ENGAGING CITIZENS AGAINST CORRUPTION IN ASIA

APPROACHES, RESULTS, AND LESSONS

ASIA REGIONAL WORKSHOP 2011

JAIPUR, INDIA | NOV 29–DEC 2

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The Partnership for Transparency Fund (PTF) supports citizens and civil society organizations around the world in their fight against corruption in the public sector. PTF mobilizes expertise and resources to provide small grants and pro-bono technical assistance through highly specialized and experienced volunteer project advisors. PTF strives to support innovative approaches, to learn from its work and to share the knowledge created.

The basic premise for creating PTF is that civil society has a crucial role to play in the development of anti-corruption and good governance programs, and that it can play this role more effectively if it is independent financially, both from government and direct bilateral or multilateral funding.

Contact: info@ptfund.org
www.ptfund.org

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Acknowledgements

Public Affairs Center Bangalore

Centre for Consumer Action Research and Training

Transparency International India

**Affiliated Network for Social Accountability—South Asia Region**

Asia Regional Peer Learning and Knowledge Sharing Workshop

Theme

Engaging Citizens Against Corruption in Asia: Approaches, Results and Lessons

November 29-December 02, 2011
Jaipur, India

PARTNERSHIP FOR
TRANSPARENCY FUND
Supporting Citizens Against Corruption

25 CUTS
International

TRANSPARENCY
INTERNATIONAL INDIA

PUBLIC AFFAIRS CENTRE
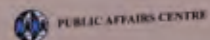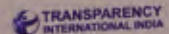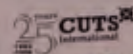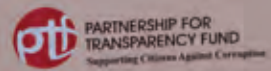
Foreword

Dear Friends and Partners:

Over the past few years Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have made significant progress in the fight against corruption. The 'Engaging Citizens against Corruption in Asia' workshop brought to the fore excellent examples, insights and knowledge of what works. The participants, representing a wide range of organizations, shared their experiences on how to foster citizen engagement and engage constructively with public officials to curb corruption—to improve living standards, to broaden economic opportunities, to strengthen civil rights and to enhance social justice.

The Partnership for Transparency Fund (PTF) supports CSOs with the technical skills, expertise, and funding they need to implement projects that can produce tangible results. CSO actions lead to greater transparency in policy making and implementation, improve the delivery of vital public services, and ensure that government is accountable to its citizens. PTF is committed to a demand-driven approach to development and good governance—listening to and learning from CSO and grassroots actors and then sharing international best practices and lessons learned. PTF draws upon the knowledge and extensive experience of its volunteer advisors from around the world.

In keeping with these principals Dr. Vinay Bhargava, PTF's Chief Technical Advisor, organized a workshop to bring together CSOs, donors, experts, academia and thought leaders from select countries across Asia to push forward the fight against corruption. The objective was to distill what has worked best, allow participants to engage in peer-to-peer as well as peer-to-expert learning, provide opportunity for coalition-building and give CSOs space to freely exchange ideas on strengthening and scaling anti-corruption efforts. The combined wisdom of the participants is listed in the Executive Summary.

I would like to thank Vinay and his team at PTF, Fred Temple and Johannes Tonn, for organizing this workshop and want to also thank our partners in India; Madhu Sudan, CUTS Centre for Consumer Action Research and Training, Ashutosh Mishra, Transparency International India, and Harish Pooviah, Public Affairs Centre, for their contributions to making this workshop a success.

The results of this workshop will inform citizen engagement beyond Asia and strengthen CSOs across the globe. While the international community has taken up the fight against corruption, there is still much to achieve and continued citizen engagement remains the key to holding governments accountable.

Sincerely,

Daniel Ritchie
PTF President

Executive Summary

RESULTS

Representatives of civil society organizations (CSOs) present at the workshop agreed on the following paradigms that will enable them to collectively advance and scale up their current anti-corruption efforts, achieving even better results and deepening the impact created over time. Based on peer-to-peer and peer-to-expert learning, rigorous self-evaluation, thoughtful strategizing and in-depth comparison of results, participants agreed to

- **Focus on the empowerment of citizens,** including capacity building for concrete action and a focus on training-of-trainers programs. It is important to introduce "easy-to-use" and context-appropriate tools, to use existent networks and local partners when engaging with citizens.

- **Ensure careful country and context analysis—**building on what is already there, keeping the focus on both milestones and the overall aim, pursuing SMART goals in the process.

- **Establish and maintain constructive engagement with local authorities** and other stakeholders such as private businesses wherever suitable, creating networks and building coalitions across organizations, levels and sectors.

- **Use traditional and established media as well as social and new media formats** to sustain anti-corruption efforts, assembling and mobilizing a critical mass of supporters and keeping these citizens and other stakeholders informed on progress made at all times. Keeping the issues alive may require relationship-building with media representatives and is essential to maintaining public interest. Relationships can be strengthened and journalists empowered if they are included in capacity building exercises and targeted sensitization efforts.

- **Create anti-corruption alliances** that are meaningful in a given political economy context, soliciting the assistance of prominent national or other well-known anti-corruption champions, including administration leaders and politicians whenever possible.

- **Maintain exemplary standards of integrity and professionalism,** including financial integrity and reporting; Stick to the facts, and join credibility alliances whenever possible.

- **Diversify funding sources,** including soliciting support from within local communities and through (local) governments. CSOs may consider starting a project with donor funding, achieving first results and proceed to request community buy-in in order to sustain the financial sustainability of a project beyond the initial funding pledge and funding cycle.

- **Measure impact, quantify gains and show evidence of results,** using data to periodically re-align programs and start advocating for policy change. This may require additional focus on baseline data collection, impact evaluation and will require the buy-in of communities. In addition, CSOs need to focus on careful set-up of meaningful and relevant indicators to be tracked over time as well as additional focus on policy dialogue where feasible.

Introduction

This report summarizes the methodology, learning and results of the 2011 PTF Asia Regional Workshop on the theme of "Engaging Citizens against Corruption in Asia: Approaches, Results and Lessons." The workshop was held in Jaipur, India, from 29 November to 2 December 2011. PTF brought together 70 participants from nearly 30 citizens against corruption projects in a range of Asian countries. In addition, there were representatives and speakers from universities, think tanks and donor agencies. Attendees came from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nepal, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, the United Kingdom and the United States.

The workshop succeeded in connecting representatives of diverse civil society organizations across Asia, facilitated peer-to-peer knowledge exchange and provided a roadmap for further action. This report aims to make available the knowledge created to civil society organizations, donors, governments and other stakeholders interested in successful anti-corruption work at the grass-roots level. While the workshop did not pretend to offer one-stop solutions to the many problems existent, participants evaluated the learning as highly salient and the workshop to be a great success. As a result, CSOs and donor officials have requested workshops of similar depth and quality to be held in other regions—future workshops organized by PTF however depend on the availability of funding.

Participants discussed a variety of social accountability mechanisms and tools as well as country strategies and project plans in depth, reflected on the results of their experiences and shared their views on actionable, realistic steps for future work in the field of citizen-led anti-corruption work. All participants had prepared two-page accounts on successful anti-corruption projects addressing specific corruption problems and the context in which it occurred. PTF made these narratives available through an online community of practice (CoP) prior to the workshop and encouraged participants to familiarize themselves with the different cases. This CSO-created input was

complemented by expert presentations on various demand for good governance (DFGG) themes, selected by participants through an online survey prior to the workshop. Providing extensive opportunity to engage in peer-to-peer and peer-to-expert deliberations proved to be of high value for all participants. The workshop addressed CSO needs and realities in substantive depth, while providing conceptual input and expert advice on global best practices at the same time.

Based on the two-pagers produced by each CSO, PTF then encouraged CSOs to convert the accounts into case studies available to the public at large. As a result, PTF has published 23 case studies focused on social accountability interventions in South and East Asia. Each case study describes how a specific corruption problem was identified, how the problem was then addressed by the CSO, what the results were, provides contact information to the CSOs and links to additional information and documentation if available.

The PTF Case Study Series can be accessed online at http://ptfund.org/publications/case-studies/. This report includes an overview matrix of cases studies produced as an easy entry point for readers to familiarize themselves with short and succinct accounts of CSOs fighting corruption across Asia. The matrix provides information on the country and sector of the intervention, the corruption issue addressed, results achieved, and a link to access the case study online.

In addition to the information prepared by civil society organizations, PTF commissioned expert papers on various DFGG themes, prioritized and selected by participants in anticipation of the workshop. The result is the 'PTF Working Paper Series'—papers crafted specifically to bridge theory and practice. The aim is to support civil society organizations around the world to bolster their existent efforts in the fight against corruption and facilitate learning about tools, strategies and social accountability mechanisms that can be replicated and applied in a variety of settings. The working papers can be accessed at http://ptfund.org/publications/working-papers/.

Workshop Context

ABOUT THE ORGANIZER

The Partnership for Transparency Fund has awarded over 50 grants in the South and East Asia region over the last decade. At the time of the workshop, about 25 projects were ongoing. PTF expects to continue supporting the work of its partners based on the availability of funding. An overview of completed projects as well as currently executed work can be found on the PTF homepage under the 'where we work' tab.

The workshop was sponsored by PTF in collaboration with its partners in India, the Public Affairs Center (www.pacindia.org), Consumer Unity & Trust Society (www.cuts-international.org), and Transparency International India (www.transparencyindia.org).

WORKSHOP MISSION STATEMENT

An independent evaluation of PTF's business strategy calls for maximizing sharing of experiences among the PTF grantees for peer learning, capacity building and alliance building. The workshop was organized along the following objectives:

1. Foster peer learning and networking among the participants on the common theme of engaging citizens against corruption projects.
2. Enhance the capacity of participants through expert presentations and conversations with experts on relevant topics prioritized with participant's inputs.
3. Promote participant's awareness on global good practices in citizen engagement.
4. Document workshop proceedings and share them with all participants and the broader community of social accountability practitioners across the world.

Participants had ample opportunity to engage in peer-to-peer and peer-to-expert discussions on a variety of demand for good governance topics. The presentations addressed local funding and sustainability strategies, capacity building mechanisms, best practices in anti-corruption strategies and the value of context-appropriate interventions. Many of the projects presented alluded to the importance of innovative forms of media engagement and the use of new technologies.

WORKSHOP ATTENDEES

The workshop brought together CSOs from ten countries across Asia, including CSOs from India, Nepal, Mongolia, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines. Participants from outside the PTF grantee community included attendees from Nepal, Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan, Thailand and the Philippines. PTF invited key note speakers and experts from global organizations such as the World Bank, the Department for International Development (DFID), ANSA-SAR and BRAC to present input on global best practices and input from the donor community.

Workshop Agenda

1ST DAY **TUESDAY, 29TH NOVEMBER 2011: COUNTRY DAY DISCUSSIONS**

08:30	**Orientation Session: Country Day** Presenter: Vinay Bhargava (PTF), Suresh Raghavan (PAC) and Harish Pooviah (PAC)
09:30	**Overview Presentations by India and the Philippines Country Team**
10:45	**Country Day Discussions** (timing and duration will vary by country)
18:00	**Reception**
18:30	**"Who we are"—A Welcome Exercise** MC: Fred Temple (PTF)
19:30	**Welcome Remarks** Speaker: George Cherian (CUTS CART)
19:40	**Keynote Address** Speaker: P.S. Bawa, Chairman Transparency International India **Country Day Coordinators:** India: Mr. Harish Pooviah (PAC), Mr. Suresh Raghavan (PAC), Mr. Vinay Bhargava (PTF) Nepal: Mr. Fred Temple (PTF) Mongolia: Mr. Dante de los Angeles (PTF) Philippines: Mr. Gerry van der Linden (PTF)

2ND DAY **WEDNESDAY, 30TH NOVEMBER 2011**

08:30	**Welcome: Review of Agenda and Ground Rules** MC: Mr. Fred Temple (PTF)
08:45	**Keynote Address: "The Lessons of PTF's Experience"** Speaker: Mr. Pierre Landell-Mills, PTF Board Member and former PTF President (2001-2010)
09:30	**Country Session: Philippines Country Program and Action Plan** Session Chair: Mr. Dante de los Angeles (PTF)
10:15	**Coffee Break**
10:30	**Thematic Session: Strategies for Empowering Communities to Demand Good Governance and Responsive Delivery of Public Services** Expert: Mr. Vinay Bhargava (PTF) Session Chair: Mr. George Cherian (CUTS CART)
12:00	**Group Photo**
12:30	**Lunch**

13:15	**Lunch Keynote: "Reflections on how the civil society can make a difference in fighting corruption and improving governance"**
	Speaker: Mr. Shekhar Singh, Founding Member and Former Convener of the National Campaign for People's Right to Information, India
14:00	**Break**
14:30	**Country Session: Nepal Country Program and Action Plan**
	Session Chair: Mr. Ted Thomas (PTF)
15:15	**Coffee Break**
15:30	**Thematic Session: Analyzing Corruption and Developing Anti-Corruption Strategies**
	Expert: Mr. Gopakumar K. Thampi (BRAC)
	Session Chair: Mr. Pierre Landell-Mills (PTF)
17:00	**Group Discussions**
	See "Methodology" on group composition, assigned questions and facilitators
18:00	**End of day**
18:30	**Cultural Event: Departure to Chowki Dhani**
19:00	**Cultural Event: Dinner at an ethnic tourist village (Chowki Dhani)**

3ʀᴅ ᴅᴀʏ   THURSDAY, 1ˢᵀ DECEMBER 2011

8:30	**Welcome: Questions & Observations and Review of Agenda**
	MC: Mr. Fred Temple (PTF)
8:45	**Thematic Session: Engagement of Media in Anti-Corruption Projects**
	Expert: Mr. Sumir Lal, Manager, The World Bank
	Session Chair: Ms. Kathleen White (PTF)
10:00	**Coffee Break**
10:15	**Thematic Session: Increasing the Capacities of Good Governance and Anti-Corruption CSOs**
	Expert: Mr. Richard Holloway (World Bank)
	Session Chair: Mr. Naimur Rehman (BRAC)
12:15	**Lunch**
13:00	**Lunch Keynote: "Context and Accountability"**
	Speaker: Dr. Shomikho Raha, Governance Adviser (DFID)
14:00	**Break**
14:30	**Country Session: Mongolia Country Program and Action Plan**
	Country Session continued: Brief Remarks from Guest Countries
	Session Chair: Mr. Vinay Bhargava (PTF)
15:30	**Coffee Break**
15:45	**Country Session: India Country Program and Action Plan**
	Presenter: Mr. Harish Pooviah (PAC), Mr. Suresh Raghavan (PAC), Mr. Vinay Bhargava (PTF), Mr. Alexander Vhargese (PAC)
	Session Chair: Gerry van der Linden (PTF)
16:45	**Group Discussions**
	See "Methodology" on group composition, assigned questions and facilitators
18:00	**End of day**
18:30	**Screening of videos and films (optional)**
	Presenter: Mr. Richard Holloway

4TH DAY   **FRIDAY, 2ND DECEMBER**

8:30	**Welcome: Questions & Observations and Review of Agenda**
	MC: Mr. Fred Temple (PTF)
8:40	**Evaluations**
	Mr. Johannes Tonn (PTF)
9:00	**Discussion Group Presentations and Plenary Discussion**
10:30	**Coffee break**
10:45	**Wheel of Wisdom Exercise**
	MC: Mr. Fred Temple (PTF)
12:15	**Workshop Closing followed by Lunch**
	Session Chairs: Mr. Pierre Landell-Mills (PTF) & Mr. Vinay Bhargava (PTF)

Workshop Methodology

PRE-WORKSHOP

Adhering to best practice in adult-learning, PTF conceptualized the workshop methodology in a comprehensive and inclusive manner prior to the workshop, collaborating with all stakeholders involved.

Taking into account the necessity for interactive and participatory learning from the inception onward, participants were asked to vote for their preferred anti-corruption topics/themes according to their needs and interest for specific knowledge points. PTF presented a selection of 14 topics relevant to current anti-corruption thinking. Based on the feedback received, PTF then distilled and focused on the following four topics to be covered during the thematic sessions throughout the workshop:

1. Strategies for Empowering Communities to Demand Good Governance and Responsive Delivery of Public Services
2. Analyzing Corruption and Developing Anti-Corruption Strategies
3. Engagement of Media in Anti-Corruption Projects
4. Increasing the Capacities of Good Governance and Anti-Corruption CSOs

PTF asked participants to write down their experiences on successfully completed anti-corruption projects well in advance of the actual workshop. The rationale was to inform the later solicited expert input, to cross-fertilize learning between different CSOs across regions and to enable participants to familiarize themselves with a different project accounts prior to the workshop.

Participants were requested to produce succinct two-page summaries on successfully completed projects, following strict guidelines to make the accounts comparable. Subsequently, PTF approached anti-corruption experts to design working papers on the workshop themes identified, taking into account participant experiences whenever possible.

The first draft of participants' case studies as well as expert input was shared via a designated online platform with all stakeholders prior to the workshop. This method allowed participants to familiarize themselves with the different projects and subject matters prior to their arrival and guaranteed a common denominator for all workshop participants to engage in meaningful exchanges throughout the workshop.

DURING THE WORKSHOP

The workshop learning approach included the following elements of best practice in knowledge sharing and adult learning strategies:

- Brief expert presentations with frequent examples of participants' current project realities, followed by a discussion in the plenary by all participants. Experts invited participants to share and visualize their projects throughout the discussions to highlight relevance and applicability of the input provided.

- Frequent break-out sessions of smaller groups discussing the session topics and relating them to participants' experiences, culminating in participant-created presentations on a variety of relevant themes on the last day of the workshop.

- Constant opportunity to engage in results-centered sharing of lessons learned, including sessions focused on peer-to-peer advice. This approach

included the 'Wheel of Wisdom' and other pedagogical exercises.

- Screening of a film and video presentations, originating in different countries and supplied by participants. This method helped visualize different anti-corruption approaches and their potential effectiveness in different settings using audio-visual materials.

- Presentations by keynote speakers throughout the workshop, motivating and encouraging participants, recounting successful anti-corruption approaches, providing vision, food for thought and intellectual stimulation.

- Ample opportunities for one-on-one participant-expert discussions throughout the workshop.

- Designated country day to foster coalition building and a common understanding between participants from the largest four regional clusters of PTF-funded projects (India, Philippines, Nepal, Mongolia). The country day was held with a view to finalizing country presentations and starting the process of country-wide action planning by participants.

METHODOLOGY OF THEMATIC SESSIONS

Each of the four thematic sessions lasted approximately two hours and featured a presentation of select case studies chosen by the presenter on the basis of the material provided by the participants; An expert presentation that built on the case studies and bridged theory and practice; Panel comments, including experts with relevant experience and/or CSO partners whose cases had been presented; Open discussion.

METHODOLOGY OF GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Small working group sessions were held at the end of each day to share experiences and distill key takeaway messages from each day's proceedings. Structured, facilitated discussions were held among participants, taking into account the thematic session discussions, expert papers presented, key note addresses given, case study presentations and references to projects as observed by each CSO in their respective home countries.

Participants worked in small groups and presented their thoughts to the plenary on the last day of the workshop. The working group composition was intended to facilitate interaction and learning among participants from different regions and different sectors. Each group

had about 15 participants and included select experts serving as resource persons. The results of these group discussions are summarized below. They have informed the Executive Summary and represent the combined wisdom of all participants.

METHODOLOGY OF THE 'WHEEL OF WISDOM'

The Wheel of Wisdom is a role play game, designed to promote each participant mine other participants' wisdom based on individual needs or questions. Before the exercise starts, each participant thinks of 2–3 questions on which they would like advice. Participants are then divided into groups of about 12 or 14 people. For each group, chairs are set up in a tight inner circle (of 6 or 7 chairs) and a slightly wider spaced outer circle with the same number of chairs in order to mirror each chair on the inner circle.

Each group of participants is split in half; half the group taking their seats in the inner circle, the remaining half taking their seats on the outer chairs. The participants seated outside seek advice on one or two questions from the participants sitting opposite to them. After precisely three minutes the participants in the outer circle rotate one chair to the right and seek advice from the next participant facing them on the inner circle. Since the inner circle does not move, each participant in the outer circle speaks precisely one time with each participant until the group has gone full circle.

At this point, participants switch places from the outside to the inside of the circle and the process starts anew. Again, it is the outer circle of 'players' who embark on a journey to mine the wisdom of participants seated in the inner circle.

METHODOLOGY OF COUNTRY PRESENTATIONS

On the first day of the workshop, separate meetings were held for participants from India, Mongolia, Nepal and the Philippines. Each country team reviewed their country papers and finalized their presentations to be presented at the country sessions throughout the workshop.

Agreeing within the country teams on salient issues and mutual challenges facing all CSOs in a given context allowed country teams to define starting points for collaborative future work and enabled a greater understanding of the benefits of coalition building and collaboration. The country teams discussed definitions of 'success' and 'challenges' and thereby developed a greater understanding for the need to measure changes, observe and interpret context and agree on indicators. The exercise helped to further refine country strategies and facilitated coalition building. Session lengths varied by country.

POST-WORKSHOP

The case studies produced by each CSO were further refined and edited after the workshop and presented a first batch of newly conceived knowledge products, the 'PTF Case Study Series'. Its explicit purpose is to highlight CSO projects around the world and detail in a succinct, brief account, how constructive engagement by CSOs and individual citizens can make a difference in holding public authorities accountable and fighting corruption successfully. A second batch of case studies as well as a publication on the collected experience of PTF projects is underway and will be published in March 2013. The book 'Citizens Against Corruption: Lessons

from the Front Line' was authored by Pierre Landell-Mills and explores the success stories and challenges of social accountability projects across the world, building on the rich universe of over a decade of PTF-funded CSO work.

PTF also published the expert papers commissioned for the workshop. The idea of the 'PTF Working Paper Series' is to make relevant knowledge available across the board of anti-corruption practitioners, well beyond the workshop attendees. PTF expects to produce and publish additional case studies and working papers over time.

Case Study Matrix

The following overview of case studies, presented in a Matrix and written by participating CSOs and PTF project advisors, provides readers with easy access to a wide array of successful projects in the social accountability space across Asia. The prepared narratives informed the workshop content, its methodology and the solicited expert input. Clicking on the links will allow direct access to the case studies available on the PTF home page at http://ptfund.org/publications/case-studies/.

Sector	CSO	Country	Corruption Problem	Results	Link
Governance	Globe International	Mongolia	Weak institutionalization of accountability institutions (Public Council) and lack of empowerment.	Changes in working rules of the Public Council and focused advocacy lead to the empowerment of the Public Council.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/strengthening-public-council-mongolia/
Governance	Transparency International Sri Lanka	Sri Lanka	Lack of citizen participation in local government breeds weak and corrupt service delivery.	Installation of mechanisms for community-driven development, incl. a four year development plan.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/citizens-participatory-planning-srilanka/
Infrastructure: Roads & Water	Concerned Citizens of Abra for Good Government	Philippines	Corrupt contractors build a substandard road and the oversight authority does not act decisively.	Resignation of corrupt engineer, 1.5 km of substandard road replaced and continued constructive relation with public authorities.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/monitoring-road-construction-abra-philippines/
Legal	Women for Social Progress	Mongolia	Inadequate regulatory definitions and no public awareness on the need for "Conflict of interest" legislation.	Introduction of COI legislation to parliament, including provisions favored and drafted by the CSO.	http://ptfund.org/2012/03/mongolia-conflict-of-interest-law/
Legal	Transparency International Mongolia	Mongolia	Judges are not aware of corrupt practices in procurement and there is no clear definition or adherence otherwise to a judicial Code of Ethics.	Disciplinary cases have declined by 53%, compared against a 6-year average before the COE instatement.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/judicial-code-of-ethics-mongolian/
Natural Resources: Forestry	Forest Action	Nepal	Non-functional civil society user groups, meant to assure good governance in the use of forestry resources are exploited by elites.	Rules established for corruption-free delivery of user group services – reduction of 80% in illegal logging.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/curbing-forestry-corruption-nepal/
Procurement	Environmental Cooperation and Linkages Inc.	Philippines	Abusive use and mismanagement of official government vehicles by public officials.	Public expenditure savings of approx. $250,000 compared to a project expenditure of $70,000 USD.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/monitoring-government-vehicles-use-philippines/
Procurement	Baba's Foundation Inc.	Philippines	30% of total value in government procurement is lost to widespread corruption throughout the Philippines.	Procurement has become more transparent and 18 agencies (compared to 7 initially) now follow proper procedures.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/cso-procurement-monitoring-philippines/
Procurement Social Services: Education	Government Watch	Philippines	Leakages in procurement and distribution of textbooks pose a threat to achieving public education.	Significant reduction of corruption nation-wide; program was adopted as a regular program within the Department of Education.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/textbook-deliveries-corruption-philippines/
Procurement Social Services: Health	National Citizen's Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL)	Philippines	Corruption and inefficiencies in procurement and dispatch of essential medicines threaten lives and impede health care service delivery.	Successful monitoring worth 1.7 billion Pesos of procurement—the availability of essential medicines and hospital responsiveness has improved greatly.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/monitoring-medicines-procurement-philippines/
Right to Information	Globe International	Mongolia	Non-disclosure of information and absence of a freedom of information law.	The FOI bill was successfully adopted in June 2011.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/transparency-local-governments-mongolia/
Right to Information Social Services: Social Safety Net	Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement (SVYM)	India	Lack of information and citizen awareness and empowerment contribute to corrupt and inefficient entitlement delivery.	Prevalence of corruption reduced; Government officials have become more responsive and maintain closer contact with the public.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/youth-demand-corruption-free-india/

Sector	CSO	Country	Corruption Problem	Results	Link
Social Services: Health	SAMUHIK ABHIYAN	Nepal	Public health service providers deliver poor or no service to entitled citizens.	Quality output of health service delivery has improved dramatically; Hospital intake has increased from 40–50 patients to 60–70 patients per day.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/nepal-monitoring-health-services/
Social Services: Health	JANANEETHI	India	Human rights violations and public health threats due to unregulated clinical drug trials.	Successful as a constructive whistle blower, eliciting a government response and setting the agenda.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/corruption-drug-trials-kerala-india/
Social Services: Health	The AYAUSKAM	India	Rampant corruption and extortion in the delivery of health services to the poor.	Every household saves more than $55 USD per year due to the project intervention.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/controlling-healthservices-corruption-odisha-india/
Social Services: Social Safety Net Right to Information	CUTS Centre for Consumer Action, Research & Training (CUTS CART)	India	Massive corruption and lack of transparency in government service delivery entitlement schemes.	Coalitions building among civil society actors—450 RTI applications filed—288 were resolved successfully.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/civic-engagement-rtilaws-rajasthan-india/
Social Services: Social Safety Net Right to Information	Youth for Social Development (YSD)	India	Corruption permeates local service delivery. Citizens lack knowledge and entry points to start demanding accountability.	28% decrease in reported bribery—12 vigilance committees active in the project area to monitor PDS shop operations.	http://ptfund.org/2012/07/corruption-in-local-service-delivery-brahmapur/
Social Services: Social Safety Net	Nava Jeevana Mahila Okkoota (CBO)	India	Community is unaware of NREGA entitlements and suffers greatly from the corruption preventing entitlement service delivery.	More than 10,000 poor families organized in 100 villages—receiving INR 50 million ($1 million USD) in wages in one year alone.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/corruption-free-safety-net-karnataka-india/
Social Services: Social Safety Net	Visionaries of Creative Action for Liberation and Progress (VICALP)	India	Benefits of a nationally financed entitlement program (NREGA) do not reach the intended beneficiaries.	Strong community base established in 200 villages through CBOs. 98% of targeted households have job access (compared to 40% as the baseline)	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/reducing-corruption-nrega-odisha-india/
Social Services: Social Safety Net	Paraspara Trust	India	Fair price shop owners embezzle entitlement benefits from BPL card holders and the authorities do not intervene.	Bribe payments to community leaders and middlemen were reduced by 75%; 240 pending applications of BPL cards processed.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/corruption-free-livelihood-entitlements-karnataka-india/
Social Services: Social Safety Net	Centre for Advocacy and Research	India	Widespread corruption in the delivery of social safety net programs.	Sensitized women show the courage to fight independently, organizing the community to achieve and sustain results.	http://ptfund.org/2012/07/empowering-women-bangalore-india/
Social Services: Social Safety Net	People's Rural Education Movement	India	Corruption permeates local service delivery including access to entitlements under the PDS, NREGA and FRA social safety net schemes.	Average working days allotted has increased from 31 days to 52 days. Wage payment delays have been reduced from 30 to 15 days.	http://ptfund.org/2012/07/accountability-in-safety-net-entitlements/
Social Services: Social Safety Net	SAMBANDH	India	Corruption in service delivery scheme (NREGA) to entitled citizens.	In four pilot areas the percentage of people receiving full wages for their work rose from 35% to 65%.	http://ptfund.org/2012/04/call-centres-control-corruption-india/

Presentations by Keynote Speakers

The following presentations were held by guests of honor and keynote speakers throughout the workshop. A short biography of each speaker can be found below.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY MR. PIERRE LANDELL-MILLS

The Lessons of PTF's experience

Our conviction is that

- governments will only be accountable if their citizens strongly demand accountability
- accountability cannot be imposed from abroad; strong continuous organized citizen engagement is essential
- popular mass movements can change regimes but reform momentum is hard to sustain

PARTNERSHIP FOR TRANSPARENCY FUND

Also….

