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Changing Norms is Key to Fighting Everyday Corruption

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Table of Contents

Background	1
Analysis of the Case Studies	1
Established Norms.....	1
Instigating Factors Provoking Bottom-up Interventions ...	3
Objectives/Strategies for Action.....	5
Tools and Techniques Used	9
Outcomes/Impact of the Interventions	16
Conclusion/Direction for Further Research and Action	20
Organically Grown Movements.....	21
Project-Instigated Movements	22
End Notes	25

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Acronyms

ACIJ	<i>Asociación Civil por la Legalidad y la Justicia</i> (Civil Association for Equality and Justice)	ICAIG	International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala
AID	Advice and Information Desk	ICO	Information Commissioner's Office
ALAC	Advocacy and Legal Advice Center	ICT	information, communication technology
CCC	committee of concerned citizens	IPAB	I Paid a Bribe
CEDECOL	Council of Evangelical and Protestant Churches of Colombia	IPSA	Independent Parliamentary Standards Authority
CIACS	<i>Cuerpos Ilegales y Aparatos Clandestinos de Seguridad</i> (illegal groups and clandestine security apparatuses)	KPK	Corruption Eradication Commission
CICIG	International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala	MP	member of Parliament
COL	Culture of Lawfulness	NAFODU	National Foundation for Democracy and Human Rights in Uganda
CommGAP	Communication for Governance and Accountability Program	NGO	nongovernmental organization
CPI	Corruption Perception Index	NSIC	National Strategic Information Center
CRC	Citizen Report Card	PR	public relations
CRD	Community Relations Department	PTF	Partnership for Transparency Fund
EAC	Egyptians Against Corruption	RTI	Right to Information
FOIA	Freedom of Information Act	RTO	Regional Transport Office
IACC	International Anti-Corruption Conference	TI	Transparency International
ICAC	Independent Commission against Corruption	UNCAC	United Nations Convention Against Corruption
		YES	youth empowerment and support

Background

One of the biggest impediments to anticorruption efforts is the fact that corrupt practices have become so institutionalized in everyday society that citizens view them as fixed and incontestable. To break down such an entrenched mind-set, the public's ignorance of their rights, cynicism, fear of reprisal, and mentality of submission to the status quo must first be defeated. Perhaps most important, the efficacy challenge needs to be addressed. Citizens generally must believe that they can actually *do* something about corruption in order to summon the courage to act upon that belief.

Based on CommGAP's interactions with the global anticorruption community as well as earlier research, we were able to collate 18 representative instances (case studies) from around the world, with real-life examples of citizens coming together to speak up against corruption and social norms vis-à-vis corruption or to change public services affected by corrupt practices.

This report is a "one-step-up" analysis of the collated case studies, which is intended to shed light on practical approaches, tools, and techniques that have been successful in bringing citizens together to stand against the daunting phenomenon of corruption.

We have structured our analysis based on the following components:

Established norms: Entrenched norm, apathy, or tolerance of everyday corruption. For example, what were the prevailing public opinions and accepted norms regarding petty corruption, and why were they problematic?

Instigating factors provoking bottom-up intervention. Did a certain event trigger a reaction from the people? Had society reached a "tipping point" with respect to corruption? Who are the change agents?

Objectives/strategies for action: How did change agents go about transforming these

norms? What were the strategies developed to achieve this end? Was it an organic, spontaneous movement or an intervention from external agencies? Did a national or a local nongovernmental organization (NGO) or an international instrument play a part in instigating the changes?

Tools and techniques used: What tools and techniques were employed? Was it a series of well-run awareness-raising campaigns or training geared toward citizens? An effective leader or group who could engage a critical mass of people in the fight? An especially compelling idea diffused by well-implemented communication efforts?

Outcomes/impact of the interventions: What results were achieved? What were the immediate and long-term outcomes and impact (e.g., actions taken, policy intervention/amendment, level of corruption reduced, change in social norms about corruption)?

Conclusion: What general lessons/conclusions can be drawn from the experiences? What conditions are critical for anticorruption campaigns to take root and succeed?

Analysis of the Case Studies

Established norms

Examples as derived from the case studies of **entrenched norms, apathy, or tolerance of everyday corruption.**

Idioms

In most of the case study countries, corruption is such a part of everyday life that citizens have come up with their own shorthand to express it. The Indonesians refer it by the abbreviation KKN—*korupsi, kolosi, nepotismee* (corruption, collusion, and nepotism). The Indians understand it as *riswat* (bribery of public officials). The Georgians call it *chackobili*, (corrupt) and in Egypt, petty corruption

is described as “facilitation fees.” In Tunisia, a familiar proverb, “a rotten fish starts at the head,” has been used to trace the culture of corruption in the country—the ultimate rotten fish being Sine Ben Ali, Tunisia’s former president. The Filipinos have accepted it as *kalakaran* (a way of life), and in fact, have come up with the *Corruptionary*, a dictionary that provides defines corruption in each situation—for example, *pang-almusal* (for breakfast), *pang-tanghalian* (for lunch), *pang-merienda* (for snacks), *pang-hapunan* (for dinner), *para sa birthday ni hepe* (for the chief’s birthday), *Ninoy* (the 500-peso bill, which features the face of former Senator Ninoy Aquino), *porsyento* (percent), and many more.

Permissive Institutional Norms

The case studies allude to permissive institutional norms that allow authorities to abuse their position. This, in turn, seems to have influenced the political norm, elevating public figures to makers and breakers of the law. For example, when asked whether it was right for taxpayers to foot the bill for an arguably unnecessary expense for a second home, the British parliamentarian who was alleged for misappropriating allowance in the 2005 parliamentary scandal responded, “It has always been a provision for the House of Commons that it should be so.”¹ In Brazil, 25 percent of the sitting members of parliament and Congress were facing criminal charges at one point. These politicians had little reason to worry because of the parliamentary impunity protecting them. In Indonesia, the institutional immunity to corruption is evident in a statement issued by the former head of the country’s national police, who likened the effectiveness of anticorruption activists to a “gecko fighting a crocodile.”

Popular books and articles on the subject confirm the institutional norms described in the case study countries. For example, a history book, *Walking Ghosts*, by Steven Dudley, describes Colombia’s political culture as “the politics of anesthesia,” indicating the apathy of citizens and authorities alike about corruption problems in the country.

In Argentina, a famous legal philosopher, Carlos Minos, describes the country as “at the margins of the law.” Some have alluded to Argentina’s dictatorial political history as having cultivated the culture of nepotism in public institutions. Others blame the heritage of Italian immigration for the way business is done in the country, which caters to the “mafia” or the corrupt elite. In Turkey, public institutions are referred to as the *gladio*-mafia rule (a combination of paramilitary entities, drug traffickers, mafia, business and government officials, and members of parliament).

Apathetic Public

The political norm vis-à-vis the institutional norm that has established public offices as entities run by powerful syndicates of the ruling elites in turn has created apathetic publics, who feel either powerless or disengaged to take any action against corruption. The case studies present anecdotes to support this argument. In Argentina, public officials are said to command entitlement to benefits from citizens, and citizens, in turn, feel it their duty to serve the public officials. In Bangladesh, it is said the public no longer views corruption as offensive, much less punishable. As a result, they have lost sight of their rights in obtaining goods and services. A survey conducted to assess police corruption in the South-West region in Uganda revealed that the majority of the residents viewed the police force as makers and breakers of the rules and hence, beyond reproach.

Public Cynicism

On the other hand, however, the larger-than-life problem of corruption seems to have ingrained deep cynicism and hatred among citizens against public authorities and caused retaliation in obeying laws that they believe are imposed by a small group of social and political elites without much input from the marginalized majority. As a Colombian journalist puts it, “why then should the majority of the population respect the laws formally endorsed by the state?” Similarly, a student surveyed online on the state of governance in the Philippines opined that he sees the government “as a zoo of

crocodiles, wolves and vultures ready to pounce on innocent victims.” His friend had a different take on the situation, however. He believed that citizens’ apathy was giving public authorities leeway to continue corrupt practices. “We deserve to be fooled. We are not brave enough to fight for our rights. We always talk, we always criticize but we do not do anything.”

Justifying Corruption

In some cases, corruption has been justified as “facilitation fees” from “those who can to those who need.” An Egyptian imam (clergyman) advanced this claim and declared that small bribes are not “*haram*” (unreligious). In Georgia, bribe-taking is expected to compensate for the low salaries of university professors. Guatemala’s perpetual poverty and injustice are said to have been exploited by the insurgent mafia groups to justify their criminal actions. In the case of Colombia, it is the citizens who are justifying their disregard for law, which they believe is imposed by a small group of social and political elites.

Instigating Factors Provoking Bottom-up Interventions

Did a certain event trigger a reaction from the people? Had society reached a “tipping point” with respect to corruption? Who are the change agents?

The case studies illustrate various factors that contributed to the “awakening” of citizens in confronting the entrenched norm of corruption. Below are some examples:

An insider within an institution emerged as a whistleblower to expose accounts of misappropriation or laxity within the system.

This in many instances was aided by external support, particularly (a) in encouraging the insider to cooperate in exposing the matter to the public, or (b) by joining hands with the whistleblower once the matter was exposed to building pressure for the responsible entity to take corrective actions. Cases from Egypt and the United

Kingdom support this analysis. In Egypt, a whistleblower from inside the system who revealed judiciary fraud in the parliamentary reelection was later picked by the public as a “champion” in the fight against corruption. In the United Kingdom, the insider, who had been witnessing misappropriation of the parliamentary allowance, collaborated with two vigilant journalists already investigating the nature of members’ expenses.

Extreme suppression and/or apparent lack of cooperation from the government in responding to public outcry against corrupt practices incited the public to take matters into their own hands.

In the case of Egypt, the minister of justice sued the whistleblower and the NGO for defamation and libel and referred the board of the Judiciary club to court, threatening them with disciplinary actions. (The NGO had raised a petition requesting the ministry to conduct a thorough investigation on the alleged judiciary forgery, and the Judiciary club had endorsed the NGO’s plea.) These excessive actions of the government brought youth out to the streets in support of a thorough investigation and an independent judiciary.

In Georgia, the university administration neutralized student activism by handpicking students who benefited from the corrupt practices in the university to represent the student association. Even the least qualified candidates could easily gain admission to the university system. Once admitted, students could buy their diplomas. There was no transparency in the selection of student representatives; hence no avenues for honest and hardworking students to organize and confront the rampant corruption taking place in the university. This led a group of idealistic students at Tbilisi University to start a campaign that percolated into other universities and civil society organizations and eventually culminated in a national campaign against corruption in the university system.

In Guatemala, time and again, the government demonstrated it is too weak to take any

actions against the criminal group *Cuerpos Ilegales y Aparatos Clandestinos de Seguridad* (CIACS), a state-funded illegal clandestine security apparatus established during the civil war of 1960–1996. CIACS is said to have continued its operation in the country even after the war ended, furthering political interests both of organized crime and real power in Guatemala. This led the citizens of Santa Lucia province to take matters into their own hands. (Santa Lucia is situated in a spot convenient for cross-border narco-trafficking between Colombia and Mexico and has been a subject of violent crime and suppression by CIACS.)

