

***Corruption in Local Government:  
Discord Analysis into Local and Municipal Government***

**An Honors Thesis (POLS 404)**

**By**

*Ryan Reed*

**Thesis Advisor**

*Dr. Chad Kinsella*

**Ball State University**

**Muncie, Indiana**

*April 2022*

**Expected Date of Graduation**

*May 2022*

## **Abstract**

This study aims at understanding why corruption happens on a local level of government. While looking at six different cases of corruption committed in the United States, this study has found four distinct factors to be in common in these cases. These factors are the size of government, condition of the economy, level of education, and political culture. Additionally, the study found that political culture is the most crucial factor when determining if a government would lead to corruption.

# Acknowledgments

I would like to thank and acknowledge Dr. Chad Kinsella for his time and help in guiding me with this paper. I would like to also thank my mentor and close friend, Dr. Jason Powell for encouraging me and mentoring me through my career at Ball State.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family for encouraging me and helping me reach this point in my academic career.

# Table of Contents

Process Analysis Statement.....	1
Introduction.....	2
Methodology.....	7
Literature Review.....	4
Types of corruption.....	4
1. Bribery	
2. Extortion	
3. Embezzlement	
Major Examples of Political Corruption.....	8
1. Probe into the City of Muncie.....	8
2. Probe into the City of Cincinnati.....	11
3. Operation Bid Rig.....	13
4. Operation Greylord.....	16
5. Operation Blighted Officials.....	20
6. Operation G-string.....	23
Analysis.....	25
Factors for Corruption.....	25
1. Size of the Municipality	
2. Conditions of the Local Economy	
3. Education	
4. Political Culture	
Conclusion.....	30
References.....	31

# Process Analysis Statement

This study aims at trying to understand the root causes of corruption at the local level of government. First, I set up the broad questions that I wanted to answer like why it happens, what are the factors that cause it, and what happened in every case that I will be covering. I then proceeded to define corruption into three separate categories, Bribery, extortion, and embezzlement. In these three categories, I then found research into these three forms of corruption to further help understand what is going on in the cases in this study.

I was able to look at six different cases of corruption and list what happened in all of them. Five of the cases happened in the twenty-first century and the other case was the biggest judicial corruption bust in American history. These cases ranged from public officials selling contracts to the highest bidders all the way to strip club owners trying to influence public policy. While looking at these cases, I started to see patterns in them and started to record these patterns and found four distinct factors that lead to a government being corrupt. These four factors are the size of the government, condition of the economy, education level, and political culture.

While looking at these four distinct factors, one of them was present in every case. That factor was political culture. Political culture is like a workplace environment, where this is how things are done and do not break from the status quo. Political cultures that are more focused on the self rather than the community, described as Individualistic political culture in this study, tend to be more corrupt than any other form of political culture and leads to more politicians turning towards corruption rather than helping their communities.

# Introduction

Corruption in any form is a modern disease that hurts everyone but the selfish actors. Corruption has been an issue that has plagued humanity since the beginning of civilization and quite possibly continues indefinitely. Additionally, corruption can lead to the deterioration of democracies and mistrust between the people in power and the rest of the populous. Corruption is defined by Transparency International as

“The abuse of public power for personal gain” (What is Corruption, 2022).

The United States ranks twenty-seventh out of one hundred and eighty nations recorded in 2021 by Transparency International (What is Corruption, 2022). Some of the only solutions to solve corruption are increased transparency and increased involvement in government.

While the United States is not a kleptocracy, a corrupt nation, corruption has been an underlying issue for most of its history. When someone thinks of corruption in the United States, images of big government and major political machines come to mind. Another topic that comes to mind is the long history of federal corruption like the patronage system of bribery that took place from the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century (Stephenson, 2020). While every single one of these issues is complex and deserves another paper onto themselves, the goal of this paper is to look at the local and municipal levels of government. This level of government has less political oversight and a media presence when compared to the national level. The biggest corruption cases in American history at some level involve local and municipal government officials (Stephenson, 2020).

The importance of identifying the root causes of this corruption in these cases is finding the main reason it happens. If there is any connection between these examples of corruption, then this paper aims at understanding why. This study will be conducted with certain goals in mind. Specifically, these research questions need to be addressed:

- a. Why do public officials commit corruption and similar acts?
- b. What happened in every case and how long did it go for?
- c. Are there any similarities between these cases?
- d. Why do these corruption cases continue to occur?

The goal of this study is to compare different examples of local and municipal government corruption cases from the late twentieth century to the modern-day and find any of the key factors that lead to corruption. There have been countless modern examples of these corruption cases and this study is aimed at finding any root causes in these cases. Being able to connect these cases and form an evidence-based theory on why corruption happens would benefit everyone in combating this.

The overall goal of this study, as previously state, is to understand why government officials commit corruption and understand the circumstances that lead to it. As previously stated, political machines have led to hundreds of cases of corruption in United States History, but this is not so much the case for modern cases. With that in mind, this study will examine multiple examples of corruption within the United States and identify if there are any connections between them.

# Methodology

This study will be divided into two separate sections. The first section will list the different forms of corruption in the Literature Review. Being able to understand the different forms of corruption will provide a foundation to understand the research presented here. Additional research will then be introduced to help understand these forms of corruption and help refine the lenses this study will use to examine the individual cases of corruption.

The second part of the first section will be examining the different cases of political corruption. Due to time constraints and lack of access to available information, this study will only look at six different cases. The data will be collected and listed in the “Major Examples of Political Corruption on the Local Level” section of the paper. Each example will have all the major events and important actors listed out. This will be done to lay out the facts for all the cases and to see if there are any connections between the different cases. This will be done using primary and secondary sources of the events. Once this is done, the study will then move on to the second part of the paper.

After laying out all the facts for the six cases of political corruption, this study will then enter the second section of the paper. In the second section, a comprehensive review will be conducted to see if there is any connection between the cases. This will be done in the Analysis section of this paper. This section will connect the different cases in seeing if there is an apparent reason for the corruption in every case and if there was one form of corruption that is more prevalent than other forms of corruption. Once that is done, the study will conclude and try to answer the major questions brought up in the Introduction. Once these questions have been answered, the goal of this case study is to understand why these political actors commit corrupt acts.



# Literature Review

The goal of this study is to understand the reasoning behind corruption and to do that, this study must define the distinct types of corrupt acts that a public official can commit. The distinct types that will be covered are Bribery, Extortion, and Embezzlement.

## Types of Corruption

### 1. Bribery

Bribery is the first form of corruption that this paper will cover. As defined by Cornell Law School:

Corrupt solicitation, acceptance, or transfer of value in exchange for official action (Bribery, n.d.).