Citizens' demand for accountable and honest government must be organised, sustained, and come from a wide range of non-state actors:

- independent media
- business organisations
- faith-based groups
- professional associations
- independent policy research centres
- advocacy groups
- other CSOs (development NGOs + CBOs)

External help is constrained

- Huge political sensitivities
- Needs to be low profile
- Not be the agency of any external power

..... hence there is a special niche for a relatively modest international CSO such as PTF

PTF's Goals

- To provide advice and small grants to civil society organizations wishing to engage in actions to reduce corruption in the public sector.

- To support innovative approaches, learn from its work, and share the knowledge gained.

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Funding Sources

- UNDP/BMZ
- Sweden (SIDA)
- World Bank
- Netherlands
- Asian Development Bank
- UK Aid
- Japanese Social Development Fund
- Two Private Foundations
- IDB

PARTNERSHIP FOR TRANSPARENCY FUND

PTF aims to:

- Support CSOs willing to engage **directly** with public agencies in tackling well identified corruption through implementing projects that have:

  -> time-bound actions
  -> a measurable impact

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Examples of Projects Supported

1. **Argentina:** Strengthening RTI implementation

2. **Bulgaria:** Monitoring the mobile phone license auction

3. **Cameroon:** Supporting Students Against Corruption at Buea University

4. **Latvia:** Monitoring the construction of the new National Library with an Integrity Pact

5. **Liberia:** Supporting Community Forestry User Groups to fight illegal logging

6. **Nicaragua:** Media campaign against corrupt pension payments to top officials

Results

Three independent evaluations -- UNDP (2005), World Bank (2008), DFID (2011) -- all found that:

- Over 80% of PTF funded projects were successfully implemented
- PTF was an effective instrument for support of small innovative CSO led anti-corruption projects
- PTF had established a highly cost effective business model

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Emerging Lessons (1)

- Projects best focused on a specific example of corruption
- A small grant can have big impact
- Naming and blaming often counter-productive
- Champions from within are key

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Emerging Lessons (2)

- Awareness-raising is not enough. Projects must produce tangible results
- Passing laws is not enough. Actual implementation and enforcement makes the difference
- A single initiative is not enough. Persistence is key
  - Follow up projects and building on successes essential for sustainable impact
  - *Learning approach* rather than a *blue-print*

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Themes for the workshop:

Theme 1: Empowering communities
Theme 2: Developing anti-corruption strategies
Theme 3: Engaging the media
Theme 4: Capacity building

Empowering Communities

- Identify the key concerns of the community
- Build citizens awareness of their rights
- Agree on a strategy (approach, tools to use, sequencing, timing, etc.)
- Form groups and build capacity
- Co-opt other key stakeholders
- Mentor groups

Capacity building

- *Build awareness*
- *Establish incentives*
- *Focus on leadership*

Issues for the workshop:

Issue 1 : *Overcoming political economy constraints*
Can CSOs really make a difference?

Issue 2. : *Ways to be more effective?*
What works best?

Issues 3 : *How can CSOs assess impact?*
Is the impact sustainable?

Political economy constraints

- Recognise the political realities
- Identify and co-opt champions within the power system
- Constructive engagement and its limitations
- Long term perspective → persistence
- Learning approach

Ways to be more effective?

- Sharp focus
- Clear diagnostic (survey? focus groups?)
- Appropriate tools
- Capacity building
- Citizen led

Assessing impact?

- Key questions at start: *what outcome is the CSO seeking* and *how will results be measured?*
- Base line data → end data
- Use a log frame or some similar results framework

Key messages:

- Tight focus: clear doable objectives
- Be modest: don't try to do too much
- Secure champions: network to gain support
- Constructive engagement: look for win-win situations
- Be persistent: learn and adapt
- Take a long term view: success comes through aggregating a large number of small gains

LUNCH KEYNOTE BY MR. SHEKHAR SINGH

Reflections on how the civil society can make a difference in fighting corruption and improving governance

How the Civil Society Can Make a Difference in Fighting Corruption and Improving Governance

Shekhar Singh
National Campaign for People's Right to Information
INDIA

RTI EXPERIENCE IN INDIA

- An estimated 6-8 million RTI applications in 2010
- Yale University study reportedly suggests that RTI vies with bribes for efficacy!
- Also, socially equalises and empowers (The peanut vendor's case).
- According to Transparency International, India's score in Bribe Payers Index (companies bribing officials) has improved from 6.8 to 7.5, from 2008 to 2011 – biggest jump in the World!

How has RTI been used by the Civil Society?

GOING PLACES WITH *JUGAAD*

making the most of what you have

Innovative Recycling – so what if it was not meant for this?

RTI and *Jugaad*

- To get information that should have been provided in any case (Delhi schools/Hospitals).
- To expose corruption (village bridge repair/Delhi roads/ scams)
- To prevent misuse of power and government funds (Judges travel/ Minster's imprisonment)

Innovative uses

- To make elected representatives accountable (Attendance in committees/Parliament, questions asked, matters pursued)
- To have grievances addressed – now a new Bill (Bicycle thief).
- Even finding suitable grooms!

EXPERIENCES and CHALLENGES

- NCPRI/RaaG study (http://rti-assessment.org/) indicates that nearly 50% of the time just filing an RTI application resolved the problem! (the passport case)
- But is the system changing or is there a growing "RTI divide"?
- Do we need to step up proactive disclosure and demystification?

RECENT CATACLYSMIC EVENTS

- Six months of huge mobilisation, agitation, hunger fast and <u>non-violent</u> protest. [Anna arrests the Government!!]
- Major role of the RTI, the media and the new media – create the mood, sustain the movement (spurred by readership/viewership numbers)
- Reportedly 25 million people gave "missed calls" in support. Nearly a hundred thousand turned out in Delhi and significant numbers in many other cities and towns.(800 m + cells)

LESSONS LEARNT

- That the RTI can unleash powerful social forces that need to be harnessed and channelised. [Are civil society leaders and governments prepared?]
- Failure to do so can lead to the undermining of democracy and even to violence.
- The middle class is impatient with democracy – thus their fantasy of "independent" institutions.
- The media is a critical ally – but should the tail wag the dog, and is the tail at all accountable? [role of Parliament!]

CHALLENGES for the RTI

- Making existing laws and institutions more effective – rather than setting up new ones that bypass democratic institutions.
- Increasingly covering the corporate and private sector.
- Providing an alternative to violent means of seeking justice (neutralising Maoism?).

THANKYOU

shekharsingh@gmail.com

LUNCH KEYNOTE BY DR. SHOMIKHO RAHA

Context and Accountability

Accountability and Context

Shomikho Raha, Ph.D
Governance Adviser
DFID

Presentation to the PTF Asia Region Workshop
Jaipur, 1 December 2011

Global Context

- The single most important related global effort presently underway is the inauguration of the **Open Government Partnership (OGP)** in September 2011. The US President Obama's strong support to OGP (US and Brazil are currently co-hosts of the partnership) has further helped to make it a powerful platform for change.

- For developing countries signing up to the OGP, it provides a process of indicator milestones for better transparency and linking with citizens to enforce better accountability in the public system.

Indian Context

- Civil society action has had a transformative effect in bringing legislation
  - MKSS → RTI
  - RTE
  - Ongoing 'Anna Movement' for 'Lokpal' (Peoples' Ombudsman)

- Parallel efforts by governments
  - Chhattisgarh PDS Reforms
  - Andhra Pradesh NREGS Social Audits
  - Right to Public Services Act

Question:

Have government efforts at engaging with citizens proven to be more effective than civil society led efforts in *getting things done differently and better?*

Focus Area 1:
Evidence Gathering & Research

Programme Context:
Accountability 'for what'?

Is the expectation…

1. …to help improve a specific service delivery performance

   OR

2. …to help improve the environment for locals to access public services and basic entitlements more

   OR

3. …to help citizens to have 'voice' *in making a 'choice' for that service (public or private) which is more accountable*

The Current State of Evidence Context

- Growing conviction that transparency and accountability initiatives (TAI) are a good in themselves *not* based on irrevocable evidence of their success

- Lack of evidence not a result of a lack of interest for such evidence; several recent systematic reviews (*O'Neill, 2007;DFID, 2009; IDS, 2010; Devarajan et al., 2011*)

- No clear linear causal link existing between transparency, empowerment, greater accountability of services and the consequent improved services improving lives

The <u>one Agreement</u> in most recent reviews…

Context being the driver of change rather than the tools applied for bringing better accountability

- *Why is this important??*
  Because accountability tools (or *widgets*, as one academic calls them) cannot be simply supported in different contexts and "replicated" to (re)produce success!

Repeated Challenges & Issues faced in a TAI
- taken from initiatives on NREGS

- Lack of cooperation from local-level (block & lower level) officials
- Persons responsible for different tasks did not cooperate with one another (NGO facilitator had to keep running between sources)
- Delayed payments (the main problem) continued, with peoples' trust in the NGO waning and with increasing migrations for work
- Panchayat Institutions (*pallisabhas & gram sabhas*) – village level bodies - were mostly not functional
- Falling interest of the community and a lack of their participation in social audits
- Difficulties for a single facilitator to organize community gatherings and record data accurately; the Accountability model heavily dependent on facilitator, which determines the quality of response

Programme Context: Accountability 'for what'?

Is the expectation...

1. ...to help improve a specific service delivery performance

Answer: New Public Management, and a *Linear Theory of Change*

Theory of Change
From Context-specific Drivers of Accountability to Impact on Service Performance

CONTEXT —— determines —— **EFFECTIVENESS OF ACCOUNTABILITY TOOLS & THE MODEL ADOPTED**   **GENERATING CREDIBLE INFORMATION TO HOLD SYSTEM ACCOUNTABLE**   **RESULTS OR IMPACT ON SERVICE PERFORMANCE**
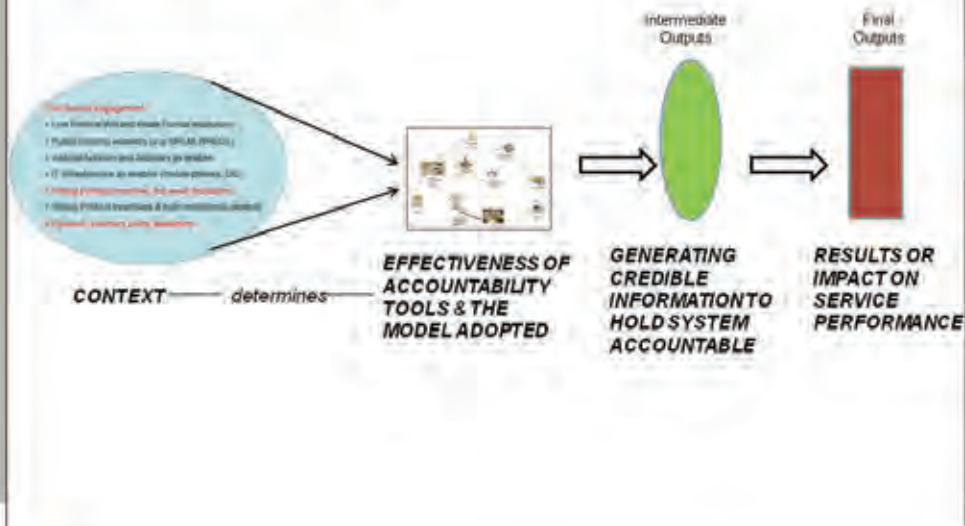
Focus Area 2: Innovations –
Working with Government

**Programme Context:
Accountability 'for what'?**

Is the expectation…

1. to help improve a specific service delivery performance

2. …to help improve the environment for locals to access public services and basic entitlements more
   No one clear Answer! …and a *Messy Theory of Change*

3. to help citizens to raise issues by creating a stronger incentivising (public or social) which is more accountable
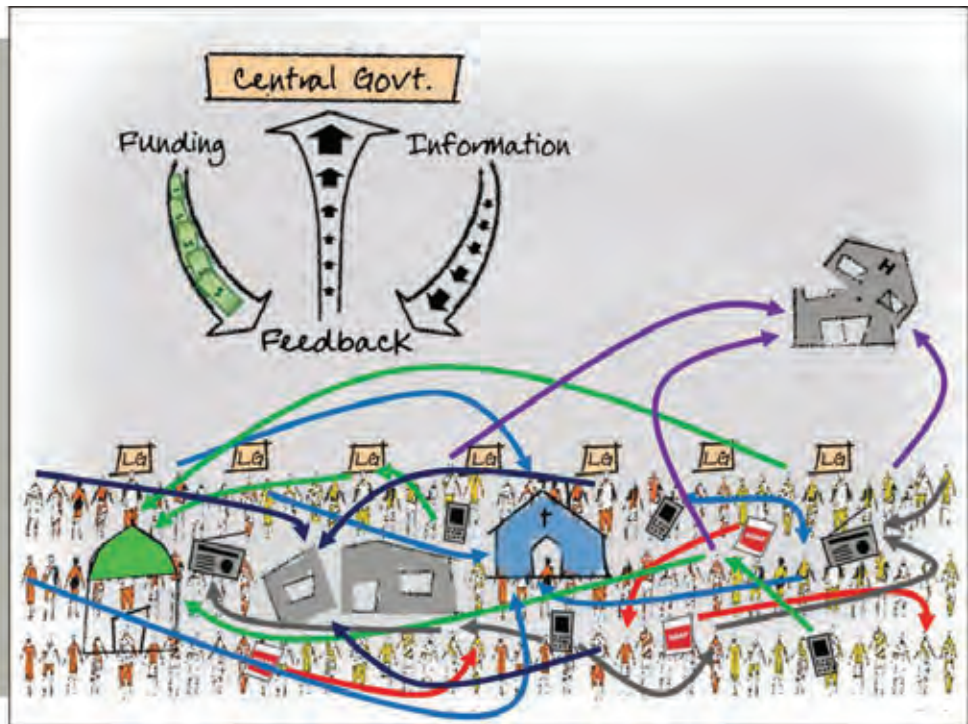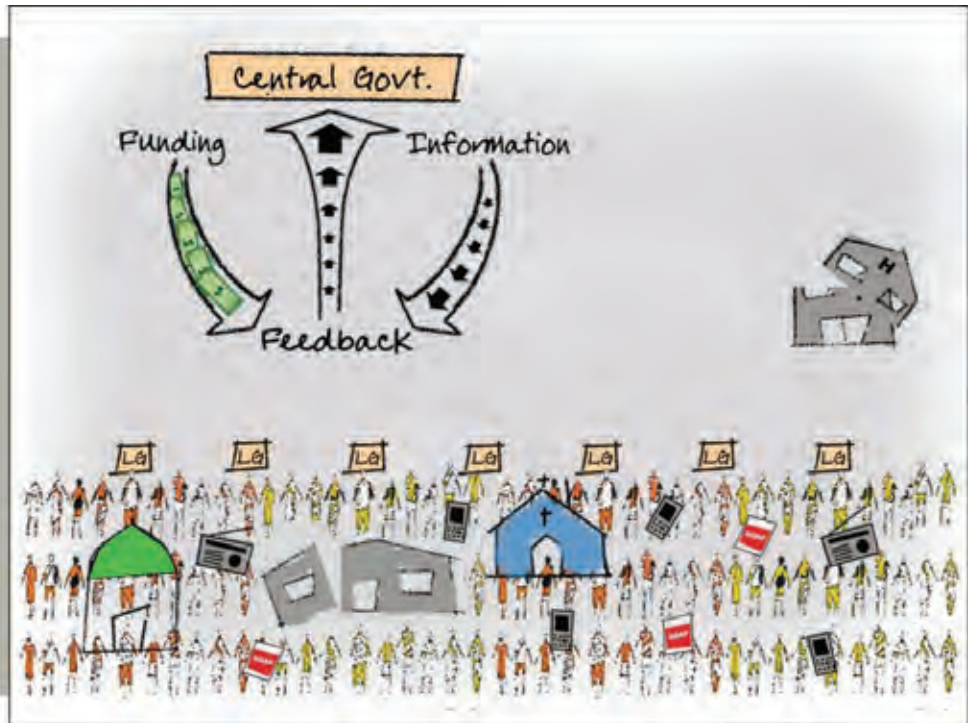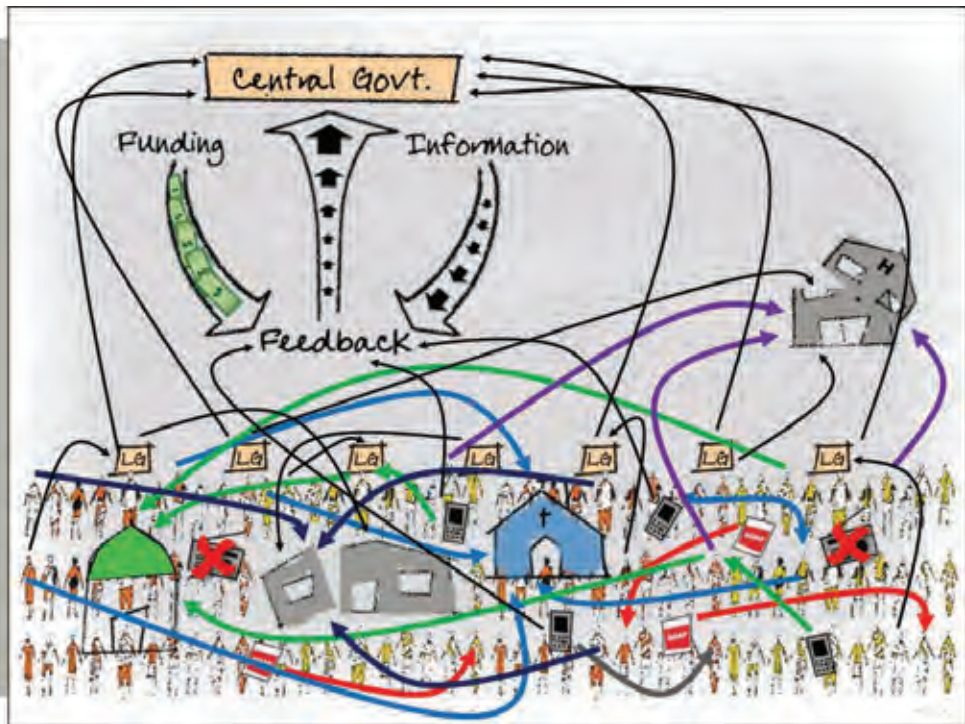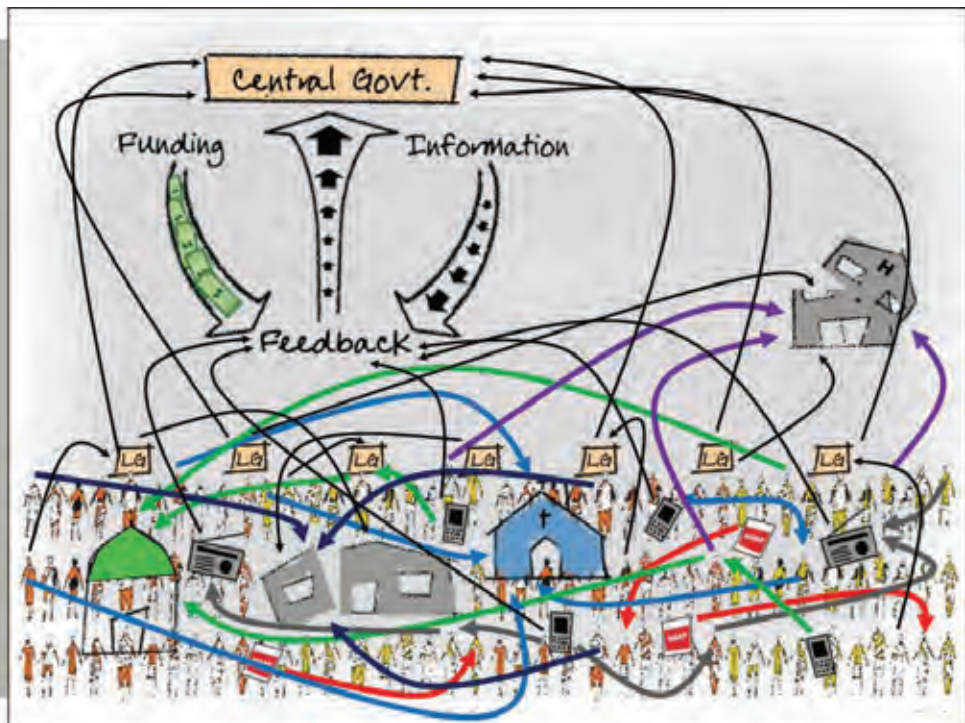
Theory of Change
Messy Drivers of Accountability to Impact on Service Performance
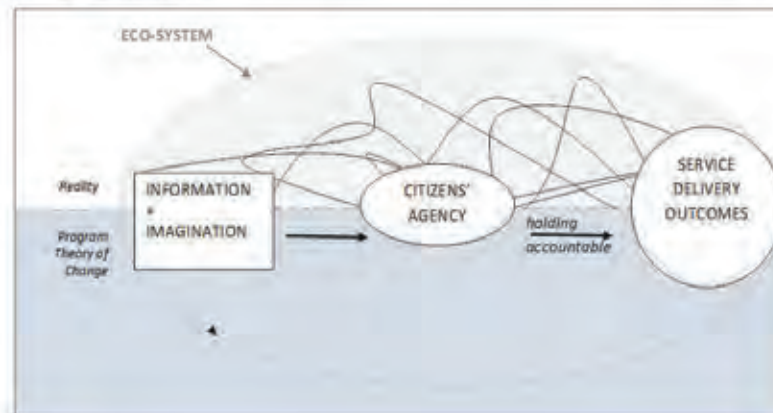
What would be our results focus here?

Can we have *intermediate indicators* that the programme is tracked on?

"Essential Components of Accountability":
Effectiveness of Programme
- To provide practical information to citizens
- To provide media-based (& via other ICT) channels to "speak out"
- To deliver channels through which citizens can monitor services
- To stimulate *citizens to act* to bring change

Focus Area: Innovations – *Working primarily with NGOs & Private Sector*

Programme Context:
Accountability 'for what'?

Is the expectation…

3. …to help citizens to have 'voice' *in making a 'choice' for that service (public or private) which is more accountable*
    Answer may be in the programme developing innovative networks
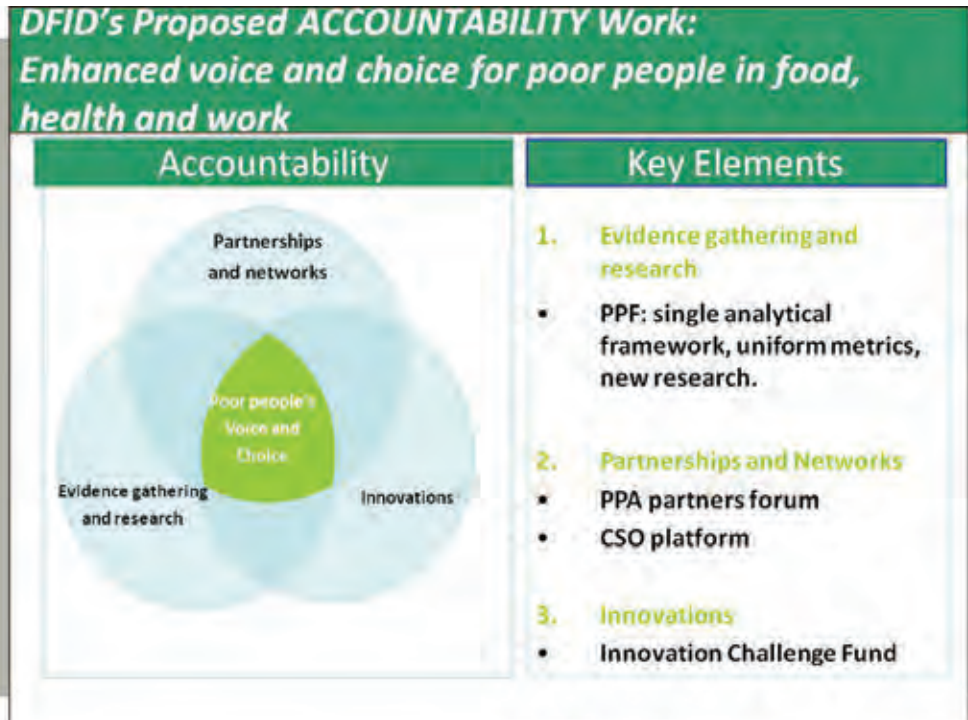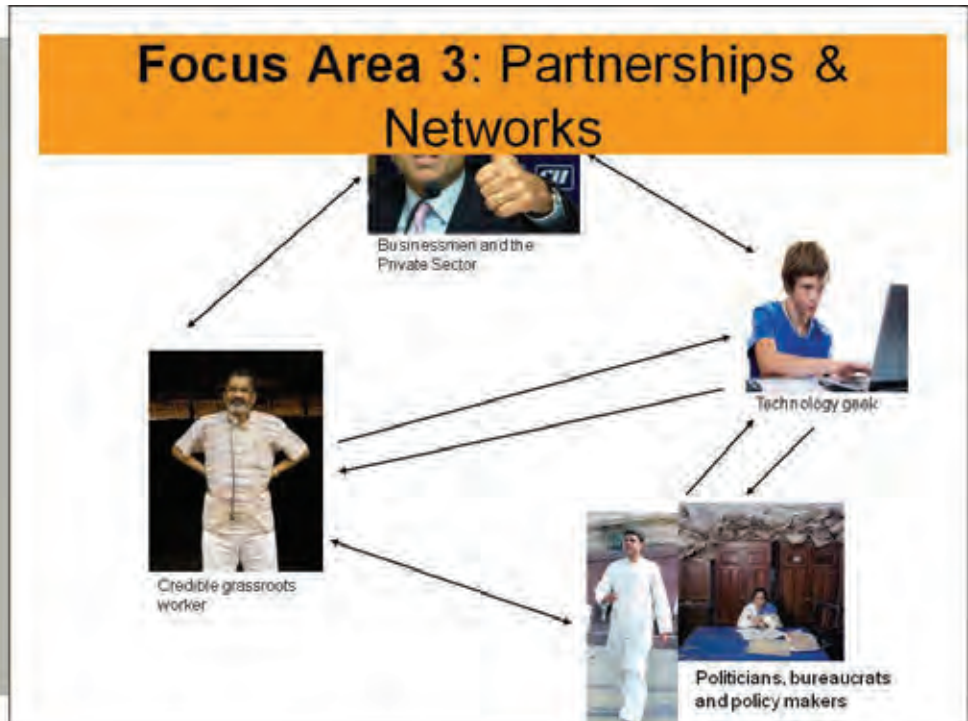
Expert Presentations

Expert presentations were held throughout the workshop, addressing anti-corruption themes as identified and prioritized by the participants. Each author was asked to tailor the content of their presentations to the needs of the audience, taking into consideration experiences and examples of the participants. The accounts focus on identifying successful strategies, tools, concepts and context considerations to facilitate capacity-building and to strengthen the strategic capacity of CSOs, deepening knowledge and supporting management capacity. All presentations are based on working papers, included into this report and listed below. The PTF Working Paper Series is also available online at http://ptfund.org/publications/working-papers. Each presentation is summarized in a short abstract.

THEMATIC SESSION: STRATEGIES FOR EMPOWERING COMMUNITIES TO DEMAND GOOD GOVERNANCE AND RESPONSIVE DELIVERY OF PUBLIC SERVICES

Author: Dr. Vinay Bhargava

**Abstract:** This paper provides readers with the basic idea of how demand for good governance (DFGG) strategies, in particular social accountability (SA) strategies, can be employed to help citizens demand greater responsiveness from authorities and thereby enhance citizens' living conditions. Empowering Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to demand good governance through increased transparency, a higher degree of qualitative participation and the capacity to exert greater accountability from service providers, makes a difference in the effectiveness and impact of public service delivery. Fighting corruption at the grass-roots level thus becomes a two-fold priority: The empowerment of civil society is an end by itself in accountable and open societies. It allows citizens to make choices and determine the direction of community, state or even national development policy as a whole. Second, citizen empowerment geared toward demanding good governance using social accountability tools is effective in lowering corruption and holding service providers accountable. The impact of these initiatives guarantees citizens efficient and effective service delivery that improves their quality of life directly and instantaneously—preventing misery, economic distress and loss of life. The paper details four basic strategies how citizens around the world work together to express their demand for good governance and achieve greater responsiveness of local service providers through the "short route of accountability". Each strategy is followed by a list of examples and describes the tools most commonly used when pursuing any one strategy. Most anti-corruption projects follow more than one strategy within a given intervention. Chapter nine follows the results chain, describing how each strategic element builds on the former until citizens have successfully experienced greater responsiveness of authorities and thus broaden their own expectations of what can rightfully be expected from public service providers. Chapter 12 lays out the overall political conditions and parameters necessary to make demand for good governance measures work.

STRATEGIES FOR EMPOWERING COMMUNITIES TO DEMAND GOOD GOVERNANCE AND SEEK INCREASED EFFECTIVENESS OF PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY

Presentation at the PTF Asia Regional Peer Learning and Knowledge Sharing Workshop, Jaipur, India

30th November 2011

By:

Dr. Vinay Bhargava

Chief Technical Adviser, Partnership for Transparency Fund

www.ptfund.org, vbhargava@ptfund.org

BASIC CONCEPTS

- <u>Public Services</u> : health, education, clean water and sanitation; social safety nets and livelihood enhancing programs; and justice.

- <u>Empowerment for demanding good governance</u> is defined here as: engaging citizens to demand transparency, participation, accountability and responsiveness from service providers.