In the city of Oroquieta in the Philippines, a radio show initially started out as a commentary on local government affairs and corruption. But when the show received backlash and pressure, the hosts retaliated by directly soliciting public complaints and evidence on the air and through mobile texting and Web-mails, leading to the eradication of misuse of government funds in the city.

Deliberate undermining of citizens' anti-corruption efforts by public figures instigated stronger public retaliation, anger, and street actions.

An example is the national police in Indonesia, which issued a public statement likening anticorruption activists to “a gecko fighting a crocodile.” This led the public, already enraged by the framing of the two honest Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK, the government’s anticorruption agency) officials, to unite against government suppression. The “*Saya Chicak*” (“I am a gecko”) movement formed during that period has since been active in anticorruption protests.

Incidents/personal stories illustrating ordinary citizens as victims of corruption motivated long-suppressed citizens to come out on the streets against government atrocities.

On December 17, 2010, in the city of Sidi Bouzid in central Tunisia, Mohammad Bouazizi, a 26-year-old street vendor, doused himself with

gasoline and set himself on fire. It was claimed that Bouazizi did not have the funds to bribe police officials to allow his street vending to continue. In addition, Bouazizi’s family claims that he was publicly humiliated when a female official slapped him in the face, spat at him, confiscated his electronic weighing scales, and tossed aside his produce cart. Bouazizi is said to have walked to the municipal building, demanded his property, and was beaten again. Then he walked to the governor’s office, demanded an audience, and was refused. Experts have analyzed Bouazizi’s incident as a defeat of hope engulfed by demands of bribe and corruption in the country. His death served as a catalyst for a surge of civilian-led protests in that unfurled across North Africa and the Middle East, leading to sweeping political changes.

Major political scandals markedly changed public attitudes and garnered citizens' support for anticorruption initiatives.

In Turkey, a major political scandal known as the Sursurluk scandal resulted in spontaneous street protests engulfing the country. In November 1996, a speeding car is said to have crashed on a highway late at night near a town called Susurluk. Among the passengers were a police chief, who was also the police academy director, a member of parliament, a mistress, and an escaped criminal and paramilitary member who was wanted by the Turkish courts, the Swiss police, and Interpol. The escaped criminal is said to have possessed a fake ID that was signed by the then-minister of internal affairs. Further, the car is said to have contained cash, cocaine, and weapons. A group of lawyers in Turkey decided that the Susurluk scandal provided an opportunity to tap public disgust over corruption and push for definable changes by mobilizing the masses. This led to a countrywide citizen-led campaign, eventually resulting in a change of government in the country.

In Indonesia, the two officials of KPK, Bibit and Chandra, were accused of accepting a bribe from a corruption suspect. But 270 minutes of

wiretap tapes were played back in court, revealing an intricate plot with fabricated testimony aimed at ousting the honest officials, who were trying the case of a powerful corruption suspect attempting to flee the country. Public attitudes toward KPK turned markedly positive after the incident, and a countrywide protest was carried out in support of the KPK officials. The citizen-led campaign culminated in the officials' release and the dismissal of those who were involved in fabricating the story.

Good examples/cases revealing genuine attempts by public authorities/agencies to alleviate corruption encouraged citizens to support their efforts.

In Indonesia, it was natural for the public to greet KPK with cynicism because several anticorruption measures had been tried and failed amid the climate of chaos and growing corruption that followed the legacy left by 31 years of former president Suharto's authoritarian regime. KPK was the seventh in the line of commissions. The public had no reason to believe that the new commission would be any different from the previous politically appointed ones. But when the wiretap scandal broke out, the public learned about the integrity of the KPK officials and the plot aimed at ousting the honest commissioners. This led the public to come out on the streets in support of these officers. This and other successive actions by KPK to combat corruption in the country gradually led the Indonesian people to trust KPK.

In Hong Kong, the Anticorruption Office was part of the Police Department, which was regarded as extremely corrupt. But a series of visible efforts launched by the new government-led Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) on community education, alongside detection and prevention approaches, fostered public support for battling corruption in the country.

Educated elites and prominent figures in public institutions and/or civil society organizations used their influence and connections to penetrate the corrupt institutional

system and call on public attention to anti-corruption efforts.

In Hong Kong's case, it was the then-governor who decided to overhaul the traditional top-down operational modality of the national anticorruption agency into a public education and citizen-government partnership projects to fight corruption. In Turkey, Egypt, and Brazil, educated elites were able to use their resources, both in human and financial capital, to endorse support from both the public and people within the system that they were fighting, through movements such as the Citizen Initiative for Constant Light, Egyptian Against Corruption, and *Ficha Limpa* (Clean Record) campaigns. Similarly, an expatriate Indian physics professor from the University of Maryland, who, upon traveling back home, found himself harassed by endless extortion demands, came up with a zero-rupee note that has become a popular nonviolent means of tackling widespread corruption in India.

Objectives/Strategies for Action

How did change agents go about transforming these norms? What were the objectives? What were the strategies developed to achieve this end?

Using international instruments, such as the United Nations Convention against Corruption, UNCAC, into fight corruption at the local level.

In Egypt, members of Shayfeen.com (a citizen-led social media platform established when a whistleblower exposed the scandal of judiciary fraud in a parliamentary reelection) were made aware of the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC), to which Egypt is a signatory, and that UNCAC's articles include protection for whistleblowers. The group decided to use UNCAC as the main tool for its campaign strategy. This goal mandated the establishment of a grassroots movement (Egyptians Against Corruption, or EAC) that commanded credibility and became the platform for anticorruption initiatives. The objective

of EAC was to ensure that both government and the people fight corruption and to rally support for UNCAC as the most comprehensive anticorruption tool.

Using national legal instruments, such as the Freedom of Information Act and other existing legal frameworks, to build pressure for government to increase transparency and accountability.

In the United Kingdom, a whistleblower and journalists cooperated and used the newly enacted Freedom of Information Act to build pressure on the government to publicly release the expenses of members of Parliament (MPs) and at the same time generate public awareness to support their action. They also used the *Green Book* (a publication of the Department of Administration that detailed MPs' expenses) to compare permitted expenses with actual expenses claimed by MPs.

Public prosecutors in Costa Rica used the constitutional provision "rights of citizens to a healthy [institutional] environment" to define and claim social damage in the repatriation of \$10 million from the French-American company Alacarte for damage inflicted on the citizens of Costa Rica. Alacarte was accused of paying bribes to the former president, Miguel Angel Rodriquez, and officials of the state-run telecommunication company in exchange for a contract to install 400,000 cell phone lines in the country.

Creating "open government:" Building transparency, accountability, and participatory mechanisms in public institutions.

In Indonesia, KPK gained the trust of the public because of its transparency from its very inception. Its first commissioners were selected transparently and included many respected and well-known figures, such as prominent businessmen, academics, and members of civil society. Parliament was also involved in screening the commissioners from the pool selected by the president. This gave the commission instant credibility with many Indonesians.

Bestowing total independence and prosecutorial power on the government anticorruption agency.

In Indonesia, the comprehensive power that KPK has at its disposal is responsible for many of its anticorruption gains. KPK is able to authorize wiretaps, order travel bans on individuals, request financial information about suspects, freeze suspects' financial accounts, request the assistance of other law enforcement agencies, and take over the indictment or prosecution of corruption cases being conducted by the police or attorney general's office. The corruption cases handled by KPK are directly tried by the Corruption Crimes Courts.

Building strategic networks and coalitions to gain broad support from different spectrums of society to fight corruption.

In Colombia, the program Culture of Lawfulness (COL)² aims "to integrate the different sectors in a society to create a unified, overarching effort toward promoting the culture of lawfulness." COL has taken up this task with three main strategies: (1) consolidating a group of public and private leaders and local authorities to become leaders in fostering a culture of lawfulness; (2) promoting knowledge and the transformation of attitudes directed at recognizing the benefits of a culture of lawfulness, with special attention to honesty and transparency in everyday action; and (3) institutionalizing education about the rule of law in formal and synergistic programs across sectors. It seeks to empower four key sectors—(1) public servants/law enforcement, (2) mass media, (3) school-based education, and (4) centers of moral authority—to use their institutions to promote the rule of law.

A group of idealistic student from the University of Tblisi in Georgia got together and shared the idea that the blatant corruption in the country's university system could not continue and that they could actually contribute to improving the situation. Recruiting new members into their campaign and reaching out to entities outside the university (media, civil society) for support became priority actions for the

start-up group. The main problem for the students was the lack of opportunity to express themselves through student associations. The existing organizations were monopolized by the administration; there was no transparency in selecting student representatives. Hence, the campaign focused on organizing a transparent process for electing student leaders and creating an accountable student body within the university system.

When the police force was declared the most corrupt institution in South-West Uganda, a local NGO, National Foundation for Democracy and Human Rights in Uganda (NAFODU), decided that the public needed to be aware of the laws governing the police force and the duties and obligations of the officers toward the citizens, while the police force needed to improve its integrity and ethical practices in dealing fairly and responsibly with the citizens it is mandated to protect. The NGO decided to address the problem with a two-pronged approach: working with police to increase their ethical principle and integrity, and generating citizen awareness of laws governing police conduct.

In Guatemala, a local grassroots campaign and civic actions emerged to break up the corruption-violence nexus and challenge government impunity for the criminal activities—conducted by CIACS—that were established during Guatemala's civil war. The movement worked to foster coalition among the political party established by former guerilla groups, the government, and civil society to confront the criminal activities and prevent drug lords from entering local politics.

To forge unity against parliament impunity in Turkey, the lawyers' group that started the Citizen Initiative for Constant Light, a movement against corruption, sought to systematically build a broad coalition by reaching out to civil society organizations, chambers of professions, bar associations, and professional associations of pharmacists, dentists, and engineers.

The Egyptians Against Corruption movement focused mainly on communication campaigns that

were designed to empower the target audience (the executive, the media, opinion leaders, concerned citizens) to embrace the cause and enable their effective participation in fighting against corruption. The goal of EAC was to ensure that both government and people fight corruption and to rally support for UNCAC as the most comprehensive tool against corruption.

Creating mediums to enable citizens to express their impressions and initiate advocacy efforts against corruption

Citizens of Oroquieta in the Philippines did not have a medium available to criticize corruption even though they had long been observing misappropriation of budgetary allocations intended for local socioeconomic development, most blatantly in the purchase of overpriced government vehicles, gasoline charges, and vehicle misuse. Given this problem, the local NGO, ECOLINK, set out to design and implement creative activities aimed at developing a culture of vigilance and fostering active citizen participation in the campaign against misuse of public funds. This included creation of community radio, public vigilance committees, and mobile phone text-messaging services.

One of the major goals of the Advocacy and Legal Advice Center (ALAC)³ concept in Bangladesh is to inform the public of the services they should expect (for example, at hospitals and in schools), their entitlements, and what they should expect to pay for public services. The benefits of this program are expected to be twofold: letting the host organizations keep abreast of corrupt practices in their communities, and allowing citizens to do their civic duty of reporting corruption without fear of retribution.