When looking at public corruption, bribery comes up more often than any other form of corruption. When someone bribes a public official, this forms a quid pro quo relationship that causes the public official to change their behavior in a way that the briber wants (Bribery, n.d.). When looking at the impact of bribery, it can be detrimental to the local economy of that municipality due to outside forces influencing the open market (Bribery, n.d.). This causes unfair competition in that market, hampering economic growth (Bribery, n.d.).

A study done by *The Academy of Management Journal* found that cultural pressure causes an increase in bribery toward public officials (Kelly D. Martin, 2007). The study found that when public officials are underpaid and oversight is low on that public official, they will start to pressure citizens to pay them bribes (Kelly D. Martin, 2007). The study brings up a reoccurring problem in these economies where the police are expecting a bribe in a normal traffic stop (Kelly D. Martin, 2007). If the police do not receive the bribe, then they will give the citizen a ticket, whether it is warranted (Kelly D. Martin, 2007).

## 2. Extortion

The next form of corruption that will be covered is Extortion. As defined by Investopedia:

Extortion is the wrongful use of actual or threatened force, violence, or intimidation to gain money or property from an individual or entity (Chen, 2021).

Extortion involves one party threatening another party, usually the public official (Chen, 2021). While the threat is not as prevalent as it was in the twentieth century, the threat of ruining someone's reputation has become more prevalent in the twenty-first century (Chen, 2021). Ruining someone's reputation could lead to someone losing their career so public officials try to keep their reputation as clean as possible.

A study done by the *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization* tried to find a root cause of extortion by public figures (Melissas, 2009). The study focused on police officers in different nations to find the root causes of practices that lead to extortion (Melissas, 2009). The study was able to conclude that no matter if there is a law or not in these nations involving extortion, these police officers will abuse it in some capacity (Melissas, 2009). If there is no law against extortion, then these police officers will threaten citizens to do their bidding, or they will be charged with something that they cannot fight. It is their word against the police (Melissas, 2009). But, if there is a law in place, the police still have the advantage of their word against the citizens (Melissas, 2009). The courts in these situations normally always side with the police (Melissas, 2009).

## 3. Embezzlement

The final form of corruption that this paper will cover is Embezzlement. As defined by Cornell Law School:

Fraudulent taking of personal property by someone to whom it was entrusted  
(Embezzlement, n.d.).

This form of public corruption is most likely to be committed by individual public figures rather than groups of people (Embezzlement, n.d.). When a public official is trying to commit this type of fraud, they would do so in two ways (Embezzlement, n.d.). They would either steal lesser amounts of this good to prevent people from getting suspicious (Embezzlement, n.d.). This method is more common since the likelihood of getting caught is less and allows the corrupt figure to continue to steal over prolonged periods. The other method is when someone steals many goods and disappears (Embezzlement, n.d.). This method is less common than the other methods mentioned and has become increasingly more difficult in the twenty-first century (Embezzlement, n.d.). With the internet and police using technology, criminals are finding it harder to hide (Embezzlement, n.d.).

A study done by *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* tried to understand embezzlement and why it is committed (Green, 1993). This study wanted to do this to find if embezzlement falls under the definition of a white-collar crime (Green, 1993). Their conclusions found that the crime of embezzlement is a violation of trust that the public entrusted the person with (Green, 1993). Corrupt embezzlers have only one similarity, a lack of self-control (Green, 1993).

Leaving the different types of corruption, a study conducted by the *Journal of Public Economics* found that there are clear factors that lead a politician to commit corrupt acts (Treisman, 2000). This study was conducted on a global scale and was able to find several factors that lead to a nation being more corrupt than another. The main conclusion of the study was that economic development and development of the political structures tend to lead to less corrupt governments around the world.

# Major Examples of Political Corruption on the Local Level

## 1. Probe into the City of Muncie

The first example that this paper will be looking at is also the most recent case of corruption. From 2011 to 2019, Dennis Tyler was entrusted to guide the City of Muncie, Indiana as their mayor (US Attorney's Office, 2021). Mr. Tyler was well-liked in his community and enjoyed support from other city officials and residents. Starting in January of 2017, after a handful of employee tip-offs, the Federal Bureau of Investigation started a probe into the Muncie City Hall (Wiechmann, 2021). They received multiple reports of city officials receiving kickbacks and other bribes from local contractors (Wiechmann, 2021). Their probe would reveal a culture of political corruption and a history of scandal.

The first person to be charged with corruption and wire fraud would be Craig Nicholas in February of 2017 (Wiechmann, 2021). Craig Nichols, Mr. Taylor's appointed buildings commissioner, and he would be charged with thirty-four counts of wire fraud, theft, and money laundering (Wiechmann, 2021). He was able to defraud the city for three hundred thousand dollars by overinflating contracts and billing the city of Muncie with companies that he owned (Wiechmann, 2021). He only pleaded guilty to two counts of wire fraud and is currently serving a two-year sentence (Wiechmann, 2021).

The next two culprits to fall into this probe would be Tracy Barton and Jeff Burke (US Attorney's Office, 2021). Tracy Barton was Mr. Taylor's appointed Muncie Sanitary District's former supervisor of sewer maintenance and engineering (McQuaid, 2021). She would be charged for being the go-between between the City of Muncie and local companies that would give them kickbacks, such as bribes and free work on their properties (McQuaid, 2021). She would also confirm there were corrupt dealings between "Muncie City Official A" and a Democratic Party Leader Phil Nichols, whose son is Craig Nichols (McQuaid, 2021). Jeff Burke was a local businessperson who was charged with Bank Fraud and obstruction of Justice (Walker, 2022). He used a non-real estate loan to purchase a flea market in Muncie for one hundred and fifty thousand dollars (Walker, 2022). He would then sell the Flea Market to the

District for three hundred and forty-five thousand dollars (Walker, 2022). Both Barton and Burke were arrested in September of 2018, and both have been sentenced to 10 years in prison, Burke was sentenced in 2021, and Barton was sentenced in 2022 (US Attorney's Office, 2021).

The Federal Bureau of Investigation started to learn that these officials that plagued the city of Muncie would call what they are doing "The Program" and all the officials charged were pointing their fingers at said, "Muncie City Official A" (Wiechmann, 2021). The City Attorney at the time, Megan Quirk, would confirm that this official was Dennis Tyler (Wiechmann, 2021). More information was being piled on the Mayor and the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested Tyler, who was still mayor at the time, in late 2019 on charges of theft of government services (Wiechmann, 2021). Mr. Tyler would confess to accepting five thousand dollars in bribes from a local construction Company (Wiechmann, 2021). The Federal Bureau of Investigation would later state that he possibly accepted over three hundred thousand dollars of bribes and kickbacks during his time as mayor (US Attorney's Office, 2021). Mr. Tyler would be sentenced in November of 2021 to one year of Federal Prison and must pay back the City of Muncie fifteen thousand two hundred and fifty dollars in restitution (US Attorney's Office, 2021).