- <u>Increased effectiveness of service</u> delivery measured by:
  - Spaces for citizen engagement in improving service delivery
  - Empowering local voices to demand accountability
  - Lowering of corruption
  - Better budget utilization and better delivery of services
  - Increased state or institutional responsiveness

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR EMPOWERING BENEFICIARIES TO IMPROVE RESULTS IN SERVICE DELIVERY

Source: Adapted by the Author from WDR 2004 and work of Social Development Department at the World Bank

Four key strategies to empower beneficiaries to seek better results in delivery of services

Note: These are also collectively referred as 'demand for good governance' (DFGG).

BETTER RESULTS IN SERVICE DELIVERY THRUGH BENEFICIARY EMPOWERMENT: EXPECTED RESULTS CHAIN

Awareness thru transparency and information

Experience of improving responsiveness by providers empowers beneficiaries to broaden scope

Beneficiary empowerment and articulation of voice to demand good governance

Increased responsiveness of service providers due to change in incentives and fear of sanctions

Beneficiary led monitoring and evaluation of service provider performance (accountability)

A SUMMARY OF AVAILABLE TOOLS FOR EMPOWERING BENEFICIARIES

Increasing information access and Transparency
- Disclosure policy, Website, community radios,
- Capacity building to access information
- Communication campaigns

Increasing voice and Participation
- Participatory policy and budget making and planning
- Beneficiary participation in project design and implementation
- Beneficiary capacity building.

Third Party Monitoring
- PETS, Citizens Oversight committees,
- Integrity pacts, Social contracts, CSO Oversight
- Public service delivery surveys, consumer satisfaction survey
- Social audits, citizen report cards

Grievance Redress Mechanisms
- Formal mechanism, Ombudsman, M&E systems for CH and resolution- web based tools
- Informal measures such as citizen grievance committees

PREPONDERANCE OF EVIDENCE TO PROCEED WITH CAUTION

Empowering beneficiaries to demand good governance in service delivery have a better chance to produce good results when one or more of the following enabling conditions exist or can be ensured during implementation

| Public access to information | Reasonable amount of media freedom | Space for civil society to operate and CSO/CBO capacity | Notional acceptance by service provider of accountability to citizens / beneficiaries | Receptivity to citizen participation |

Make sure to assess the prevalence of these enabling conditions when considering such initiatives

Source: Partnership for Transparency Fund

That is all – Thank You Very much for your attention.

THEMATIC SESSION: ANALYZING CORRUPTION AND DEVELOPING ANTI-CORRUPTION STRATEGIES

Author: Dr. Gopakumar K. Thampi

Abstract: Civil society-led anti corruption interventions have scaled up considerably over the last decade, leading to an unprecedented level of proliferation of toolkits and methodologies available for replication. More often than not, there is a tendency to blindly replicate successful models and approaches without paying attention to context and institutional factors. This paper responds to the growing need of practitioners to take a step back and consider or re-consider their approach toward diagnosing and implementing anti corruption programs. The paper however does not prescribe any one "perfect" solution. Rather, the author introduces an analytical framework consisting of five distinct steps to analyze, diagnose, map and assess ongoing or envisioned projects, encouraging practitioners to consider the overall environment and strategic parameters that underlie a specific instance of corruption. This approach will enable project managers to logically tailor their project towards achieving specific and the best possible impact. The paper bridges the divide between theory and practice by laying out what type of tools may best work on what level of intervention, suggesting to not just follow any one toolkit or framework of analysis, but thinking "politically" about how the anti-corruption agenda can be best strengthened and taken forward though soundly construed projects at the grass-root level.

Analyzing Corruption & Developing Strategies

SOME CAUTIONARY TALES & THOUGHTS
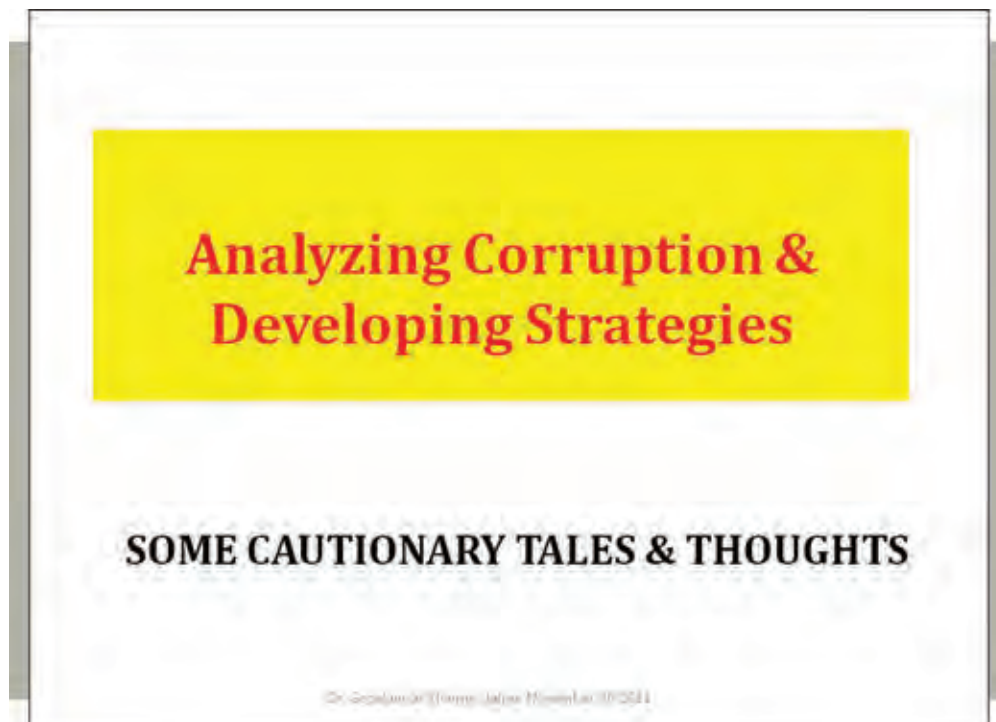
"Are we becoming victims of the 'techniques' & 'tools' by overlooking crucial aspects like context, politics, representation & inclusion?"

The Context

- **Explosion of initiatives / Expansion of strategies**
- **Changing rules of the game**
- **Rise of the 'Audit Society'** – *Challenge of managing expectations*

1. Building Political Intelligence

- **Context matters for outcomes**
- **Tools and their politics**
- **Political Economy Analysis**
  - *Institutional analysis*
  - *Power Analysis*
  - *Social Analysis*
  - *Economic Analysis*

Frameworks for PEA

Levels of Analysis	Tools
Macro / Country	• Drivers of Change (DFID) • Power Analysis (SIDA) • National Integrity System Assessments (TI) • GAP Analysis (UNAC)
Meso/Sector	• Sector Governance Analysis Framework (EC) • Sector Risk Analysis (WB) • Value Chain Analysis
Micro/Project	• Stakeholder Interest-Influence Matrix • Force Field Analysis • Tool based – Critical '9' for CRCs

A Template for a micro project

1. Identifying/Understanding the Problem

2. Analyzing/Diagnosing the Problem

3. Identifying Stakeholders & Interests

4. Assessing & Managing Risks

5. Developing a Strategy

2. Choosing the 'Tool'

Political Context

- Character & Methodology of the tool

- Context & Timing

- Risks & Opportunities

Choosing the Tool...(1)

Field of Enquiry	Suggested Tool
Quick Assessments on Compliance – Access, Coverage, Achievements	FGDs, Surveys
Estimates, Extrapolations, Trends, Predictions	Surveys, CRC, PETS
Estimates of Corruption, Leakages	Public Hearings, CRC, PETS
Problem Solving, Grievance Redress	CSC, CRC, Public Hearings
Process Monitoring – behavior of personnel, quality of services, regularity, reliability	CRC, CSC, PETS
Outcome Monitoring – errors of inclusion/exclusion, Vulnerabilities	CRC, CSC, FGDs
Empowerment, Social Mobilization	CSC, FGDs, Public Hearings

Choosing the Tool...(2)

Action Focus	Suggested Tool
Diagnosis – Understanding the issue better	CRC, PETS, Surveys
Analysis – Exploring the issue deep	CSC, FGDs
Mobilizing & Engaging with Constituencies	CSC, Public Hearing
Policy Reforms	CRC, PETS
Cutting edge service reforms	CRC, CSC
Enhancing Accountability & Responsiveness at local levels	CSC, Public Hearings
Rights based advocacy	CSC, FGDs, Public Hearings

Choosing the Tool...(3)

Tool	Time Frame	Competencies
Citizen Report Cards	Medium – Long (3-6 months)	Research, Survey & Analysis, Advocacy
Community Score Card	Short (3-15 days)	Moderation, Institutional links
Focus Group Discussions	Short – Medium (10 -30 days)	Moderation, Content Analysis
PETS	Medium to long (6 months – 1 year)	Institutional Links, Research, Survey & Analysis

Some Insights...

- Tools differ widely in methodology & application
- Questions, Context & Competencies should define tool selection
- New skill sets & competencies required
- Need for protocols – *the tyranny of 'institutionalization'*

3. Locating Entry Points

- Positioning the tool/approach
- Brokering strategic partnerships
- Credibility of the proponent
- Building new / complementary competencies

4. Monitoring Impact

- **Need to develop process, intermediate & longitudinal indicators**
- **A suggested menu:**
  - *Extent of multi stakeholder engagement*
  - *Width of community involvement*
  - *Duration of involvement*
  - *Nature of CSO involvement*
  - *Extent of compliance / deterrence*

5. Negotiating Politics

- **Trust deficits on both polity & CS**

- **Legacy of working with Executive Champions**

THEMATIC SESSION: ENGAGEMENT OF MEDIA IN ANTI-CORRUPTION PROJECTS

Author: Mr. Sumir Lal

Abstract: The fight against corruption needs to be fought on several fronts. Institutional reform—legislation and oversight—is one, but it will not be successful if it is not embedded in a broad change of culture. Corrupt practices are often embedded in institutional practices and every-day lives and are perceived as fixed and uncontestable. Citizens are not aware of their rights, are cynical about governments' propensity to abuse power, fear repercussions, or are simply not aware that corruption is a social, economic, and political problem. The media—traditional mass media as well as new technologies—can play a vital role in unveiling corruption, framing corruption as public problem, suggesting solutions, and generally empower citizens to fight corruption. Media are watchdogs, agenda setters, and gatekeepers that can monitor the quality of governance, frame the discussion about corruption, and lend voice to a wide range of perspectives and arguments. By doing so, media coverage influences norms and cultures, which in turn can influence policy-making and legislative reform. Examples from India and the Philippines, among other places, show that media effects the range from public awareness of corruption to massive protests against the abuse of power. Those in the international community whose work is dedicated to the fight against corruption need to be aware of the power of the media to aid this fight and need to know how to utilize its potential. This paper provides an overview over the basic principles of media effects and illustrates these with a few case studies before presenting specific techniques of involving the media in the fight against grand corruption and every-day corruption.

Engaging Media in the Fight Against Corruption

Sumir Lal
World Bank External Affairs, Operational Communications
Engaging Citizens Against Corruption in Asia: Approaches, Results and Lessons
December 1, 2011

Legislative change and institutional oversight are important cornerstones in the fight against corruption. However, no law will change society if it does not become part of a country's culture, if it does not have an effect on people's everyday lives. Corruption is not a legal issue alone. Corruption is also an issue of society, of culture. In order to fight corruption, we need to change the culture that enables corruption.

Corrupt practices are often embedded in institutional practices and everyday lives. They are perceived as fixed and uncontestable. Citizens are often not able to recognize corruption. Citizens are not aware of their rights, are cynical about governments' propensity to abuse power, fear repercussions, or are simply not aware that corruption is a social, economic, and political problem.

Media are an important pillar of culture. Media are also an important political player. Media influence our perceptions of what is right and what is wrong. They inform us about corruption and about solutions to this problem. They make politicians pay attention through wide-spread coverage. They also provide platforms for citizens to voice their opinions and demand accountability from those in power.

New information and communication technologies have become an integral part of today's media sphere. In many cases, traditional and new media reinforce each other and amplify each other's effects: Television takes up stories from the web and brings them to the attention of a larger audience. News stories from the traditional media are discussed online and create movements through online communities.

In August 2011, the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) registered almost 866 million subscribers to wireless phone services, making India the country with the second-largest cell phone user population after China and before the United States. By the end of June this year, about 100 million people used the Internet in India, which puts the country third in the World with regard to online users after China and the United States.

Media are crucial in changing people's beliefs about the prevalence and legitimacy of corrupt behavior.

Every society is built on norms. Norms are standards of expected behavior and regulate the way we interact with each other. Research has shown that behavior is influenced mainly by our perception of norms: the norms that we accept for ourselves and the norms that we believe the people around us apply to their own behavior.

Whether people accept corruption, go along with it, or stand up against it depends on whether we are aware that corruption is wrong and whether we believe that other people think that corruption is wrong, too. If we assume that most people do not mind paying a bribe to a local official or that most people think that there is nothing they can do against government corruption, then we will tend to just accept it ourselves and not do anything about it.

If, on the other hand, we get the impression that many people are against corrupt practices and are willing to challenge them, then we are also more likely to do something about corruption.

Media coverage is a major factor in shaping our perception about norms. For instance, local news on television, on the radio, and in newspapers can pay particular attention to instances of corruption and give voice to people who complain about it. That way they can create the impression that corruption occurs often and that people are upset about it. Social media can amplify this effect in particular through websites where citizens can report instances of corruption and through initiating a discussion about it.

There are three mechanisms through which the media influence our perceptions and norms: media act as watchdog, agenda setters, and public forum for a diverse set of voices.

In their function as watchdog, media act as monitor of government behavior and guard the public interest by highlighting cases of misadministration, abuse of power, and corruption. By covering such cases they help ensuring accountability and transparency of governments and other powerful factions.

As agenda setters, media can put corruption on the public and the political agenda. Agenda setting is one of the media's most crucial democratic functions. By discussing issues and putting them on the public agenda they draw attention to problems in society. Politicians can be compelled by media pressure to reconsider existing legislation and policies.

Media also provide a public forum for citizens to voice their opinions on and experiences with corruption. In an ideal world, the media have a responsibility to reflect the plurality of viewpoints and political persuasions in society. This way they maximize the diversity of perspectives and arguments in the public sphere, which can then inform public debate, deliberation, and policy-making.

While agenda setting is a classic role of the mass media, new information and communication technologies have been shown to be very effective as watchdogs and, even more so, as public forum. New media provide the infrastructure for a public forum in which different opinions and voices can come together. An example from India is ipaidabribe.com. The platform was launched in 2010 and aggregates citizen reports to show which departments and situations are most vulnerable to corruption. It hosts a "Top 5" of the most corrupt cities in India: At the moment, Bangalore beats Mumbai, New Delhi, Hyderabad, and Kolkata as cities with the most bribes paid.

In the late 1990s a group of investigative journalists in the Philippines uncovered corruption at the highest level of government. President Joseph Estrada was reported to conceal many of his assets, which allegedly came from illegal sources.

Reporters revealed that Estrada did not disclose the houses and cars of his four mistresses in his asset disclosures or tax returns, but had purchased them through other people or companies. Investigative journalists implied that those assets were not disclosed because they were paid for by money from illegal sources.

These reports were crucial in mobilizing massive demonstrations against Estrada. Eventually, the Parliamentary opposition initiated an impeachment charge against the President. Estrada was ousted in 2001.

Tehelka was launched in March 2000 by Tarun Tejpal and with the help of venture capitalists during the dotcom boom: "I wanted to rediscover the 1980s distinction between journalism, public relations, and entertainment."

May 2000: Expose of match-fixing in cricket, using secret tapes.

March 2001: Operation West End. In an eight-month adventure, two Tehelka journalists pose as agents of a fictitious UK arms company, and 'sting' dozens of defense and political personalities into accepting or demanding bribes, capturing them on secret camera. In the process, clues to malfeasance in 15 actual defense deals surface.

The story is a sensation: the ruling party is rocked, the military begins court martial proceedings against its personnel involved, and government sets up a commission of inquiry. A staggering public upsurge of acclaim for Tehelka, even as some question its journalistic methods.

Over the next two years, the government strikes back. It targets Tehelka's main investor, Shankar Sharma and his wife Devina, harassing them with a slew of tax and other investigations till they go bust. The commission of inquiry focuses on Tehelka and its motives instead of those it exposed.

Tejpal and colleagues spend more than 35,000 man hours at the commission, are forced to hire a dozen lawyers, and soon run out of financial and human resources. From 120 staffers they come down to four, have to vacate their offices, and suspend the website.

Then the plucky recovery: everyone loves and acclaims them, but no investor dares back them. Tejpal has become such a hero in small town and middle class India, that through hard legwork, goodwill, public subscription and sheer guts, he raises the funds to re-launch as a tabloid, now evolved into a magazine, though day to day existence remains precarious.

Anna Hazare is leading a very successful public movement against corruption in India. Media coverage of his activities is a large part of his success.

Hazare has become a media personality, which gives him more leverage and political influence than any leader could have outside the media theater.

Hazare's campaign taps into already existing public frustration with corruption.

Hazare's campaign uses multiple channels to get the message across, making use of traditional media as much as of social media. His hunger strike was supported by millions of tweets, which brought his purpose to the attention of a very large international audience. When he was jailed right before his fast, he recorded a video message to his supporters on a cell phone, which was then posted on YouTube. Facebook pages, news gadgets for web browsers, and even cell phone applications and online games center on Hazare's activities.

A team of former TV journalists manages his campaign, making sure that all buttons are pushed when it comes to media attention.

By evoking the image of an Indian hero—Mahatma Gandhi—Hazare taps into beliefs and attitudes of the population that guarantee him widespread support.

As a result, the government must pay attention to Hazare and his demands—if it does not, it will pay the price at the next elections. Hazare has created a huge public spectacle and with it immense public pressure on lawmakers to heed the demands of the movement.

Example: Anna Hazare

- Widespread media coverage in **traditional and new media**
- Campaign advised by former TV journalists
- "Gandhi-Frame"

à Government forced to pay attention

Sumir Lal: Engaging Media Against Corruption, 12/01/2011

The extent of Hazare's public influence would not have been possible without his constant presence on all communication channels.

Before any systematic engagement with the media, organizations should identify their audience: who do you want to reach with regard to the objective of your organization?

The definition of the audience depends primarily on the objective of the organization and on the type of corruption that is the focus of the organization's efforts.

Grand corruption, for instance, is a structural political problem. Attempts to fight grand corruption need either a very broad public base that has a chance to influence elections or an elite base of opinion leaders that will be able to influence policies or specific politicians.

Petty everyday corruption cannot necessarily be corrected through elections or legislation and should probably be addressed on a local basis. For instance, if the problem is about doctors taking bribes for treating patients, local communities of those most affected—possibly parents—are a more appropriate audience.

After defining the audience of anti-corruption efforts, the next step is to explore the media environment this audience moves in: which media do they mostly turn to, where do they get most of their information from?

Influentials and opinion leaders tend to read one or more national and even international newspapers, usually those considered to be sophisticated and politically influential.

In poor rural areas, radio is much more likely to be the medium of choice because it is cheaper and requires a lower level of literacy than newspapers.

Young, urban, and educated people can be reached through social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, and platforms specifically dedicated to corruption issues.

It is very important to identify the media most relevant to the intended audience, because only properly targeted communication efforts will be effective and sustainable.

Often a mix of media is most successful.

Once audience and their preferred media have been identified, a relationship with the media should be built. A coalition with the media can enhance the efforts of an anti-corruption coalition by increasing its public profile and establishing it as part of the public discourse about corruption.

Engaging the Media Against Corruption

Constraints on the media

▯ Press freedom

▯ Access to information

▯ Competition and capture

▯ Motivation

▯ Short media cycle

▯ Tight deadlines

Sumir Lal: Engaging Media Against Corruption, 12/01/2011

Steps toward forming a coalition with the media include:

Identify and specify the issue: The issue determines which media are most relevant: petty corruption is likely to be an issue of the local media, while grand corruption might more successfully targeted through the elite media. Social media complement all media campaigns.

Map relevant journalists and media outlets: Which journalists are known to cover corruption? Which editors have a reputation to reveal corruption in their news outlets? What is their place in the national power hierarchy? The ideal media partner is dedicated and knowledgeable, and does not hesitate to reveal corruption. The ideal media partner also has some public clout in the community the organization wants to target.

Form the coalition: Media partners need to be convinced that it is in their interest to cover and criticize corruption. Background conversations and media breakfast are possible instruments to inform journalists about your work and to forge a relationship with them.

Sustain the coalition: Anti-corruption coalitions with the media should not be limited to one issue or instance of corruption at one point in time. Coalitions become more sustainable and powerful if they work together over time and on a range of issues. Relationships can be kept alive through, for instance, regular meetings and co-hosted events.

Journalists are no miracle workers: just because you tell them about a story does not mean they can cover it, or if they cover it, it will not necessarily have a big audience or make a big change.

The media are an industry and operate under a number of constraints that need to be understood by those that want to engage them in the fight against corruption. Those constraints include:

Freedom of the press: Press of speech and expression is guaranteed in Article 19 of the Indian constitution. However, this does not guarantee that the media cannot be attacked by political or other powers if their reporting is inconvenient. As described in the Tehelka example, repercussion can be severe and ruin a media outlet.

Access to information: Journalists need reliable and verifiable information to make substantiated claims about corruption. India has strong laws that guarantee and regulate access to information. However, sometimes it takes combined efforts and patience to gather necessary information from public sources.

Competition and capture: In order to attract a sizable share of the audience, media must be faster and more exclusive than their competitors. Media organizations are also dependent on political goodwill and on advertising revenues from private corporations. They may hesitate to cover corruption if it involves important and powerful political figures or companies that are their advertising clients.

Motivation: Motivation is a key factor for the success of investigative journalism. Motivation can be fostered through recognition and awards.

Short media cycle: In the modern media environment, journalists are more competitive and faster than ever. The pressure of the media market sometimes leads to more shallow analysis, short sound bites that are reported out of context, and a disregard for complexities.

Tight deadlines: Depending on the form of the media, journalists need information fast. For organizations fighting corruption this means that information and interview partners need to be made available quickly.

Above everything else, the media will be interested in stories that they can sell to their audience. Organization engaged in the fight against corruption can increase the success of their media work by framing their stories and campaigns in ways that journalists and audience will find attractive, but that at the same time communicate the objectives of the organization.

"Framing" means to communicate in a way that leads the audience to see something in a certain light or from a certain perspective. Framing highlights certain aspects of a story over others. Successful framing taps into existing beliefs, attitudes, and opinions—Hazare's "Gandhi frame," for instance, taps into very specific values that most Indian citizens would support.

News stories can be framed from an episodic perspective or from a thematic perspective. Episodic framing emphasizes recent events without paying much attention to context or long-term implications. Episodic frames focus on the responsibility of individuals or small groups and foster domain-specific knowledge among the audience. Thematic frames, on the other hand, present issues in a general or collective context, drawing attention to the roots of a problem in society. Episodic frames are more appealing to journalists, but thematic frames communicate more information and knowledge.

Another approach to framing corruption is through issue vs. strategic framing. A news story focusing on a specific problem or policy has an issue frame, while a strategic frame emphasizes the process by which something happens.

Gain and loss frames are used to motivate people to do or not do certain things. Gain frames point out that something good will happen if people engage in a certain behavior. Loss frames emphasize that something bad will happen if people do not engage in a certain behavior. Gain frames can prompt audiences to be hopeful and to feel good, they can motivate people to act in a certain way. Loss frames, on the other hand, are a more urgent call to action as they point out dangers and negative consequences that can occur if a specific action is not taken.

Media are crucial players in changing culture toward more transparency and accountability. Media can affect behavior because they change perceptions of what is right and wrong, thereby changing the norms our society is built upon.

In many countries all over the world, media coverage of corruption has led to considerable political and social change. In the Philippines, investigative reporting on the president's illegal assets led to his ousting. In India, investigative reporters have uncovered deeply entrenched corruption in the defense industry and have motivated many other reporters to use similar methods. Currently, a movement against corruption is sweeping through the country, which could not possibly be as successful as it is if the media were not covering it extensively.

In particular in that last example, we see how traditional media and social media function together to amplify the movement, to give it legitimacy and clout.

Organizations engaged in the fight against corruption can use media as allies and as vehicle for their work to improve their chances of success, their effectiveness, and their sustainability.

To use the media, organizations need to be aware of the way people use the media and of the way the media works. Understanding these two aspects will enable organizations to communicate with specific audiences to increase their awareness of corruption and to mobilize them to support efforts to fight it.

Thank you!

slal@worldbank.org

blogs.worldbank.org/publicsphere

Group work

Please divide into **three groups**.

Work with your group on the **tasks outlined on the exercise sheets** that have been distributed.

You have **20 minutes** to work on your tasks.

At the end, please present the main results of your discussions to all participants. You have **5 minutes** for this presentation.

Have fun!

THEMATIC SESSION: INCREASING THE CAPACITIES OF GOOD GOVERNANCE AND ANTI-CORRUPTION CSOS

Author: Mr. Richard Holloway

Abstract: Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) face a multitude of challenges when setting out to fight corruption. While the type of challenge can differ from one country to another, from sector to sector, and can be different depending on size, business model or leadership structure chosen, CSOs often struggle to balance their vision and declared goals with the necessary financial security to carry out activities as needed over a prolonged period of time. One of the recurring problems is donor-induced "projectitis", compelling CSOs to follow a two or three year project funding cycle which may precisely come to an end when first results are in reach. Thus, many times CSOs are confronted with choices not easily made. This paper provides a check list for CSOs to self-evaluate their actions, aspirations and assumptions against common problems encountered and offers entry points to think about sustainability exploring areas often neglected. The author asks a variety of sometimes painful questions—challenging CSOs to be clear about what they want to achieve, what they can achieve and the tools they utilize walking the talk. In addition, the paper offers advice and an array of tools on communication and advocacy means available to CSOs as well as a list of resources for further exploration.

CSOs – fighting for integrity

Topics for Table Discussion

- Whose support does your CSO want?
- How do you know if you are winning?
- How do you communicate your important information?

Whose support does your CSO want?

An Anti-Corruption CSO?

It is likely that you are addressing a particular project, but you have a larger conviction of the wrongness of corruption from a poverty, equity, ethical, legal, developmental perspective , social exclusion, responsibility for use of your own money, desire for government to work properly

You want to persuade others to think like you

You want to change the way that people think about corruption

You want to build a strong citizens' movement against corruption

What do you want to achieve?

- A state based on law?
- An understanding among the citizens of what corruption means in their country?
- An understanding among the citizens of the harm that corruption does, particularly to the poor?
- An ending of extortion and the abuse of power?
- An ending of organised stealing from the people?
- An ending of corrupt political financing?
- Anything else?

Are you a sprinter or a marathon runner?

There are short battles to be won – a particular prosecution, a particular expose, a particular law passed, a particular admission of guilt, a particular project implemented….

But, in the long run,

We want a change in attitudes, a change in activities, a change in practice, actual implementation of nice sounding laws, a change in behaviour at many different levels

What does this mean for your CSO?

I suggest it means:
- the ability to communicate with your fellow citizens at many different levels
- the ability to persuade your fellow citizens to support the work of your CSO
- The ability to get financing from people who are believers in your cause and your CSO, and who know personally what you are talking about

Whose support do you want?

Most CSOs in this room are financed from foreign sources – INGOs, Bilaterals, Multilaterals

Is it acceptable to you to have foreigners finance your work to change attitudes and behavior of your fellow citizens?

Is it acceptable for your fellow citizens to have foreigners finance your work?

The Gift Economy
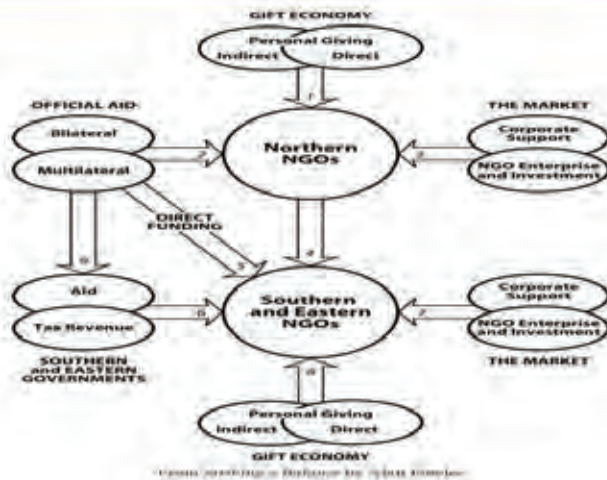
Walk the Talk

Are you likely to get a people's movement and a wholesale change in attitudes and behaviour with foreign funding?

Particularly when foreign funding comes in 2 or 3 year projects, and may have gone to Afghanistan next year?

Even if they believe in local resource mobilisation in theory, many CSOs don't know what this means.

Different ways to finance the work of your CSO fighting against corruption

- Foreign grants
- Government contracts or grants
- Support from the business sector
- Support from the public
- Support from local foundations
- Revenue from your own enterprise
- Revenue from your own assets
- Volunteer time and energy

Topic 1 for Table discussion

Whose support do you want?

- An Anti-Corruption CSO?
- What do you want to achieve?
- Are you a sprinter or a marathon runner?
- What does this mean for your CSO?
- Whose support do you want?
- Who finances your anti-corruption work?
- The Gift Economy
- Walk the Talk
- Different ways to finance the work of your CSO fighting corruption

How do you know if you are winning?

How do you know if you are winning?

What are the elements of integrity in your country's executive, judiciary, legislature, media, civil society?

These are the entry points for establishing an anti-corruption environment.

What do you know about the battles that are being fought around these different elements?

