outcomes." Due to this, objectives are frequently biased with ventures selected more for rewards than for their actual economic advantages. Furthermore, corruption raises expenses for customers as well as companies, which significantly hinders economic growth. Long-term, these effects reduce Ireland's ability to compete on the world stage, impeding social progress and equitable growth. In addition to restoring honesty, combating corruption opens the door towards a stronger and equal economy that encourages creativity and fair development for all parties involved. P3 pointed out how corruption undermines confidence in society and affects a stable economy, among other negative consequences on Ireland's economy. He noted, "If there's any sort of corruption, it means people can jump the queue. It means there's an unequal health system, and the health system is not fair." This observation highlights the ways in which corruption affects beneficial availability of basic services and sustains inequality in the economy.

Furthermore, P3 underlined that these kinds of actions impede economic expansion and foreign direct investment since they give the impression that conducting business in Ireland seems risky. In order to counteract corruption's destructive impacts, he argued for strict control and reporting procedures. He also promoted openness as being essential to maintaining economic growth and creating equal opportunities for everyone involved in the country's economy. P4 discussed how corruption could impede economic expansion as well as discourage foreign investment during his interview on the effects that it has on Irish economy. He stated, "If monies are being syphoned off for corrupt purposes and not being reinvested in essential services of the state, then it has that knock-on effect on the ability to attract investment." P4 pointed out that international firms would refrain from making investments in nations which are seen as corrupt, this would have a negative impact on the availability of jobs. Given Ireland's strong legal system that supports openness and accountability, P4 emphasised the continuous requirement to evaluate the efficacy of existing legislation and improve preventative efforts. He mentioned current efforts that are being consolidated, including the creation for an economic crime and anti-corruption framework. P5 pointed out the negative effects of corruption upon Ireland's economy and how it may hinder progress. He stated, "There's strict rules around anonymous donations, strict rules around cash donations, strict rules around corporate donations and strict limits in terms of how much any politician can take and then strict spending limits around election time." P5 warned against indifference, arguing for continuing openness and responsibility in legislative processes to protect against corrupt procedures that might repel foreign investment and undermine the economy, even in accordance with Ireland's strict regulatory structure.

#### **Discussion & Conclusion**

This study looks at how corruption affects Ireland's economy. The planning trap, law enforcement, anti-corruption organisations in Ireland that fight corruption, and Irish tribunals known to investigate payments to politicians are the four main subjects of the literature review section. Findings from earlier research indicated that corruption has a detrimental effect on Ireland's economy. Nonetheless, the results of this study offered more proof that corruption has a detrimental effect on the public. All those involved in the current research acknowledged the possible effects that corruption may have on the world's economies in addition to Ireland's.

Given the matter under study and the limitations for an undergraduate research studies, a qualitative approach made greater sense. Subsequently it might be intriguing to see if a quantitative examination involving more people, and the ability to conduct additional research could yield identical findings. The goal of this study project's literature evaluation was to comprehend the theories behind how corruption is affecting Ireland's economy both historically and currently. The interviewing procedure, which aimed to obtain more details on the study's issue via interviews involving participants in their specific industries, produced the analysis and findings. Since this served as the subject of this study, the goal was to obtain knowledge about corruption in Ireland and how it affects the country's economy. Bringing the terms and ideas covered in the academic review with real-world situations while comprehending them via the expertise of experts was the outcome of the study's results and analysis. All of this allowed the investigation to evaluate its analysis and findings with those of the literature assessment, which aided in the development of the paper's overall position.

The research method led to a greater understanding of what was being investigated and the creation of the research's viewpoint, which later inspired the project's goals. While there was a few constraints that made the studies challenging in particular areas, overall, the greater part of the study carried out well. The study's greatest potential has been hindered by the information gathering timeline, since more time could have enabled an increased sample number.

#### **Future Recommendations**

Since this research limited itself to people from multiple political groups and the department of justice, it might be advised for future studies to speak with other people from various industries. Conducting interviews with individuals coming from these industries will provide a broader understanding of their encounters with corruption. This could additionally be helpful to investigate people in other professions, such as developers of real estate, police officers, and staff of anti-corruption organisations. As was previously indicated, the present research was limited to looking at people who worked in politics or in the department of justice. This will assist in determining the opinions of others regarding the impact of misconduct on Ireland's economy.

In conclusion, corruption has a significant impact on Ireland's economy. Even though Ireland might not encounter the same serious levels of corruption like various countries. While Ireland is widely recognised for possessing strong anti-corruption systems, it is imperative to acknowledge the wider economic ramifications. Public monies are diverted from vital services by corruption, which results in inefficiency and a decline in confidence in public organisations. Furthermore, the negative effects of corruption might extend beyond the actual corruption. International businesses are reluctant to make investments in nations wherein corruption is thought to be pervasive, that can hinder development and economic potential. Continued focus and preventive steps are still necessary due to the possible economic consequences. Maintaining Ireland's economic expansion still depends on improving commitment, transparency, and trust among the public.

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#### **Appendices**

#### Appendix A

- 1) Good morning, It's a pleasure to have you with us today, could you share with us the personal journey that led you to pursue a career in politics? What inspired you to transition from your previous professional endeavours into the realm of public service, and where there any defining moments or experiences that influenced your decision to embark on this path?
- 2) In what ways does corruption hinder a nation's economic growth, ability to attract investment and job creation? Can you provide real-world examples?
- 3) What are the most effective strategies for improving Ireland's accountability and transparency in financial and governmental institutions to combat corruption?
- 4) Public trust is damaged by corruption. How can Ireland best restore and maintain public trust in public servants and institutions? Can you discuss method which have proven to be successful.
- 5) What are the public's primary concerns about the potential influence of money in Irish politics? How can public perception be improved?
- 6) How can Ireland strengthen its whistle-blower protection mechanisms to empower public officials to report instances of suspected corruption?
- 7) What are the most important economic indicators to track when assessing the impact of corruption in Ireland and the success of anti-corruption efforts.
- 8) What are they key challenges Ireland faces in identifying and recovering assets linked to corruption? What improvements in legislation or international cooperation would be most effective?

- 9) In what ways does corruption in Ireland contribute to economic inequality or impede fair access to essential services?
- 10) How can Ireland guarantee sufficient funding and resources for investigative agencies dedicated to addressing corruption?
- 11) As we conclude our discussion, your insights into the intersection of corruption and Ireland's economy have been incredibly enlightening. Looking ahead, what actionable steps do you believe should be taken to combat corruption effectively and safeguard the economic prosperity of Ireland for future generations?