He would not be the last person to fall from this probe, but he would be the biggest one. The next person to be sentenced in this probe would be The Chairman of the Democratic Party Phil Nichols (Office, 2020). Mr. Nichols served unofficially as head of the party from 1990 through 1998 and would maintain a private office in their headquarters and influence decisions till his arrest in 2020 (Office, 2020). He would work with Mr. Tyler with choosing which local companies the city should work with (Office, 2020). The Federal Bureau of Investigation suggested that the City of Muncie's political culture has been corrupt for decades and this is just the first time they were able to catch them (Office, 2020).

The final significant person to be arrested in this probe was the long-term sergeant for the Muncie Police Jess Neal (Office, 2020). He was the owner of two local companies, Red Carpet, Inc. and Express Properties, LLC., and would use his position in "The Program" to get his companies hired for these jobs

(Office, 2020). He would form a relationship with Mr. Tyler and Mr. Nichols and provided free work for them if his companies were the ones picked for public works (Office, 2020).

## 2. Probe into the City of Cincinnati

Deep in the Midwest, there was a rising star in Cincinnati that would come crashing down alongside his colleagues. In the City of Cincinnati, the local government elects one mayor and nine city council members (Baker, 'Gang of Five' special prosecutor gives update, 2021). Starting in 2018, then Assist Attorney General, Patrick Hanley, was appointed to investigate the City of Cincinnati due to multiple complaints of corruption (Baker, 'Gang of Five' special prosecutor gives update, 2021). He, and other federal officials, would describe the city during their investigation as a "culture of corruption" (Baker, 'Gang of Five' special prosecutor gives update, 2021). As of 2022, three city officials have been sentenced on charges of corruption and wire fraud and one case is still pending, but a total of six city officials have resigned from this probe (Baker, Cincinnati City Council approves anti-corruption reforms, 2021).

From 2011 to 2017, five city council members decided to work together to bypass the mayor and public meetings (Baker, 'Gang of Five' special prosecutor gives update, 2021). This group of city councilors would be called the "Gang of 5" (Baker, 'Gang of Five' special prosecutor gives update, 2021). The members of the "Gang of 5" were Wendell Young, Tamaya Dennard, P.G. Sittenfeld, Chris Seelback, and Greg Landsman (Baker, 'Gang of Five' special prosecutor gives update, 2021). These city council members communicated through text messages (Baker, Cincinnati City Council approves anti-corruption reforms, 2021). These text messages ranged from making fun of fellow employees to inappropriate messages between employees about people who attend council meetings (Costello, 2021). These messages are not illegal, even under Ohio Open Meetings Act, but they would eventually violate this law by talking and planning meetings outside of work (Costello, 2021). These five council members would be forced to resign and further charges have yet to be pressed on these, but the investigation did turn up something more nefarious (Baker, 'Gang of Five' special prosecutor gives update, 2021).

Tamaya Dennard, Jeff Pastor, and P.G. Sittenfeld have all been charged with corruption and one of them has been sentenced, P.G. Sittenfeld and Tamaya Dennard (Baker, 'Gang of Five' special prosecutor gives update, 2021). All three council members were found to have accepted bribes related to economic development projects or to vote a certain way (Ottillie, 2021). Sittenfeld was slated to become Cincinnati's big and rising star (Ottillie, 2021). He was running for Mayor of the city and most outlets predicted him to win but once the charges went public, he ended his election run and stepped down from his council seat (Ottillie, 2021).

As stated above, Dennard is the only one of the three to be imprisoned as of 2022 for accepting fifteen thousand dollars' worth of bribes during her tenure (Baker, Cincinnati City Council approves anti-corruption reforms, 2021). Pastor was arrested in 2020 for selling votes and accepting bribes but has fought his charge, claiming his innocence (Baker, Cincinnati City Council approves anti-corruption reforms, 2021). P.G. Sittenfeld would be arrested for similar charges and was caught selling votes over personal phone calls (Baker, Cincinnati City Council approves anti-corruption reforms, 2021). Both of their cases are currently pending but Dennard was sentenced to 18 months in Federal Prison and must pay back five hundred and forty thousand dollars to the city (Ottillie, 2021).



### 3. Operation Bid Rig

New Jersey has had a long history of corruption and Operation Bid Rig is no different. From Orthodox Rabbis to human and organ trafficking, Operation Bid Rig is the first of the appley named Operations that this paper will be looking at in this study. Operation Bid Rig was conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation between 2002 and 2014 (Sherman, 2019). This Operation would be split into three different phases of investigation and arrest due to the amount of corruption plaguing Monmouth and Ocean counties (Sherman, 2019). In total, sixty elected officials and public administrators were arrested during these investigations (Sherman, 2019). Most of the officials are currently serving prison time, but two were found not guilty of any wrongdoing (Sherman, 2019). One official was found dead in his New Jersey Apartment in 2009 and was presumed to be a suicide (Isherwood, 2013).

The first phase of the investigation would start in 2002 when Mayor Terrance D. Weldon pleaded guilty to extortion and controlling who was approved for public projects (Honan, 2009). This first phase of investigation opened the flood gates for the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the US Attorneys' Office of political corruption in New Jersey (Honan, 2009). They were not able to get any concrete information on anything else for this case and would go cold for another (Halbfinger, 2009). That would change in 2003 when the Federal Bureau of Investigation would catch a major break in their investigation (Halbfinger, 2009).

Operation Bid Rig II would take place between 2003 and 2004 and would arrest and charge twelve different New Jersey Officials (Honan, 2009). This investigation started with a man called Robert “Duke” Steffer would be caught trying to solicit public officials to give his companies contracts in exchange for bribes (Honan, 2009). The Federal Bureau of Investigation would later find out that his companies were shell companies to hide these contracts. He would help the Federal Bureau of Investigation take down these officials who were accepting bribes from Mr. Steffer (Honan, 2009). Out of the twelve officials arrested, three were Mayors, one was a Deputy Mayor, and six were council members

(Honan, 2009). The rest of the officials that were arrested ranged from building inspectors to road supervisors (Honan, 2009).

The last domino to cause the third phase to start was when a Syrian Jew, named Mr. Dwek was arrested and charged with Bank Fraud and Money Laundering in 2006 (Honan, 2009). He, along with the local Jewish rabbis from the Jersey Shore, was charged for laundering over three million dollars from Israel to Switzerland and then to New Jersey (Honan, 2009). The three million dollars' worth of illegal money was used to bribe local officials to secure contracts for Mr. Dwek's shell companies (Honan, 2009). He would provide enough information about the political culture and corruption that was going on at the New Jersey Shore to become an informant for the Federal Bureau of Investigation (Halbfinger, 2009). He was the vital link between this corrupt Jewish community and the corrupt political dealings of the local and state officials (Halbfinger, 2009). The Federal Bureau of Investigation would start yet another investigation that would be applied called Operation Big Rig III (Halbfinger, 2009). This operation would be one of the biggest corruption cases in New Jersey's long history of corruption (Halbfinger, 2009).