The Civil Association for Equality and Justice (ACIJ),⁴ an NGO in Argentina, decided to operate an online program called Citizen Action and Anti-corruption to promote citizen participation in the investigation, prosecution, and punishment of crimes of corruption and encourage transparency of public agencies and institutions. The foremost

task is facilitating public access to clear and organized information related to corruption cases and trials in progress. ACIJ created online interactive database and social media platforms to display and debate cases of corruption.

Janaagraha, a nonprofit organization in India, decided to use online platforms to boost citizens' confidence in obtaining services without succumbing to bribes. The NGO decided to build a website to encourage victims to report on corruption cases that they have personally experienced and used that information to argue for improving governance systems and procedures and tightening law enforcement and regulation in order to reduce the scope for corruption in obtaining services from the government.

5th Pillar, an NGO in India, decided to scale up the invention of a zero-rupee note to fight corruption by shaming the officials who ask for bribes. The idea is for citizens to use the notes as a polite way of saying no to officials who hold out their hands for *riswat* (bribes).

In Turkey, organizers came up with the Citizen Initiative for Constant Light, a synchronized turning on and off of lights that responded to the needs of the citizens and garnered a sense of national "togetherness" to take action against a syndicated crime brought to light through a political scandal.

Mobilizing citizens to improve or change the legal structure to alleviate institutional immunity to corruption

In Brazil, a coalition of civil society organizations created the Movement for Fighting Electoral Corruption to end parliamentary immunity that allowed convicted politicians to run for office. This included barring the convicted officials from reappearing in a subsequent election and filing appeals to prevent them from doing so. The objective of the was to introduce legislation to qualify only candidates who had a clean criminal record to pursue a political career in Brazil.

In relation to the prevailing culture of impunity and corruption in Argentina, the founders of ACIJ launched an investigation campaign to analyze how the judiciary handled corruption cases. They went with a multifaceted approach, using both advocacy and litigation as tools to combat corruption. This included launching a "community of practice" to encourage citizen participation and advocacy initiatives to pressure for public access to government information, specifically on corruption cases.⁵

In Turkey, the organizers of citizens' movement against corruption decided to develop a leaderless organizational structure to defend themselves against reprisals and to reinforce the notion that the initiative belonged to everyone. They felt the campaign idea should appear to come not from an intellectual or an elite group, but from an everyday person, so they would not be required to identify themselves or give an individual official's name in their reports. Their demands were to remove parliamentary immunity, prosecute the founders of criminal groups, protect judges trying such cases, and reveal the crime syndicate relationships.

In Bangladesh, the ALACs established by Transparency International created an Advice and Information Desk (AID) program "to equip citizens to take action on cases of corruption that they have witnessed or been victims of." This involved taking legal action, filing complaints with responsible anticorruption or other agencies, and "blowing the whistle" within institutions or bringing media attention to the issue.

Strategic communication and visibility of the movement

In Egypt, careful consideration was given to broadcasting the movement in a manner that ensured the awareness of the target audience. A neutralization rather than confrontation approach was taken, with reliance on factual data and no hearsay or exaggeration. Communication was aimed at creating messages that were direct and positioned corruption as a serious social ailment that must be confronted. The campaign aimed

to convince the target audience that corruption can be confronted and there are tools available to curb it. To gain more participation, the movement decided to use both traditional and online communication tools.

In Turkey, organizers carefully defined goals, analyzed the media's views on corruption, and developed a publicity strategy before taking action. They developed a sophisticated publicity campaign to spread their message, termed a "Unifying Proposition," signifying a message that encapsulates the cause, the urgency for action, and the call for wider participation.

Spontaneous, organically grown movement (without a carefully planned strategy)

In Tunisia, after the street vendor Bouazizi's suicide, the place where the act was committed began filling up with angry antigovernment protesters, demanding greater accountability and an end to corruption. More than 5,000 people are said to have participated in the funeral procession. The protests became more widespread, moving into the more affluent areas and eventually into the capital. The campaign sent a strong message that the public wanted a culture of integrity, and for that, they needed leaders who acted with integrity and transparency, leaders who were responsive to citizens and their needs, and the management of public goods that benefited everyone, not just the elites.

Tools and Techniques Used

Was it a series of well-run awareness-raising campaigns or training geared toward citizens? Was it an effective leader or group who could engage a critical mass of people in the fight? Was it an especially compelling idea diffused by well-implemented communication efforts?

Using a broad approach (largely, preventive education, investigation, and public campaigns), by involving multiple partners (media, civil society, government institutions) through coalition building and networking.

The AID program in Bangladesh stationed Advice and Information Desks in front of public institutions such as hospitals and schools to inform people of what services they should expect when they went inside. Volunteers were recruited to go door to door, and street theatre was used to bring information to the masses in public places. A number of voluntary organizations were instituted to support the AID program. They included the Youth Empowerment and Support groups (made up of college and university students) and Committees of Concerned Citizens (organized groups of respected community leaders) that helped mobilize people at a local level to take a stand against corrupt practices and put pressure on institutions that execute unfair practices. The AID program also sought out external expertise when needed. For example, if a local government was being unfair in its land management practices, the AID program called upon an organization that had greater knowledge and specialization in that area.

The Culture of Lawfulness program in Colombia partnered with the government, local churches, and other community-based organizations to promote transparency and fight corruption in its program districts. For example, it collaborated with Catholic Churches and used their publications to issue calls for transparency to big businesses and the public sector, as well as to inform the public about the negative impact of bribes. Likewise, COL has brought together pastors of the Council of Churches to advocate against corruption and involve themselves in community projects and juvenile groups. COL and the Catholic churches also worked with the secretary of planning, the mayor's office, and other groups to campaign against corruption. COL also worked with the police force to combat citizens' lack of confidence in the effectiveness of the institution. The police force cooperated with action plans to diminish specific problems in the city of Pereira, such as piracy, the sale of stolen goods, the violation of traffic laws, and the falsification of documents.

In Georgia, student activists from Tbilisi University established a strong network with the NGO

community to support their fight against university corruption. The contact enabled students to use material resources from the NGOs, such as offices for meetings, computers, and Internet access. The NGOs, on the other hand, invited the students to meetings and conferences, giving the students an opportunity to raise awareness about their campaign and establish networks with wider circles, including media journalists. The journalists supported the students through interviews and articles. This encouraged the students to produce their own newspaper, which was distributed for free on campus. The popularity of the newspaper garnered support from students from other universities to join the movement as well. All this encouraged the student activists to organize the election of a student body, parallel to the administration-backed student union. Empowered by this success, students started demanding better services from the university, such as quality books, libraries, and computers.

In Guatemala, a strong coalition of women, youth, and other local groups was built, and together they conducted a wide and creative range of non-violent actions, such as demonstrations, monitoring of municipal officials and spending, radio call-in programs, and theatre and recreation projects to combat CIACS crime and violence. These efforts were recognized and further supported by donor agencies operating in the country. A security plan was eventually developed with coordination among the donors and civil society activists. Statements and press against government's apathy toward CIACS crimes were issued. The international community, including the United Nations, was mobilized to pressure the government to take action against CIACS operations. Human rights organizations helped in networking and protecting activists at risk. Together, the coalition formed the International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala and advocated for the government to recognize it as a legal body.

In Uganda, a two-pronged approach was used to combat police corruption. The NGO NAFODU worked with and trained police officers to use and

respect their power in order to regain public trust and confidence in the institution. Meanwhile, it conducted a public information campaign through a radio show, citizens' survey, formation of citizens' vigilance committees, and other trainings. This campaign promoted citizen engagement and information exchange on laws governing the affairs of the police force and its duties toward citizens.

In the United Kingdom, a whistleblower, media, and public watchdogs collaborated to bring public attention to the 1995 expenses scandal of the MPs and use the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to ask that MP expenses be made public. Although the House of Commons made several moves to block or delay the release of expenditure information, the petitioners appealed repeatedly. But not until the media leaked a copy of the MPs' expenses was the movement able to gain public support in pressuring the government to release the information. Background work of several NGOs contributed to this effort. For instance, the Campaign for Freedom of Information, a London-based advocacy group, was instrumental in helping to pass FOIA. It also held educational campaigns on how to use FOIA to hold the government accountable. Transparency International UK promoted a 20-point agenda for actions that asked all of the country's major political parties to fight corruption by formally committing to a zero tolerance policy in their manifestos. When the scandal broke, the watchdogs were able to motivate the public to use FOIA to demand the release of the MPs' expenses.

The Zero-Rupee movement in India developed two defining methods for its anticorruption drive. The first was the promotion of a "nonviolent weapon" for ordinary citizens to refuse to pay petty bribes. The use of zero-rupee notes sent the message that citizens refused to cooperate with corruption. The second was filing a Right to Information (RTI) to hold the officials accountable by documenting and filing misbehavior complaints. Tactics associated with the RTI included inspection and audits of public works, leafleting, and backup for those wanting to approach the state government's

Vigilant Department and the Central Bureau of Investigation's Anti-corruption Zone. The movement also engages in tactics designed to heighten awareness, build interest, communicate messages, garner media attention, gain support, and exert civic pressure and authorities to protect the RTI. Schools and adolescents have been specifically targeted in this effort.

ICAC in Hong Kong has tackled corruption with three functions: investigation, prevention, and public education, which are structured to be interdependent and each build on the strength of the others. Public education has been carried forward as follows:

- Face-to-face contacts with people in all walks of life to enlist popular support for ending corruption.
- On an average year, Community Relations Department staff reached between 200,000 and 300,000 people through approximately 800 talks, activities, and special projects. Every corner of society was a target. ICAC produced "practical guides," newsletters, and other publications for government employees, trade unions, and other specific target groups on how to deal with tempting situations.
- An Ethics Development Center was established to promote ethical business practices, which were endorsed by major chambers of commerce.

In Indonesia, KPK partnered with major religious organizations to make a joint statement against corruption. KPK hoped that "when citizens see the leaders of their faith communities take a stand against corruption, they will be more compelled to do so." Celebrities have also supported KPK's mission and activities, including a popular rock group, *Slank*, which has become synonymous with anticorruption efforts in Indonesia.

A combination of modern information communication technology (ICT)-based tools such as the Internet and social media, and mobile phones; and traditional media

tools such as radio shows, print materials, press releases, door-to door, street theatre, and billboards were used for information dissemination, awareness generation, and advocacy campaigns.

In Argentina, a blog titled "No corruption" has been created to provide a forum for the public to discuss corruption cases, explain legal rules and hurdles to access to justice, and simultaneously act as an external pressure for judges and prosecutors who also access the information. Each month a particular theme related to corruption is addressed on the blog. An online interactive database has also been created, which provides detailed information on approximately 100 cases that the ACIJ has been following. Information includes the latest update on each investigation; information about magistrates, public prosecutors, and other factors and actors involved in each case; and relevant past and future dates in the judicial agenda. A search engine format allows the information to be cross-referenced, enabling the user to access information using basic and advanced search criteria. The information is also color coded to signify the different stages of each case.