Integrity Systems and Integrity Index

TI Source Book – Confronting corruption – the Elements of a National Integrity System – *Jeremy Pope 2000*

Global Integrity Index
The Centre for Global Integrity (annual)

Both examine the key national level anti-corruption mechanisms and practices.

Global Integrity Index

Fields for key national level anti-corruption mechanisms

- Non-government organisations, public information and media
- Elections
- Government conflict of interest safeguards and checks and balances
- Public Administration and professionalism
- Government oversight and controls
- Anti-corruption legal frameworks, judicial impartiality, and law enforcement professionalism

Keeping up to date

You all know of the TI Corruption league tables, and the World Bank Governance tables which are regularly updated.

These give you a regular peg on which you can hang your public information work

It is also worthwhile to have a regular survey of citizens perceptions of corruption which can allow you to spot trends and give publicity to them

Important points about surveys

- Are you collecting dependable information?
- Are respondents likely to be telling the truth?
- Are you repeating the questions in each survey so that you can see changes over time?
- Do you have a brain-storming after each survey with informed people to ascertain the cause of any changes noted (laws, policies, practices, behaviour)?

The Sociology of Corruption

Everyone speaks of 'networked' or 'syndicated' corruption whereby corrupt income will be passed up the civil service, underpinning impunity, and punishing whistle blowers — but very few research it, or have information on it. Corruption also affects social relations negatively.

It is very important to understand the reality of corruption as extra income to people, how they get it, how it is disguised, and how important it is to their lives. How can you keep tabs on this?

The Sociology of Corruption (2)

Many people talk about 'endemic corruption' or 'the culture of corruption' in a country. Is this accusation true? Who is not corrupt?

- What do people think about corruption?
- Have attitudes changed over time?
- Do women have different attitudes than men?
- What makes people angry or indignant now?
- Are there such things as 'social sanctions'?

Can you make use of this in your work?

Topic 2 for Table Discussion

Do you know if you are winning?

- Building integrity, rather than fighting corruption
- Integrity systems and integrity index
- Global Integrity Index
- Keeping up to date
- Important points about surveys
- The sociology of corruption 1/2

How do you communicate your important Information?

How do you Communicate your Important Information?

Many CSOs, influenced by donors, have forgotten to speak clearly to local people.

If you want to engage local people in your mission, get their involvement in local projects, especially research, get them to decide what works and what does not work, then….

You have to know how to communicate with them.

Stimulating Indignation

CSOs need to be local mobilisers of the interest, the effort, and the resources of all kinds of local people

They need to build a movement based on broad based indignation (and possibly anger) at the ways resources are being stolen by richer or more powerful people

You need to think how your communication is going to do this.

You need to think of advocacy.

Communicating in Advocacy Campaigns

- Clearly state the problem or issue

- Develop a goal and set of objectives

- Identify the target audience(s) to engage

- Identify other groups who are affected or could be affected through your advocacy campaign

- Formulate the advocacy message and identify the media needed to get the message out to the target audience

Keep your eye on the prize

Once you get people's involvement (their contributions of time, sweat, local knowledge and cash), the chances of sustainable success are high, particularly if results are experienced, demonstrated, appreciated and communicated.

People must see that fighting corruption is something that is in their own interests, not those just of your CSO, and certainly not those of your donor.

Topic 3 for Table Discussion

How do you communicate your important information?

- Choosing your targets for communication?
- Stimulating indignation
- Communicating in advocacy campaigns
- Keep your eye on the prize

Results: Working Group Discussions

The findings and lessons of the workshop are summarized based on the presentations given by the three working groups at the last day of the workshop:

a. **Anti-Corruption work at the grass roots level has delivered impressive results all over Asia.** Whether the indicator is public expenditure savings, life-saving medicines provided by health centers in rural areas, or anti-corruption legislation passed in parliaments, CSOs all over Asia have contributed significantly in aiding their societies to become more inclusive and democratic, enhancing the lives of millions of citizens.

b. **The relationship between the state and its citizens (civil society) is going through a rapid transformation.** Increasingly, citizens do not only want to know what their government is doing, they also want to participate in the design and implementation of programs and policies that affect them directly. Furthermore, they want to hold the state accountable and make it more responsive to their needs.

c. **Citizens against corruption (CAC) programs work best when the context is conducive.** Media, CSOs, communities, and other allies achieve results most often when they work together and constructively engage with policy makers and service providers to curb corruption and reduce the mismanagement of public service delivery.

d. **Results in the fight against corruption are achieved when CSOs use strategies and tools such as:** Disclosure policies to access relevant information; Monitoring the performance of service delivery providers and demanding accountability; Educating and empowering citizen monitoring groups; Mounting awareness raising campaigns and building capacity of a variety of stakeholders, including journalists and government officials to then take collective action; Constructive engagement with authorities at all times.

e. **A key constraint is the scarcity of domestic and foreign donor funding for sustainable anti-corruption work.** Political constraints prevent CAC programs to take full effect also. Citizen engagement is crucial and does require follow-up and capacity building for an extended period of time. While it may be hard to elicit genuine buy-in from authorities at first, constructive engagement and the collaboration between stakeholders is essential in taking CAC programs forward, advocating for systemic changes and achieving lasting success.

Workshop participants agreed on the following paradigms to directly inform their operations:

- **Focus on the empowerment of citizens,** including capacity building for concrete action and a focus on training-of-trainers programs. It is important to introduce "easy-to-use" and context-appropriate tools, to use existent networks and local partners when engaging with citizens.

- **Ensure careful country and context analysis—** building on what is already there, keeping the focus on both milestones and the overall aim, pursuing SMART goals in the process.

- **Establish and maintain constructive engagement with local authorities** and other stakeholders such as private businesses wherever suitable, creating networks and building coalitions across organizations, levels and sectors.

- **Use traditional and established media as well as social and new media formats** to sustain anti-corruption efforts, assembling and mobilizing a critical mass of supporters and keeping these citizens and other stakeholders informed on progress made at all times. Keeping the issues alive may require relationship-building with media representatives and is essential to maintaining public interest. Relationships can be strengthened and journalists

empowered if they are included in capacity building exercises and targeted sensitization efforts.

- **Create Anti-Corruption Alliances** that are meaningful in a given political economy context, soliciting the assistance of prominent national or other well-known anti-corruption champions, including administration leaders and politicians whenever possible.

- **Maintain exemplary standards of integrity and professionalism,** including financial integrity and reporting; Stick to the facts, and join credibility alliances whenever possible.

- **Diversify funding sources,** including soliciting support from within local communities and through (local) governments. CSOs may consider starting a project with donor funding, achieving first results and proceed to request community buy-in in order to sustain the financial sustainability of a project beyond the initial funding pledge and funding cycle.

- **Measure impact, quantify gains and show evidence of results,** using data to periodically re-align programs and start advocating for policy change. This may require additional focus on baseline data collection, impact evaluation and will require the buy-in of communities. In addition, CSOs need to focus on careful set-up of meaningful and relevant indicators to be tracked over time as well as additional focus on policy dialogue where feasible.

Keynote Speakers

MR. PIERRE LANDELL-MILLS
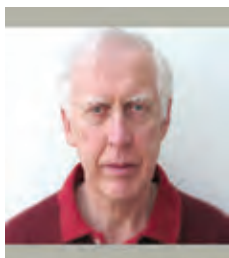
Mr. Landell-Mills served as PTF's President and CEO for the organization's first decade and has been a member of the PTF Board since February 2002. He is a Principal of The Policy Practice. He served in the World Bank for 26 years before retiring in 1999. His positions included Country Director, Bangladesh, Senior Policy Advisor on public sector management and environmentally sustainable development, and Staff Director and main author of the 1983 World Development Report on Managing Development and the 1989 report on Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth. Prior to joining the Bank, he worked for seven years with the Government of Botswana and for two years in the Tanzania Treasury. Pierre has a Masters degree in economics from Cambridge University in 1965. Pierre's forthcoming book 'Citizens Against Corruption: Lessons from the Front Line' explores the challenges and success stories of social accountability projects across the world, building on the rich universe of over a decade of PTF-funded CSO work. The book will be published in March 2013.

MR. SHEKHAR SINGH

Mr. Shekhar Sing is founding member and former Convener of the National Campaign for People's Right to Information (NCPRI), India. He is a former member of the State Council for the Right to Information (RTI), New Delhi, and Co-chair of an international task force on transparency as part of the Initiative on Policy Dialogue, located at Columbia University, New York. Mr. Singh taught at the Department of Philosophy at St Stephen's College, University of Delhi, and at North Eastern Hill University, Shillong. Subsequently, he lectured on environmental management and on ethics and administration at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi. He also held the position of Director of the Centre for Equity Studies, New Delhi and worked with the government in various capacities, among them Head of Division on Environment and Forests in the Planning Commission of India, Chairman of the Environmental Appraisal Committee for Power Projects of the Government of India, and as Supreme Court appointed commissioner on forestry and related matters for the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

DR. SHOMIKHO RAHA

Dr. Shomikho Raha has been addressing the role and challenge of institutions in driving incentives for program effectiveness through strategic advisory work informing development projects and through research producing policy analyses. He is Governance Adviser to the Department for International Development (DFID) and an experienced public sector management specialist, having previously worked in the World Bank and in the Government of India.

Based in New Delhi, Dr. Raha has been engaged with several state governments on a range of supply-side reform activities, from health systems strengthening programs to state-led reforms in the national rural employment guarantee scheme (MGNREGS) and the public distribution system (PDS). His primary interest has been in fostering linkages between such institutional reforms in public service delivery and social empowerment initiatives centered on the end-users of services. Whether to better information and knowledge sharing between service providers and service users or in pushing the linkage to produce social accountability results, his current challenge is focused on harnessing cost-effective technology applications that can act as powerful enablers of change.

His education in history, political economy and international development is from St. Stephen's College at Delhi University and from Trinity College at Cambridge University, where he completed his Ph.D.

Expert Speakers

DR. VINAY BHARGAVA

Dr. Vinay Bhargava is Chief Technical Advisor and Board Member at the Partnership for Transparency Fund. He is passionate about Governance and anti-corruption, global issues and Asian affairs. He pursues these interests as a volunteer, professor, consultant and author. For PTF, Dr. Bhargava is managing the "Citizens Against Corruption in South Asia" program and is responsible for knowledge dissemination and knowledge products. He is a visiting professor at the Hiroshima and Kobe Universities in Japan, delivering courses and seminars in foreign aid effectiveness. He has previously taught courses at Georgetown and at American University. Dr. Bhargava has served as a senior consultant to the World Bank, the U-4 Anti-corruption Center and Asian Development Bank. His consulting practice has focused on national as well as project level anti-corruption strategies, corruption risk and vulnerability assessments; measuring results and promoting demand for good governance using citizen empowerment and constructive engagement with public sector authorities. He has worked on anti-corruption programs and strategies for Cambodia, the Philippines, Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Sri Lanka. His published works include books and papers on: 'Combating Corruption in the Philippines', 'Challenging Corruption in Asia', 'Stimulating Demand for Good Governance: An Agenda for Enhancing the Role of the World Bank', 'Global Issues for Global Citizens' and 'Making a Difference in Difficult Governance Environments'. He has contributed to the 'Many Faces of Corruption', a book published by the World Bank.

Dr. Bhargava has traveled extensively worldwide. He has over 30 years of experience in the design and implementation of economic development policies, projects and strategies in South Asia, East Asia, Western Africa, Eastern Europe and Middle East. Prior to his retirement from the World Bank in 2007, Dr. Bhargava served in a variety of capacities at the World Bank, including Senior Advisor in the Public Sector Governance Group, Director of International Affairs (2002–2006) and Country Director for the Philippines (1995–2001).

DR. GOPAKUMAR THAMPI

Gopakumar Thampi is an advisor, practitioner and trainer in the area of governance, public accountability and government reform. He is currently a Fellow at the Institute of Governance Studies, BRAC University, Bangladesh. Until October 2011, he headed the Affiliated Network for Social Accountability, South Asia Region & Global (ANSA) based out of the Institute of Governance Studies, BRAC University, Bangladesh. Prior to this, he was the Director of the Public Affairs Centre in Bangalore which pioneered the Citizen Report Cards; the Executive Director of the Public Affairs Foundation and the Head of the Asia Desk at the Transparency International Secretariat in Berlin. He is also a founding member and the current President of IT for Change, a non-profit organization

based in Bangalore. He serves on the advisory boards of PRAYAS, a GIZ supported knowledge portal on social protection and the GATEWay Project of Transparency International. Gopakumar holds a Doctorate in Entrepreneurial Studies from the University of Kerala, India, and a postgraduate qualifications in Economics and Journalism & Mass Communication. He is an alumnus of the European Center for Peace Studies, based in Austria. Gopakumar has extensively published in popular, professional and academic journals. His latest contribution is a chapter titled 'Informed Public Opinion and Official Behaviour Change' in 'Accountability through Public Opinion: From Inertia to Action', edited by Sina Odugbemi and Taeku Lee and published by the World Bank, Washington DC.

MR. SUMIR LAL

Sumir Lal is Manager for Operational Communications in the External Affairs Vice Presidency of the World Bank, heading a department which supports upstream reputation risk management, and provides a suite of communication services to Bank teams such as opinion research, consultation plans and practices, communication in high risk projects, and event management. This department also helps implement the Bank's Access to Information Policy and Open Agenda, and acts as a knowledge hub for the Bank's network of communication officers.

Sumir played a pioneering role in introducing political analysis and risk management into project design and analytical work while based in the World Bank's New Delhi office from 2000 to 2006. Prior to joining the World Bank, Sumir was an award-winning journalist in India. He holds an advanced degree in public policy from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), and has published a number of papers on the political economy of reform.

MR. RICHARD HOLLOWAY

Richard Holloway has been working in international development for 40 years and has overriding interest and expertise in the work of CSOs in an attempt to encourage integrity as a way of preventing corruption. He has written various books and has worked as a trainer and project manager on both subjects. Richard's areas of geographical experience include East Africa, South-, Central—and South—East Asia, as well as the Caribbean and the South Pacific. He has worked for local and international CSOs, international foundations, bilateral and multilateral donors.

He is married and has three grown up children, and the whole lot work in international development!

Participants

Dr. Srikant Patibandla
PAC, India
srikant@pacindia.org

Dr. Ajit Kumar Panda
AYAUSKAM, India
ayauskam@rediffmail.com

Edsel Callos Naguit
EBJFI, Philippines
sellevito@gmail.com

Fredric T. Temple
PTF, Thailand
ftemple@ptfund.org

George Pulikuthiyil
Jananeethi, India
pulikuthiyil@gmail.com

Cristita "Tara" Racosalem-Epal
Babas, Philippines
cvre1026@yahoo.com

Joy Aceron
G-Watch, Philippines
joyaceron@yahoo.com

K.C. Venkatesh
Paraspara Trust, India
paraspara2001@yahoo.com

Raghavan Suresh
PAC, India
rsuresh.pac@gmail.com

Prakash Subedi
Samuhik Abhiyan, Nepal
prakash_badal2033@yahoo.com

Bishwa Hari Paudyal
Forest Action, Nepal
bnp@forestaction.wlink.com.np

Kedar Khadka
Pro Public, Nepal
kedar.khadka@propublic.org

Madhab Karkee
CECI, Nepal
MadhabK@ceci.ca

Adarsha Tuladhar
TMS, Nepal
adarsha.tuladhar@gmail.com
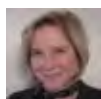
Kathleen White
PTF, USA
kwhite@ptfund.org

Naranjargal Khashkhuu
Globe International, Mongolia
hnaran_j@yahoo.com

Saroj Kumar Barik
Adhar, India
saroj.barik@adhar.in

Ted Thomas
PTF, USA
tthomas@ptfund.org

Dr. Kumar Prashant
VICALP, India
vicalp@yahoo.co.in

Amar Deep Singh
CUTS, India
ads@cuts.org

Om Prakash Arya
CUTS, India
opa@cuts.org

Badri Prasad Manadhar
Helvetas, Nepal
badri.manandhar@helvetasnepal
.org.np

Dante de los Angeles
PTF, Philippines
dantedelosangeles@yahoo.com

Harish Poovaiah
PAC, India
mpharish@pacindia.org

Herryadi Adun
TIFA Foundation, Indonesia
herryadi@tifafoundation.org

Bibhu Prasad Sahu
YSD, India
bibhuysd@gmail.com

Johannes Tonn
PTF, USA
jtonn@ptfund.org

Shramana Majumder
CFAR, India
cfarupap@gmail.com

P. S. Bawa
TI-India, India
p_s_bawa@yahoo.co.in

Ashutosh Kr. Mishra
TI-India, India
ashutosh.mishra@transparencyindia.org

R. N. Jha
TI-India, India
directoralac@transparencyindia.org

Anjalee Thakali
PRAN, World Bank, Nepal
athakali@worldbank.org

M Chethan kumar
SVYM, India
mchethankumar86@gmail.com

Madhu Sudan Sharma
CUTS, India
mss2@cuts.org

T. A. Varghese
PAC, India
tavarghese@rediffmail.com

Pruthwiraj Dandasena
PREM, India
pruthwirajd@gmail.com

Eng. Amanullah Sarhadi
Relief International, Afghanistan
aman.sarhadi@ri.org

Dr. Bibhu Kalyan Mohanty
Sambandh, India
bibhukmohanty@gmail.com

Enkhtuya Purevjav
Women for Social Progress, Mongolia
p_enkhtuya@yahoo.com

Lilia Utiusheva
TIRI Kyrgistan, Kyrgystan
lilia.utiusheva@tiri.org

Sukhee Dugersuren
TI Mongolia, Mongolia
sukhee@transparency.mn

N. Rahman
SANSA, India
naimurr@yahoo.co.uk

Gerry van der Linden
PTF, Philippines
gvanderlinden@ptfund.org

J. Mary Pushpa Kanthi
PAC, India
kanthi@pacindia.org

Motilal Reddy
SURAKSHA, India
suraksha_gajapati@rediffmail.com

Pura Sumangil
CCAGG, Philippines
ccagg2018@yahoo.com

Eric Alvia
Namfrel, Philippines
eric.alvia@namfrel.com.ph

George Cheriyan
CUTS, India
gc@cuts.org

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USING MEDIA TO FIGHT CORRUPTION

A paper for the 2011 Asia Regional Peer-Learning and Knowledge Sharing Workshop "Engaging Citizens against Corruption in Asia: Approaches, Results and Lessons"

By Anne-Katrin Arnold and Sumir Lal

ABSTRACT

The fight against corruption needs to be fought on several fronts. Institutional reform—legislation and oversight—is one, but it will not be successful if it is not embedded in a broad change of culture. Corrupt practices are often embedded in institutional practices and every-day lives and are perceived as fixed and uncontestable. Citizens are not aware of their rights, are cynical about governments' propensity to abuse power, fear repercussions, or are simply not aware that corruption is a social, economic, and political problem. The media—traditional mass media as well as new technologies—can play a vital role in unveiling corruption, framing corruption as public problem, suggesting solutions, and generally empower citizens to fight corruption. Media are watchdogs, agenda setters, and gatekeepers that can monitor the quality of governance, frame the discussion about corruption, and lend voice to a wide range of perspectives and arguments. By doing so, media coverage influences norms and cultures, which in turn can influence policy-making and legislative reform. Examples from India and the Philippines, among other places, show that media effects the range from public awareness of corruption to massive protests against the abuse of power. Those in the international community whose work is dedicated to the fight against corruption need to be aware of the power of the media to aid this fight and need to know how to utilize its potential. This paper provides an overview over the basic principles of media effects and illustrates these with a few case studies before presenting specific techniques of involving the media in the fight against grand corruption and every-day corruption.

INTRODUCTION: THE MEDIA AS A PILLAR OF CULTURE

Legislative change and institutional oversight are important cornerstones in the fight against corruption. However, no law will change society if it does not become part of a country's culture, if it does not have an effect on people's everyday lives. Corruption is not a legal issue alone. Corruption is also an issue of society, of culture. In order to fight corruption, we need to change the culture that enables corruption, not only the laws that prohibit it. Corrupt practices are often embedded in institutional practices and everyday lives. They are perceived as fixed and uncontestable. Citizens are often not able to recognize corruption or to differentiate grand structural corruption–extensive unethical behavior by public officials—from petty every-day corruption—minor deviations from the rules for the benefit of an individual or a small group of people—or simple inefficiency and incompetence. The result is a culture with entrenched corrupt practices and very few people to stand up and speak against them. Citizens are not aware of their rights, are cynical about governments' propensity to abuse power, fear repercussions, or are simply not aware that corruption is a social, economic, and political problem.

Media are an important pillar of culture. Media are also an important political player. Media influence our perceptions of what is right and what is wrong. They inform us about corruption and about solutions to this problem. They make politicians pay attention through wide-spread coverage. They also provide platforms for citizens to voice their opinions and demand accountability from those in power.

In the modern media environment, the effects of traditional media on our norms and culture have been enhanced by new communication technologies. Cell phones and the Internet have become an integral part of the media environment. In August 2011, the Telecom

Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) registered almost 866 million subscribers to wireless phone services,[1] making India the country with the second-largest cell phone user population after China and before the United States. By the end of June this year, about 100 million people used the Internet in India, which puts the country third in the World with regard to online users after China and the United States.[2]

New information and communication technologies have become an integral part of today's media sphere. In many cases, traditional and new media reinforce each other and amplify each other's effects: Television takes up stories from the web and brings them to the attention of a larger audience. News stories from the traditional media are discussed online and create movements through online communities. This paper gives a brief overview over why traditional and social media can be useful tools to create a culture of transparency, openness, and honesty. Three examples from India and the Philippines help illustrating the media's power in the fight against corruption. The main part of the paper provides hands-on practical suggestions on how anti-corruption organizations can work with the media to gain public support for their work, and to work towards changing perceptions, norms, behavior—and culture.

WHAT CAN MEDIA DO AGAINST CORRUPTION?[3]

The media may not be traditional tools in the fight against corruption. However, they are crucial in achieving the cultural change that must accompany any legislative change to make laws and institutional changes sustainable. Media can amplify the effect of anti-corruption legislation by a) reaching and mobilizing a broader audience, b) motivating political leaders to act, and c) facilitating a cultural change that will improve the sustainability of change.

Media are crucial in changing people's beliefs about the prevalence and legitimacy of corruption. The media's ability to change perceptions, norms, and behavior is at the core of their relevance for the fight against

corruption. Every society is built on norms. Norms are standards of expected behavior and regulate the way we interact with each other. Research has shown that behavior is influenced mainly by our perception of norms: the norms that we accept for ourselves and the norms that we believe the people around us apply to their own behavior.[4] Whether people accept corruption, go along with it, or stand up against it depends on whether we are aware that corruption is wrong and whether we believe that other people think that corruption is wrong, too. If we assume that most people do not mind paying a bribe to a local official or that most people think that there is nothing they can do against government corruption, then we will tend to just accept it ourselves and not do anything about it. If, on the other hand, we get the impression that many people are against corrupt practices and are willing to challenge them, then we are also more likely to do something about corruption. Media coverage is a major factor in shaping our perception about norms. For instance, local news on television, on the radio, and in newspapers can pay particular attention to instances of corruption and give voice to people who complain about it. That way they can create the impression that corruption occurs often and that people are upset about it. Social media can amplify this effect in particular through websites where citizens can report instances of corruption and through initiating a discussion about it. On the other hand, media can also propagate false perceptions about corruption, which can hinder the work of organizations that engage in the fight against corruption. A typical misrepresentation concerns the differences between grand corruption, petty everyday corruption, and unfortunate, but legal inefficiency. If media misrepresent inefficiency as grand corruption, they can mislead the public and set wrong priorities for the public and policy agendas.

There are three mechanisms through which the media influence our perceptions and norms: media act as watchdog, agenda setters, and public forum for a diverse set of voices. In their function as watchdog, media act as monitor of government behavior and guard the public interest by highlighting cases of misadministration, abuse of power, and corruption. By covering such cases they help ensuring accountability and transparency of governments and other powerful factions. The watchdog function of the media is perhaps the most obvious with regard to corruption, and we

1   TRAI press release No. 51/2011, http://www.trai.gov.in/WriteReadData/trai/upload/PressReleases/841/Press_Release_Aug-11.pdf

2   Internet World Stats, http://www.internetworldstats.com/top20.htm

3   This part of the paper mainly draws on Norris, P. & Odugbemi, S. (2010). Evaluating media performance. In P. Norris (ed.), *Public sentinel: News media and governance reform* (pp. 3–30). Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

4   Ajzen, I. (1991). The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 50,* 179–211.

can draw on many examples where the media acted as catalyst for policy change by highlighting malfeasance. One of those examples comes from the Philippines and will be introduced later in this paper.

As agenda setters, media can put corruption on the public and the political agenda. Agenda setting is one of the media's most crucial democratic functions. By discussing issues and putting them on the public agenda they draw attention to problems in society. Corruption is often not publicly discussed, either because it is perceived as a social norm or because people are afraid of repercussions should they engage in public discussion about it. Media attention legitimizes corruption as a problem in the eyes of the audience: if the media think corruption is problematic, the public will pay more critical attention to it. Furthermore, politicians can be compelled by media pressure to reconsider existing legislation and policies. This is particularly efficient in democracies, where politicians need to be concerned about election outcomes.

Media also provide a public forum for citizens to voice their opinions on and experiences with corruption. This mechanism goes back to the idea of the public sphere, which posits that communication flows between state and citizens form a space where accountability and legitimacy are exchanged between both sides. In this ideal democratic public sphere, the media have a responsibility to reflect the plurality of viewpoints and political persuasions in society. This way they maximize the diversity of perspectives and arguments in the public sphere, which can then inform public debate, deliberation, and policy-making. By reflecting a range of perspectives the media can help introduce innovative solutions to the problem of corruption and provide a wide range of suggestions and arguments that citizens can use in their particular circumstances.

While agenda setting is a classic role of the mass media, ICT have been shown to be very effective as watchdogs and, even more so, as public forum. New media provide the infrastructure for a public forum in which different opinions and voices can come together. They enable deliberation, which is a corner stone of democracy, and which allows citizens to find acceptable solutions to public problems. In many countries, online platforms allow citizens to report instances of corruption by mail, phone, text message, and other channels. These reports are then compiled into regional reports by the platform host organization so that users can see what forms of

corruption occurs in which region of the country. An example from India is ipaidabribe.com. The platform was launched in 2010 and aggregates citizen reports to show which departments and situations are most vulnerable to corruption. It hosts a "Top 5" of the most corrupt cities in India: At the moment, Bangalore beats Mumbai, New Delhi, Hyderabad, and Kolkata as cities with the most bribes paid.[5] The platform also publishes reports of corruption, expert advice, and links to news stories about corruption. The later is an example how ICT and traditional media amplify each other's effect by highlighting each other's coverage of corruption.

ICT, while not a perfect remedy for all problems of society, are able to overcome some problems of traditional media and are to some extent more accessible and more democratic. Traditional media are limited with regard to their reach and with regard to the degree of literacy they require. Television sets are not prevalent in rural and poor communities because receiving equipment is expensive. Newspapers require a high degree of literacy. Mobile services, such as text messages, overcome these limits because they are cheaper and easier to use. Political and economic interests have dominated the mass media system almost since its emergence: Advertisers and political parties can exert pressure to skew coverage. ICT are less susceptible to those pressures and provide access to information and voice to people with relatively little political or economic clout. Most notably, however, traditional media and new technologies amplify and reinforce each other's effects. Traditional news media pick up stories that have been reported online, and vice versa. Through this synergy, coverage of corruption can reach more people and has a stronger mobilization effect. Social media in particular have been shown to provide opportunities for social movements to organize more efficiently and to spread wider and faster by significantly lowering transaction costs of participation.

EXAMPLES: THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

Three examples will help illustrate the power of the media in the fight against corruption. The first comes from the Philippines, where in the late 1990s a group of investigative journalists uncovered corruption at the highest level of government. President Joseph Estrada was reported to conceal many of his assets, which

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5   www.ipaidabribe.com, accessed 11/20/11.

allegedly came from illegal sources. Reporters revealed that Estrada did not disclose the houses and cars of his four mistresses in his asset disclosures or tax returns, but had purchased them through other people or companies. Investigative journalists implied that those assets were not disclosed because they were paid for by money from illegal sources. These reports were crucial in mobilizing massive demonstrations against Estrada. Eventually, the Parliamentary opposition initiated an impeachment charge against the President. When it seemed that many senators were unwilling to act on the evidence against Estrada, hundreds of thousands Filipinos marched onto the center of Manila in the so called second "People Power" uprising (the first People Power Revolution was directed against President Ferdinand Marcos, who was forced out of office in 1986). Estrada was ousted in 2001.[6]

Two more recent examples come from India and demonstrate the amplification effect between traditional media and new communication technologies. The small independent media organization Tehelka began as a news website in 2000 and was able to uncover corruption in defense deals through an audacious journalistic investigation. Government backlash after this discovery almost crushed Tehelka, but it continues as a weekly newsmagazine unto the present day. The news organization was founded in 2000 during the dotcom boom and immediately launched its anti-corruption coverage by releasing stories about match-fixing in cricket. Information for those stories came from secret audiotapes. In 2001, Tehelka started an eight-month adventure with two journalists posing as agents of a fictitious UK arms company. In secret meetings, the undercover journalists enticed dozens of defense officials and political personalities to accept or demand bribes. Those meetings were recorded with a hidden camera. In the process, clues to malfeasance in 15 actual defense deals surfaced. When published, the story caused a sensation, seriously rocking the ruling party and causing the government to set up a commission of inquiry. The military initiated court martial proceedings against its personnel involved. Even though the journalistic methods uncovering this scandal were criticized, the story did unleash a staggering public upsurge of acclaim for Tehelka. While this watchdog maneuver certainly revealed serious problems in the administration, it also

caused significant backlash against the news organization. The government targeted Tehelka's main investor, forcing them into bankruptcy through a slew of tax and other investigations. The commission of inquiry set up by the government focused its investigation on Tehelka instead of those involved in the corrupt defense deals. Tehelka's staff was forced into a time—and money-consuming legal process—more than 35,000 hours spent at the commission and a dozen lawyers hired—which led to the discharge of most of its staff and the suspension of its website. In time, they were able to raise sufficient funds to relaunch the tabloid as a weekly news magazine, but the financial future of the news organization remains unsteady. Tehelka continues its mission by covering corruption and abuse of office. At enormous cost to the news outlet, Tehelka certainly succeeded in putting corruption on the public agenda. It also enacted its watchdog function by using methods of investigative journalism to uncover corruption in the first place.