Mr. Dwek himself was a part of a money-laundering operation estimated to launder fifty million dollars from Israel to charitable organizations run by local rabbis in the New Jersey and New York area (Halbfinger, 2009). As stated above, he would receive around three million dollars of illegal money, but everything would change when he was introduced to Moshe Altman of Monsey (Halbfinger, 2009). Altman, a contractor himself, would introduce Mr. Dwek to a building inspector in Jersey City (Halbfinger, 2009). This city official would then introduce Mr. Dwek to another city official, Maher Khalil would then introduce Mr. Dwek to the network of public corruption plaguing the Jersey Shore (Halbfinger, 2009). Khalil would later be charged with accepting fifty thousand dollars in bribes from Mr. Dwek (Halbfinger, 2009).

This network of public officials would range from mayors to city officials and major policies in the Democratic party of New Jersey (Halbfinger, 2009). The Federal Bureau of Investigation was able to

charge forty-four different officials who were arrested and charged with corruption charges (Halbfinger, 2009). Out of the city officials, one of the most famous officials was Mayor Peter J. Cammarano III of Hoboken who served 30 days before being arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, he was an attorney and a city commissioner before winning his mayor election (Halbfinger, 2009).

As mentioned before, this case involved human trafficking and sales of organs. Levy Itzhak Rosenbaum was arrested for his part in the money laundering scheme that connected the Rabbis and New Jersey Officials (Halbfinger, 2009). Rosenbaum would entice vulnerable people to sell their kidneys to Rosenbaum and then sell the kidneys on the illegal market (Halbfinger, 2009). The Federal Bureau of Investigation was able to use Mr. Dwek to solicit a kidney from Rosenbaum for someone else and Rosenbaum admitted to doing this for multiple years in this scheme (Halbfinger, 2009).

## 4. Operation Greylord

When someone gets brought up to a judge, that person would wish that the judge would be impartial and not on someone's payroll, but the problem is that the citizens of Chicago and the Cook County would not have this benefit during the mid-twentieth century. The next instance of corruption this paper will be looking at is also the oldest example that will be examined. In the state of Illinois, there has been a long and detailed history of corruption and bribery, and Operation Greylord is no exception (Possley, 2017). During the 1970s-1980s, the court system of Cook County was plagued by corruption and bribes (Possley, 2017).

Chicago has a deep history of organized crime and gambling. The Federal Bureau of Investigation was recording meetings and conversations of these illegal gambling organizations in the seventy's (Batvinis, 2017). In 1975, the Federal Bureau of Investigation was able to identify an attorney that operated in Cook County and overheard him saying that he could bribe the judge if they did anything illegal (Batvinis, 2017). This informant was never named but he was apprehended and confused about his corrupt dealings (Batvinis, 2017). The problem was that this informant refused to record any conversations that he had with judges and attorneys or prosecutors (Batvinis, 2017). He would make up excuses constantly to prevent giving up any more information than he already had (Batvinis, 2017). The Federal Bureau of Investigation was back to square one.

In 1980, the United States Attorney's Office and the Federal Bureau of Investigation decided to work together and move a defense attorney, named David Reis, from Detroit to Chicago (Batvinis, 2017). Reis would be an undercover agent that would pose as a corrupt traffic attorney (Batvinis, 2017). He was placed in the traffic courts which were one of the more corrupt courtrooms (Batvinis, 2017). The problem with sending an undercover mole was the fact that the United States Department of Justice ordered the United States Attorney's Office to warn Cook County officials (Batvinis, 2017). They did this to warn them of fake cases being introduced into the court systems and protect their legal licenses (Batvinis,

2017). The United States Attorney's office determined that certain officials and attorneys can also be entrusted with the details of these investigations: then governor of Illinois Jim Thompson, and former Agent Bernard Carey (Batvinis, 2017). Carey was deemed trustworthy due to the number of complaints he lodged against the Cook County Courts (Batvinis, 2017). He believed that most of his cases were being fixed against the prosecutors and that the judges were in on it (Batvinis, 2017). Carey would then direct the FBI to one of his prosecutors who recently complained to the judge about fixing a rape and child molestation case, Terry Hake (Batvinis, 2017). This is around the time that the Federal Bureau of Investigation would start to call this investigation Operation Greylord based on the grey wigs that British judges would wear (Operation Greylord, n.d.).

Hake had been in the Chicago Legal system for three years and he already was losing cases that the state should not be losing (Batvinis, 2017). He complained and was shocked to have his complaints answered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (Batvinis, 2017). The problem was that the Illinois Attorney's Office warned that if he joined the investigation or if he helped with any cases against lawyers or judges, he would never be allowed to practice law in Illinois (Batvinis, 2017). Despite these threats, Hake decided to partake in the investigation (Batvinis, 2017). He was transferred to Judge Wayne Olson's courtroom which was rumored to be the one of if not the most corrupt Judge in the system (Batvinis, 2017).

Hake would receive his first bribe from criminal defense attorney Jim Costello three months after he was transferred to the judge (Batvinis, 2017). He was bribed in total hundred dollars to release a car that would incriminate one of Costello's clients (Batvinis, 2017). Later, Costello would admit to Hake that he would bribe Olson between one thousand dollars and five thousand dollars to throw the prosecution's case (Batvinis, 2017). This would give the Federal Bureau of Investigation enough evidence to bug Olson's courtroom (Batvinis, 2017). This was the first time this was ever done in United States History (Batvinis, 2017). During six weeks, ten different attorneys were heard offering bribes to Olson and fixing cases (Batvinis, 2017).

In 1981, Hake would transfer from assistant state prosecutor to criminal defense attorney to form closer relationships with the corrupt attorneys and judges (Batvinis, 2017). The Federal Bureau of Investigation filled Hake's position at the State Attorney's office with another undercover attorney to act like a corrupt prosecutor (Batvinis, 2017). When the move happened, they decided to start using these fake cases that they warned about to prevent the fixing of real criminals (Batvinis, 2017). The fake cases would involve federal agents committing crimes in Cook County, getting caught by the state police who were in on the plan, and being charged with these crimes (Batvinis, 2017). Hake would then defend these fake criminals, bribe the judges who were covering the case, and get the agents set free (Batvinis, 2017). The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Justice did not want real criminals to be released from these corrupt dealings and settled on undercover agents committing these real crimes (Batvinis, 2017). To make these cases even more believable, none of the state, county, or city police were in on the crimes, and the undercover agents were given completely new identities to make them believable (Batvinis, 2017).