In Uganda, Colombia, and the Philippines, radio programs have been used to promote public vigilance and awareness campaigns against corrupt practices in the police force and local government. In the Philippines, the program has gone online with an E-newsletter and a Facebook account to reach out to a wider audience. Additionally, billboards have been erected in major cities where the radio shows are hosted, featuring a hotline for citizens to report on anomalies. Similarly, the Culture of Lawfulness program in Colombia is working with the police force in using radio shows and other media channels to transmit broader message about the need for rule of law in daily activities and encourage the population to take a stake in the crime-fighting process by reporting crimes they witness.

In Turkey, organizers launched a public relations campaign to promote the Citizen Initiative

for Constant Light. A chain of faxes was sent to get word all the way down to the neighborhood groups (this was before the social media revolution). In the campaign's printed materials, an anonymous "aunt" gave the call to action, symbolizing the message coming from an average street person and not an elite group. Press releases were sent to the media and signed "The voices of the Silent Majority."

In Brazil, a massive public campaign was initiated to collect physical signatures along with voter IDs that were required to introduce a bill against parliamentary immunity through a popular initiative into Congress. This required a detailed logistics, including drawing and mobilizing volunteers and sending them out to the communities and on the streets, and receiving and processing huge amounts of paperwork at campaign headquarters. About 1.6 million signatures were manually collected. During the legislation's trajectory in Congress, an online campaign was conducted that garnered an additional three million votes in support of the bill. Schools and adolescents were specifically targeted in awareness generation and communication campaigns.

The anticorruption agency in Hong Kong, ICAC, set up a press information office that provided timely and positive information on ICAC's anticorruption initiatives. Television was also used extensively through advertisements, drama series, and interviews reflecting real-life corruption cases. ICAC's mass media strategy was divided into four phases:

- *The Era of Awakening:* A promotion campaign in the early 70s was directed primarily at the low-income people, such as hawkers or manual laborers, who were most vulnerable to abuses. Their sufferings were highlighted and they were urged to come forward to share their stories. The catch phrase of the campaign was "Report Corruption."
- *Level Playing Field:* In the economic boom in the 80s, the message targeted private sector corruption. The message was conveyed that a

level playing field for all investors was central to the continued economic well-being of the country. The TV commercials were designed with a subtle tone and manner, bearing in mind that the target audience was relatively better educated.

- *1997 Syndrome:* When Hong Kong rejoined mainland China, there were worries that the unscrupulous would scramble for money by various illegal means before migrating to other countries. To counter this, ICAC set out to assure the public that it was as determined as ever to fight corruption. It put out the slogan "Hong Kong's Advantage is ICAC."
- *New Millennium:* Realizing that the digital age belongs to the youth, who were brought up without experiencing the ruinous consequences of unchecked corruption, and to carry on the battle in which earlier generation fought so hard to keep the upper hand, ICAC reintroduced integrity education with youth as a target audience, using online channels. ICAC's youth website, "Teensland," scored more than one million hits in less than six months of its launch

In Indonesia, social media sites like MySpace and Facebook have been the most successful anti-corruption tools used to organize and publicize protests. A Facebook group protesting the arrest of the two honest officers of the government's anti-corruption agency, KPK, has more than 1.4 million members. Twitter and Facebook were also used to publicize a rally in support of the KPK that drew more than 5,000 attendees. A mobile phone ringtone has been invented in support of the KPK. In the first few hours after its release, the ringtone was downloaded by more than 40,000 Indonesian. College professors started a KPK-support Facebook group to publicize protests and rallies.

Janaagraha, a nonprofit in India, built a website to encourage victims to report on incidences when they have been forced to pay a bribe, when they have resisted a demand for a bribe, or when they did not have to pay a bribe because of honest officers on

duty or improvements in law procedures. Citizens are able submit their reports through telephone calls, blog posts, audio or video recordings, or by simply following the format on the website. The information obtained is aggregated and analyzed to identify more corrupt departments, loopholes used by officials to demand bribes, and situations in which bribes are demanded. The format for reporting is compartmentalized in a manner that allows both the viewers and the host organization of the website to observe the nature, pattern, types, and distribution of bribes across cities and government departments.

In Egypt, media had long been covering serious cases of corruption. Yet no one was talking about the core of the problem. But when a whistleblower came forward and exposed fraud in parliamentary election, a group of like-minded individuals decided they could no longer turn a blind eye to the problem. They decided to found a social media platform (Shayfeen.com) and partnered with other traditional and modern media channels to form a powerful Egyptians Against Corruption campaign. Communication campaigns were designed to empower the target audience to embrace the cause and enable their effective participation in fighting corruption. Channels such as a website, Facebook, YouTube, radio, podcasts, merchandizing, press ads, events, public relations, social marketing, pins, stickers, posters, and press conference urged the public to vote for the Anticorruption Hero and introduced UNCAC's importance and implementation plan. Slogans such as "corruption kills" and "you either act or be an accomplice" were used.

Citizens of Tunisia used Internet technology to track and highlight the misuse of state funds and exploited social media to promulgate street actions in protest. For example, one blogger tracked the misuse of the presidential plane by his wife for her shopping trips abroad, which spread like wildfire through social and mainstream media channels. When the government tried to suppress Internet activism, for instance by blocking YouTube, citizens used alternative channels to

expose government corruption. One such example is using Google Maps to encrypt pertinent information in the country's popular tourist sites. Social media also played a big role in sparking the street protest following the street vendor Bouazizi's death in Tunisia. Some protesters launched a Facebook page to document riots and share news. Twitter was also heavily used to mobilize the masses.

The Zero-Rupee movement in India formed human chains; conducted beach rallies; initiated a signature campaign on huge banners of the zero-rupee note; organized street-corner meetings, village processions, poetry contests, diaspora chapters, "peaceful agitation," and humorous stunts; made badges for honest officials; and reported instances of corruption via Short Message Service (SMS) and the Internet.

Use of Social Accountability Tools

In Bangladesh, the Advice and Information Desks stationed in front of public institutions informed the public on what services they should expect when they go inside. Integrity Pledges, Citizen Report Cards, and Participatory Budgets were also employed to conduct anonymous evaluations that citizens filled out and returned to the AIDs on the quality of services at local schools or hospitals.

The Culture of Lawfulness program in Colombia introduced personal pledges to minimize fraud in microloan programs as well as to improve traffic safety in the cities. Information cards were distributed to cyclists on basic traffic laws with a return address for the cyclist to sign a personal pledge to abide by the safety rules.

In Georgia, a survey was conducted among students to name the most corrupt professor or administrator in the university. In Uganda, citizens' surveys were conducted to assess the nature of corruption and identify loopholes in police force regulations.

In Uganda and the Philippines, Monitoring and Vigilance Committees were introduced for

citizens to track and monitor the behavior of police officers and redress complaints against public misconduct in the respective program districts. The programs established district-based offices to handle complaints from the vigilance committees and coordinate with the police to remedy the problems. In both countries, community radio programs were used to promote public vigilance and awareness campaigns against corrupt practices in the police force and local government.

The Zero-Rupee initiative in India has targeted schoolchildren, who take a personal pledge to fight corruption and go home to tell their parents to do the same. The initiative has also established citizens' vigilance and monitoring activities, which include using SMS and the Internet to report instances of corruption.

In Guatemala, citizens' monitoring of crime activities and reports about the incidents of violence were introduced. Additionally, a national security plan was conceived with the help of civil society, donors and the government and distributed to citizens and journalists to encourage them to report on CIACS' violence and crimes.

In India, a website, "I paid a bribe" has been established to encourage victims to report on incidents when they have been forced to pay a bribe, when they have resisted a demand for a bribe, or when they did not have to pay a bribe because of honest officers on duty or improvements in law procedures. The information is aggregated and analyzed to identify more corrupt departments, loopholes used by officials to demand bribes, and situations in which bribes are demanded.

In Argentina, the NGO ACIJ has created a "community of practice" to encourage citizen participation and advocacy initiatives to pressure public access to government information, specifically on corruption cases. Through its blog forum and online database, ACIJ has facilitated public access to clear and organized information on corruption cases and trials in progress, leading to pressure for transparency in the judiciary, and active citizens

involvement in this process. Since its creation, the number of visitors has steadily increased and now reaches an average of 3,500 hits per month.

Research and Advocacy

In Argentina, ACIJ conducted thorough research and published analytical reports on investigative flaws in corruption cases that have taken more than 14 years to be heard. Additionally, it provides public access to clear and organized information on the investigation related to corruption cases and trials in progress through an online database and blog, to encourage transparency by the judiciary and most important, to involve the public in the process.

ICAC in Hong Kong examined the procedures and practices of all government departments, plugging loopholes to remove corruption opportunities along the way. On average, ICAC conducted 100 studies a year on various government procedures and practices.

Curriculum development with anti-corruption messages

KPK in Indonesia produced anticorruption modules to be distributed to high school students in collaboration with the Ministry of Education. The modules are targeted to students in kindergarten to high school and contain social, cultural, and religious values, including teaching students not to take the belongings of others.

COL in Colombia developed curriculums instituted in most schools aimed at teaching students about the necessity for rule of law. The curriculums are targeted to middle and high school students, who are expected to send positive messages to parents when they bring home their homework. A guidebook for pastors has also been developed, advising the pastors about how the churches can get involved in preventing crime and encourage their congregants to make lawful individual decisions.

Mobilizing well-known or respected individuals in anticorruption initiatives

KPK's original commissioners in Indonesia were well-known businessmen. Celebrities have also supported KPK's mission and activities; one example is the rock group *Slank*, which has become synonymous with anticorruption efforts in the country. The band performed in front of the KPK building to protest the arrest of two KPK officers. The Indonesian government threatened to sue the band, but 100 lawyers came forward to defend *Slank* should the case make it to court. While there is no formal relationship between KPK and *Slank*, they informally support each other.

One of COL's major objectives is to consolidate a group of community leaders from the public and civil society to advocate for lawfulness-related reforms. These leaders include heads of NGOs, representatives from the mayor's office, church leaders, the transit institute, and the secretaries of education and health.

In Bangladesh, Committees of Concerned Citizens have been established around the country, which have respected community individuals as heads to motivate citizens to get involved in anti-corruption drives. These committees are also active in corruption monitoring and vigilance activities.

In Brazil, activists used their contacts in the Congress to support the *Ficha Limpa* bill.

The Egyptians Against Corruption campaign garnered support from 100 opinion leaders, who signed the petition for implementation of UNCAC and participated in the nomination of the Egyptian Warrior.

Recognizing individuals who make significant contributions in fighting corruption as Public Heroes

The EAC initiative holds an annual competition to select an Egyptian Warrior as a tribute to anticorruption champions. The initial announcement of the EAC movement was linked to the award of the Anti-Corruption Warrior to spread the message and garner public interest in the initiative.

The Culture of Lawfulness program in Colombia hosts *Heroes de Legalidad* program in partnership with various organizations that promote the rule of law. For instance, the mayor's office featured one of the microloan recipients on a billboard to recognize his efforts to make a living in an honest manner. The billboard featured the following text: "As a food vendor, I earn my living in an honest way to make my children proud. And you? What are YOU going to do for a culture of lawfulness?"

A grand ceremony is dedicated to anti-Corruption heroes in Transparency International's yearly global conference against corruption.