Anna Hazare is leading a popular public movement against corruption in India. Media coverage of his activities is a large part of his impact. Hazare has become a media personality, which gives him more leverage and political influence than any leader could have outside the media theater. Hazare's campaign taps into already existing public frustration with corruption. Since the audience is already perceptive to the issue, any media coverage of Hazare's work will fall on sympathetic ears. That, in turn, means that the media can actually make money by covering his campaign since they are able to attract an audience for this kind of coverage. Hazare's campaign uses multiple channels to get the message across, making use of traditional media as much as of social media. A team of former TV journalists manages his campaign, making sure that all buttons are pushed when it comes to media attention. By evoking the image of an Indian hero—Mahatma Gandhi—Hazare taps into beliefs and attitudes of the population that guarantee him widespread support. Hazare has also been using social media and new communication technologies to his advantage. His hunger strike was supported by millions of tweets, which brought his purpose to the attention of a very large international audience. When he was jailed right before his fast, he recorded a video message to his supporters on a cell phone, which was then posted on YouTube. Facebook pages, news gadgets for web browsers, and even cell phone applications and online games center on Hazare's activities, saturating the public sphere in India and elsewhere. As a result, the government must pay attention to Hazare and his demands.

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6   S. Coronel (2010). Corruption and the watchdog role of the news media. In P. Norris (ed.), *Public sentinel: News media and governance reform* (pp. 111–136). Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

Hazare has created a huge public spectacle, and with it immense public pressure on lawmakers to heed the demands of the movement. The extent of Hazare's public influence would not have been possible without his constant presence on all communication channels.

HOW TO ENGAGE THE MEDIA IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

While media have a large potential to support the fight against corruption, organizations working with them should be aware of some approaches and mechanisms that increase chances of a successful cooperation with the media. These recommendations fall roughly into two areas: *understanding how the media work* and *understanding how citizens use the media.*

UNDERSTANDING HOW CITIZENS USE THE MEDIA

Before any systematic engagement with the media, organizations should identify their audience: who do you want to reach with regard to the objective of your organization? The definition of the audience depends primarily on the objective of the organization and on the type of corruption that is the focus of the organization's efforts. Grand corruption, for instance, is a structural political problem. Attempts to fight grand corruption need either a very broad public base that has a chance to influence elections or an elite base of opinion leaders that will be able to influence policies or specific politicians. Petty everyday corruption cannot necessarily be corrected through elections or legislation and should probably be addressed on a local basis. For instance, if the problem is about doctors taking bribes for treating patients, local communities of those most affected— possibly parents—are a more appropriate audience.

After defining the audience of anti-corruption efforts, the next step is to explore the media environment this audience moves in: which media do they mostly turn to, where do they get most of their information from? Influentials and opinion leaders, for instance, tend to read one or more national and even international newspapers, usually those considered to be sophisticated and politically influential. In poor rural areas, radio is much more likely to be the medium of choice because it is cheaper and requires a lower level of literacy than newspapers. Young, urban, and educated people can be reached through social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, and platforms specifically dedicated to corruption

issues. It is very important to identify the media most relevant to the intended audience, because only properly targeted communication efforts will be effective and sustainable. Often a mix of media is most successful: corruption can be discussed in radio or television shows and this discussion can then be continued and amplified through social media. Interpersonal contact through, for instance, village meetings, is also highly relevant for spreading a certain message and for mobilizing people to stand up against corruption.

UNDERSTANDING HOW THE MEDIA WORKS[7]

Once audience and their preferred media have been identified, a relationship with the media should be built. Long-term systematic change requires a coalition of reform-minded partners. A coalition with the media— with journalists or editors—can enhance the efforts of an anti-corruption coalition by increasing its public profile and establishing it as part of the public discourse about corruption. Coalitions are more sustainable and therefore more likely to succeed than one-sided efforts, such as pushing out press releases in the hope that a news outlet will pick them up. Steps toward forming a coalition with the media include:

1. *Identify and specify the issue:* as outlined earlier, it is necessary to clearly define the objective of an organization's fight against corruption in order to mount an effective media campaign. The issue determines which media are most relevant: petty corruption is likely to be an issue of the local media, while grand corruption might more successfully targeted through the elite media. Social media complement all media campaigns.

2. *Map relationships and stakeholders:* Identify significant partners in the media—which journalists are known to cover corruption? Which editors have a reputation to reveal corruption in their news outlets? What is their place in the national power hierarchy? The ideal media partner is dedicated and knowledgeable, and does not hesitate to reveal corruption. The ideal media partner also has some public clout in the community the organization wants to target.

3. *Form the coalition:* Once media partners are identified, they need to be won to join the coalition

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7   This part of the paper significantly draws from Byrne, E., Arnold, A.-K., & Nagano, F. (2010). *Building public support for anti-corruption efforts. Why anti-corruption agencies need to communicate and how.* Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

against corruption. They need to be convinced that it is in their interest to cover and criticize corruption. Background conversations and media breakfast are possible instruments to inform journalists about your work and to forge a relationship with them. Relationships should be equal—no partner should withhold information and all sides should benefit from being members of the coalition.

4. *Sustain the coalition:* Anti-corruption coalitions with the media should not be limited to one issue or instance of corruption at one point in time. Coalitions become more sustainable and powerful if they work together over time and on a range of issues. Relationships can be kept alive through, for instance, regular meetings and co-hosted events.

When forming a partnership with the media, some constraints of the media industry should be understood. Journalists are no miracle workers: just because you tell them about a story does not mean they can cover it, or if they cover it, it will not necessarily have a big audience or make a big change. The media are an industry and operate under a number of constraints that need to be understood by those that want to engage them in the fight against corruption. Those constraints include:

- *Freedom of the press:* Press of speech and expression, if not specifically of the press, is guaranteed in Article 19 of the Indian constitution. This provision allows the media to report without being subject to government censorship. However, this does not guarantee that the media cannot be attacked by political or other powers if their reporting is inconvenient. As described in the Tehelka example, repercussion can be severe and ruin a media outlet. Media naturally will hesitate to risk repercussions that will endanger their existence. Also, government owned media are less likely to speak up against corrupt government practices. Indira Gandhi famously stated in 1975 that All India Radio was "a government organ," it was "going to remain a government organ." A government organ is unlikely to criticize the government.

- *Protection of journalists:* Closely related to freedom of the press are other laws and provisions that protect journalists from backlash—or expose them to persecution. Libel laws, for instance, are often described as journalism's worst enemy: If libel laws are too general and encompassing, reporters can be punished for unfavorable reporting on any person, even if they report facts as they find them. In some

countries where libel laws endanger investigative journalists, non-profit legal centers have been established to provide legal advice and protection. Laws that guarantee the anonymity of sources and the precedence of fact over defamation contribute to a culture of investigative journalism.

- *Access to information:* Journalists need reliable and verifiable information to make substantiated claims about corruption. India has strong laws that guarantee and regulate access to information. However, sometimes it takes combined efforts and patience to gather necessary information from public sources.

- *Journalism culture:* In many countries, the journalistic profession does not subscribe to the ideals of the democratic functions of watchdogs, agenda-setters, and public forum. Investigative or critical journalism is considered impolite and even unthinkable in some cultures. In those cases, journalists and editors see themselves as distributors of information and perhaps as mouthpiece for the government, but not as pillars of democracy. Changing journalistic culture is a difficult endeavor that would take considerable time and effort. Intense engagement with journalism associations and journalism schools would be required to initiate changes in culture.

- *Journalism capacity:* Journalists' ability to understand issues of corruption and their ability to utilize investigative techniques significantly determine whether the media can be a useful ally in the fight against corruption. Corruption has many faces, can occur in many sectors, and is not always obvious. The distinction between petty corruption, grand corruption, and simple inefficiency is not always clear to journalists. This is a problem when actual corruption is different from what is being perceived as corruption by the public. If the public believes, for instance, that the government is corrupt when it is actually inefficient, public confidence in moral and political authority would be undermined for no good reason. Media tend to label many unethical actions as corrupt, without necessarily having legal grounds. Failure to distinguish between different types of corruption or between corruption and malfeasance prevents the audience from understanding the importance of systemic and institutional corruption. Constant reporting on even small missteps can also lead to sensationalism and too much emphasis on scandals, which can create mistrust and cynicism among the public. Misrepresentation of facts hinders the process of educating about corruption

and even the prosecution of specific cases. Another problem with regard to journalism capacity is the ability of individual journalists to utilize investigative methods in their reporting. Investigative reporting is at the core of the watchdog function of democratic media—no investigation, no watchdog. Investigative journalism requires analytical skills, research capacity, and persistence. Those skills are not necessarily part of a journalist's education and may need to be acquired through, for instance, seminars and workshops. Unskilled journalists would either not be able to act as watchdogs on those in power or could even do damage. Insufficient research and analysis can easily lead to the problems discussed above: misrepresentation of facts and circumstances, false accusations, or scandalizing.

- *Competition and capture:* Media organizations are vulnerable to political and economic pressures. In order to attract a sizable share of the audience, they must be faster and more exclusive than their competitors. This is an advantage for organizations working against corruption because many media outlets will be interested in breaking news about malfeasance—provided it does not create immediate backlash that can threaten their existence. On the other hand, media organizations are also dependent on political goodwill and on advertising revenues from private corporations. They may hesitate to cover corruption if it involves important and powerful political figures or companies that are their advertising clients.

- *Motivation:* Motivation is a key factor for the success of investigative journalism. Motivation can be fostered through recognition and awards. Civil society organizations, universities, private corporations, or government offices can set up awards recognizing thorough and professional investigative reporting on corruption. If these awards reach a certain level of public acclaim—and possibly are endowed with even small sums of money—they may be able to foster responsible and well-researched reporting on corruption.

- *Short media cycle:* In the modern media environment, journalists are more competitive and faster than ever. The pressure of the media market sometimes leads to more shallow analysis, short sound bites that are reported out of context, and a disregard for complexities.

- *Tight deadlines:* Depending on the form of the media, journalists need information fast. Newspaper journalists often need to finish their stories in the early evenings for them to be included in next day's paper. A story to be included in the evening television news must be filmed and ready for editing in the afternoon. Radio is the fastest of the traditional media—news are broadcast around the clock and new items are included every hour. Radio journalist will want to beat the competition by getting the fastest scoop—this is also true for online news. For organizations fighting corruption this means that information and interview partners need to be made available quickly. News magazines, online or printed, often have more time at their disposal and are able to do more thorough research over longer periods of time.

Above everything else, the media will be interested in stories that they can sell to their audience—that are interesting and relevant to their audience and that are likely to attract a large number of people. Corruption is an issue of general public interest, but organization engaged in the fight against corruption can increase the success of their media work by framing their stories and campaigns in ways that journalists and audience will find attractive, but that at the same time communicate the objectives of the organization. For instance, grand corruption, petty corruption, and inefficiency should be clearly distinguished in order to avoid misrepresentation of facts and a media frenzy that may be unjustified.

Moreover, organizations can use particular *frames* in their messages to emphasize certain aspects over others. "Framing" means to communicate in a way that leads the audience to see something in a certain light or from a certain perspective. Framing highlights certain aspects of a story over others. Successful framing taps into existing beliefs, attitudes, and opinions—Hazare's "Gandhi frame," for instance, taps into very specific values that most Indian citizens would support. By framing messages, anti-corruption organizations can use the media as vehicle to drive their campaigns and focus public attention on the issues that really matter. What is said and how it is said can shape how people perceive the facts of a news story.

Different frames have different effects on the audience. News stories can, for instance, be framed from an episodic perspective or from a thematic perspective. Episodic framing is most often used by journalists and emphasizes recent events without paying much attention to context or long-term implications. Episodic

frames focus on the responsibility of individuals or small groups and foster domain-specific knowledge among the audience. Thematic frames, on the other hand, present issues in a general or collective context, drawing attention to the roots of a problem in society. Episodic frames are more appealing to journalists, but thematic frames communicate more information and knowledge.

Another approach to framing corruption is through issue vs. strategic framing. A news story focusing on a specific problem or policy has an issue frame, while a strategic frame emphasizes the process by which something happens. An issue frame on corruption would include naming the culprits, citing statistics about corruption in certain sectors and regions. A strategic frame would require a look at how corruption is corruption evolves, how it is investigated, and which measures can be taken against it. Strategic issues have been shown to sometimes produce cynicism among the audience—strategic discussions can make the audience weary of politics and politicians because the audience may feel that politicians are not focusing on the real issues that concern the people.

Psychological appeals play a large role in any communication campaign. Gain and loss frames are used to motivate people to do or not do certain things. Gain frames point out that something good will happen if people engage in a certain behavior. Loss frames emphasize that something bad will happen if people do not engage in a certain behavior. An example for a gain frame: A family refuses to pay a bribe to a doctor for treating their sick child and calls on other families in the community to do the same. As a result, doctors stop asking for bribes and treat all children of the neighborhood, whether their parents can afford a bribe or not. Children are healthier and families are happier. A loss frame, on the other hand, would show parents paying the bribe, while another family, which cannot afford to pay up, loses their child because of the lack of medical care. Gain frames can prompt audiences to be hopeful and to feel good; they can motivate people to act in a certain way. Loss frames, on the other hand, are a more urgent call to action as they point out dangers and negative consequences that can occur if a specific action is not taken.

The decision on which frame to choose depends, again, on the objective of the anti-corruption campaign or organization. It depends on which aspects of corruption need to be emphasized, which solutions are presented, and which audience emotions should be activated.

CONCLUSION

Media are crucial players in changing culture toward more transparency and accountability. By changing perceptions of what is right and wrong, the media can affect the norms that society is built on. Changes in norms will, over time, initiate changes in behavior. This, in turn, can lead to less tolerance for corruption, stronger vigilance, and stronger participation in anti-corruption efforts. The media as watchdogs can create a broad coalition against corruption and be a catalyst for reform by uncovering grand corruption and forcing politicians into making changes. As agenda setters, media organizations can support anti-corruption movements by bringing them to the attention of a large audience. When the media act as public forum, they can introduce and spread opinions, solutions, and innovations.

In many countries, media coverage of corruption has led to considerable political and social change. In the Philippines, investigative reporting on the president's illegal assets led to his ousting. In India, reporters uncovered deeply entrenched corruption in the defense industry and motivated many other reporters to use similar methods. Currently, a movement against corruption is sweeping through the country, which could not possibly be as successful as it is if the media were not covering it extensively. In particular in that last example, we see how traditional media and social media function together to amplify the movement, to give it legitimacy and clout.

Organizations engaged in the fight against corruption can use media as allies and as vehicle for their work to improve their chances of success, their effectiveness, and their sustainability. To use the media, organizations need to be aware of the way people use the media and of the way the media works. Understanding these two aspects will enable organizations to communicate with specific audiences to increase their awareness of corruption and to mobilize them to support efforts to fight it.

Success in working against corruption will depend on whether a lasting cultural change can be achieved. Even if regulation and oversight are in place to curb corrupt behavior and abuse of power, the real change will come through the people. If people stop paying or demanding bribes, if they consider corruption immoral, if they report corruption when they see it, and if they

support the work of organizations fighting against corruption—then change will truly have arrived. The media are a major ally in achieving these goals. Media reach and media effects can amplify the efforts of any organization and contribute to their eventual success.

Coalitions between civil society and the media are more likely to be effective in uncovering corruption in the short turn, and creating a culture of transparency and accountability in the long run.

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CSOS FIGHTING FOR INTEGRITY

INCREASING THE CAPACITY OF CSOS TO HELP CITIZENS RAISE FUNDS, MEASURE AND COMMUNICATE RESULTS IN A SUSTAINABLE MANNER

A paper for the 2011 Asia Regional Peer-Learning and Knowledge Sharing Workshop "Engaging Citizens against Corruption in Asia: Approaches, Results and Lessons"

By Richard Holloway

ABSTRACT

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) face a multitude of challenges when setting out to fight corruption. While the type of challenge can differ from one country to another, from sector to sector, and can be different depending on size, business model or leadership structure chosen, CSOs often struggle to balance their vision and declared goals with the necessary financial security to carry out activities as needed over a prolonged period of time. One of the recurring problems is donor-induced "projectitis", compelling CSOs to follow a two or three year project funding cycle which may precisely come to an end when first results are in reach. Thus, many times CSOs are confronted with choices not easily made. This paper provides a check list for CSOs to self-evaluate their actions, aspirations and assumptions against common problems encountered and offers entry points to think about sustainability exploring areas often neglected. The author asks a variety of sometimes painful questions—challenging CSOs to be clear about what they want to achieve, what they can achieve and the tools they utilize walking the talk. In addition, the paper offers advice and an array of tools on communication and advocacy means available to CSOs as well as a list of resources for further exploration.

INTRODUCTION

Let us get our terms clear before we start:

CSO: A non-government, not-for-profit organization of civil society (more on this later).

Fighting: In the countries in which we work corruption is endemic and deeply entrenched in local power structures. Changes in society which will reduce or remove corruption are likely to be threatening to vested interests, and are likely to require struggle. The exact nature of the struggle will vary with the actors, the legal and policy context, and the vested interests.

Integrity: This is largely the antithesis of corruption. Rather than concentrating on removing and defeating corrupt practices, I prefer to work on building the kind of society that will reject corruption because it is a society of integrity.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE AN ANTI-CORRUPTION CSO?

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO CALL YOURSELF A CSO?

A CSO is a varied group of people who have a common vision of the public good, of the desired good society—and what they want to do to achieve this. This group of people also believes in the power of working together to achieve something—a CSO is not an individual, however well-intentioned or charismatic. This group of people wants to persuade other people of their vision, and wants to get their support because they believe in the rightness of the cause of their CSO.

This means that they have to deal with all the problems of being an organization—different points of view to be accommodated and the need for resources to sustain the organization.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO CALL YOURSELF AN ANTI-CORRUPTION CSO?

It is likely that you are actually engaged in a specific time limited project (because that is how donor funds come, and you are probably dependent on donor funds), but you have a larger conviction of the wrongness of corruption which goes beyond the particular project you are

engaged in at the present. Your approach to corruption may come from a poverty, equity, ethical, legal, developmental perspective—and perhaps others, for instance religious—but you believe in your vision and mission and you would like to persuade others of the rightness of your cause. You would like to get others to think like you, to join your mission. Given that you are working in a country of endemic corruption, you want to change the ways that people think about corruption, you want them to see the dangers and the injustices of corruption, and you probably want to build a citizens movement against corruption. The important thing is that you are probably not a one-project-contracted CSO.

WHAT DO YOU WANT TO ACHIEVE?

If my diagnosis is correct so far it is likely that you want to achieve one or more of the following:

- An understanding among the citizens of your country of what corruption means in your country
- An understanding among the citizens of the harm that corruption does
- An ending of extortion and the abuse of power
- An ending of organized stealing of public resources which are meant to benefit the people
- An ending of corrupt political financing which distorts democracy

You may well have more positive aims:

- A state based on law
- A citizenry aware and interested in practicing integrity
- A government responsive to the people's wishes

WHAT ARE YOUR WEAPONS?

If my diagnosis continues to be correct, the tools or weapons that you are likely to try and use are:

- Research, followed by publicity and exposure
- Application of the law
- News laws and the use of Parliament
- Seeking champions and allies inside government
- Possibly political power
- A citizens movement, including possibly a movement of business people

Depending on your country, and its political context, you may well have other tools at your disposal, like media, use of celebrities etc.

Depending on what you want to achieve, these tools require different attitudes and different organizational contexts. If you are a sprinter, we can talk about short battles to be won—like a particular prosecution, a particular expose, a particular law passed, a particular admission of guilt—and most of these can be handled by projects. If, on the other hand, you are a marathon runner, you will be thinking of different tools because you will want to encourage a change in attitudes in the citizenry, a change in their activities, a change in practices, actual implementation of nice-sounding laws, changes in behavior at many different levels.

An anti-corruption, pro-integrity CSO interested in long term changes in society is going to have specific needs for its financial sustainability, its ways of measuring results, and its ways of communicating them.

WHOSE SUPPORT DO YOU WANT?

Most CSOs at this workshop are financed from foreign sources—international NGOs and foundations, bilateral and multilateral organizations. The distinguishing feature of such finance model is that:

- It does not come from the citizens of your country, but comes from the citizens or the governments of foreign countries
- It probably comes with some ideological baggage or administrative constraints
- It probably comes under some artificial administrative convenience—like time, target, people etc.—e.g. it is a project and does not necessarily reflect real life

For a topic as important to your society as corruption—reflecting laws, power, behavior, and practices—are you happy with the idea that foreigners are financing you to deal with it? Do you not think that you should be dealing with this from your own resources? We are not talking about dams, electrical systems, research into new drugs, roads, infrastructure—in which a resource poor country has some rationale to seek foreign aid: we are talking about behavior which is intentionally taking resources from the public good and putting them into private pockets. In fact it can be said that corruption is the opposite of foreign aid. The amount of high level

theft of state resources in Kenya has been considered equal to the amount of foreign aid in the health sector.

On the one level you must consider whether it is acceptable for your fellow citizens to have foreigners to finance changes in their behavior through your CSO: on the other you must consider whether foreign finance is actually going to be the most functionally useful in your desire to change behavior. Your CSO may well be seen as an instrument of foreigners or foreign interests, and the finance you use may well be seen as something extraneous to the local citizens, if not actually a compromising aspect of your CSO's public posture.

To take the ethical/pragmatic position: are you likely to get a peoples movement and a wholesale change in attitudes and behavior with foreign funding (or with only foreign funding)?

To take the administrative/pragmatic position: are you likely to get a peoples movement and a wholesale change in attitudes and behavior when your foreign funding comes in 2 or 3 year projects, with many regulations, and which may have gone to Afghanistan next year?

I suggest that peoples movements and a wholesale change in attitudes and behavior is more likely to come through local resource mobilization. Let us look at the usual pattern of foreign funded assistance and then look at the options for local resource mobilization. For Southern CSOs, 4 and 5 from the diagram above are funds from foreign sources: 6, 7, and 8 are funds which come from your own country, even if some of the funds under 6 have originated in foreign aid to your government. The following are the different ways of financing your anti-corruption, pro-integrity work from local sources—each one of which will be more or less relevant to your organization, depending on your local context:

- Government contracts or grants
- Support from the business sector
- Support from the public (fund raising campaigns, membership fees, contributions)
- Support from local foundations
- Revenue from your own assets
- Revenue from your own enterprises
- Volunteer time and energy (non-finance)

From *Striking a Balance* by Alan Fowler

Many CSOs, having been raised on the milk of foreign donor grants, do not know of the other possibilities and have not yet been weaned. There are some examples from the participants in this workshop of those who have tried alternatives to foreign funds—one is the Philippine CSO, the Baba's Foundation which has had experience of working with support from a local foundation, namely the Emilio B Javier Foundation.

My suggestion is not only that local resource mobilization can actually replace foreign funding, but that local resource mobilization makes more sense and is more ethically acceptable when you are seeking to build a peoples movement to change behavior and practice.

HOW DO YOU KNOW IF YOU ARE WINNING?

Let us suppose that your CSO is clear about what its vision and mission is, and that it is prepared to try and raise local resources in order to change its citizens' behavior and practice. It needs to know if it is making

any difference; it needs to know whether it is winning its fight against corruption.

Because of the usual project based approach to anti-corruption work, it is likely that a CSO is knowledgeable about a limited field of corruption activities. If it is going to take a holistic approach to integrity and fighting corruption then it has to understand the whole picture of fighting corruption, and all the different elements of corrupt practice that are possible and perhaps prevalent in your country.

The best overview of all the ways that corruption flourishes in a country comes from Jeremy Pope's book "TI Source Book—Confronting Corruption—The Elements of a National Integrity System" (www.transparency.org). This book will introduce you exhaustively—and yet quite readably—to the varieties of corruption and the scope of a nation with integrity. This book does not, however, provide you with a way that you can assess whether your work is making a difference.

For this, the best work is the annual Global Integrity Index of the Centre for Global Integrity which systematically takes you through all the elements of integrity in a countries' laws, and reports to what extent they are being implemented, according to an easy to understand scoring mechanism. It therefore supplies you with a de iure and de facto picture of integrity, and by implication, corruption. The following is a list of the ways in which its looks at a nation's integrity

- Non-Government Organizations, public information and media
- Elections
- Government conflict of interest safeguards and checks and balances
- Public administration and professionalism
- Government oversight and controls
- Anti-corruption legal frameworks, judicial impartiality, and law enforcement professionalism

The scoring is done by professionals in the country, and is as objective as possible. Not only does the Global Integrity Index provide you with a very comprehensive overview of features of integrity (and by implication, corruption) in institutions throughout your country, it also allows you to use their system of scoring (which is publicly available) for your CSO to assess changes over

CIVIL OMBUDSMAN IN JAPAN

Although Japan has no national ombudsman covering the entire public sector, it does have a citizens organization called the Civil Ombudsman Association, who, since their first appearance, in the 1980s, have played the role of watchdog for local governments and assemblies. (…) In 1994 all the Civil Ombudsman Associations got together to launch a National Ombudsman's Association, which, as of June 2003, had 79 members around the country. Since 1996 the association has released annual rankings of the nation's 47 prefectures based on its research on each prefecture's openness and willingness to disclose information concerning its affairs.

Japan Integrity Assessment CPI-GA

time, and whether work that you are doing is making any difference.

The Global Integrity Index does not cover all the countries in the world, but it covers many. Attached to the scoring and reporting material, however, is available a most interesting adjunct to the usual academic writings on corruption—which are The Corruption Notebooks, written by journalists, and giving a very human understanding of the main actors and the main attitudes involved in corruption in different countries. What follows is a description of this in Indonesia.

There are two purposes in trying to find out whether you are winning or not: the first is for the benefit of your CSO, in order to know where to put resources, where to change strategies, where to find "soft" spots for redoubled energy: the second is for the sake of public information, and as an adjunct to your work for developing a popular movement. To this end it is always useful to produce periodic "league tables" of corruption, and citizens perspectives and practices in respect of corruption.

You are all familiar with Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index and the World Bank's Governance tables—these give you a regular peg on which to hang your public information work. It is also very worthwhile, both from an analytical and public information perspective, to have regular surveys of

citizens' perceptions of corruption which can allow you to involve citizens' interest, spot trends and give publicity to them. One very powerful tool is the Public Affairs Centre, Bangalore and its Citizens Report Card which delivers to government departments the citizens' judgment on aspects of the quality of service that the citizens receive from them.

Your CSO can also manage, quite cheaply, public opinion polling about the quantities of bribes that citizens have been asked for in different fields, the citizens' perceptions of the comparative venality of different government departments, and citizens' identification of specific corruption practices. Surveys, however, need to be handled with caution because those against whom you are fighting will immediately respond to damaging findings by questioning your surveying competence. It is important to check issues like:

- Are correspondents likely to be telling the truth? Do you have to worry about intimidation?

- Are you collecting dependable information about which the respondents have personal knowledge, and are not just repeating rumors?

- Are you repeating the questions in each survey so that you can see changes over time?

- Do you have a brain storming after each survey with informed people to ascertain any changes noted—i.e. laws, policies, practices, behavior, and the causes of such changes?

THE SOCIOLOGY OF CORRUPTION

There are certain aspects of corruption which will not be easily revealed by surveys, but which are very important—these are the incomes that corruption brings to individuals. While many people refer to this field as an "open secret" inasmuch as those involved in receiving extra income know full well how much it is and how it works, this information is very unlikely to be revealed by a public survey. If you are interested in changing attitudes and behavior, then it is very important that people reflect on their own part in keeping corruption going. It is very important to understand the reality of corruption as an extra income to people, how they get it, how it is disguised, and how important it is to their lives. In many cases corruption is "integrated"—by which I mean that corrupt income in one part of government (e.g. the ordinary traffic police) and is passed up the hierarchy ending in the pockets of much more senior

police officials. Because all are connected in a network of corruption no one will admit their part in it, and many will feel frightened to reveal their role—which results in a culture of impunity.

These aspects of corruption are very important, and yet do not easily get revealed by surveys. If you are interested in assessing progress against corruption, it is important to know something about corruption networks and see whether anything is changing. One feature seen in many countries where corruption is becoming more pervasive is people saying "a small amount of corruption is acceptable, but such and such person has gone over the limit of what is acceptable, and we do not accept that". It is important to assess what is the public acceptance threshold. This is a relatively new field but valuable work needs to be done in seeing whether attitudes have changed over time, whether women have different attitudes to men, to find out what is the threshold for indignation of anger.