Judge Brocton Lockwood was a judge for a different circuit outside Cook County that the Department of Justice decided to use as a mole (Batvinis, 2017). He was frequently being used by the State to help Cook County deal with traffic cases and this is where he would meet Reis (Batvinis, 2017). Lockwood would introduce Reis to Ira Blackwood, police officer and bagman for the traffic court bribes, and Assistant City Attorney Thomas Kangalos (Batvinis, 2017). Reis would use these two to fix dozens of cases with different judges (Batvinis, 2017).

While Reis was fixing traffic court cases, Hake was using multiple different bagmen to bribe ten different judges (Batvinis, 2017). Once the bribes had reached the judges, Hake would confirm with the judges that they received the bribes and that they would ignore the lying under oath that his clients would commit (Batvinis, 2017). These two undercover agents would continue to fix cases for three years till the operation was leaked to the press (Batvinis, 2017). On August 5, 1983, the details of Operation Greylord were leaked to the press (Batvinis, 2017). The press would expose Reis and Lockwood as undercover

agents but luckily not Hake (Batvinis, 2017). Four months later, after trying to fix more cases, Hake would later be exposed as an undercover agent (Batvinis, 2017).

The trials for Greylord would last ten years due to the charged lawyers and judges giving up increasingly more information on different people (Batvinis, 2017). Some of the information given would range from the number of times an attorney bribed a judge to let people go to how many and which judges were bribed (Batvinis, 2017). In total, ninety-two different officials were convicted of corruption charges from 1984 to 1994 (Batvinis, 2017). Judge Olson, Police Officer Blackwood, and Defense attorney Costello would all be charged with bribery and would be found guilty (Batvinis, 2017). Assistant City Attorney Kangalos would flee to Greece where he would die in 2006 of cancer (Batvinis, 2017). This operation is still considered one of the biggest local corruption cases in American History to this day.

## 5. Operation Blighted Officials

Louisiana is one of the nation's most corrupt states and has a long history of crooked figures. From the dictator of Louisiana, Huey Long, to Operation Blighted Officials Louisiana's history is littered with corruption (Morris, 2017). Louisiana is quite possibly one of the most corrupt states in the Union (Morris, 2017). The operation that this paper will be looking at is Operation Blighted Officials which took place between 2010 and 2012 when the Federal Bureau of Investigation opened an investigation into multiple mayors and other public officials (New Orleans Division, 2012).

The Federal Bureau of Investigation would receive word of bribery and racketeering in late 2008 and would start to investigate Port Allen, Louisiana (New Orleans Division, 2012). From rumors of being able to buy contracts, the Federal Bureau of Investigation would set up fake garbage can clean company, Cifer 5000, and planned to use this fake company in their sting operation. (Former St. Gabriel mayor released from prison, 2020). Port Allen City Councilman Johnny L. Johnson would later admit in 2012 that he, and Port Allen Mayor Derek Lewis, would supply endorsements for Cifer 5000 in late 2008. They both would supply letters in exchange for tickets to a football game worth eight thousand dollars (New Orleans Division, 2012).

Johnson would be instrumental in taking down the rest of the corrupt mayors in Louisiana. Mr. Johnson would be charged with bribery and would serve two-year probation due to his cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (New Orleans Division, 2012). Mr. Lewis would be charged with violating the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act in 2011 and would be sentenced to 90 days in prison and 2 years of probation (New Orleans Division, 2012). Additionally, Fredrick W. Smith, Police Chief of Port Allen, would also be charged with violating the Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organization Act in 2011 (New Orleans Division, 2012). He would look a blind eye toward Mr. Lewis's actions and received help from Mr. Lewis's bribes (New Orleans Division, 2012).



The Federal Bureau of Investigation would arrest Maurice Brown, mayor of White Castle, in 2011 (New Orleans Division, 2012). He would receive the following charges: violating Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act, engaging in honest services wire and mail fraud, and use of an interstate facility in aid of racketeering (New Orleans Division, 2011). He would be sentenced to 120 months in federal prison (New Orleans Division, 2011). Mr. Brown would accept bribes from companies to obtain certain contracts (Former St. Gabriel mayor released from prison, 2020). Cifer 5000 would apply for some of these contracts and Mr. Brown would accept their bribes (New Orleans Division, 2011).

The next figure to be arrested would be Thomas A. Nelson (New Orleans Division, 2010). Mr. Nelson was the Mayor of New Roads (New Orleans Division, 2010). The investigation states that he would receive twenty-two thousand dollars' worth of bribes in twelve months (New Orleans Division, 2010). He would receive these bribes from local companies wanting contracts and the bribes would entail game tickets to stays at fancy hotels (New Orleans Division, 2010). He would be caught accepting bribes from Cifer 5000 and giving out multiple contracts to them (New Orleans Division, 2010). He would serve a one hundred- and thirty-two-month sentence and a two hundred and fifty thousand dollars fine (New Orleans Division, 2010).

The final major public figure to be arrested would be George L Grace of St. Gabriela (U.S. Attorneys Middle District of Louisiana, 2014). Mr. Grace was serving as Mayor of St. Gabriel and the President of the National Conference of Black Mayors when he would be arrested in March of 2012 on accounts of violating the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act, engaging in honest services wire and mail fraud, bribery, obstruction of justice, making false statements, and use of an interstate facility in aid of racketeering (New Orleans Division, 2012). He would be resented in 2014 to 20 years in prison, a fifty thousand dollar fine, and forfeiture of twenty-two thousand dollars (New Orleans Division, 2012). It is estimated that Mr. Grace's bribery schemes would involve over nine million

dollars' worth of bribes and extorting business owners would be trying to recover from Hurricane Katharina (Former St. Gabriel mayor released from prison, 2020).

Just to show how corrupt the state of Louisiana is, one of the major agents involved in Operation Blighted Officials was convicted of fraud in 2011 (Auzenne, 2011). Special Agent Darin Lee McAllister of the Federal Bureau of Investigation was charged with multiple counts of bank fraud and bankruptcy fraud (Auzenne, 2011). He lied about his salary and would receive millions of dollars in loans and then would claim bankruptcy to not pay back his loans (Auzenne, 2011). His involvement in fraud would call into question some of the people charged with corruption but after investigation, would prove his fraud was separate from the corruption schemes of Louisiana (Auzenne, 2011).

## 6. Operation G-string

Las Vegas, Nevada is known for its food, entertainment, and gambling. Additionally, Las Vegas also has a long history of public corruption and mafia involvement in the running of the city. (Schumacher, 2021). Harry Reid would be considered a major figure in the fight to clean Las Vegas of mob rule (Schumacher, 2021). Reid would be offered multiple bribes while serving as the head chairperson of the Nevada Gaming Commission. He would help set up multiple sting operations with the Federal Bureau of Investigation to take down multiple bosses during his tenure (Schumacher, 2021). Throughout these sting operations, Harry Reid would be threatened multiple times and there was at least one assassination attempt on him (Schumacher, 2021). He would later serve in the United States Senate for much of his life before passing away in 2021 (Schumacher, 2021).