The Zero-Rupee initiative in India provides badges for honest officials in recognition of their integrity and to encourage other officers to follow the same route.

Using strong measures

ICAC in Hong Kong took decisive enforcement actions in restoring public trust and confidence in the agency. A series of high-profile arrests were made, with prosecutions of police syndicated corruption on top of the list. The "big tiger" corrupt senior government officials were described in the mass media, convincing the public that the government was determined in its anticorruption drive.

KPK in Indonesia issues travel ban and used wiretapping, which have proven effective in bringing down very high-ranking corrupt officials.

Other innovative techniques/activities that are nonviolent

In Turkey, a group of lawyers came up with a simple, low-risk, nonviolent legal action—a synchronized turning on and off of lights that responded to the needs of the citizens to garner a highly visible sense of national "togetherness." The Citizen Initiative for Constant Light was born out of this idea. The group launched a public relations campaign and sent a chain of faxes to get word of action all the way down to the

neighborhood groups. In the campaign's printed materials, an anonymous "aunt" gave a call to action, symbolizing that the message coming from an average person and not an elite group. The message read, "On February 1997, we will begin to turn off our lights at 9 p.m. every night, until the members of the crime syndicate and its connections in the state are brought to the court." Signed press releases were sent to the media. After three months of planning, on February 1, citizens in Istanbul and many cities turned off their lights at 9 p.m. for one minute. Each day, the number grew, and after two weeks approximately 30 million people, 60 percent for the population, were participating through the country. Feeling empowered, people began to embellish upon the action. They opened their windows, blew whistles, and banged pots and pans, while those on the road beeped their horns or blinked their lights at the appointed time. By the second week, entire neighborhoods were engaged in street action, which had a celebratory air. The citizen initiative received faxes and phone calls from people from all over Turkey. In many regions, people had organized complementary events. The campaign lasted for six weeks, after which the organizers called a halt.

In India, a zero-rupee note has been invented to fight corruption by shaming the officials who ask for bribes (*riswat*). The idea was dreamt up by an expatriate Indian physics professor, who, traveling back home, found himself harassed by endless extortion demands. He handed out the notes as a polite way of saying no to officials who held out their hands for *riswat*. The NGO 5th Pillar took it to a much larger scale. Initially, the NGO printed 25,000 zero-rupee notes and distributed them to students in the southern states to encourage them to stand against the corruption culture. Since then, the NGO has distributed more than one million bills in five languages, covering 600-plus institutions. Volunteers hand them out near places where officials are often on the lookout for a bribe, such as railway stations and government hospitals. "We use the rupee note to kick off conversations," Vijay Anand, the head of the 5th Pillar, told CNN.

"When we step out of the office to get lunch, we give them out to people waiting for their food. I give them out to people boarding planes, anywhere where people are waiting."

Outcomes/Impact of the Interventions

What were the results achieved? What were immediate and long-term outcomes and impact?

Results of citizen-led anticorruption initiatives (as derived from the case studies) can be classified into two groups:

- Concrete, system-level change (outcome)
- Changes in perception and strengthened civic sense in confronting corruption (impact)

Concrete, System-Level Change (Outcome)

Actions taken by public agencies to sanction corrupt behavior; legislative reforms; introduction of new legal instruments; policy and institutional changes aimed at making the system transparent and accountable and reducing corruption

Following public outcry against the misuse of parliamentary expense funds in the United Kingdom, 389 MPs were ordered to pay back £1.12 million to the government; four MPs faced criminal charges; and 120 MPs declared that they will not seek reelection. In response to the scandal, Speaker of the House of Commons Michael Martin stepped down. His successor, John Bercow, vowed to reform the House of Commons and regain the trust of the British people. Additionally, the British Parliament passed in the Parliamentary Standards Act, which established the Independent Parliamentary Standards Authority (IPSA). This new body is authorized to perform several regulatory duties, including setting an expenses regime for MPs; administering that regime; and paying MPs' salaries. It is independent of any of the branches of the UK government.

Following the Citizen Initiative for Constant Light movement in Turkey, the minister of interior,

whose signature appeared on the fake ID of the criminal during the Susurluk scandal, was forced to resign. The mass mobilization of people is said to have been so great that it inadvertently opened a window of opportunity for critics of the ruling party and its coalition to bring down the government. Six months later, the parliament approved a new government. Under the next prime minister's regime, reform sparked by the campaign continued. Court cases progressed, verdicts were handed down, and a new investigative committee prepared a report listing the names of all the people murdered by the crime syndicate. A parliamentary committee was also created to document the syndicate's activities. Subsequent investigations were launched that exposed large-scale embezzlement, resulting in the arrests of well-known business executives.

In Brazil, the popular people's movement led to the president signing the *Ficha Limpa* law that will disqualify from political office (for eight years) all those convicted of crimes, as well as all those whose resignations were motivated by a desire to avoid impeachment, from running for office. The electoral court ruled that the law will apply not just to those convicted in the future, but also to those who already have a criminal record and those who resigned under a cloud during the current congress. Since the bill passed, more than 330 political candidates have faced disqualification. However, even before the bill was approved, the popular people's movement was pressuring several politicians to step down. For instance, a deputy of the Brazilian Workers Party who was suspected of connections to at least 20 transgressions, including the embezzlement of public funds, announced his resignation on Twitter. In his resignation announcement, he wrote, "People don't want criminal records and I respect that."

Indonesian President Yudhoyono, who had been seen as too distant from the corruption scandal that exposed the framing of the two honest officers of KPK, responded to public pressure by ordering the police chief and attorney general to discharge those exposed in the tape recordings

from their duties. The KPK officials were released from jail and cleared of the fraud allegation against them. The BBC News in 2009 described KPK as "one of the few institutions people in this country [Indonesia] actually have faith in."

In the first year of ICAC in Hong Kong, a police chief superintendent who had fled the country while under investigation by the police was located, extradited from the United Kingdom, and put behind bars for four years on charges of pocketing millions in "black money" during his tenure. Two hundred and sixty police officers of all ranks were prosecuted—four times the number prosecuted preceding ICAC. In a single scoop, ICAC rounded up 140 police officers from three police districts. At one time, more than 200 were detained for alleged corruption. Within three years of forceful actions, ICAC pronounced that corruption syndicates within the civil service had been all but crushed.

In the Philippines, the head of the administrative unit, who was accused of misusing government vehicles for personal benefit, succumbed to public pressure and gave an apology to her constituency via a radio program, *Corruption Watch*. ECOLINK, the NGO involved in this anticorruption drive, claims that the misuse of government-issued vehicles has been completely eradicated in the province where *Corruption Watch* is aired.

In Costa Rica, the office of public litigation successfully applied the concept of social damage in the repatriation of \$10 million from the company Alacarte, for the damage inflicted on the citizens of Costa Rica in a corruption case involving a \$140 million contract. Following this, the Alacarte officials pleaded guilty to making corrupt payments to government officials, and the then-president linked in the scandal is facing trial.

Following the Egyptians Against Corruption campaign, the UNCAC article that calls for the protection of whistleblowers was officially disseminated in the country. The people's movement also pressured the government into creating an

Integrity Commission, and the minister of administration and development was assigned to oversee the commission.

In Guatemala, after significant public actions, the government finally recognized the creation of the International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG) and supported its objectives to dismantle the clandestine security apparatus—the CIACS that were committing violent crimes and corruption in the country. The human rights defenders drew world attention to the struggle. Santa Lucia Cotzumalguapa became the host of national and international meetings, thereby sending a message to the corrupt power holders that the country and the world were watching and stood together with the townspeople.

The suicide of a Tunisian street vendor served as a catalyst for a surge of protests that unfurled across North Africa and the Middle East. It led the then-President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia to step down and flee the country after 23 years in power. The movement sparked significant people's protests in Algeria, Egypt, Yemen, Jordan, Bahrain, and Libya, and led some of these governments to make concessions in response to civic uprisings. It is now clear that these protests will have lasting effects on the political landscapes in the region. The people's movement in the Arab world shone a spotlight on a pressing need for transparent state institutions that citizens can hold to account.

In Georgia, the student-led campaign against university corruption led to the election and creation of an alternative student union that gained more legitimacy than the existing body handpicked by the university, which was ultimately invalidated.

Change in Perception, and Strengthened Civic Sense in Confronting Corruption (Impact)

Citizen empowerment through increased awareness and vigilance has led to improved enforcement of transparency and accountability in public institutions and delivery of public services

In the United Kingdom, thousands of citizens, including NGOs and MPs, responded to a solicitation issued by the newly created oversight body of the British Parliament, IPSA, for improving the parliamentary allowance system. The results of this consultation have been compiled in an executive report released in February 2010, along with recommendations for next steps. Data on expense claims, contributions, and allowances have also been made public on <http://mpsallowances.parliament.uk/>.

In Bangladesh, intermediary civil society organizations are setting standards for the Integrity Pledges for institutions to maintain transparency and accountability in service provisions (such as the use of open, participatory budgets). Through Integrity Pledges, service-providing agencies are signing nonbinding social contracts with the citizens' groups. The institutions are selected based on public perception (results from Citizens' Report Cards). The tool has given citizens' groups and individuals alike a stake in the process of bettering institutional practices. The broader work of civil society organizations against corruption has resulted in the formation of the country's national Anticorruption Commission and has persuaded the government to sign on to the UNCAC.

In the Philippines, the *Corruption Watch* radio program has been instrumental in soliciting citizens' feedback and pressuring public agencies to improve on service delivery. For instance, when citizens of Oroqueita complained about rice distribution containing harmful wastes of insects and farm animals and quotas to stores, the National Food Authority reviewed all rice distribution in the city and cut off maximum acquisition quotas to stores. Similarly, when citizens issued complaints about the failure of the government to finish road improvements, the roads were immediately repaired.

In India, policy makers are using information and stories on corruption cases submitted by citizens in blogs and websites to take corrective measures. One striking example is that of a transport

commissioner who asked Janaagraha, the host of the "I Paid the Bribe (IPAB)" website, to give him a list of complaints against his department and issued show-cause notices to 20 senior officers based on the location of the bribes paid. Additionally, the transport commissioner of Bangalore, Bhaskar Rao, invited the IPAB team to brief the Regional Transport Office (RTO) officials on a report published in *Janamahithi* (Information for the People), which had information on bribes paid in the Transport Department. During this briefing, IPAB gave recommendations on how to make the RTO offices bribe-free. According to the NGO, the second *Janamahithi* report will be on bribes paid in the Registration Department in another state (Karnataka).

Following citizens' complaints about misuse of government vehicles by public authorities, the city ombudsman in Oroqueita in the Philippines announced actions against 50 high-ranking government officials who allegedly have illegally used government vehicles for private purposes.

In Hong Kong, the public education campaign led by ICAC resulted in 3,189 reports of alleged corruption in the first year of its operation, more than twice the number of reports received by police the previous year. ICAC claims to have forged one of the most extensive community networks in Hong Kong. ICAC claims that its effort has turned Hong Kong from one of the most corrupt to one of the cleanest societies in the world. According to an ICAC report, social disapproval of graft is so overpowering today that those convicted of corruption carry a long lifelong stigma.