When looking at the dimensions of personal reactions to corrupt practices, it is important to know how people will show their displeasure about what they consider exorbitant corruption, or at least corruption beyond the accepted norm. People often refer to this as "social sanctions" i.e. informal behavior to inform community members about unacceptable behavior. Unfortunately, very often, those who would like to impose "social sanctions" are people of low status who are frightened of punishment if they tell the truth of what is happening.

SOCIAL SANCTIONS IN CARACAS, VENEZUELA

Clink, clink, clink! The clinking of cutlery against glass is common these days in the eastside restaurants of Caracas, a signal that patrons use to indicate the unwelcome presence of high ranking civil servants, military officers, representatives of the government or public institutions of members of President Hugo Chavez' party. The purpose of the ensuing racket, which everyone in the restaurant is aware of, is to make the objectionable officials feel despised.

Venezuela Corruption Handbook CPI-GA

The important point about finding out whether you are winning or not is to have a variety of investigative tools that can assess not only what is happening, but also what people are feeling about corruption, and check what changes are taking place.

HOW DO YOU COMMUNICATE?

When pro-integrity and anti-corruption CSOs—funded by foreign donors—are undertaking anti-corruption projects and are reporting on their work, the question arises of who you need to communicate to. This is relatively easy—you have to report to your donor. When, however, you are trying to change behavior, and, in particular when you are using local resources, then you have to communicate to the citizenry who are supporting you, and who you are trying to enroll in the movement.

Unfortunately many CSOs, influenced by donors, have forgotten to speak clearly with and directly to local people—they will write in English, they will use development jargon, and they will not provide real life examples of what they are doing with which the citizenry can identify.

If you want to engage local people in your mission, get their involvement in local projects, get them involved in local research about attitudes and practice (as we described above), then you need to be able to communicate with them.

WORKING WITH POPULAR SONGS

Two years ago Eric Wainana, then a 27 year old musician, hit the Kenyan stage with a popular song Nchi ya Kitu Kidogo ("A Country of Bribes"). The song, which captured the public's imagination, was on everyone's lips. It exhorted Kenyans to shun corruption or "kitu kidogo ("something small"). Wainana was performing the song at a gala attended by then Vice-President George Saitoti and a host of other government officials. Inexplicably the microphone went dead just when he started singing the second verse. Undeterred by the technical hitch, the audience continued singing the song.

Kenya Corruption Notebook CPI-GA

CSOs need local mobilization, local interest, local effort, and the resources of all kinds of local people. They need to build a movement based on broad based indignation (and possibly anger) at the ways that resources are stolen by richer or more powerful people. MKSS in India has been very successful at doing this. They were trying to prove that corruption had taken place in the payments for local construction labor, and so they carried the rosters of payments that had been made to the people against whom the payments had been made. They showed the forged signatures to the people whose names had been used, and recorded their videos in response to this revelation. They held large gatherings at which people publicly denounced the corrupt use of their names, and they went further to make powerful and attractive songs about corruption to foster people's indignation and anger.

ADVOCACY

One way of operationalizing your communication skills is by an advocacy campaign. While it is possible to have an advocacy campaign that is carried on by experts in court rooms or government offices, the most useful advocacy campaigns are the ones which involve the citizenry activating public protest about the situation they object to. The act of being involved in the Advocacy campaign both educates and energizes people about the issue that they have raised. A lot of the success of advocacy will be determined by the success of the CSO in choosing the targets for its message, and deciding on the best form of communication to reach them

The CSO and those that are likely to partner it in an advocacy campaign should systematically brainstorm goals and objectives, as follows:

- What does the CSO want to do about the problem?

  Is this a matter of publicizing it, or is there a much more precise objective? (e.g. getting a government regulation changed).

- Can a clear and realistic policy change be accomplished?

  This requires the CSO to know more about how the present policy was set up, and how any change might be made to the present policy.

- What can the CSO realistically accomplish?

  This requires a sober and objective look at the capacities of the CSO and the possibilities of the CSO involving other organizations to work with it.

- On what basis can the CSO justify its involvement in the issue?

  Are others likely to see this as a legitimate activity of the CSO or not?

- Is the CSO credible?

  Will people be prepared to listen to it in general when it speaks?

Advocacy is a subject in itself, but a substantial part of it involves learning to communicate with different actors using the appropriate language and subject matter—see the following extract from the Advocacy Institute in South Africa:

THE 10 ELEMENTS OF AN ADVOCACY STRATEGY AND THE QUESTIONS FOR THE NGO TO ASK ITSELF

1. **Clearly state the problem or issue**

- What is the problem, issue, or set of issues that prompted the need for an Advocacy campaign
- What is the cause of the problem or issue?

2. **Develop a goal and a set of objectives**

- What does the NGO want to do about the problem?
- Can a clear and realistic policy change be advocated for?
- What can the NGO realistically accomplish?
- On what basis can the NGO justify its involvement in this issue?

3. **Identify the target audience(s) to engage**

- Which individuals or institutions have the power/authority to make the necessary changes?
- What are their interests in this problem or issue?
- Are they adequately informed about the problem or issue?
- What methods can be used to gain access to them?
- What specific actions would they need to take on to resolve the issue?

4. **Identify other groups who are affected or could be affected through your advocacy campaign (positively or negatively)**

- Will you involve your NGO's constituency directly in the campaign? If so, how? If not, why not? • Is there much chance of popular appeal?
- Are the campaign objectives of direct relevance to poor people?

- Who else is or might be directly affected by your advocacy campaign? How? What are their interests?
- What—if any—are the potential backlashes from your advocacy campaign? How would you weigh these against the potential benefits?
- Which groups are likely to oppose your initiative? On what grounds? Do you have an adequate response?

5. **Formulate the advocacy message and identify the media needed to get the message out to the target audience**

- Keeping in mind the target audience(s), how can you formulate the message with the degree of simplicity/complexity that is appropriate?
- If there is more than one target audience, what will your message be for each? For each message and its target audience: Is the tone of your message appropriate? What specific facts, evidence, and examples will ensure that your position is convincing? Which media will reach the audience most effectively?
- Can you find allies in the media who can assist in planning a campaign and in getting access to specific media?
- Are there forthcoming public events or meetings that can be used as platforms for the campaign? How will you use these?

6. **Prepare a plan of action and schedule activities**

- What activities would be required to meet each objective?
- In what sequence?
- Over what time period?
- Who will be responsible for implementing each objective?

7. **Identify resource requirements (human, organizational, financial)**

- For each activity, what are the resources that you will require? Staffing (volunteer or paid, new or existing)? Logistical support for meetings? Media (in house of contracted)? Financial (cash, donations)? Other?
- Do you already have these resources available? If not, how much effort will it take to generate them? Is this feasible?
- How will getting these resources affect your existing programs?

8. **Enlist support from other key players: other NGOs, the public, government etc.**

   • Who else has the power / interest to support your campaign? How?

   • Will you need to engage in some education activity first? What on? How so?

   • How should you go about involving them, maximizing your impact?

   • What will be the structure to keep them involved in the campaign?

   • How can you divide responsibility so as to build on the expertise of each participant?

9. **Identify monitoring and evaluation criteria and indicators**

   • How will you monitor the effects of your campaign to ensure that it is meeting the needs of your constituency?

   • How will you assess the impact of your campaign?

   • What are the criteria or indicators for success? How will you measure them?

   • Do your objectives still reflect what you want to accomplish?

   • Are they too ambitious? Is the campaign winnable?

   • Can you anticipate potential pitfalls?

   • Should you identify a series of shorter term objectives upon which you can build towards the longer term goal?

10. **Assess success or failures and determine the next steps**

    • If it is a success: Should the campaign end here? Should it move on to related problems, building on existing momentum?

    • If it is a failure: When is it time to terminate a campaign? When is it most appropriate to change strategy or still continue?

    • How will you minimize the negative impact on your organization, or the issue?

Lastly there are very many ways of communicating the changes that you wish for. According to Gene Sharp there are 198 different ways—and these are included in Annex 1: What is interesting about these is that this list was taken as a primer by those in Egypt who demonstrated in Tahrir Square in the movement to bring down Mubarak!

KEEP YOUR EYE ON THE PRIZE

This phrase comes from the US Civil Rights movement and is pertinent to our campaigns for integrity and against corruption.

Once you get peoples' involvement (demonstrated by their contributions of time, sweat, local knowledge and cash) the chances of sustainable success are high, particularly if results are demonstrated, experienced, appreciated and communicated.

People must see that fighting corruption is something that is in their own interests, not those just of your CSO, and certainly not those of your foreign donor.

CSOs fighting for Integrity *(continued)*

ANNEX 1: THE INTEGRITY INDICATORS

The Integrity Indicators are a unique instrument designed to provide a quantitative assessment of anti-corruption safeguards in a particular country at the national level. Carefully selected from a comprehensive review of the anti-corruption literature and other democratic governance sources, including Transparency International's National Integrity Systems framework, the Integrity Indicators are used to "score" the institutional framework that exists at the national level to promote public integrity and accountability and prevent abuses of power. For 2010, the Integrity Indicators were organized into six main categories and 23 sub-categories. They were:

1 **Non-Governmental Organizations, Public Information and Media**

   1.1 Anti-Corruption Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

   1.2 Media's Ability to Report on Corruption

   1.3 Public Requests for Government Information

2 **Elections**

   2.1 Voting & Party Formation

   2.2 Election Integrity

   2.3 Political Financing Transparency

3 **Government Conflicts of Interest Safeguards & Checks and Balances**

   3.1 Conflicts of Interest Safeguards & Checks and Balances: Executive Branch

   3.2 Conflicts of Interest Safeguards & Checks and Balances: Legislative Branch

   3.3 Conflicts of Interest Safeguards & Checks and Balances: Judicial Branch

   3.4 Budget Process Oversight & Transparency

4 **Public Administration and Professionalism**

   4.1 Civil Service: Conflicts of Interest Safeguards and Political Independence

   4.2 Whistle-blowing Protections

   4.3 Government Procurement: Transparency, Fairness, and Conflicts of Interest Safeguards

   4.4 Privatization of Public Administrative Functions: Transparency, Fairness, and Conflicts of Interest Safeguards

5 **Government Oversight and Controls**

   5.1 National Ombudsman

   5.2 Supreme Audit Institution

   5.3 Taxes and Customs: Fairness and Capacity

   5.4 Oversight of State-Owned Enterprises

   5.5 Business Licensing and Regulation

6 **Anti-Corruption Legal Framework, Judicial Impartiality, and Law Enforcement Professionalism**

   6.1 Anti-Corruption Law

   6.2 Anti-Corruption Agency or Equivalent Mechanisms

   6.3 Judicial Independence, Fairness, and Citizen Access to Justice

   6.4 Law Enforcement: Conflicts of Interest Safeguards and Professionalism

CSOs fighting for Integrity *(continued)*

ANNEX 2: 198 METHODS OF NON-VIOLENT ACTION TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE

(From Consumer International by Gene Sharp)

The Methods of Non-Violent Protest and Persuasion Formal Statements

1. Public speeches
2. Letters of opposition or support
3. Declarations by organizations and institutions
4. Signed public declarations
5. Declarations of indictment and intention
6. Group or mass petitions

Communications with a Wider Audience

7. Slogans, caricatures, symbols
8. Banners, posters, and displayed communications
9. Leaflets, pamphlets and books
10. Newspapers and journals
11. Records, radio and TV
12. Sky-writing and Earth-writing

Group Representations

13. Deputations
14. Mock awards
15. Group lobbying
16. Picketing
17. Mock elections

Symbolic Public Acts

18. Displays of flags and symbolic colors
19. Wearing of symbols
20. Prayer and Worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobing
23. Destruction of own property
24. Symbolic lights
25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names

28. Symbolic sounds
29. Symbolic reclamations
30. Rude gestures

Pressure on Individuals

31. "Haunting" officials
32. Taunting officials
33. Fraternization
34. Vigils 200

Drama and Music

35. Humorous skits and pranks
36. Performances of plays and music
37. Singing Processions
38. Marches
39. Parades
40. Religious processions
41. Pilgrimages
42. Motorcades

Honoring the Dead

43. Political mourning
44. Mock funerals
45. Demonstrative funerals
46. Homage at burial places

Public Assemblies

47. Assemblies of protest or support
48. Protest meetings
49. Camouflaged meeting of protest
50. Teach-ins

Withdrawal and Renunciation

51. Walk-outs
52. Silence
53. Renouncing honors
54. Turning ones back

The Methods of Social Non-Cooperation Ostracism of Persons

55. Social Boycott
56. Selective social boycott
57. "Lysistratic" non-action
58. Excommunication
59. Interdiction

Non-cooperation with social events, customs, and institutions

60. Suspension of social and sports activities
61. Boycott of social affairs
62. Student strike
63. Social disobedience
64. Withdrawal from social institutions

Withdrawal from the Social System

65. Stay at home
66. Total personal non-cooperation
67. "Flight" of workers
68. Sanctuary
69. Collective disappearance
70. Protest emigration

The Methods of Economic Non-Cooperation: Economic Boycotts Action by Consumers

71. Consumers boycott
72. Non-consumption of boycotted goods
73. Policy of austerity
74. Rent with-holding
75. Refusal to rent
76. National consumers boycott
77. International consumers boycott

Action by Workers and Producers

78. Workers boycott
79. Producers boycott and action by middlemen
80. Suppliers and handlers boycott

Action by Owners and Management

81. Traders boycott
82. Refusal to let or sell property
83. Lockout
84. Refusal of industrial assistance
85. Merchant's "general strike"

Action by Holders of Financial Resources

86. Withdrawal of bank deposits
87. Refusal to pay fees, dues, and assessments
88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
89. Severance of funds and credit
90. Revenue refusal
91. Refusal of a government's money

Action by Governments

92. Domestic embargo
93. Blacklisting of traders
94. International sellers embargo
95. International buyers embargo
96. International trade embargo

The Methods of Economic Non-cooperation: the Strike Symbolic Strikes

97. Protest strike
98. Quickie walkout (lightening strike)

Agricultural Strike

99. Peasant strike
100. Farm workers strike

Strikes by special Groups

101. Refusal of impressed labor
102. Prisoners strike
103. Craft strike
104. Professional strike

Ordinary Industrial Strike

105. Establishment strike
106. Industry strike
107. Sympathy strike

Restricted Strikes

108. Detailed strike
109. Bumper strike
110. Showdown strike
111. Working to rule strike
112. Reporting "sick" (sick-in)
113. Strike by resignation

114. Limited strike
115. Selective strike

Multi-industry strikes

116. Generalized strikes
117. General strike

Combination of Strikes and Economic Closures

118. Hartal
119. Economic shutdown

The Methods of Political Non-Cooperation Rejection of Authority

120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance
121. Refusal of public support
122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance

Citizens Non-Cooperation with Government

123. Boycott of legislative bodies
124. Boycott of elections
125. Boycott of government employment and positions
126. Boycotts of government departments, agencies and other bodies
127. Withdrawal from governmental educational institutions
128. Boycott of government supported institutions
129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agencies
130. Removal of turn signs and placemarks
131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions

Citizens Alternatives to Obedience

133. Reluctant And slow compliance
134. Non-obedience in absence of direct supervision
135. Popular non-obedience
136. Disguised disobedience
137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disburse
138. Sit-down
139. Non-cooperation with conscription or deportation
140. Hiding, escape and false identities
141. Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws

Action by Government Personnel

142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
143. Blocking of lines of command and information
144. Stalling and Obstruction
145. General administrative non-cooperation
146. Judicial non-cooperation
147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective non-cooperation by enforcement agents
148. Mutiny Domestic Governmental Action
149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
150. Non-cooperation by constituent government units International Governmental Action
151. Changes in diplomatic and other representation
152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition
154. Severance of diplomatic relations
155. Withdrawal from international organizations
156. Refusal of membership in international bodies
157. Expulsion from international organizations

The Methods of Non-Violent Intervention Psychological intervention

158. Self-exposure to the elements
159. The fast
    a. Fast of moral pressure
    b. Hunger strike
    c. Satyagrahic fast
160. Reverse trial
161. Nonviolent harassment

Physical Intervention

162. Sit-in
163. Stand-in
164. Ride-in 204
165. Wade-in
166. Mill-in
167. Pray-in
168. Nonviolent raids
169. Nonviolent air-raids
170. Nonviolent invasion
171. Nonviolent interjection
172. Nonviolent obstruction

173. Nonviolent occupation

Social Intervention

174. Establishing new social patterns

175. Overloading of facilities

176. Staff-in

177. Speech in

178. Guerilla theatre

179. Alternative social institutions

180. Alternative communication systems

Economic Interventions

181. Reverse strike

182. Stay in strike

183. Nonviolent land seizure

184. Defiance of blockades

185. Politically motivated counterfeiting

186. Preclusive purchasing

187. Seizure of assets

188. Dumping

189. Selective patronage

190. Alternative markets

191. Alternative transportation systems

192. Alternative academic institutions

CSOs fighting for Integrity *(continued)*

ANNEX 3: USEFUL BOOKS AND ARTICLES

What follows is a personal list of books that I have found valuable and instructive.

- The Anti-Corruption Handbook—World Bank (East Asia and Pacific Region)

- Investigating Corruption in the Ukraine—A Case Study of an Internet Journalist—Georgy Gongadze—World Bank Institute

- Journalistic Legwork that tumbled a President—Moller and Jackson—World Bank Institute

- The Media's Role in Creation of a Public Information Network—Nachee Vichitsorasastra

- Seize the State, Seize the Day—State Capture, Corruption, and Influence in Transition—Hellman, Jones, Kauffman—World Bank

- Stealing the State, and Everything Else—a Survey of Corruption in the Post-Communist World—Hassel and Murphy

- Anti-Corruption in Transition—A Contribution to the Policy Debate—The World Bank, Washington DC, September 2000

- Anti-Corruption Agencies: How Effective Are They? John Heilbrunn, Michael L.O. Stevens, World Bank

- Anti-Corruption Policies and Programs: A Framework for Evaluation—Huther and Shah, World Bank

- Anti-Corruption Programs—look before you leap, Schacter and Shah—World Bank

- Bribes—The intellectual History of a Moral Idea by John T. Noonan, Jr., University of California Press—Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, 1984

- Cleaning Up and Invigorating the Civil Service—Robert Klitgaard

- Controlling Corruption by Robert Klitgaard, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1988

- Corrupt Cities—A Practical Guide To Cure and Prevention by Robert Klitgaard, Ronal Maclean-Abaroa, H. Linsey Parris, World Bank, 2000

- International Cooperation Against Corruption—Robert Klitgaard

- Liberalization and the New Corruption—IDS (Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex) 1996

- NGOs—Losing the Moral High Ground—Richard Holloway in: Transnational Associations 5/98

- NGOs: Loosing the Moral High Ground—Corruption and Misrepresentation—Richard Holloway in: Proceedings of the 8th IACC (International Anti-Corruption Conference)

- Subverting Corruption—Robert Klitgaard

- The Use of Report Cards in Monitoring Corruption—Samuel Paul, World Bank

- A Systematic Approach to Anti-corruption—the Case of the Seoul Metropolitan Government by Kun Goh, October 1999 World Bank

- Cleaning up the City Government of Seoul: a Systematic Approach—Hong Bin Kang

- Corruption and Democracy in Thailand—Phongpaichit and Piriyarangsan—University of Chulalongkorn 1996

- Stealing from the People—Aksara Foundation, Indonesia—Vol 1: Corruption from Top to bottom—Vol 2: The Big feast: Soldier, Judge, Banker, Civil Servant—Vol 3: Foreign Aid, Business and State Enterprise—Counting the Cost—Vol 4: The Clampdown: in Search of New Paradigms

- The Poor Speak Out—Corruption and the Poor Team, World Bank, Indonesia

DIAGNOSING PUBLIC SECTOR CORRUPTION & IMPLEMENTING ANTI CORRUPTION PROGRAMS: A FRAMEWORK FOR PRACTITIONERS

A paper for the 2011 Asia Regional Peer-Learning and Knowledge Sharing Workshop "Engaging Citizens against Corruption in Asia: Approaches, Results and Lessons"

By Dr. Gopakumar K. Thampi

ABSTRACT

Civil society-led anti corruption interventions have scaled up considerably over the last decade, leading to an unprecedented level of proliferation of toolkits and methodologies available for replication. More often than not, there is a tendency to blindly replicate successful models and approaches without paying attention to contextual and institutional factors. This paper responds to the growing need of practitioners to take a step back and consider or even reconsider their approach toward diagnosing and implementing anti corruption programs without prescribing any one "right" solution. Rather, the author introduces an analytical framework consisting of five distinct steps to analyze, diagnose, map and assess ongoing or envisioned projects, encouraging practitioners to consider the overall environment and strategic parameters that underlie a specific instance of corruption so as to logically and specifically tailor their project towards achieving the best impact possible. The paper bridges the divide between theory and practice by laying out what type of tools may best work on what level of intervention, suggesting to not just follow any one toolkit or framework of analysis, but thinking "politically" about how the anti-corruption agenda can be best strengthened and taken forward though soundly construed projects at the grass-root level.

CONTEXT

There is unanimous agreement today that corruption severely undermines development, causes severe distortions to resource allocations and contributes significantly to the continuing grip of debilitating poverty over millions. Alongside the growing awareness on corruption and its concomitant effects, there have been concerted efforts within and outside the state institu-

tions to control, roll back and eliminate corruption. Of particular interest is the growing interest in stimulating anti-corruption initiatives from the 'demand side' of the governance equation—namely, civil society-led movements and initiatives that reflect a growing repertoire of tools and employ a wide range of tactics ranging from confrontation to collaboration to hold public institutions accountable.

Anti-corruption and good governance are today the top agendas for most development partners. Significant resources have been channeled to various stakeholders during the last two decades in support of the anti-corruption and good governance agenda. OECD governments now spend over US$ 10 billion a year on governance interventions. Recent years have also seen a burgeoning interest in the theme from private foundations and philanthropies like The Open Society Institute, The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Availability of independent resources has also stimulated the demand side as evident from the growing range of networks and coalitions that now dot the governance landscape.

Despite these enablers, tangible outcomes on the ground have been far from encouraging. Evaluations have shown the limitations of programmes designed to strengthen rules based approaches through civil service reform, anti-corruption measures, rule of law programmes, democracy support, or attempts to improve the investment climate (World Bank 2008; NORAD 2009). There is also a growing recognition that institutional models cannot be transferred into very different social and political environments. A recent stocking taking initiative of citizen engagement in promoting transparency and accountability (DFID/OSF 2008) notes that though democratic transitions in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America over the past two decades have strengthened civil liberties and political freedoms, there has been

more limited progress in opening up government decision-making to public scrutiny and citizen participation. Opening up the public sector to enhanced probity and scrutiny remains a formidable challenge.

However, despite the emergent concerns and the slow progress, there are growing instances of innovative, small scale but highly effective initiatives that offer us an opportunity to delineate critical strands and provide us with interesting lenses to understand tools, techniques and strategies that could be scaled, replicated or adapted to inform and influence anti corruption work in diverse contexts.

FIGHTING CORRUPTION IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR: CHANGING 'RULES OF THE GAME'?

As anti-corruption initiatives start focusing sharper on public services and programs that impact directly and visibly at the livelihood level, the nature and character of corruption is also mutating into new forms and migrating into new terrains. To illustrate, a Member of a State Legislative Assembly (MLA) in India shared with this author that he has instructed his 'people' to leave health, education and the employment scheme alone and start targeting highway tolls and road constructions for rent seeking activities. When probed for the reasons behind this, the MLA responded that "these sectors have higher levels of scrutiny now and my electorate is much more vigilant". In another similar case, a public works contractor revealed that he has orders from the 'higher ups' not to cheat in the construction of roads under a national flagship program that was supposed to improve access for rural livelihoods; however, he was assured of 'ample opportunities' in other construction projects. The national program had more stringent audits and also, importantly provisions for community engagement. These are not isolated cases. There is enough evidence that extraordinary forms of corruption are slowly becoming a high risk activity as civil society attention and engagement are increasing day by day. Localized as they are, these initiatives haven't yet reached a critical mass to leverage substantive systemic changes. At best, they work as effective deterrents at very micro levels. But a closer look at these micro projects could perhaps help us in decoding the DNA of an effective anti corruption strategy on a scale that would lead to tangible and far reaching changes.

Traditionally, public sector corruption has been manifesting in three realms (Schwenke 2002). In certain sectors like education, health, and justice, it is common to find school teachers, health care providers, and police charging extras for services, seeking small favours, or using public facilities and materials for their own marginal personal gain. Such forms of 'petty corruption' thrive in most developing and transitional country contexts and were to a large extent accepted by the public as a needed corrective to systems that fail to deliver a living wage for public officials. In contrast to this, public sector corruption in some other sectors is often large in scale, hidden from view, and controlled by the few most powerful. In energy, environment, the private sector, and in some situations in the justice and political parties sectors, deals are made that result in enormous distortions to the economy to the benefit of the few, at the cost of the many. These often are based on major infrastructure projects seeking special market advantage, or securing access to powerful positions.

In the middle ground between hidden but large scale corruption and common and visible but petty corruption, a wide variety of forms of corruption exist that often start small but grow into enormous drains on the economy. For instance, in the energy sector, massive misuse of meter payment systems resulting in the dramatic loss of sales from energy production (e.g. in Bangladesh one half of the electricity supplied by the Power Development Board ends up as system losses through mismanagement and falsified meter readings) is echoed in the political party system, as vote buying undermines the democratic process. The elites pursue their interests in this middle ground of corruption, where they benefit from advantageous treatment and favoured access to scarce resources. Corrupt government officials also find ample opportunities in the middle ground by using their positions to extract a wide range of payments from the public, from claiming salaries for "ghost teachers," charging business people "fees" for permits and business licenses, receiving payments to influencing the decisions of judges and magistrates, charging "handling fees" at customs offices, and a multitude of other examples in all public sector activities where public officials come into regular and unsupervised contact with the general public.

An interesting development observed over the last 5-10 years is that the risk of engaging in petty corruption, especially those that are extortionary in nature, has significantly increased with the increased watchdog role

of civil society, especially with increased applications of anti corruption and social accountability tools and increased media glare. Parallel to and in many ways, catalyzing this trend has been the promulgation of new legal instruments like the Right to Information (RTI) Act, Procurement Act and the like which have given a new and potent dimension to anti corruption initiatives. The RTI is now seen to be the most powerful instrument to expose and fight corruption, both of the petty and grand varieties.

The other key enabling factors has been the stupendous growth in media channels. To quote an example, south Asia is under the coverage of more than 200 television channels, many of them catering to local audiences. In this increased competition for capturing audience, corruption related stories have come in quite handy. Sting operations, hidden camera scoops and the like have made corruption equivalent of a spectator sport and worthy of prime time viewership. Further, the spread of ICT tools like cell phones have also created opportunities for ordinary citizens to become investigative reporters. And, the rapid proliferation of new social media tools like Facebook, YouTube and Twitter has multiplied possibilities of exposures and public shaming and more importantly, give anti corruption champions the cloak of invisibility to escape highly repressive governments. In fact, interestingly, the frontiers of both corruption and anti-corruption are fast evolving and changing their character and content.

However, what remains unchanged is the increasing recognition to the power of hard evidences to give anti corruption efforts more teeth. Whether the challenge is to mobilize public opinion, galvanize political will or to seek judicial recourse, anti corruption efforts are increasingly relying on the power of empirics. The wide proliferation of social accountability tools like Citizen Report Card, Community Scorecard, Public Expenditure Tracking Surveys, Integrity Surveys, GAP Analyses, Public Hearings, social Audits and the like point to the power of data generated outside state domains to catalyze and trigger effective anti corruption initiatives. One can safely surmise that we are witnessing the emergence of an Audit Society that is radically recasting the lens through which public sector corruption is viewed and the norms by which citizens engage with public institutions while demanding greater accountability, transparency and responsiveness.

ANALYZING AND DIAGNOSING CORRUPTION IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR: FIVE THEMES FOR CONSIDERATION

The rest of this paper attempts to delineate potent demonstrated approaches and strategies in analyzing and diagnosing corruption in government and public sector programs. A central premise argued in this paper is that the emergent Audit Society runs the risk of being a victim of the tools of diagnosis and in the process over-look critical aspects like political economy, social mobilization and negotiating power structures resulting in the undermining of legitimacy, representation and eventually its very own existence. The ready availability of 'downloadable' manuals has made access to tools and techniques quite easy. In many cases the novelty of the tool drives the diagnosis rather than the questions that need to be answered or probed. Central to this debate is also the emergent concerns regarding the quality of diagnosis and analysis. Most of the social accountability tools lack definitive protocols and are subject to highly varying levels of adaptations thus opening up spaces for critiquing and questioning. The question of capacities and competencies also loom large.

In trying to frame the key points for discussion, an attempt has been made to identify five key themes that inform and influence the praxis of analysis and diagnosis, as depicted below.