Harry Reid's attempt to take on corruption in the City of Las Vegas would not be the last either. Operation G-string is named after the costume, that the workers of these “gentlemen’s club” workers (Johnson, 2003). Operation G-String would involve multiple gentlemen's club owners, Clark County Commissioners, and San Diego city council members being arrested due to a bribery scheme to remove the "no-touch” rules in these cities (Johnson, 2003). Even some Celebrities were interviewed in this operation due to their proximity to certain actors in the scheme (Johnson, 2003).

The Federal Bureau of Investigation would open an investigation into Michael Galardi, an influential gentlemen’s club owner, over reports of bribes to Clark County Commissioners (Johnson, 2003). He wanted to remove the strict rules on sexual transitions in the city and to gain a competitive edge over his fellow strip club owners (Johnson, 2003). They would start this investigation by tapping Mr. Galardi’s phone calls to see whom he is talking to and to catch any form of bribery (Johnson, 2003).

These phone calls would catch Mr. Galardi and five different Clark County Commissioners (Johnson, 2003). Mr. Galardi would offer different commissioners’ campaign contributions for them to introduce legislation to favor his clubs over others (Johnson, 2003). He would bribe these officials

through a lobbyist that would take Mr. Galardi's money and then donate it to the commissioner's campaign (Johnson, 2003). Mr. Galardi would use this lobbyist to bribe three San Diego City council members to favor their clubs in that city (Johnson, 2003). These three city council members would be cleared of any wrongdoing later during the investigation (Johnson, 2003).

The following Clark County Commissioners were charged and found guilty of accepting illegal campaign donations: Lynette Boggs McDonald, Mary Kincaid-Chauncey, Dario Herrera, Erin Kenny, and Lance Matthews Malone (Johnson, 2003). Mr. Galardi would use around four hundred thousand dollars' worth in his campaign donations (Johnson, 2003). Mr. Galardi was sentenced to six years in prison, and he would have additionally forfeited three hundred and eighty-five million dollars to the Department of Justice and given up interest in all his clubs (Johnson, 2003). Some of his more famous clubs include Cheetahs' where the movie *Showgirls* was filmed (Johnson, 2003).

Some major celebrities were also interviewed due to their campaign donations to these Clark County Commissioners. Major actors like George Clooney, Robert De Niro, and Joe Pesci were interrogated by the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (Johnson, 2003). All these actors own real estate and hotels in the city of Las Vegas and donated to these commissioners' campaigns (Johnson, 2003). The investigation concluded that these actors were not a part of the bribery scheme and were not punished (Johnson, 2003).

# Analysis

The goal of this study was to answer the questions brought up in the Introduction and understand why these officials would commit corrupt acts. Those research questions were:

- e. Why do public officials commit corruption and similar acts?
- f. What happened in every case and how long did it go for?
- g. Are there any similarities between these cases?
- h. Why do these corruption cases continue to occur?

When analyzing the different cases of corruption brought up in this study, similarities do start to show up. These factors lead to an increased likelihood of corruption occurring at the local level of government. These factors are the size of the government, Conditions of the Local Economy, Education in that Municipality/County, and the Political Culture in the government. As mentioned in the Literature Review, the study conducted by the *Journal of Public Economics* additionally found these same factors to lead to an increased likelihood of corruption occurring in local government (Treisman, 2000).

## Factors for Corruption

### 1. Size of the government

This study has found a link between larger municipalities and the level of corruption. Operation G-String and Operation Greylord both took place in two of the largest cities in the United States, Las Vegas, and Chicago, respectively. Larger-sized municipalities tend to have less oversight of their public officials. With less oversight comes less accountability (Treisman, 2000). This lack of accountability tends to make the public officials believe that they are immortal and cannot be caught, leading to more corruption and the tendency to spread their schemes to other public officials (Treisman, 2000).

## 2. Conditions of the Local Economy

The next factor that the study was able to identify that led to an increase in corruption was the conditions of the local economy. When the economy of a local government has high rates of poverty, corruption tends to be high in the area as well (Treisman, 2000). Every city brought up in this study has a poverty rate higher than the national average. In cities with a higher rate of poverty, public officials tend to take from the services that are created to benefit the people living in poverty for their gain (Treisman, 2000). As mentioned in the Literature review, public officials who also are underpaid due to the condition of the economy tend to commit corrupt acts as well (Melissas, 2009). A good example of this would be Operation Greylord where many of the bagmen in these schemes were underpaid police officers (Batvinis, 2017). Another example of this would be the Probe into the City of Muncie. Muncie is a crumbling city with a massive brain drain. This has caused taxes to drop for the city and public officials to turn to corruption to make more money (McQuaid, 2021).

## 3. Education

The next factor that this study found was the level of education in the area. When education among voters is low, due to several factors including poverty levels, the level of corruption is high (Treisman, 2000). Voters do not know the inner workings of government which causes them to not be able to identify corrupt acts (Treisman, 2000). This in turn causes the voters not to know which public official is honest and which official is corrupt and tend to pick the corrupt incumbent over the challenger (Treisman, 2000). In turn, when public officials are less educated, it tends to lead to an increased level of corruption (Treisman, 2000). This can be seen in the Probe into the City of Cincinnati where councilmember Dennard did not know that her actions were corrupt and against the law (Baker, Cincinnati City Council approves anti-corruption reforms, 2021).

## 4. Political Culture

Political culture is the expectations and beliefs that are helped by officials of that government. Every local government has some form of political culture, corrupt or not, and this political culture determines what goes on in that government (Krutz, 2021). When new public officials are brought into that political culture and the "that's just the way things have been" mentality dominates the work environment, corruption tends to be overlooked. An example of this would be political machines. A political machine controls the government of that area and does not allow any competition and oversight of its operations, and that tends to lead to corruption. A good example of this would again be the Probe into the City of Muncie. In that government, there the democratic political machine that was controlling who was elected to office there and generally elected corrupt officials who were a part of their scheme (Walker, 2022).