In Uganda, a survey reported that a citizen hotline established by the NGO NAFODU against corruption received at least 50 public reports in the first year of its operation. At least 30 of these reports came from the districts and rural areas. Furthermore, the Inspectorate of Government cooperated with NAFODU to place suggestion boxes at the NGO offices and postal addresses to encourage citizens to report corrupt officials.

In Guatemala, the citizens' movement has led to the creation of an alternative system of civil resistance, involving national and transnational networking and solidarity actions. In spite of violent intimidation, kidnapping, and murder, citizens have continued to monitor criminal activities and actions. Solidarity networks have been established with other communities and citizen groups in the country and across borders. These networks have helped share information, experiences, and strategies, send out letters, and come to one another's aid.

The Citizen Initiative for Constant Light campaign in Turkey is said to have been successful in breaking the taboo over confronting corruption, empowering citizens to collectively fight for a cause, and forcing the government to launch a series of judicial investigations. As follow-up actions in the months after the campaign, the public presented a citizens' report on corruption, held roundtable meetings to develop a reform proposal, and initiated a letter-writing campaign, keeping up the pressure on the government and preventing it from seeking legal loopholes to block the inquiries.

In a particular hospital in Bangladesh, potential patients were routinely overcharged for services. To use the hospital, citizens needed to purchase tokens, which cost 4.50 taka. But the token sellers never gave change to buyers, meaning that anyone paying with a 5- or 10-taka note ended up paying a .50 or 5.50 surcharge. This practice had become so common that it had become an accepted part of daily life. However, the Advice and Information Desks, with support from citizen activists and volunteers, helped to pressure the token sellers and hospital to alter the system. They arrived at a solution that could benefit society instead of taxing it: The token rates were raised to 5.00 taka, with the extra .50 from each token now going toward a fund to help poor patients obtain hospital services.

In Argentina, journalists have mainstreamed information on cases of corruption that ACIJ made available through different channels (online database, blogs, website) for wider public knowledge,

while other relevant organizations have used and linked the ACIJ online information channels in their work.

Conclusion/Direction for Further Research and Action

What conditions are critical for anticorruption campaigns to take root and succeed?

From the above analysis, it can be concluded that citizen-led movements against corruption differ in terms of origin, approach, impetus, the players involved, and other factors. It is important to categorize these differences in order to provide objectivity to the evaluation process and quantify successes for further research and actions toward supporting these movements. In view of this, I have categorized the citizen-led anticorruption movement into three camps:

Some evidence of increased sense of responsibility among citizens to fight corruption

- According to Ipsos Mori poll of May 2009, 52 percent of Britons said they would “vote for a different candidate not caught up in the 2005 Parliamentary Expense Scandal, even if it meant voting against the party they want to win the election.” The same poll also showed that an overwhelming 80 percent of British people said the political system was “to blame for the expenses scandal, and not just politicians.” This, together with the aforementioned public response to IPSA’s consultation, shows that UK citizens paid attention to and understood the nature of the corruption.
- A 2008 U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)-sponsored public opinion poll showed that the Indonesian people care deeply about the eradication of corruption: 64.3 percent said they considered corruption an “important” problem facing the country, and 52.9 percent cited “the fact that the candidate is against corruption” to be a major factor in their voting decisions in the 2009 presidential election. This is cited as the third most important criterion in voting decisions.
- In Egypt, hundreds of opinion leaders signed the petition for the implementation of UNCAC and participated in the nomination of the Egyptian Warrior. Twenty thousand people voted for the Anticorruption Warrior, and eight thousand members joined Egyptian Against Corruption campaign, with more NGOs coming into the coalition. The popularity of the movement led to a 15-minute segment on one of Egypt’s most popular prime-time talk shows, *10 O’Clock* (with a viewership base of six million).
- A couple weeks after Tunisia’s former president fled the country, a sign that used to read “Ministry of Finance” was crossed out, and read instead “Ministry of Thieves.” Tunisians sent a strong message that a culture of integrity is what they want. And while they acknowledge that it certainly will not happen overnight, they see promise in the fact that the “rotten fish head” of Zine Ben Ali and his cronies is gone.
- The 2000 campaign for student self-government in Georgia grew from 7 to 3,000 dedicated activists from various faculties who shared the same goal. More than 4,000 students participated in public opinion survey, and the results were later publicized through the broadcast media and press. After the survey, many became active supporters of the movement.
- In Uganda, increased awareness of corruption has been witnessed through increased reporting of corruption cases to the NGO offices. Also, many have approached the NGO to act as volunteers in the fight against corruption. A survey conducted by the NGO revealed that at least 60 percent of the listeners to the radio program on corruption were able to name at least three acts of corruption that have been punished by an administrative or legal sanction. At least 70 percent of listeners were aware of government channels for public complaints and recourse.
- In the Philippines, the *Corruption Watch* radio program received more than 146 text messages per show and at least 21 reports every day of shows on corruption issues. The station maintained an average listener rating of 7,000 per show.

Anecdotal evidence of changes in behavior

- A police sub-lieutenant who participated in the Culture of Lawfulness program in Colombia said in an interview conducted by USAID that the program has allowed him to establish a closer relationship with the citizens he protects: “By way of this program, I have enjoyed a closer proximity with the community. The program is founded on leadership and commitment that the police should have with the community. As a result, it has improved my work as a police officer.”
- A teacher who teaches a curriculum on anticorruption to students in Colombia has said that it has changed her own attitudes toward lawfulness: “With respect to myself as a teacher of the program, it has allowed me to reflect and reevaluate my mind-set toward certain acts that seemed very ‘normal,’ but at the heart of the matter were illegal. For example, my perspective toward buying pirated CDs, books, and photocopied material without respecting the author’s rights have changed, making me a citizen with greater respect for the laws of my country.”
- Vijay Anand, the head of the NGO 5th Pillar in India, attests that the zero-rupee note campaign “gets the job done.” “We teach people to think that taking a bribe is equal to stealing and begging.” The notes have often shamed officials into performing their functions without bribes. Anand adds that hundreds of Indian citizens write and e-mail 5th Pillar every month. “The zero-rupee note has allowed its user to make a cutting statement without any of the grand moralizing about the ‘war on bribery and corruption,’” says Anand. “People are startled that you address the issue in public. It’s usually the person suggesting a bribe who feels uncomfortable.” For example, one official in Tamil Nadu was so stunned to receive the note that he handed back all the bribes he had solicited for providing electricity to a village. Another stood up, offered tea to the old lady from whom he was trying to extort money, and approved a loan so her granddaughter could go to college.
Ravi Sundar, an information technology recruiter in the southern city of Coimbatore, said he used the zero-rupee notes whenever he had government business to sort out. He gave one example of a tax official who refused to process documents unless he paid her 500 rupees. “I handed over the zero-rupee note which I always keep in my pocket,” said Sundar. “She was afraid and didn’t want to take it. She completed the job immediately and said she was sorry and asked me not to take it forward.”

- Organically grown movements
- Project-instigated (externally supported) movements
- Hybrid, partnership-based movements (local-national-global partnership)

Organically Grown Movements

The case studies indicate that civic responses to corruption have taken spontaneous, organic form in some incidents, such as political scandals or persecutions that have exemplified deep-seated norms of political immunity or misuse of authority. When appeals to reform these unjust practices have been deliberately ignored or suppressed through violent means, this often only fanned the flames of discontent, resulting in more widespread, more determined popular support for reform.

The cases of sitting legislators with criminal records in Brazil, misuse of the parliamentary allowance in the United Kingdom, the political-mafia syndicate in Turkey, maltreatment of the street vendor in Tunisia, and the deliberate framing of anticorruption officers in Indonesia are all examples of political immunity and misuse of power that sparked spontaneous public reactions. Additionally, when the citizens’ petition against judiciary fraud was suppressed in Egypt, when pressure was exerted to close down the *Corruption Watch* radio program in the Philippines, and when student activism was suppressed in Georgia, citizens retaliated with much greater force.

Street actions and virtual platforms have complemented one another to enable citizens to

express their frustrations and garner support in confronting the entrenched norms of corruption. This was especially the case in Tunisia and Indonesia. In other instances, **a group of like-minded individuals united and built partnerships with civil society and media groups** to spread the message and mobilize the masses. The Citizen Initiative for Constant Light, Egyptians Against Corruption, and the legitimately elected student body in Georgia were all born out of this approach. In Brazil and the Philippines, civil society organizations essentially relied on the public to support their cause, while the grassroots movements in Guatemala and Egypt made use of international instruments to further their cause. **In all cases, however, the initial idea was homegrown and the movement took off spontaneously, without any external aid or influence. These I refer to as organically grown civic movements against corruption.**

Project-Instigated Movements

In other instances, external agencies have intervened to instigate or propagate civic activism against corruption. Under this category are specific projects that are intended to improve transparency and accountability in the public sector by involving citizens in monitoring and vigilance. Tools and techniques used in these cases are also derived from external sources. Citizens are mobilized and trained by intermediaries, primarily nongovernmental organizations. In some cases, government anticorruption agencies have directly intervened. Social accountability tools and media outlets have been used to galvanize public and disseminate information. **These I refer to as project-instigated anticorruption movements.**

The Advocacy and Legal Advice Centers (ALACs) established by Transparency International in Bangladesh and the Culture of Lawfulness program implemented by the Washington, DC-based NGO National Strategic Information Center (NSIC) in Colombia are examples of **international interventions to cultivate grassroots activism against corruption.**

Local NGOs also are promoting civil engagement to pressure for transparency and accountability in public services. Examples include the Citizens' Action Against Corruption campaign led by the Argentine NGO, ACIJ; the "I Paid a Bribe" initiative of Janaagraha in India, the *Corruption Watch* radio program implemented by ECOLINK in the Philippines, and the citizens' vigilance committees established by NAFODU in Uganda.

Public entities have also been working to educate and involve citizens in their drive against corruption. Civil society organizations have approached public offices (e.g., the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Justice, local ombudsmen in the Philippines, Uganda, and Colombia) to partner in their initiatives. Some public institutions, such as the government anticorruption agencies KPK in Indonesia and ICAC in Hong Kong, have worked independently to enlist and foster public support in their battle against corruption.

Hybrid, Partnership-Based Movements

Hybrid, partnership-based civic resistance movements are originally instigated by external sources but gradually expand into or come under local ownership. For example, anti-corruption radio programs in the Philippines and Uganda were originally conceived by local NGOs, but the listeners developed their own vigilance and monitoring committees to report misappropriation of funds in local government programs. Similarly, the Advice and Information Desks originally established by the international NGO Transparency International have been taken over by local youth groups and committees of concerned citizens (CCCs) in some localities in Bangladesh. In Colombia, local schools, centers of moral authority, and media outlets have incorporated Culture of Lawfulness activities into their everyday business. In Guatemala, the hybrid partnership has been the other way round—the grassroots organization that started in the small city of Santa Lucia has built partnerships with local and international civil society organizations to pressure the government

to recognize the International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala (ICAIG). In Georgia, local civil society organizations and journalists joined in and promoted the student activism against university corruption.