These themes have been identified after reviewing selected secondary materials and also, based on the author's own experiences over the last 15 years. We now proceed to discuss these themes in detail:

Table 1

Levels of Analysis	Tools	Approach, Time, Technical Expertise
MACRO/COUNTRY	**Drivers of Change (DFID)** Analyzes political, economic, social and cultural forces that inform change in a regional and country context and links this understanding with an identification of the key policy and institutional "drivers" of change that provide the context for poverty reduction. Looks at the dynamic interaction between three sets of factors—Structures, Agents and Institutions **Power Analysis (SIDA)** Analyzes actors, interest groups, and structures to uncover where the real power in a society lies and how power is distributed geographically, institutionally and socially. It might also point to the kind of power being exercised, and how this power is perceived.	Approach: Literature Review; Interviews; Field consultations Time: Medium-Long Technical Expertise: International and Local expert consultants Approach: Desk reviews; secondary research; complemented by interviews and questionnaires; panels of independent experts, surveys of well informed people, public opinion polls, and focus group discussions Time: Short-Medium Technical Expertise: Country experts
MESO/SECTORAL	**Sector Governance Analysis Framework (EC)** Analyses the core governance issues at sector level and in particular how power and politics influence sector performance and results. Goes beyond legal frameworks, formal institutions and processes in trying to understand the political economy underpinning the functioning of a given sector in terms of rules, interests, resources and power. Focuses on three core elements of governance in a particular sector: context, actors as well as governance and accountability relations **The Political Economy and Political Risks of Institutional Reform in the Water Sector (WB)** Aims to estimate the 'political risk' associated with implementing a series of institutional reforms at the sector level. Looks at who is affected by the reform ('interest groups'), what their 'interests' are and whether/how they can 'influence' the reform process; political risks associated with reforms and; risk mitigation and management	Approach: Literature review of government documents, media reports, Interviews with actors who do research in that area Time: Medium; align with the domestic sector calendar so that it feeds into e.g. annual reports to parliamentary sub-commissions, the budget preparation cycle or key consultative events with sector stakeholders. Technical Expertise: Joint exercise between Sector and Governance specialists Approach: Interviews, meetings, workshops with various interest groups and government officials Time: Lengthy, includes a strategy to influence the reform process Technical Expertise: Use of Delphi Method—employing experts to provide missing information on, and perceptions of political risks associated with, a proposed reform.
MICRO/PROJECT	**Stakeholder Analysis Matrix** Focuses on the power, influence, and proximity of individuals and interest groups to a particular policy reform. Matrices can be used to plot two or more of the following variables: the degree to which the policy reform will impact stakeholders; the level of interest in a specific policy reform; the level of influence that the stakeholder has to facilitate or impede policy design and implementation; the level of resources that stakeholders possess and are able to bring to bear in the policy process. **Force Field Analysis** Maps and understands the various forces (such as stakeholders, habits, customs, attitudes) acting on (for example, resisting or supporting) a proposed change or policy issue; it also assesses the source and strength of resistance to, or support for reform.	Approach: Workshops, Interviews Time: Short, within 1–2 weeks but also depends on number of workshops, interviews Technical Expertise: Sociological or anthropological training is helpful, as is a background in political science. Local knowledge, including contacts with local experts, is crucial. Those carrying out the analysis must thoroughly understand the reform and the recent sector history.

BUILDING POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE WHILE DESIGNING THE INTERVENTION

While designing the strategy for anti-corruption work, it is imperative that we develop a good understanding of the political economy in which the intervention is embedded. Political Economy Analysis (P-E Analysis) aims to situate interventions within an understanding of the prevailing political and economic processes in society—specifically, the incentives, relationships, distribution and contestation of power between different groups and individuals—all of which greatly impact on outcomes.

Initiatives to promote transparency and accountability in governance through civil society pressures are not

risk-free. There is an element of uncertainty and unpre-dictability while working with change agents, many who facilitate change but many more who would obstruct the advancement of a pro-poor development strategy. With the growing application of social accountability tools and approaches, doing a P-E Analysis thus becomes increasingly important. Be it a Citizen Report Card, Community Score Card, Public Expenditure Track-ing or a Social Audit, each tool varies in its nature of engagement and/or contestation with different actors and institutions. Different approaches are needed in different political contexts.

P-E Analysis strives to identify opportunities for change and its associated risks by looking at the rules and rela-tions that underlie and affect the process of change. This is done by analyzing several overlapping dimensions of the problem: Institutional analysis looks at formal and informal rules that govern individual and group behav-ior in an institution. These rules may be embedded in cultural and social practices and sometimes mediate and distort the expected impact of a change measure. Political analysis provides an in-depth look at power rela-tionships among and across different stakeholders which affect decision making and distributional impacts. Social Analysis explores social relationships across households, communities and social groups and their degree of inclusion and empowerment in the change process. Economic Analysis looks at the economic incentives (prices, subsidies, taxes etc.) that influence choices/decisions to affect change and the distributional impact of reform. These analyses go beyond conventional tech-nical solutions to a problem by anticipating risks and opportunities before the proposed intervention. This not only informs the pace, choice, design and sequenc-ing of reform measures, but allows a management of the risks that are identified so that they are less likely to obstruct the reform process.

There are different tools available for different levels (country, sector and project) to carry out a P-E Analysis. The following table summarizes some of the popular tools of P-E Analysis used at different levels with an indication on the methodology, timelines and required competencies (Hasan, 2010).

At the micro-project level, carrying out a P-E Analysis as part of the design of the intervention provides many crucial information and maps out existing and potential enablers and disablers that may impact significantly on the project processes and outcomes. Drawing upon

Conducting a Force Field Analysis (FFA) helped the **Evelio B. Javier Foundation, Incorporated** (EBJFI) to design an intervention in the public procurement processes in the Philippines. The FFA revealed the weaknesses of the Bids & Awards Committee Observers (BACOs), a civil society-led forum to stem corruption in the procurement processes; BACOs faced a 50-60% drop-out in their ranks. Building onto this information EBJFI implemented the BAC-CSO Observers' Interface/Dialogue which resulted in the creation of two powerful regional networks which subsequently become the model for 15 other provinces.

some practical examples, we can delineate five phases in designing an effective P-E Analysis at the project level (Hasan 2010):

Phase 1: Identifying the Problem. The first step in this exercise is to identify the underlying problems / vulnerabilities / challenges that need to be addressed. This would require an in-depth analysis of the actors who are adversely affected, the chains of cause-effect relationships and the urgency for change. A systematic approach to problem identification often results in zeroing in on issues right at the beginning and thus, facilitate the development of well focused strategies and interventions.

Phase 2: Analyzing the Problem. This phase neces-sitates an understanding of the context for change as the first step. There are several factors that may affect or perpetuate the problem. These can be social and eco-nomic inequalities, power relations, corruption, social organizations such as caste systems, ethnic groups, tra-ditional authority and political competition. Patronage networks and clientelism are other common features in many Asian contexts and often influence the access to public goods and services as well as economic benefits. These phenomena may also influence the functioning of formal institutions and lead to the rise of informal ones. Mapping institutions is thus the second part of this phase. It allows an understanding of the context in which stakeholders operate, how it shapes their interests and incentives and to identify change agents. For example a project may be interacting with local government officials, regulatory agencies, village councils, religious institutions, NGO's, the media and the private sector.

Table 2

Phases	Example of a Conventional Project Design	Political Economy Issues	Suggested Tools and Approaches for P-E Analysis
1. **Problem Identification**	Vulnerable, exploited and unorganized Dalit Women who are excluded from local governance	Specific problems, vulnerabilities, challenges which are aligned with the needs of the community Establish cause and effect relationships	Informant Interviews; Focus Group Discussions
2. **Problem Analysis**	Lack of awareness of rights and entitlements of Dalit women; Patriarchal system, male dominance and tradition keeps Dalit women out of local governance ; Rigid and Non responsive attitude of the local Govt officials; Dalit women do not know the relevance of the Gram Sabha (Village Council) and do not attend	**General:** social and economic inequalities, power relations, corruption, social organization (caste systems, ethnic groups, traditional authority), political competition, patronage networks and clientelism **Specific:** functions of formal and informal institutions: local government officials, regulatory agencies, village councils, NGO's, the media and private businesses.	Problem Tree Analysis; Workshops with key stakeholders, Focus Group Discussions, Participatory Rapid Appraisal; Information Interviews
3. **Stakeholder Identification**	Dalit women; Elected Representatives; Village Council Members; District Level Govt. Officials; Youth Groups; Local CBO's; Networks of women's collectives	Categorizing stakeholders: the duty bearers and the rights holders; the powerful and the powerless actors; the winners, losers or neutral actors and the champions and opponents Locate their power, interests, incentives, agenda and constraints in either maintaining the status quo or pushing forward for reforms.	Stakeholder Analysis Workshops; Focus Group Discussions, Individual Interviews Construct an Importance/Influence Matrix and/or a Supportive/ Constructive/Antagonistic/ Destructive Matrix
4. **Risk Assessment**	Forced migration of beneficiaries due to drought; Receptivity of participants to training exercises; Effective participation of women in Self Help Groups; Inefficiency and Lethargy of Political System; Unforeseen obstructions to change processes by various interest groups	Foresee major unintended impacts—e.g. powerful interest groups obstructing reform efforts; political instability; social tensions	Risk Assessment Workshops, Risk/ Impact Matrix, Risks in the Log Frame
5. **Strategy Development**	Organization, mobilization of existing SHGs to claim and access their share in the development benefit; Capacity building and training in using progressive legislations to claim rights; Information creation, dissemination and application; Creation of the pressure groups through Networking and alliance building; Constructive engagement through Lobbying and advocacy	**General:** Awareness raising campaigns/engagement/ negotiation tactics/confrontational activities? **Specific:** Influence the system of incentives and restraints, e.g. identify the allies with whom an organisation needs to build coalitions, negotiating strategies with the local government or inform the nature of information and communication campaigns.	**Strategy:** Timing, Choice, sequencing, communication/ negotiation, **Outcome:** Choosing the right social accountability tools: CRC, CSC, Social Audit, PETS etc.

Phase 3: Identifying the stakeholders. At this step the analysis is taken deeper to identify different actors in the setting and understand how the status quo and the proposed changes to it may affect them in different ways. There are several ways of categorizing stakeholders: the duty bearers and the rights holders, otherwise known as the supply side versus the demand side actors; the powerful and the powerless actors; the winners, losers or neutral actors and the champions and opponents of the proposed change measures. In all of these stakeholders it is important to locate their power, interests, incentives, agenda and constraints in either maintaining the status quo or pushing forward for reforms. Power, for example is defined as the ability of stakeholders to influence political decision-making process and policies according to their interests. Power can be measured as the access to or control of specific assets. Understanding interests on the other hand, means assessing whether

stakeholders will use their assets to influence change. Rent seeking behavior is also very prevalent in South Asian contexts and significantly shapes the incentives of actors. What is particularly useful in this exercise is to identify the reform champions and secure their commitment, mobilize support and deal with the opposition with regard to the reform agenda.

Phase 4: Assessing the Risks. At this stage it is important to conduct a risk analysis to foresee any major unintended impacts that may arise while affecting change. For example, some powerful interest groups may obstruct reform efforts; there could be political instability; and social tensions may arise. Depending on the future costs and benefits of the reform efforts, stakeholders may support or oppose the reform efforts, which in turn may be strong and weak depending on how influential they are.

In general there are three types of risk. Risks may be directly controllable, may arise from the wider institutional and policy environment and is thus controllable by other decision makers and risks which arise from exogenous factors and controllable by none. Responding to these risks can take one of three forms: transferring the risk to a willing third party, tolerating it after ensuring that the cost of taking action may prove harmful or containing it at an acceptable level.

Phase 5: Developing a Strategy. The analysis made above may give several pointers on the choice, timing and sequencing of the intervention to deliver best results. For example it may inform which interventions are likely to work, keeping in mind the political economy and the needs of local stakeholders. Practitioners face a whole range of problems such a lack of political will, vested interests and unorganized citizenry. In general, a strategy may necessitate basic awareness raising campaigns and engagement/negotiation tactics or hinge on more confrontational activities.

More specifically, is important to influence the system of incentives and restraints acting on powerful interest groups. Projects which challenge the political and economic status quo is very likely to face resistance, and in such cases, strategies need to be formulated which strengthen the change agents to overcome or evade the obstacles. At times the first step might be to mobilize public opinion and organize the voices of those who would benefit from change.

A P-E Analysis can identify the allies with whom an organisation needs to build coalitions. In some cases, building support among local elites and negotiating with the local government precedes consultations with the wider community.

To provide a more vivid example of how a P-E lens changes a project's approach and informs its activities, data from an ongoing social accountability project is used to map the key variables as depicted in the table below. This project aims at empowering Dalit (a socially disadvantaged group) women by training them in social audit techniques to hold the local government accountable and be responsive to their needs.

CHOOSING THE 'TOOL' FOR INTERVENTION: ASKING THE RIGHT QUESTIONS AND REVIEWING COMPETENCIES BEFORE THE METHOD

The agenda of governance and anti corruption has increasingly moved from anecdotal references to evidence based ones. Also, the nature of engagement has transited from confrontational forms to collaborative ones. Given the history of antagonism and mistrust between the state, civil society and the market, new skill sets and competencies have to be built within these actors to move them to positions of constructive engagement. A good case in point is the universe of social accountability / anti corruption tools (also referred to as demand side tools). It is now well understood that the 'fit' of a particular tool depends on four critical elements: *political context, scale & level of intervention, action focus,* and *skill sets and resource requirements.*
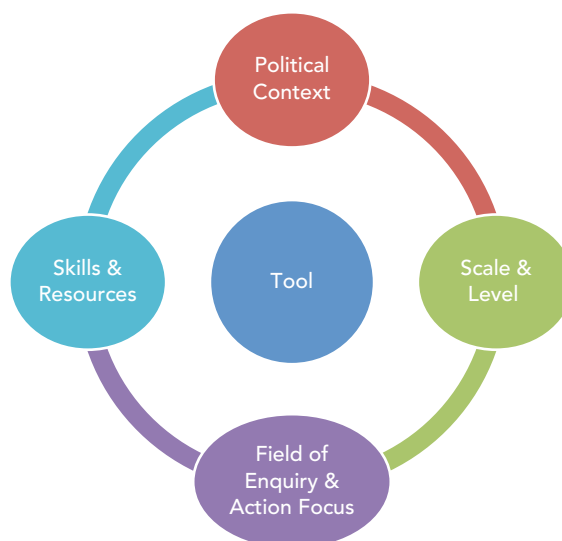
a. **Political context:** The prevailing context and the responses of political institutions impact on the roll out of a chosen tool. Diagnostic tools differ in their methodologies ranging from desk-based research to social mobilization. Tools that rely heavily on direct involvement and engagement of people like public hearings, and community scorecards run heavy risks of confronting and contesting political structures and processes. However, on the other hand, due to the inherent nature of its engagement with politics, these tools also give an opportunity to engage with political structures meaningfully. Therefore, as discussed in the previous section, reading the political signals well becomes critical while implementing an anti corruption or social accountability tool.

b. **Scale and level of the intervention:** Diagnostic tools rely on the strength of representation and objectivity while highlighting key aberrations and observations. Tools based on scientific survey principles have the capacity to create diagnostic indicators and generate findings at various scales—

village to national. While, tools that rely on localized social mobilizations can create deep diagnosis on a specific context, but cannot be applied across geographies to generate predictive or generalized findings.

c. **Field of Enquiry & Action Focus:** This is an extremely important issue to consider while choosing the tool. Each of the commonly used tools has by design certain thrust areas where its potency is best demonstrated. There also cases where multiple tools can be used for the same purpose. These diverse scenarios are depicted in the following two tables:

Table 3

Field of Enquiry	Suggested Tool
Quick Assessments on Compliance—Access, Coverage, Achievements	Surveys, FGDs
Estimates, Extrapolations, Trends, Predictions	Surveys, CRC, PETS
Corruption, Leakages	Public Hearings, CRC, Surveys, PETS
Problem Solving, Grievance Redress	CSC, Public Hearings
Process Monitoring—behavior of personnel, quality of services, regularity, reliability	CRC, CSC, PETS
Outcome Monitoring—errors of inclusion/exclusion, Vulnerabilities	CRC, CSC, FGDs
Empowerment, Social Mobilization	CSC, Public Hearings, FGDs

CRC—Citizen Report Card; CSC—Community Scorecards; FGD—Focus Group Discussion; PETS—Public Expenditure Tracking Surveys

Table 4

Action Focus	Suggested Tool
Diagnosis—Understanding the issue better	CRC, Surveys, PETS
Analysis—Exploring the issue deep	CSC, FGDs
Mobilizing & Engaging with Constituencies	CSC
Policy Reforms	CRC, PETS
Cutting edge service reforms	CSC
Enhancing Transparency & Accountability at local levels	Public Hearings
Rights based advocacy	CSC, FGDs, Public Hearings

d. Competencies & Resource Requirements: Bringing evidence to the fore and using the power of diagnosis to leverage reforms and changes require specific

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Working in a post conflict context in Nepal, Helvetas introduced the Public Audit Practices (PAP) in all its community infrastructure projects. The PAP consists of three major steps contributing to enhance participation of poor and excluded communities in planning, implementation and monitoring of a particular project. (1) Public hearings were carried out to inform and ensure commitment & consent of all stakeholders towards the project and it is done in the preparation phase; (2) Public reviews were carried out for monitoring the progress of the project and it is done during the implementation phase. Some major activities are presentation on the project progresses, clarification of issues raised, and revision of work plan as per the decisions and; (3) Public audits were held to furnish information on all cash, kinds and human labour incurred in the project and it is done after the project completion. Some major activities are formation of "Public Audit Committee", preparation/presentation of final audit report, clarification of issues raised, and decisions in case of embezzlement or improprieties.

competencies and resources and also, operate over different time frames as the following table depicts

Table 5

Tool	Time Frame	Competencies
Public Hearings	Short (1 day)	Moderation/Trust Building
Citizen Report Cards	Medium–Long (6–10m)	Research, Survey & Analysis, Advocacy
Community Score Card	Short (3–5 days)	Moderation, Institutional links
Focus Group Discussions	Short–Medium (10–30 days)	Moderation, Content Analysis
PETS	Medium to long (3–6 m)	Research, Survey & Analysis

A major observation in relation to the widening repertoire of anti corruption diagnostic tools is that the lack of proper protocols and standards has given rise to vastly differing applications. A classic example is that of 'social audits'. There are numerous observed applications of social audits that differ vastly in methods and rigor. This proliferation of differing and contestable methods runs the danger of undermining the relevance and legitimacy of tools. This danger is amplified in the context of many state institutions now 'institutionalizing' many of the tools; in many instances, critical protocols have been severely compromised to generate 'favourable' results. There is a clear and an urgent need for practitioners to evolve protocols and maintain rigorous standards of applications.

FROM 'SYMPTOMS' TO 'REFORMS': IMPLEMENTING A NUANCED STRATEGY TO LOCATE APPROPRIATE ENTRY POINTS

The greatest challenge faced in many instances is to move from diagnostic pointers to tangible changes. This is the stage when statistics and data bytes need to be transformed into communicative and advocacy initiatives and strategies grounded in political realities need to be evolved. Reviewing emergent experiences from different contexts, certain strategies can be delineated to understand this transition better:

a. "Positioning the tool/approach': Semantics matter when advocating around issues diagnosed by a tool. While taking on a visible 'accountability' or 'anti corruption' agenda sometimes bring in immediate results, the impacts may not last in the long run. Very often, in an environment characterized by reform champions and social mobilization, an

accountability agenda may work well as there exists the necessary 'push' and 'pull' conditions. However, in environments characterized by low levels of demand and high levels of resistance or in cases, where existing relations between the civil society and the state is confrontational, the 'big bang' accountability agenda may not work, and in some cases may prove to be counterproductive. In such instances, a more nuanced and strategic approach is needed. Identifying 'low conflict' issues and quick wins—like targeting service improvement in general or improving access to service in particular gives a smoother segue for anti corruption work. This is also area where a good P-E Analysis could flag up potential pathways to make inroads. Interestingly, in some cases calling the initiative, 'Building Integrity' instead of 'Fighting Corruption' seems to garner better buy-in from the state actors!

b. Brokering strategic partnerships: Improving governance involves the supply and demand sides. The key challenge and opportunity is to design operational mechanisms that link voice of the citizens with responsiveness of the state. As a path breaking paper (Goetz and Gaventa, 2001) pointed out: "… it is important to study public sector reforms (the supply side of responsiveness together with citizen-voice initiatives (the demand side). Considering the two together can help to illuminate not just the more obvious point that the effective use of 'voice' by service users may help to generate better service outcomes, but also the fact that public services can actually help to build both 'voice', in the sense of creating new client groups with shared interests, and a point of access to the state". This is where the role of an interlocutor to coalesce and catalyze stakeholders becomes paramount. One major area where diagnostic tools run into difficulties is in locating incentives for the public sector. While the incentives for citizens is very well understood and is reflected in the design of the tools themselves, the political and executive incentives are often not very clearly etched out. Partnerships in this case become tokenistic and characterized by a large degree of mistrust. It is thus quite critical that prior to the actual implementation of a diagnostic tool, a consensus creation process should be set in motion whereby each stakeholder is made aware of the intent, character and implication of the tool. One of the powerful experiences in this regard comes from the pre-launch stage of Citizen Report Cards

in contexts where such initiatives are nonexistent or in a nascent stage. Before the CRC is actually implemented, a participatory exercise called 'Critical 9' is carried out with all major stakeholders. Though initially conceptualized as a P-E Analysis tool, experiences have shown that the Critical 9 is an important consensus building exercise which allows all stakeholders to rate the enablers and disablers associated with the tool, share perceptions and apprehensions and collectively come to a consensus regarding the use of the tool (Thampi 2011). What is also emerging as critical in the process is the need to create this buy-in and consensus across different levels in the government hierarchy; relying on just a reform minded champion at the top could be counterproductive as such initiatives are often the first anti incumbency casualty whenever there is a change of leadership.

c. Credibility of the proponent: Just as the message is important, so too the face of the messenger. However scientific and objective the data is, if the image of the proponent is coloured—politically or otherwise, the data will have no value. In a highly politicized space, very often objective diagnostic data can very easily be discredited as 'politically motivated' misinformation. Numerous examples can be located in recent history ranging from the globally known Corruption Perception Index of Transparency International to micro level public hearings whereby serious and well meaning information was easily trashed as biased and motivated ones. The other major issue is of representation—when a party produces information and then proceeds to act on it on behalf of a larger (often disempowered) community. One key trend observed in recent years is the growing schism between 'social movements' and 'civil society'. The former represented by informal and local groups coalescing around locally relevant issues and the latter, represented by (often) urban centric, heavily funded NGOs advocating and articulating agendas without any grounded constituency. Quite often, international development partners have favored working with NGOs in the voice arena, given the NGOs greater capacity to deal with the technical and financial aspects. However, a number of case studies documented recently as part of an evaluation of citizens' voice and accountability (Menocal & Sharma, 2008) reveal that NGOs may not be the most effective intermediary to deepen and widen the universe of citizens' voice. Key critiques

forwarded include: (a) socio-economic and cultural barriers between NGO staff and the grassroots beneficiaries often limit the former's ability to truly reflect the interest of the latter; (b) there is a risk of being co-opted by the interests of institutional funders (e.g. INGOs, governments etc.) that may impact adversely on the stated objectives of the intervention; and (c) the need for transparency and accountability applies as much to NGOs as it does to state institutions and on this count, many NGOs fall short; with the mushrooming of civil society organizations in the last two decades, issues of quality, motivation and integrity are very much in the forefront of discussions today.

d. Building complementary competencies: There is a clear distinction between the science of diagnosis and the art of advocacy. One calls for integrity in applications and interpretations and the other, creativity and strategic orientation. Though constructive engagement is very built in to most of the diagnostic tools, actual skills on the ground often are weak. Most civil society interventions have emerged or find legitimacy in their opposition to the state and very often, contestation becomes a legitimate form of engagement. This legacy of engagement can be seen in the character of skills and competencies embedded within organizations. While, skills for rights based advocacy and non violent protests are commonly located, those of negotiation and working with polarized stakeholders are rare. This lack of capacity very often reflects in the inability of good diagnosis to translate into desired changes. Often, the tools of constructive engagement stand in stark contrast to the highly polarized relations between state and civil society in practice. For groups who are more activist-oriented with a wide membership base and who are used to taking a confrontational position with the government, this shift of strategy could be difficult to internalize as well as convincing their membership base. On the other hand, groups whose traditional competencies include research and analysis need strong exposure to advocacy and social mobilization skills to be effective. The other major constituency that needs to be oriented is the media. Public dissemination being one of the key components of many anti-corruption tools, the media is a natural ally and a critical partner. However, media interpretations of data and information generated through various diagnostic tools often tend to be biased, misleading and often subjective. This

could very well undo all the preparatory work on constructive engagement and derail the environment of trust that was carefully built. One strategy followed successfully in the case of a tool was to have media capacity building right at the beginning of the intervention, preparing the media well in advance on the need to report and interpret data in an unbiased manner. Data interpretation workshops are also help prior to the release of the findings to build awareness and ability to report factually.

MONITORING IMPACT: MOVING BEYOND THE 'USUAL SUSPECTS'

In general it has been observed that assessing corruption trends and impact of anti-corruption measures on actual levels of corruption continues to face major methodological, political and operational challenges (Chene 2008). A popular assessment tool in many anti corruption projects is ex-ante and ex-post surveys that often capture perceptions and experiences related feedback on general or specific nature of corruption. However, by and large perception based surveys are not seen to be robust, though this approach may well be the best possible solution in a situation where no relevant objective data is available Perceptions may be influenced by factors others than knowledge, experience or incidence of the various forms of corruption. The media, individual levels of information or even general attitudes with regard to the government in place may play a role in shaping perceptions. Capturing actual experiences of those who were involved (whether as victims or as colluders) often lend more legitimacy and credibility to the information being generated. Further, these surveys also fail to clearly 'isolate' the effects of a particular intervention, unless the questions focus on specific aspects of the intervention. Another major challenge is that anti-corruption initiatives cannot realistically be expected to produce meaningful results in the short term. This is especially true for small scale projects that operate for one to two years. Further, there could also be 'spill over' or 'ripple effects' that could have made impact on a larger scale than originally anticipated.

All these point to the need to think outside the box while developing output and outcome indicators in the context of small scale interventions. While these conventional indicators maybe useful it is useful to conceptualize a different set of indicators that may capture critical information on both process and outcomes and more importantly, identify 'intermediate indicators' that

could be of value while thinking about scaling or deepening initiatives. Building on to an earlier work (Thampi & Balakrishnan 2005), an attempt is made here to present five potential indicators to look at while discussing impact of small scale short term projects.

1. Extent of multi stakeholder engagement: Involvement of three key stakeholders—citizens or civil society, institution being held accountable, and the enforcing/policy making institution
2. Width of citizen involvement: Participation of different relevant segments, including the poor and corporate citizens
3. Long term interlocking involvement of stakeholders: Duration of involvement
4. Statutory or quasi legal nature of relationship empowering civil society
5. Extent to which process generates compliance and provides deterrence

Extent of multi stakeholder engagement

While the anti corruption initiatives can emerge from civil society or be promoted by the state, the successful implementation and impact of these measures require a response from the other stakeholders. Hence, the first criterion for assessing the potential of a particular initiative is the extent to which it offers a systematic role for the three stakeholders—State, Polity & Civil Society. If the scope of the initiative is limited to the interface between the civil society and policy makers or between the civil society and service providers, the strength of the accountability mechanism will fall short on the processes that enable the long route of accountability to become effective.

Width of citizen involvement

While the leadership from civil society in an initiative may be grounded in a small segment of the population, its strength would depend heavily on the extent to which it offers opportunities for participation to all relevant segments of society. This becomes particularly significant in terms of involvement of underprivileged segments such as households in poverty, minorities and women, as would be relevant within the framework of the particular issue on which accountability is sought to be strengthened. In some instances, the involvement of powerful corporate citizens would be seen as a source of strength for the initiative.

Long term interlocking involvement of stakeholders

While some initiatives emerge in the context of specific or immediate local issues, the processes that emerge have much relevance into the future. Hence, the strength of the initiative to make a sustained impact depends heavily on the manner in which it gets institutionalized. This dimension is of strategic importance since the demands placed by the initiative may be such that one or more of the interacting stakeholders would want to move out of the process after the initial phase. But the processes envisaged under the initiatives may blend into other activities that have statutory support, and draw the stakeholders into longer term involvement on multiple activities and strengthen the initiative.

Statutory or quasi legal support for a role for civil society

While the role of state institutions is usually well defined by legal frameworks, the role for civil society is often placed outside the scope of such frameworks. The ability of anti corruption initiatives to generate procedures or mechanisms where civil society gathers a more formal role, in relation to the specific issues being addressed, is a good indicator of the strength of civil society in the long run. This could be a one-off event to start with or a more formalized and permanent institutional space like in the case of procurement monitors in the Philippines.

Extent to which process generates compliance and provides deterrence

Given the problem solving focus with which anti corruption initiatives emerge, the depth of impact of the effort is a function of the wider acceptance of the principles and processes being promoted. The more visible dimension of this impact is the manner in which the initiative is able to foster compliance with the processes being promoted without being directly supervised, and the seriousness with which state institutions act to deter non-compliance.

The body of information on anti corruption accountability initiatives in different parts of the world can offer valuable lessons to institutions and leaders promoting the cause. The key to facilitating a wider awareness and greater preparedness to promote anti corruption efforts accountability probably lies in identifying those initiatives that can be seen as "learning exemplars" (as opposed to "best practices") and sharing information on the same is a simple and structured manner. Incorporation of the above indicators would enhance our ability to observe these learning exemplars much better.

