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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”

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About the PTF Working Paper Series

The PTF Working Paper Series connects Citizens and Civil Society Organizations around the world with knowledge, experience and How-to advice on Anti-Corruption interventions, tools and methodology. Each paper is written by experienced and recognized experts in their field. The explicit focus is to bridge theory and practice, providing a set of possible solutions or entry points to an array of challenges frequently faced by CSOs. Most papers draw examples from international best practice, the universe of PTF-funded Anti-Corruption interventions or address issues with a regional focus. While not prescribing any one model for success, the PTF Working Paper Series aims at sharing and disseminating knowledge, inviting CSOs and individuals to test, comment and further discuss.

The Partnership for Transparency Fund (PTF) supports citizens and civil society organizations around the world in their fight against corruption. PTF provides small-scale grants and pro-bono technical assistance through highly experienced and specialized volunteer project advisors.

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.

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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

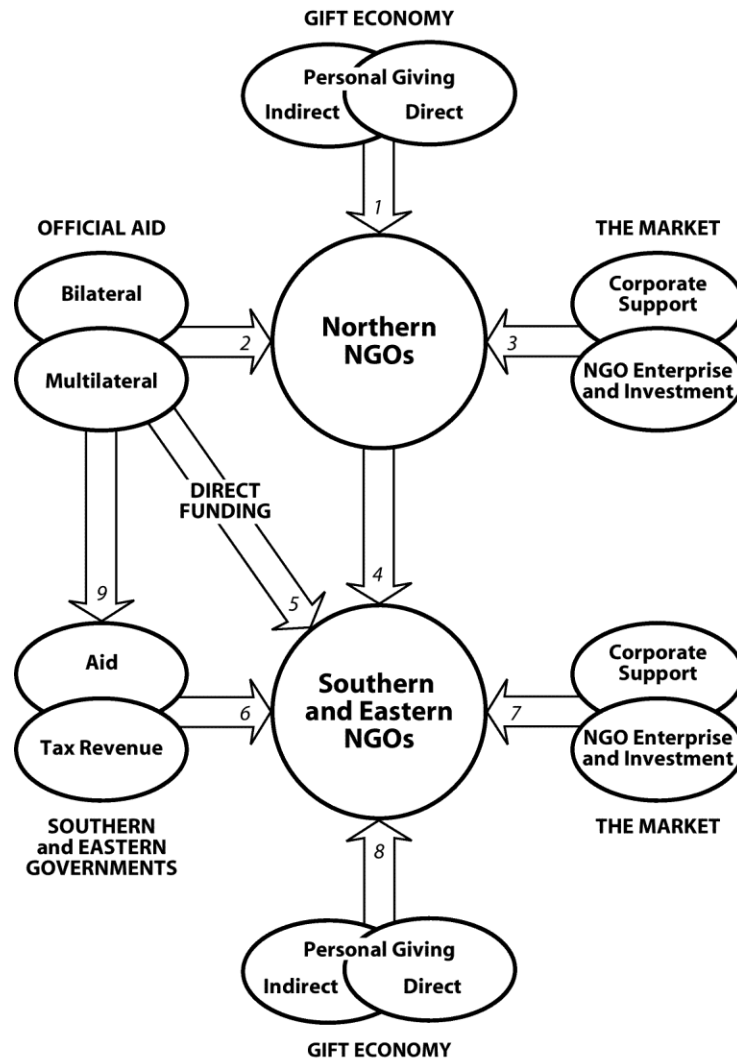
For a topic as important to your society as corruption – reflecting laws, power, behavior, and practices – are you happy with the idea that foreigners are financing you to deal with it? Do you not think that you should be dealing with this from your own resources? We are not talking about dams, electrical 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



From *Striking a Balance* by Alan Fowler

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)

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 it 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

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

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 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.

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.

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

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 or 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.

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

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. Fraternalization
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

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 Vichitsorasasra
- 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 Piriya-rangsana – 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