Common Strategies

Be they organic or external interventions, the case studies reveal that civic movements against corruption are able to gain momentum through carefully planned strategies, aimed at gaining broad support from different spectrum of society. Gaining support entails building coalitions and networking with civil society organizations, community groups, and media channels, as well as forging unity between opposition parties (citizens vis-à-vis representatives of public institutions). Almost every case study reviewed for this paper has emphasized coalition building and networking in galvanizing mass support and strength in anticorruption drives.

Implementation methodologies in initiating civilian actions against corruption have primarily focused on the following:

- **Prevention:** through public education, information dissemination, and awareness campaigns, aimed at building knowledge and change of attitude and instilling a culture of lawfulness and public vigilance
- **Investigation:** through research, social audits, citizen charters, public surveys, citizen monitoring, and reporting, aimed at pressuring public institutions for open and transparent systems
- **Enforcement:** through accountability measures, including citizen and media advocacy, integrity pacts, and personal pledges, aimed at eradicating political immunity, reforming and enacting legislation, and tightening rules and regulations to curtail corruption

The use and application of national and international legal instruments, such as the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC), Freedom of Information Act (FIOA), and constitutional provisions, have also proven

effective in building pressure and improving transparency and accountability of public institutions. Movements in the United Kingdom, Egypt, Costa Rica, and Guatemala provide examples of the use of such instruments.

The work of government anticorruption agencies, such as that of the KPK in Indonesia, ICAC in Hong Kong, and IPSA in the United Kingdom, reflecting genuine efforts on the part of public institutions to fight corruption, have commanded citizen trust and support. However, **the effectiveness of these government agencies lies in their total independence from vested political interests and conferring of prosecutorial power in carrying out their official mandates.**

In terms of tools and techniques applied, innovations, such as the introduction of integrity pacts and citizen charters have encouraged public institutions to pledge transparency and accountability in their services and functions. Personal pledges have encouraged individuals to commit to, adhere to, and advocate for fair practices. Also, honoring “Corruption Heroes” has sent an encouraging message to help citizens overcome fear of reprisal for fighting corruption. Similarly, the endorsement and participation of well-known personalities and celebrities have been effective in rallying the public behind the cause. Social accountability tools that involve the public in vigilance, monitoring, and reporting of embezzlement of public money or unfair practices, such as the use of social audits, Citizen Report Cards (CRCs), participatory budgeting, citizen monitoring, and vigilance committees, have been used to enforce transparency and accountability in public offices.

Creative tools, such as the establishment of Advice and Information Desks in front of public service facilities, the dissemination of zero-rupee notes to shame officials seeking bribes, and an “Anonymous Aunt” note that symbolized the message coming from an average person to fight the political-mafia syndicate in Turkey, are

nonviolent means that can be freshly replicated in similar contexts.

Media outlets, such as radio shows, press conferences, print materials, door-to-door campaigns, public surveys and signature campaigns, and more recently, web-based interactive channels, social media, and mobile technologies, have been used to inform citizens about corruption as well as to collect citizens' feedback to confront such norms. These tools have been effective mainly because of the strategies used to exploit the support base.

Measuring Impact

Citizen-led movements have yielded significant results in fighting corruption at both policy and individual levels. **At the policy level, outcomes of anticorruption drives can be observed in government sanctions against the perpetrators**, even those holding powerful portfolios, such as legislators and politicians. In some countries, the movements helped to topple the seated government. Antigraft legislation has been enacted in many of these countries. Independent government bodies (such as the Integrity Commission in Egypt, IPSA in the United Kingdom, and the Parliamentary and Investigative Committees in Turkey) have been created to curtail corruption in public institutions.

Citizen-led movements have also been instrumental in pressuring authority figures to take action against corruption. For example, the Indonesian president, who was seen as too distant from the KPK wiretap scandal, was compelled to issue directives straight from his office to penalize those who were involved in framing the anticorruption officers. Similarly, a local administrator in the Philippines, who had earlier denied charges against her, eventually succumbed to public pressure and admitted her wrongdoings. She even apologized to the public. In Guatemala, the government was pressured to support the objectives of the ICAIG. In Georgia, the student-led campaign against university corruption led to the election of an alternative student union that gained more legitimacy than the body handpicked by the university. In

Costa Rica, new precedents were set when a constitutional provision was sought to claim repatriation from a French/American company accused of issuing bribes.

In many instances, citizen-led anticorruption movements have sparked media interest in remaining focused on corruption cases. For example, the *Telegraph* newspaper in the United Kingdom maintains a special page on its site devoted to updates related to public figures' expenses, often providing daily reporting on the subject. The *Daily Mail*, BBC, *Times* of London, and other UK news sites are also continuing to closely monitor parliamentary affairs.

Intangible impacts, such as changes among ordinary citizens in claiming a personal stake and responsibility for confronting corruption, are evident in the "Impact" section of this paper.

Ultimately, the impact of citizen-led movements in anticorruption drives can be measured in terms of **how well they have addressed the "efficacy" challenge**. Efficacy refers to the sense that one's participation can actually make a difference (internal efficacy) and that the political system has been responsive to this participation (external efficacy). The examples and evidence described in this paper demonstrate the efficacy of citizens' participation in anticorruption drives. Intermediaries have indeed acted as catalysts, but the results ultimately relied on citizen engagement.

As to whether and how these types of activism have changed people's lives, many organizers perceive that these initiatives provide platforms whereby individuals become empowered through personal experiences in the collective. The main impact is internal. People are able to personalize the meaning of their involvement in the collective and undergo personal transformation.

The World Bank's Communication for Governance and Accountability Program (CommGAP) believes that there is a missing link in the global anticorruption agenda: an understanding of norm

generation and norm transformation vis-à-vis corruption. Only by generating widespread public intolerance of corruption can anticorruption efforts make a real impact and produce sustainable change. This piece of research is a modest beginning based on desk work. More resources need to be devoted to deepening understanding of how problematic norms arise and can be changed through bottom-up efforts.

End Notes

In addition to the 16 case studies attached with this paper, case studies for Costa Rica and Kenya that are mentioned in the paper are found on the following URLs: <http://blogs.worldbank.org/public-sphere/node/5589> (Costa Rica)
<http://www.tisa.or.ke/coming-of-age> (Kenya).

1. In 2005, a parliamentary scandal broke out which led to the investigation of several members of the British Parliament accused of misappropriation of allowance funds. This led to resignation of the accused parliamentarians and amendments to legal provisions.

2. A program initiated by the NGO National Strategic Information Center (NSIC), which envisioned a society where an overwhelming majority are convinced that the rule of law offers the best long-term chance of securing their rights and attaining their goals.
3. ALACs are established by Transparency International across the world “to inform citizens about their legal rights and equip them to take action on cases of corruption that they have witnessed or been victims of.”
4. ACIJ works on strengthening democratic institutions and promoting human rights in Argentina. One of the major goals of ACIJ is to contribute toward the better performance and greater transparency of public institutions, such as administrative agencies, the legislature, courts, and regulatory agencies.
5. In Argentina, corruption cases are not open to the public, and they undergo trials as long as 14 years. After some years the statute of limitation takes effect, preventing further investigation. Meanwhile, the corruption cases that do get public exposure are closed without any repercussions.

Egypt – Case Study 1

Established Norms

Corruption was so rampant in Egypt that it was a business/lifestyle-enabling platform for many Egyptians, to the extent that public officers who refused to take bribes were perceived as dogmatic and inflexible. Even Egypt's mufti (clergyman) contended that "petty corruption" and small bribes are not *haram* (unreligious) but should be looked at as "facilitation fees" to be paid by those who can to those who need (Haddad 2010).

The Problem

Media had been covering serious corruption cases in the country. Yet no one was tackling the core of the problem: a highly underpaid and inflated public service platform that abused their position and a citizenship who were seeking exceptions and willing to pay bribes to circumvent the system. When corruption was revealed among the judiciary during the parliamentary elections of 2005, a group of like-minded individuals decided that they could no longer turn a blind eye to the problem.

The group founded an online citizen monitoring movement, Shayfeen.com, to support the whistleblowers who uncovered the judiciary fraud of the parliamentary elections. The movement decided to petition the minister of justice for a thorough investigation. It also sought support from the board of the Judiciary Club to endorse the proposal.

However, rather than acting on the petition and conducting an investigation, the minister decided to sue the whistleblowers and the Shayfeen.com members for defamation and libel and referred the board of the Judiciary Club to court, threatening them with disciplinary actions. These excessive actions brought the youth to the street to support a thorough investigation and demand an independent judiciary. After two months of stand-off, the government compromised by dropping the

libel case and acquitting the judges, but no investigation was conducted.

Objectives/Strategies for Action

During this period, members of Shayfeen.com became aware that Egypt is a signatory of the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) and that UNCAC's articles include protection for whistleblowers. The group decided to use UNCAC as the main tool for its campaign strategy and in October 2006 formed Egyptians Against Corruption (EAC).

The goal of EAC was to ensure that both government the people fight corruption and to rally support for UNCAC as the most comprehensive tool against corruption. This goal mandated the establishment of a grassroots movement that commanded credibility and became the platform for anticorruption initiatives.

Careful consideration was given to publicizing the movement in a manner that ensured the awareness and attraction of the target audience. Mechanisms were designed to empower the target audience to embrace the cause and enable their effective participation in fighting against corruption. The support base spanned all demographic categories. A neutralization rather than confrontation approach was taken. It relied on factual data—no hearsay and no exaggeration.

Communication strategies aimed at creating messages that were direct and positioned corruption as a serious social ailment that must be confronted. They aimed to convince the target audience that corruption can be confronted and that tools are available to curb it. Stakeholder mapping was conducted to help the audience realize "what was in it for them" to support the movement. Online communication tools were introduced for wider reach. The movement decided to celebrate the whistleblowers and create role models in fighting corruption.

Tools and Techniques Used

- The campaign used the UNCAC article that calls for the protection of whistleblowers. The campaign also used the Transparency International Corruption Ranking Index showing Egypt's place.
- Announcement of the movement was linked to the award of Anticorruption Warrior. EAC holds an annual competition for this title. Media and communication channels such as a website, Facebook, YouTube, radio, podcasts, merchandising, press ads, events, public relations, social marketing, Immersive Virtual Reality and viral Short Message Service (SMS), pins, stickers, and a press conference were used to urge the public to vote for the Anticorruption Warrior and to introduce UNCAC's importance and implementation plan.
- The campaign targeted the executive, the media, opinion leaders, and concerned citizens.
- Slogans were used, such as "Corruption kills. You either act or be an accomplice" and "UNCAC is the best tool available to fight corruption."
- Citizens supported the movement by joining EAC; signing the petition calling for UNCAC's implementation; supporting the EAC's annual competition and helping select the annual Egyptian Warrior; buying and wearing an EAC pin; or using a car sticker or hanging a poster (public awareness/education campaign using media).

Outcome/Impact of the Interventions

- Garnered support from 100 opinion leaders, who signed the petition for the implementation of UNCAC and participated in the nomination of the Egyptian Warrior.
- Twenty-five thousand people voted for the Anticorruption warrior through SMS, website,

phone, letters, and telegrams.