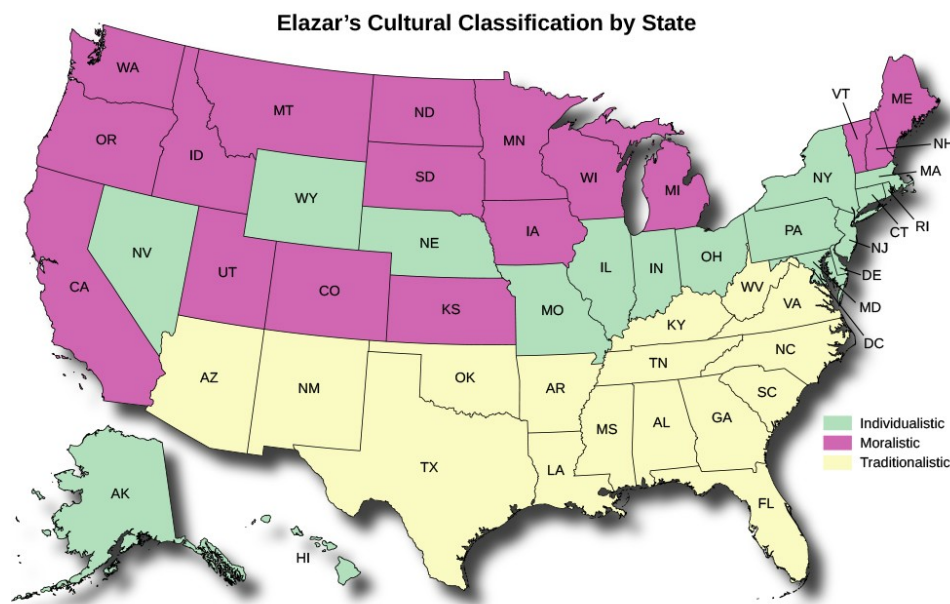


Figure 1 (Krutz, 2021)

When looking at Political Culture on a national level, it can be divided into three separate forms of political culture, as seen in figure 1 (Krutz, 2021). These three forms are the Moralistic, Traditionalistic, and Individualistic cultures (Krutz, 2021). Moralistic Political culture tends to create public figures who want to make a change in their community and tend to be the least corrupt culture

(Krutz, 2021). The Traditionalistic political culture is all about the political elite (Krutz, 2021). This is where you get your political dynasties where generation after generation of this ruling elite tends to run the government (Krutz, 2021). This form of political culture is more corrupt than moralistic but less individualistic (Krutz, 2021). That can be attributed to the voter base tending to not vote out officials and preferring to keep the status quo (Krutz, 2021). The final form that can be seen in figure 1 is the Individualistic political culture (Krutz, 2021). This form of political culture tends to focus on the self and improve the lives of the people in that state (Krutz, 2021). Another key characteristic is that in elections, it is the incumbent party against the challenging party rather than a politician against a politician. This leads to cities and local governments being dominated by one party or the other. This dominance of one party creates a lack of oversight of that party. These factors in the Individualistic political culture led public officials to turn to corruption more often than the other two forms (Krutz, 2021).

After looking at the different cases, this paper was able to conclude that the Individualistic form of political culture does indeed create a more corrupt political culture. Almost every case brought up in this study is based in a state that falls into the Individualistic political culture. Public officials only value themselves and are consumed by their greed. Their greed in turn makes them commit corrupt acts that benefit themselves or their allies.

The only state covered in this study to lie in this form of political culture in Louisiana. Louisiana is considered the most corrupt state in the Union and is a good example of states outside the Individualistic political culture still being corrupt. But this does not go against the theory that political culture is the most principal factor but supports it. Louisiana has a deep history and political culture of corruption that no one has been able to tackle completely. This issue does go along with the idea that Traditionalistic political cultures tend to elect the same people into office to maintain the status quo. Corrupt figures tend to be elected again and again in Louisiana and always tend to get in trouble with the law.



After examining all the different factors, Political culture tends to be the single factor that is present in every case brought up in this study. While the size of the government is present in every case, it is the political culture that is more important when determining how corrupt a government is. If one person in a large government is corrupt, then that political culture is not corrupt, just that politician. But, if everyone is committing crimes and they believe that is just what they do, then that political culture is corrupt.

Another conclusion that can be drawn is the idea that was brought up about Individualistic political cultures where this is the most corrupt subculture. The focus on the self or the party in these states causes politicians to have a lack oversight and commit corrupt acts. Every case that takes place in this culture shows public figures who accept bribes for their gains and disregard the law. With this lack of oversight, these corrupt political cultures tended to last for years and were only caught after someone in these cultures reported the wrongdoing.

## Conclusion

The goal of this research analysis was to answer the questions brought up earlier in the Introduction section of the paper and understand why corruption happens. After looking at six different examples of modern and major corruption cases that have shaken this nation, this study was able to find four key factors that lead to an increase in corruption in local governments. Those factors are the size of the government, the condition of the economy, the education level of the economy, and the political culture of the government. Additionally, this study believes that an individualistic political culture has a higher likelihood of corruption taking place.

Further research into this topic should be pursued following this analysis. This study was only able to cover six different cases of corruption, a more comprehensive review of cases all over the United States should be conducted. Additional research into one party control in local governments and future research into the political participation level of voters would refine the analysis of future research. Further research could help understand these factors that lead to corruption on the local level. Due to the limited scope of this research, this analysis was not able to examine it.

Understanding why someone would commit corrupt acts would be vital in corruption reform. Corruption is an issue that everyone suffers from. Prolonged corruption in a nation can lead to the deterioration of democracy and freedom itself. Understanding why corruption occurs will be able to understand and identify corruption to keep public officials honest and transparent.

## References

- Auzenne, J. (2011, January 18). *FBI agent allegedly part of "Operation Blighted Officials" convicted of fraud*. Retrieved from WAFB 9: <https://www.wafb.com/story/13858977/fbi-agent-allegedly-part-of-operation-blighted-officials-convicted-of-fraud/>
- Baker, J. E. (2021, February 22). *'Gang of Five' special prosecutor gives update*. Retrieved from Fox 19 Now: <https://www.fox19.com/2021/02/22/gang-five-special-prosecutor-gives-update/>
- Baker, J. E. (2021, October 27). *Cincinnati City Council approves anti-corruption reforms*. Retrieved from Fox 19 Now: <https://www.fox19.com/2021/10/27/cincinnati-city-council-vote-anti-corruption-reforms/#:~:text=Cincinnati%20anti%2Dcorruption%20panel%20unveils,Tamaya%20Dennard%20was%20arrested%20Feb.>
- Batvinis, R. J. (2017, April 19). *Operation Greylord*. Retrieved from FBI Studies: <https://fbistudies.com/2017/04/19/operation-greylord/>
- Bribery*. (n.d.). Retrieved from Cornell Law School: Legal Information Institute: <https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/bribery>
- Chen, J. (2021, September 28). *Extortion*. Retrieved from Investopedia: <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/e/extortion.asp>
- Costello, B. (2021, February 2). *More 'Gang of Five' Text Messages Could Be Released*. Retrieved from 91.7 WVXU: <https://www.wvxu.org/local-news/2021-02-02/more-gang-of-five-text-messages-could-be-released>
- Embezzlement*. (n.d.). Retrieved from Cornell Law School: Legal Information Institute: <https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/embezzlement>

*Former St. Gabriel mayor released from prison.* (2020, June 3). Retrieved from The West Side Journal:  
[https://www.thewestsidejournal.com/news/former-st-gabriel-mayor-released-from-prison/article\\_41b19e4c-a5bd-11ea-96ec-ebe96c26f7c5.html#:~:text=Others%20convicted%20in%20Operation%20Blighted,whom%20have%20since%20been%20released.](https://www.thewestsidejournal.com/news/former-st-gabriel-mayor-released-from-prison/article_41b19e4c-a5bd-11ea-96ec-ebe96c26f7c5.html#:~:text=Others%20convicted%20in%20Operation%20Blighted,whom%20have%20since%20been%20released.)