RE-POLITICIZING THE ANTI CORRUPTION AGENDA

A challenge universally acknowledged by both practitioners and advocates of anti-corruption is that of the lack of political will in fighting corruption. A recent needs assessment survey undertaken by the CIVICUS Participatory Governance Programme, identified lack of political will as the principle obstacle in promoting participatory governance (CIVICUS 2007). However, 'political will' often remains elusive as a concept for any effective intervention. A recent work (Malena 2009) attempts to demystify the nebulous nature of political will by unbundling it to three distinct but mutually reinforcing elements: *political want, political can,* and *political must.* 'Political want' relates to incentives, supporting anti corruption initiatives not due to external force, but arising out of clearly perceived individual and/ or institutional interests. Demand side interventions need to be extremely sensitive to the issue of political want and need to highlight incentives for both the governed as well as the governors. 'Political Can' is about capacities and competencies. Developing governance skills and establishing mechanisms and conditions that enhance the ability of state actors to diagnose and respond to governance contexts are key elements of nurturing political will. Effective anti-corruption work requires minimum capacities at both demand and supply sides. Amplifying voice without preparing the 'ear' to listen to the same is an exercise in futility. 'Political Must' is the final tipping point that converts intentions to actions. The impetus for this can come from peer pressure, political leadership, social movements and media. It, thus becomes critical, to create a broad-based coalition of stakeholders to give anti-corruption interventions the needed support and pressure from multiple levels.

It has been argued elsewhere that the discreditation of many (if not most) contemporary models of governance interventions has been the result of a conscious or otherwise strategy of 'de-politicization' (Wil Hout & Robison, 2009). By distinguishing between the 'demand side' and 'supply side' actors and actions in the governance equation and by treating politics exclusively as a part of the problem, most interventions have reduced governance to the level of a technical construct that

FROM POLITICAL "BRAKES" TO REFORM "ACCELERATORS": THE NEW PARADIGM[1]

Demand side initiated tools and approaches are finding champions among political leaders quickly. A good illustration of this transition is the social audit of public services in Delhi initiated by the Chief Minister (Head of the Provincial Government) of Delhi, Mrs. Sheila Dixit. In September 2005, Mrs. Sheila Dixit invited an independent non-profit organization, the Public Affairs Foundation (PAF) Bangalore to monitor the outcomes of key public services in Delhi using citizen feedback on the service providers involved. The People's Audit covered 14165 respondents in Delhi and elicited focused feedback on user's experiences across nine public services.

Challenges in implementing the audit were manifold. For one, hitherto institutional experiences hinged around using the power of public feedback as a civil society-led accountability mechanism. This was the first time that the "instigator" happened to be from the other side (state)! Secondly, there was a huge political risk. To what extent will a technical exercise like this insulate itself from unexpected political undercurrents? Also, will the Chief Minister renegade on her promise to come clean with the findings publicly. An early strategy adopted was to create a common understanding among the utility managers on the intent of this "audit". It is interesting to note here that the Chief Minister was not too comfortable with the phrase "Citizen Report Card" and instead, suggested the term "Social Audit"; the reasoning was that Report Cards conveyed a notion of evaluation and assessment from outside, while Social Audit would reflect a more transparent and open initiative by the state. However, during the initial interactions with the utility managers, it was clear that a majority of them was not comfortable with the term "audit". Repeated presentations had to be made to assuage all misplaced concerns on this; ironically, it was the illustration from the Bangalore Report Card that convinced many utility managers of the neutrality and diagnostic power of this approach.

The preliminary findings from the study were presented to the Chief Minister, her senior officers and the utility managers on May 25, 2006. The findings were reviewed and discussed threadbare and the openness exhibited by the Chief Minister to acknowledge shortcomings was remarkable; interestingly, the Delhi Jal Board (Water utility) of which she is the Chairperson was the worst rated in terms of overall satisfaction. Whenever a utility manager came up with a positive secondary statistic (like the overall pass percentage for schools), she would immediately point to the overall messages indicated by the end-users and asked them to pay attention to that. Her message was very clear "I appreciate all the financial and physical data put out by all of you, but at the end of the day, as a political leader and as the Chief Executive of this government, my interest is on what people in the ground say about the services". It was quite clear that this informed public feedback gave her a new and powerful perspective to address issues of public service delivery that are far removed from the mumbo-jumbo of official statistics. The draft findings were then circulated to each service/department head to review them thoroughly and pose any queries or clarifications. The final report was drafted end of August and on September 4, 2007, the Chief Minister released the findings to the public at a press conference. Acknowledging the findings as a clear indicator to the government to focus more on the pro-poor sectors, the Chief Minister also announced that a high-level committee will be set-up to address the concerns that have come out of this audit and also, to assist individual departments and utilities to draft actionable measures.

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[1]   Extracted from Thampi (2011).

can be driven and managed as part of a techno-deterministic model of change. The complete bypassing of legitimate political spaces and subversion of political processes has contributed to the crisis of legitimacy among the key stakeholders of change. On one hand, an increasingly challenged and discredited polity is accused of short-changing the democratic dividends by renegading on its mandate and vested authority, while on the other, a non representative and elitist civil society is seen to be a wilful or otherwise collaborator to an agenda of change that articulates the processes of

inclusion but relies on the practice of exclusion (Harriss, 2002; Miraftab, 2004).

However, there is a dawning realization that politics is the driver of change and ultimate cause of people's security and access to justice. A recent report succinctly sums up the case: "Research has shown that political context and process is central to shaping the way politicians and policy makers decide for or against progressive changes that can deliver legitimate, capable, accountable and responsive states (DFID/UK Aid 2011). It is also useful to recollect here that during the course of the 2008 Presidential Election Campaign in the US, Senator Barack Obama made a compelling remark that resonates strongly in the context of the current discussions: "There is no shortage of plans here. There is no shortage of policy papers. This is not a technical problem. It's problem of politics. It's a problem of getting a big enough coalition of people who are organized, inspired, mobilized and will then put pressure on those who are elected...in order to get it done"[8].

There are ample evidences now to show that anti corruption initiatives need to navigate the complexities of power and politics if they want to be effective in the long run and address systemic changes. However, in practice there is often a tendency to align with reformist leaders in the executive branches and avoid the complexities of interfacing with political structures. This inability, either by design or default, to engage with political institutions and processes could perhaps best explain why the proliferation of many 'pilot' interventions fail to provide the critical momentum to change policies and practices in the larger context. The challenge in the coming years will be to bring politics back into the governance and anti-corruption discourse and praxis by locating legitimate spaces and channels for the poor to engage with political structures, processes and actors that rely on representation and negotiation.

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STRATEGIES FOR EMPOWERING COMMUNITIES TO DEMAND GOOD GOVERNANCE AND SEEK INCREASED EFFECTIVENESS OF PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY

A paper for the 2011 Asia Regional Peer-Learning and Knowledge Sharing Workshop "Engaging Citizens against Corruption in Asia: Approaches, Results and Lessons
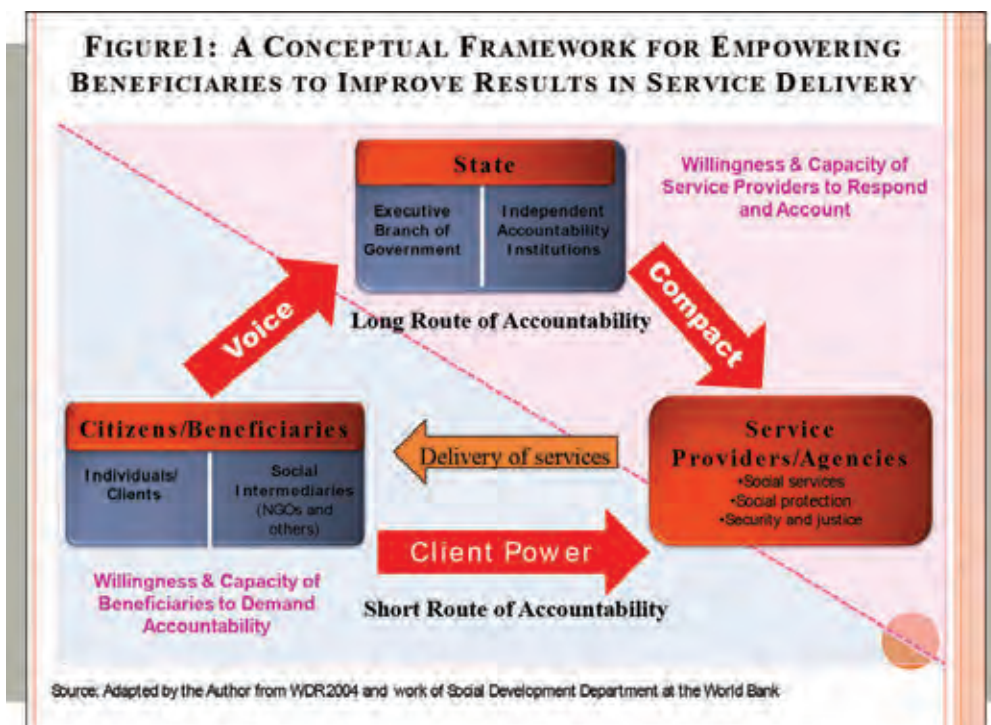
By Dr. Vinay Bhargava

ABSTRACT

This paper provides readers with the basic idea of how demand for good governance (DFGG) strategies, in particular social accountability (SA) strategies, can be employed to help citizens demand greater authority responsiveness and thereby enhance their living conditions. Empowering Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to demand good governance through increased transparency, a higher degree of qualitative participation and the capacity to exert greater accountability from service providers, makes a difference in the effectiveness and impact of public service delivery. Fighting corruption at the grass-roots level thus becomes a two-fold priority: The empowerment of civil society is an end by itself in accountable and open societies. It allows citizens to make their rightful choices and determine the direction of community, state or even national development policy as a whole. In addition, the paper argues, that citizen engagement and empowerment to demand good governance using social accountability tools is effective in lowering corruption and holding service providers accountable. The impact of initiatives is to provide citizens with every-day efficient and effective service that affects their quality of life directly and instantaneously—preventing misery, economic distress and even the loss of life. The paper details four basic strategies how citizens around the world work to express DFGG and achieve greater responsiveness of local service providers through the "short route of accountability". Each strategy is followed by a list of examples and details the tools most commonly used when pursuing any one strategy. Most anti-corruption

projects follow more than one strategy within any one intervention. This fact can be clearly observed in chapter nine following the results chain, describing how each strategic elements builds on another until citizens have successfully experienced greater responsiveness of authorities and thus broaden their own expectations of what to rightfully expect from public service providers. Chapter 12 mentions the overall political conditions and parameters necessary to make demand for good governance measures work successfully.

INTRODUCTION

Improving the responsiveness of service providers to deliver public services to users efficiently and effectively, particularly the poor, is an on-going challenge for developing countries. The World Development Report 2004 advocated strengthening the 'short-route' of direct accountability between users and providers of public services by showing that it could be more effective than the 'long-route' of accountability (Figure 1). This led to development and application of a variety of tools, empowering beneficiaries to demand services tailored to their needs and monitoring service providers through demand for good governance (DFGG) measures. Examples of such tools include among others: citizen report cards, public expenditure tracking surveys, access to information laws and tools, community score cards, social audits, etc. These tools are collectively referred to as social accountability (SA) tools. Using examples from different countries and sectors, this paper presents emerging good practices in the use of social accountability measures to improve service provider responsiveness in public service delivery.

FIGURE1: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR EMPOWERING BENEFICIARIES TO IMPROVE RESULTS IN SERVICE DELIVERY

Source: Adapted by the Author from WDR2004 and work of Social Development Department at the World Bank

BASIC CONCEPTS

Before we begin let me set out what I mean by key words in the title of this paper:

a. **Public Services:** defined here to include: social services such as health, education, clean water and sanitation; social safety nets and livelihood enhancing programs as well as access to justice.

b. **Empowerment for demanding good governance:** defined here as engaging citizens against corruption and other governance weaknesses through activities comprising access to information about service entitlements and standards prescribed by the law, granting voice to beneficiaries regarding design and implementation of service programs, providing grievance redress mechanisms and citizens with tools and access to demand accountability from service providers e.g. third party monitoring, public hearings, social audits etc. All activities for citizen engagement are collectively referred to as demand for good governance (DFGG) and/or social accountability (SA) measures.

c. **Increased effectiveness of service delivery** is measured by one or more of the following outcomes (results) through the below list of performance indicators:

Outcomes/Results:

- Building new spaces for citizen engagement in improving service delivery
- Empowering local voices to demand accountability
- Lowering of corruption
- Better budget utilization and better delivery of services
- Increased state and/or institutional responsiveness

Performance Indicators: An illustrative list of the commonly used performance indicators for measuring these outcomes are as follows:

- Increased community awareness and increased knowledge on rights and entitlements
- Empowering citizens by increasing their capacity and opportunity to use access to information policies/laws to demand action
- Empowering people by strengthening their capacities to demand accountability and by establishing collective action groups.
- Enhanced user action in demanding delivery of services in line with the stipulated amounts of deliverables without corruption
- Exposing corruption measured by corrupt practices discovered/deterred and remedial actions demanded

- Number of investigations triggered by relevant authorities
- Poor governance in the operation of public services is monitored and brought to the notice of the public and authorities through constructive engagement, media and public hearings
- Number of formerly excluded beneficiaries helped to access services in a corruption free manner
- Responsiveness of service delivery provider increased as evidenced by number of effective actions by service providers on issues identified through monitoring
- Improved grievance handling (number of cases filed and satisfactorily resolved)
- Number of actions by service agencies to improve their governance by implementing administrative, regulatory and policy reforms advocated for by citizen groups/CSOs
- Increasing quality and accessibility of services

INCREASE IN INITIATIVES TO EMPOWER COMMUNITIES

Since the publication of the WDR 2004, the number of public service delivery programs that incorporate DFGG or social accountability measures has steadily increased. Four examples illustrate this trend:

a. PTF projects: PTF mobilizes expertise and resources to provide advice and small grants to civil society organizations to engage citizens in actions to remove corruption in the public sector. PTF strives to support innovative approaches, learn from its work and share the knowledge gained. Over the last decade PTF has funded over 200 projects worldwide on the theme of 'Supporting Citizens against Corruption". In fiscal 2011, PTF approved 36 grants.

b. World Bank: An independent review of over 200 World Bank funded projects approved in between 2004-2010 contained demand side governance measures and sought beneficiary participation. The projects involve several billion dollars and several dozen countries worldwide.

c. DFID programs: DFID is a major supporter of DFGG programs worldwide, providing hundreds of million dollars each year. Its main programs are: Global Poverty Action Fund, UK Aid Match, Common Ground Initiative, Responsible and Accountable Garment Sector Challenge Fund, Program Partnership Arrangements, Civil Society Challenge Fund, Governance and Transparency Fund, and Development Awareness Fund. Some of the programs no longer accept applications. For more information: http://www.dfid.gov.uk/Work-with-us/Funding-opportunities/Not-for-profit-organisations

d. The recent PTF-DFGG study identified 44 official aid agencies and foundations working on DFGG-related activities. While it is difficult to determine the precise level of funding, given the frequent lack of specific costing, it appears that the overall commitment by major donors approaches the $1 billion USD mark for DFGG interventions (broadly defined). This amount includes major new programs such as the DfID £100 million Governance and Transparency Fund, the UN Democracy Fund (US$23.7 million committed in 2008), the EU European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (€1.1 billion over 2007–2013), and significant funding by USAID, CIDA, SIDA, AusAID, and other bilateral agencies. http://ptfund.org/2011/07/stimulating-good-governance/

STRATEGIES—OVERVIEW

Four Strategies are commonly used to empower beneficiaries to improve results in service delivery. These strategies are elaborated in paragraphs five to eight below. All the examples used in this paper are sourced from the case studies submitted by the participants for the 2011 Asia Regional Peer-Learning and Knowledge Sharing Workshop accessible at http://ptfund.org/publications/case-studies/ and the following studies, listed as references at end of this paper, including: Gaventa (2010), McGee (2010), and Bhargava (2011).

STRATEGY #1: AWARENESS THROUGH TRANSPARENCY AND INFORMATION

Increasing awareness of rights and benefits through transparency of—and access to—information can be either demand invoked and/or service provider initiated. Elements include:

a. Disclosure of project-related information

b. Program and sector-related information

c. Adoption of access to information policy

d. Demystification of information (simplicity)

e. Information campaigns

Tools that are most frequently used for this strategic purpose are: Websites, Print materials, Disclosure policy, Access to Information Laws, Public information campaigns, and Radio/TV programs.

Examples for the use of one or more of these tools include cases in:

- India: Community-based information campaigns on school performance had an overall positive impact on teacher presence and teaching efforts by teachers in three states—however the impact on pupil learning was more modest.
- Bangladesh: Mobilization by Naripokkho on issues of violence against women has led to new initiatives from the Government and UNICEF to provide support and treatment for survivors of acid attacks.
- Brazil: The Right to the City campaign in Brazil institutionalized the right to citizen participation in urban planning and gave powers to local governments to grant land use rights to poor residents.
- India: PTF's partner Ayauskam in Odissa State increased media awareness about corruption in rural health services by organizing media consultation workshop, presenting baseline survey findings. Journalists subsequently started covering stories on health right violations including service provider behavior, lack of free medicine and other instances of corruption or malfeasance. The increased awareness and media interest served as a deterrent to the corrupt practices.

STRATEGY #2: PARTICIPATION THROUGH VOICE

Articulating beneficiaries' voices through consultation in design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation throughout the provision of public services typically involves events and defined processes to ensure informed two-way engagement with stakeholders so that

a. information is shared on proposed designs as well as on implementation progress, and

b. stakeholders' views, particularly of direct beneficiaries and users of services, are sought prior, during and after public service delivery and are part of a feedback process

Tools that are most frequently used for this strategic purpose are: Online and face-to-face dialogue instruments, multi-stakeholder committees, public hearings, participatory budget formulation.

Examples for the use of one or more of these tools include cases in:

- Brazil: The new participatory governance councils have been significant in improving access to and quality of health care services provided.
- Bangladesh: Parents of girls were mobilized to monitor teacher attendance in schools and discourage absenteeism.
- Mexico: Parent participation in the management of schools reduced failure, drop-out and repetition rates of students.
- Argentina: The engagement in a participatory budgeting process by 14,000 local residents led to the identification of 1,000 priorities for action on urban services, 600 of which were incorporated into a development plan.
- Bangladesh, Cambodia, and Thailand: Participatory monitoring approaches in the fishery sector have significantly improved trust and collaboration between fisher communities, community groups, non-governmental organizations and government agencies.
- Vietnam: The government's focus on multi-stakeholder participation in preparing its 2006–2010 Socio-Economic Development Plan (SEDP) is evident in the content and focus of the SEDP on disadvantaged groups and regions, decreasing inequality, and the issue of social inclusion.
- India: As a result of Ayauskam's mobilization of citizen groups and its mounting of awareness campaigns, public officials recognize the strength of the community. Policy makers instructed the health department and the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) to involve community based organizations and the community in village health planning. The Gram Kalyan Samity (a village level institution created under the National Rural Health Mission [NRHM] for village health planning and monitoring) gained real power. Village level service providers started attending the social audits and related programs.

STRATEGY #3: ACCOUNTABILITY THROUGH THIRD PARTY MONITORING

This strategy typically involves mechanisms for third party monitoring (TPM) and reporting of execution performance of programs, projects, and services. Monitoring and demanding service provider accountability for performance through independent third party monitoring (TPM). Independent TPM may be done by:

a. Specialized professionals

b. Beneficiary groups and local actors

Tools that are most frequently used for this strategic purpose are: Social audits, facilities surveys, Public hearings, Citizen report cards, Community scorecards, Beneficiary (Client) satisfaction surveys, Independent impact evaluations, Public expenditure tracking surveys, Investigative journalism, Talk back radio.

Examples for the use of one or more of these tools include cases in:

- Philippines: Budget Watch, Procurement Watch, Social Watch, Road Watch, G-Watch are several examples of projects using TPM

- Philippines: Civil society monitoring of textbook procurement and its distribution reduced the cost of textbooks, the average production time and delivery errors (G-Watch).

- Kenya: Social audits tool established a feedback loop between fund managers and ordinary citizens and communities who demanded and obtained proper use of money and services

- India: Citizen monitoring of rural roads in India using a road testing tool kit and a beneficiary survey led to improved road quality and user satisfaction.

- Uganda: Community monitoring of state primary health care providers shows that a) treatment communities were more engaged b) more effort on part of the providers to serve the community c) large increase in usage of health services and improvements in health outcomes.

- India: There are many examples. For instance:
  - Use of Citizen Report Card in Bangalore
  - Social Audit of government services in Delhi state
  - Use of Community Scorecards in Sattara, Mahaarshtra

- Introduction of citizen monitoring groups and social audits by Ayauskam in Odissa.

- Cambodia: a social accountability program under the Demand for Good Governance Project

STRATEGY #4: RESPONSIVENESS THROUGH GRIEVANCE REDRESS

This strategy typically involves establishing beneficiary feedback and grievance redress mechanisms to exert responsiveness. Systems and procedures are designed to handle and respond to complaints and grievances from:

a. Beneficiaries/consumers benefitting from the service delivery

b. from suppliers or contractors of services

Tools that are most frequently used for this strategic purpose are: Hotlines, Web pages, Beneficiary Committees, Ombudsperson, Grievance Redress Mechanisms, and Crowd-Sourcing Technologies.

Examples for the use of one or more of these tools include cases in:

- India: Metro water in Hyderabad started a complaint hotline which allowed managers to hold frontline providers accountable. Performance improved and corruption was considerably reduced.

- Laos: The Nam Theun hydroelectric project involves 10 safeguard policies and has developed detailed mechanisms to address grievances. These include: village resettlement committees, project level grievance committees; NGO advisers to increase awareness and the use of support offers.

- India: In the state of Andhra Pradesh, the use of community scorecards has resulted in significant improvements in health services.

RESULTS CHAIN MODEL

How are these four strategies supposed to work in producing improved service delivery?

The chart below shows the expected results using the four strategies detailed above

FIGURE 3: BETTER RESULTS IN SERVICE DELIVERY THROUGH BENEFICIARY EMPOWERMENT: EXPECTED RESULTS CHAIN

THE CASE OF AYAUSKAM: CITIZEN EMPOWERMENT AND RESULTS

The case of the Ayauskam project is illustrative of the strategies and tools (highlighted here in italics) that were successful in lowering corruption and improving service delivery responsiveness. Ayauskam, a CSO funded by PTF, focused their efforts on helping citizens in the Khariar block of the Nuapada district in the State of Odissa, India, to fight corruption in the delivery of health services.

The Ayauskam project began with a detailed baseline survey in 64 villages which revealed that corruption in the delivery of rural health services was rampant. Next, Ayauskam used the survey findings to raise awareness in the community and media about entitlements and corruption. The next step was to establish and strengthen community based organizations (CBOs) through training and village meetings. Capacity development programs were organized to train women change agents, members of Panchayati Raj Institutions, CBOs, youth clubs, government officials and service providers. Campaigns against corruption were initiated in the villages. Social audits were conducted to discuss the problems of each village followed by public hearings with district level officials including the District Collector and the head of the district health department. Villages used *Right*

to Information law to obtain information about services which enabled them to become more articulate. An impact monitoring tool was developed for community volunteers and self-help group members to monitor health service delivery and corrupt practices. Rallies and demonstrations were conducted to show the strength of the CBOs and the community.

Ayauskam experienced many challenges during the implementation of the project. Service providers and officials at the block and district levels initially reacted negatively: They influenced people to not cooperate with the project team while doctors tried to influence the leaders of political parties to subvert the effort. Their strategies included making threats to file criminal and false claims against the citizen group members, and withheld information. Without the relevant information, it was not possible to organize the community to make a concerted effort. All the information, Ayauskam was finally able to assess was information provided after the applicants filed appeals according to the Right to Information Act. Nonetheless, the citizen group (DBM) members persisted, wrote letters, and conducted regular discussions with higher authorities and local politicians. This forced authorities and politicians to eventually involve the people in improving health services. Gradually the situation improved. Increased awareness and greater participation of people forced the service

providers to take their questions seriously. DBM members started discussions with service providers. DBM made it clear that it was fighting against corruption and not against individuals. The cooperation between the community and service providers evolved as problems were shared and solved.

The citizen empowerment and social accountability efforts have begun to show results. The public officials recognized the strength of the community. They instructed the health department and the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) to involve CBOs and the community in village health planning. The village health planning and monitoring mechanisms provided in the law were enacted and thereby gained real power. Village level service providers started attending the social audits and related programs. The rallies conducted against corruption increased the people's confidence. The impact study shows that there has been a reduction of corrupt practices in government hospitals: 80 percent of those surveyed are not paying bribes for hospital delivery. Payment of the service tax to other service providers has been reduced by 50 percent. Expenditures on medical services during pregnancy and delivery have been reduced by 82 percent. Village health committees have been formed, free medicines are available at the village level, and countersigning of checks for financial support to mothers after hospital delivery is done immediately. There is effective distribution of the full quota of Take Home Rations under the ICDS, medicine lists are displayed at government hospitals, and malnourished children receive special care. Anti-natal and post-natal health services have improved. After the interventions, every household is now able to save more than $55 per year due to the efforts started by Ayauskam. People's participation increased in the decision making process, implementation and monitoring of programs.

EVIDENCE LINKING CITIZEN EMPOWERMENT AND SERVICE DELIVERY

What evidence is there to show that beneficiary empowerment resulted in improved service delivery? The Ayauskam story is not an aberration or a fluke. PTF has funded over 200 small projects involving CSOs helping citizens fight against corruption. Independent

evaluations show that 80% of the projects were successful in achieving the anticipated objectives. Recent reviews of a critical mass of evidence—Gaventa (2010), McGee (2010), and Bhargava (2011)—show that citizen empowerment and citizen engagement work to lower corruption and improve service provider and authority responsiveness. There is however one caveat: citizen empowerment does not work everywhere, not for everything and not all the time (see paragraph 12).

Effectiveness, in the above studies, is expressed as:

1. Increasing awareness of entitlements
2. Empowering people to demand accountability
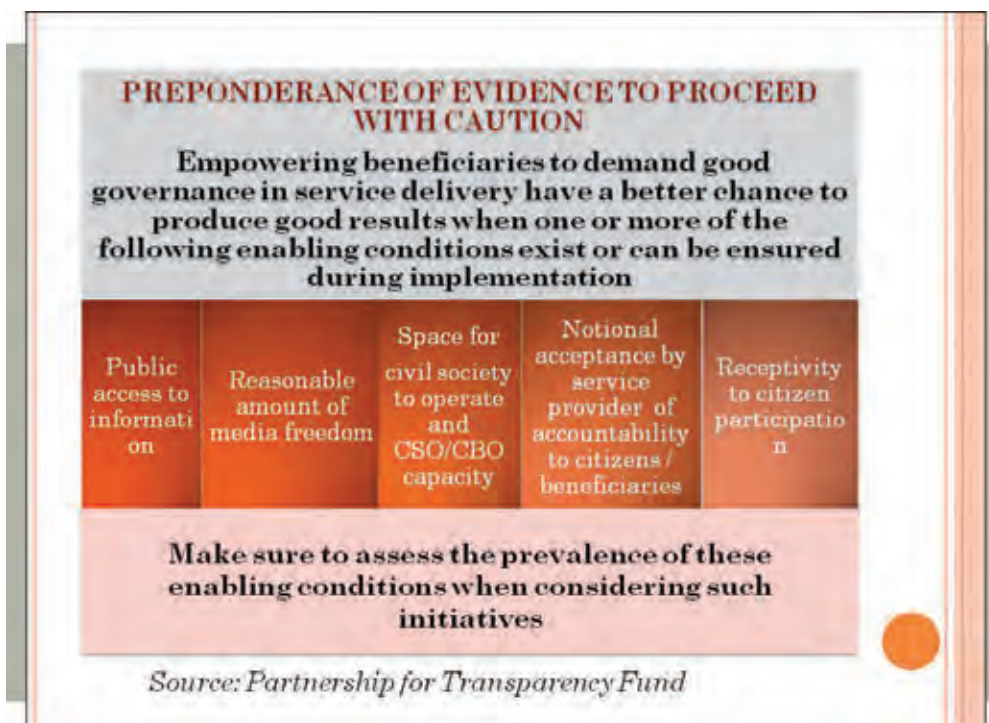3. Exposing corruption
4. Triggering investigations

Impact is expressed as the actual quality and accessibility of services. Key indicators of impact are as follows: Increased state or institutional responsiveness

1. Lowering of corruption
2. Building new democratic space for citizen engagement
3. Empowering local voices
4. Better budget utilization and better delivery of services

We can conclude that the research studies on citizen engagement, as well as PTF experience, document a preponderance of evidence that under certain conditions civil society-led transparency and accountability initiatives improve both the effectiveness and impact of service delivery. Let us look at what these conditions are.

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH DFGG MEASURES WORK

What are the conditions under which the DFGG measures work? Over a decade of PTF experience with 200 projects in over 40 countries leads us to conclude that citizen empowerment and engagement leads to lower corruption and increased service delivery responsiveness when one or more of the five enabling conditions shown in Figure 4 are present:

PREPONDERANCE OF EVIDENCE TO PROCEED WITH CAUTION

Empowering beneficiaries to demand good governance in service delivery have a better chance to produce good results when one or more of the following enabling conditions exist or can be ensured during implementation

| Public access to information | Reasonable amount of media freedom | Space for civil society to operate and CSO/CBO capacity | Notional acceptance by service provider of accountability to citizens / beneficiaries | Receptivity to citizen participation |

Make sure to assess the prevalence of these enabling conditions when considering such initiatives

Source: Partnership for Transparency Fund

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- How, when and where to use DFGG tools
- Using Citizen Charters
- Grievance Redress Mechanisms
- Community Score Cards
- Citizen Service Cent

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