Green, G. S. (1993). White-Collar Crime and the Study of Embezzlement. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 95-106.

Halbfinger, D. M. (2009, July 23). *44 Charged by U.S. in New Jersey Corruption Sweep.* Retrieved from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/24/nyregion/24jersey.html>

Honan, E. (2009, July 3). *Mayors, rabbis arrested in NJ corruption probe.* Retrieved from Reuters U.S. News: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-corruption-newjersey/mayors-rabbis-arrested-in-nj-corruption-probe-idUSTRE56M3QU20090723>

Isherwood, D. (2013, July 23). *Operation Bid Rig III: Four Years Later.* Retrieved from Observer: <https://observer.com/2013/07/operation-bid-rig-iii-four-years-later/>

Johnson, J. (2003, December 21). *The Talk of Las Vegas Is Operation G-String.* Retrieved from Los Angeles Times: <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2003-dec-21-na-strippers21-story.html>

Kelly D. Martin, J. B. (2007). Deciding to Bribe: A Cross-Level Analysis of Firm and Home Country Influences on Bribery Activity. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 1401-1422.

Krutz, G. (2021). *14.2 State Political Culture.* Retrieved from American Government 3e: OpenStax: <https://openstax.org/books/american-government-3e/pages/14-2-state-political-culture>

McQuaid, R. (2021, May 3). *Key figure in Muncie bribery scheme pleads guilty.* Retrieved from Fox 59: <https://fox59.com/news/key-figure-in-muncie-bribery-scheme-pleads-guilty/>

Melissas, S. A. (2009). Corruption, Extortion, and the Boundaries of the Law. *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization*, 442-471.

Morris, T. (2017, July 25). *The most corrupt state? Louisiana owns it*. Retrieved from Nola.com:  
[https://www.nola.com/opinions/article\\_37b5e0eb-0a70-5f20-8863-3e90d00e7357.html](https://www.nola.com/opinions/article_37b5e0eb-0a70-5f20-8863-3e90d00e7357.html)

New Orleans Division. (2010, July 7). *Thomas Nelson Indicted*. Retrieved from United States Attorney's Office, Middle District of Louisiana:  
<https://www.justice.gov/archive/usao/lam/news/2010/pr2010026.html>

New Orleans Division. (2011, October 12). *Former White Castle Mayor Sentenced to 10 Years in Operation Blighted Officials*. Retrieved from Federal Bureau of Investigation:  
<https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/neworleans/press-releases/2011/former-white-castle-mayor-sentenced-to-10-years-in-operation-blighted-officials>

New Orleans Division. (2012, April 26). *Former Port Allen City Council Member Sentenced in Operation Blighted Officials*. Retrieved from The FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation:  
<https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/neworleans/press-releases/2012/former-port-allen-city-council-member-sentenced-in-operation-blighted-officials>

Office, U. A. (2020, March 13). *Phil Nichols and Jess Neal of Muncie, Indiana, indicted on corruption-related charges*. Retrieved from U.S. Attorney's Office Southern District of Indiana:  
<https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdin/pr/phil-nichols-and-jess-neal-muncie-indiana-indicted-corruption-related-charges>

*Operation Greylord*. (n.d.). Retrieved from FBI : <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/operation-greylord>

- Ottlie, M. (2021, October 27). *Cincinnati city council passes ban on developers to cut down on corruption*. Retrieved from WCPO 9 News: <https://www.wcpo.com/news/local-news/hamilton-county/cincinnati/cincinnati-city-council-passes-ban-on-developers-to-cut-down-on-corruption>
- Possley, M. (2017, January 19). *Archives: Operation Greylord: A federal probe of court corruption sets the standard for future investigations*. Retrieved from Chicago Tribune: <https://www.chicagotribune.com/nation-world/chi-chicagodays-greylord-story-story.html>
- Schumacher, G. (2021, December 29). *HARRY REID BATTLED THE MOB IN NEVADA BEFORE HE FOUGHT FOR NEVADA IN WASHINGTON*. Retrieved from The Mob Museum: <https://themobmuseum.org/blog/harry-reid-battled-the-mob-in-nevada-before-he-fought-for-nevada-in-washington/>
- Sherman, T. (2019, May 29). *NJ corruption case finally ends, 5 years after the FBI sting operation that led to 46 arrests*. Retrieved from NJ Advanced Media: [https://www.nj.com/news/2014/10/landmark\\_nj\\_corruption\\_case\\_ends\\_5\\_years\\_after\\_the\\_fbi\\_sting\\_operation\\_came\\_to\\_light.html](https://www.nj.com/news/2014/10/landmark_nj_corruption_case_ends_5_years_after_the_fbi_sting_operation_came_to_light.html)
- Stephenson, M. (2020, September 23). *A history of corruption in the United States*. Retrieved from Harvard Law Today: <https://today.law.harvard.edu/a-history-of-corruption-in-the-united-states/>
- Treisman, D. (2000). The causes of corruption: A cross-national study. *Journal of Public Economics*, 399-457.
- U.S. Attorneys Middle District of Louisiana. (2014, November 18). *Former Mayor And President Of The National Conference Of Black Mayors Re-sentenced To 20 Years*. Retrieved from U.S. Attorneys Office: Middle District of Louisiana: <https://www.justice.gov/usao-mdla/pr/former-mayor-and-president-national-conference-black-mayors-re-sentenced-20-years>

US Attorney's Office. (2021, November 10). *United States Attorney's Office Southern District of Indiana*.

Retrieved from United States Department of Justice: <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdin/pr/former-muncie-mayor-convicted-and-sentenced-corruption-charges>

Walker, D. (2022, January 5). *Businessman sentenced in Muncie corruption probe after sale of flea market property*. Retrieved from Muncie Star Press:

<https://www.thestarpress.com/story/news/crime/2022/01/05/muncie-businessman-sentenced-bank-fraud-corruption-probe/9103598002/>

*What is Corruption*. (2022). Retrieved from Transparency International:

<https://www.transparency.org/en/what-is-corruption>

Wiechmann, S. (2021, May 26). *Former Muncie Mayor To Plead Guilty To Federal Corruption Charge*.

Retrieved from WBAA: <https://www.wbaa.org/general-news/2021-05-26/former-muncie-mayor-to-plead-guilty-to-federal-corruption-charge>