- Eight thousand members joined EAC, and more NGOs joined the coalition.
- The popularity of the movement led to a 15-minute segment on one of Egypt's most popular prime-time talk shows, 10 O'Clock (with a viewership base of six million).
- UNCAC was officially disseminated. The government created an Integrity Commission and assigned the minister of administration development to oversee anticorruption efforts.

Lessons Learned

- **Collaboration among active citizenry, conscious public officials, and civil society movement was successful:** A whistleblower exposed judiciary fraud of the parliamentary election and the Judiciary Club participated. The cause was supported and brought to the public with the help of a citizen monitoring body created for this purpose
- **Regressive action by the government exceeded public tolerance:** The excessive actions by the minister of justice (suing the whistleblower for defamation and libel) brought youth to the street to protest and support a thorough investigation and judiciary independence.
- **Nonresponse from the government prompted citizens to take the matter into their own hands:** A mere dropping of the libel charge without further government action to investigate the alleged fraud led to the creation of Egyptians Against Corruption, a grassroots coalition to fight corruption.
- **EAC was launched with credibility and a big bang:** This led to a strongly supported platform.
- **Relentless effort by civil society led to the success of the movement:** Initially the government had tried to suppress the movement by pressing charges against its members.

But the unyielding leadership and commitment of organizations eventually led the government to give in.

Prepared by Sabina Panth

Source

Engi El Haddad, founder, Egyptians Against Corruption. PowerPoint presentation, July 2010.
<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTGOVACC/Resources/EgyptiansAgainstCorruption.pdf>.

Georgia – Case Study 2

Established Norms

In Georgia, state funding was severely misused by the university administration, and corruption was tolerated. It was expected that the low salary of university professors would be compensated with bribe-taking. It was possible for students who paid bribes to receive a diploma without passing exams.

The Problem

Georgia, a small country with a population of 4.5 million, has one of the highest per capita numbers of citizens with higher education. However, in many cases, that education was provided by poorly organized, corrupt, and unqualified universities, numbering more than 200 by the end of 1990s. The dramatic increase in the numbers of educational institutions occurred over just five years, with new universities springing up on every corner. The overall inefficiency of the system was exacerbated by corruption (Meladze 2010).

The most corrupt area in the Georgian higher education system was admissions. As a result of *chackobili* (corrupt) oral and written examinations, even the least-qualified candidates could easily gain admission to the university system. According to students, the price for university admission could reach \$25,000, depending on the prestige of a university department. The most expensive faculty was said to be the international relations faculty at Tbilisi State University. To make the system more profitable, some universities started to split faculties into smaller ones. In one case, a university's faculty of international journalism was separate from the faculty of journalism. In another case, international law was separated from the law faculty. This separation allowed universities to enroll more students without needing to adhere to additional formal accreditation requirements. Once admitted, students could basically buy their diploma, without even passing the exams.

Moreover, there were no avenues for honest and hardworking students to organize and confront the rampant corruption taking place in the universities. In fact, the administration tried to neutralize student activism by handpicking students who benefited from the corrupt system as representatives on the student associations. There was no transparency in the selection of students' representatives.

Objectives/Strategies for Action

A group of idealistic second-year students realized that there was a serious problem and they had to do something about it. "We all shared one idea that something needs to be changed. It cannot be continued as it is now and we can actually contribute," said Nini Gogiberidze, one of the leaders of the student movement. Initially, the campaign was on a very small scale. The students started to talk to their friends. Everywhere they went, including parties, they would try to raise the issue and recruit sympathizers.

The main problem was the opportunity for students to express themselves through student associations. The existing organizations were monopolized by the administration; there was no transparency in selecting student representatives. So the campaign focused on organizing a transparent process for electing student leaders and creating an accountable student body within Tbilisi State University. The recruitment of new students and reaching out to entities outside the universities (media, nongovernmental organizations) for support became priority actions.

Tools and Techniques Used

The campaign started to roll and activists established strong networks with active nongovernmental organizations. The contacts enabled them to use the NGO material resources, such as offices for meetings, computers, and Internet access.

Sympathetic allies in civil society organizations began to invite the student activists to meetings and conferences, where the students found good opportunities to raise awareness about their campaign and establish contacts with journalists.

The news media became interested in the topic. (Since the late 1980s, no notable instances of student activism had taken place, particularly positive ones.) Journalists started to interview activists and write stories.

In late 2000, a student newspaper was released. The newspaper touched on student issues, problems of education and corruption, and other youth issues. It was distributed free among students and gained popularity.

After the campaign became popular, students from other universities started to join. The first target was to organize independent student elections in April 2001. It was impossible to replace the system immediately, so the elections were organized as a parallel process to the formal, administration-backed student unions. The elected body would have no formal powers, but everybody understood that elections could give legitimacy to the alternative student body and make its standing much stronger.

After the news was announced, the student group faced many difficulties. University administrations became aggressive against the group. After several attempts to co-opt the movement, including by offering a variety of benefits, the administration denounced the movement.

Several campaigns led to increased popularity of the student government. Students started to demand quality books, libraries, computers, and other items that are normal in the functioning of a university. Try as it might, the administration had difficulty opposing any of these demands. It was also unable to deal with the university's many problems. Such weakness became obvious, and the movement gained many sympathizers among both students and the general population.

Outcome/Impact of the Interventions

In 2000, the campaign for student self-government gained popularity in society and in the media. The group of seven people grew to thirty dedicated activists from various faculties who shared the same goal.

The media campaign sparked protests within the university. Many professors called the student movement a political trick of opposition parties that wanted to establish their support within the institutions of higher education. However, it also created tension between academics who were actively complicit in bribe-taking and the ones who hated the system but for years had to give silent consent to the corruption.

Also, the movement spearheaded a campaign against corruption in universities. The campaign focused on systemic problems as well as corrupt officials. The main targets of the campaign were University Registrar Roin Metreveli and his closest allies. Student groups designed a questionnaire to name the most corrupt professor at the university, and more than 4,000 students participated in the survey. The campaign itself served as a good tool to promote the movement, and the results were later publicized through the broadcast media and press. Such influence was immeasurable. The problem became evident even to those who had preferred to remain quiet in the past. After the survey, many became active supporters of the movement.

A parallel student union was created, which gained more popularity and functioned as the proper one. The "official" one was invalidated.

Lessons Learned

- The unity of the core group until the end of campaign contributed to the success of the campaign.
- A permanent dialogue and exchange of information with various student groups and

active students contributed to spreading the movement and gaining support from outside the university.

- The campaign would have been impossible without the support of established civil society organizations and media. Students reached out to these entities to support the campaign.
- The legal apparatus on transparency helped students demand transparency of public funds. Students used the established legislation to demand transparency.
- A clear strategy and dynamically changing action plan helped maintain the momentum of the movement.

- Inadequate funds to sustain the student newspaper led to its closure, although it had managed to attract an eager audience and helped activists to campaign on their issues.

Prepared by Sabina Panth

Source

Meladze, Giorgi. 2010. "Student movement against corruption in Georgia, 2010." <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTGOVACC/Resources/EAC2009.pdf>.

Tunisia – Case Study 3

Established Norms

“Everybody in Tunisia has a story about *rashwa*, paying a bribe to get a passport, a legal document, a job, even government subsidies,” said a young Tunisian student in an interview given to American Public Media. Tunisians traced the source of this culture of corruption through a familiar proverb, “A rotten fish starts at the head.” A Tunisian businessman in the same press interview explained that the ultimate rotten fish head was Zine Ben Ali, Tunisia’s former dictator, and his family. The businessman said corruption in Tunisia has trickled down from the Ben Ali family through the ruling party and down into society at large (Global Integrity 2011).

The Problem

Transparency International ranks Tunisia among its seriously corrupt nations with a score of 4.3 on a scale of 1 to 10 (where 1 is most corrupt and 10 is free of corruption). According to *TruthOut* online news (2011), 24 years of ruthless corruption and dictatorship led to a concentration of wealth in Tunisia in the hands of a very few people connected to the former President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali’s family and that of his wife, the Trabelsis. The ex-president’s wife had been nicknamed “the Regent of Carthage” for her power behind the throne and her love for money, luxury cars, and opulent homes. The family was known as the “mafia.”

In 2007, the number of trips the Tunisian presidential plane was taking attracted attention from bloggers who wondered why, when the president was in Tunisia, his plane was in Paris. One blogger browsed photos on aviation enthusiast websites and found photos of the presidential plane in a number of European capitals. He tracked the plane around Europe and discovered that the president’s wife was using the plane for her shopping trips—a clear misuse of state funds (Global Voices 2010)

The presidential couple and their cronies were said to have controlled almost all aspects of people’s life. In such a state of affairs, public service agencies showed no respect for the dignity of citizens, ignored basic human rights, and tolerated no signs of dissent, according to *TruthOut* magazine (2011). Young people were specially controlled and monitored. The government’s Ministry of Education, Higher Education and Scientific Research even decided into which fields of study students would be placed for their postsecondary education.

According to *The Guardian*, 31 percent of the youth in the country are unemployed. The income share of the top 10 percent is approximately 32 percent, and the top 20 percent of the population control 47 percent of Tunisia’s income. Tunisia’s inequality is so severe that the bottom 60 percent of the population earns only 30 percent of the country’s income. According to World Bank indicators, the top 40 percent of the country take home 70 percent of its income (*TruthOut* 2011).

Mohammad Bouazizi (a street vendor’s story)

On December 17, 2010, in the city of Sidi Bouzid in central Tunisia, Mohammad Bouazizi, a 26-year-old street vendor, doused himself with gasoline and set himself on fire, revealing the utter despair prevalent today among Tunisia’s population. It has been claimed that Bouazizi did not have the funds to bribe police officials to allow his street vending to continue. Two of Bouazizi’s siblings accused authorities of attempting to extort money from their brother, and Bouazizi’s family claims he was publicly humiliated when a female official, Faïda Hamdi, slapped him in the face, spat at him, confiscated his electronic weighing scales, and tossed aside his produce cart. They said Bouazizi walked to the municipal building, demanded his property, and was beaten again. Then he walked to the governor’s office, demanded an audience, and was refused (Wikipedia).

Many analyzed the Bouazizi incident as a defeat of hope engulfed by demands of bribe and corruption. The image of his family throwing coins at the

local government office gate, money he was allegedly asked to pay as a bribe, is a poignant reminder that corruption kills, opines CNN.

Objectives/Strategies for Action

What followed Bouazizi's death took the world by surprise. The desperation among the Tunisian population had reached the boiling point by this time (CNN 2011). Soon after Bouazizi's death, the street where the act was committed began filling up with angry antigovernment protesters, demanding greater accountability and an end to corruption. It was estimated that more than 5,000 people participated in the funeral procession that began in Sidi Bouzid and continued to Bouazizi's native village. From the crowd, many were heard chanting "Farewell, Mohammed, we will avenge you. We weep for you today. We will make those who caused your death weep." Attempts by police to quiet the unrest served only to fuel what had become a violent and deadly movement. The protests became more widespread, moving into the more affluent areas and eventually into the capital. The anger and violence became so intense that President Ben Ali fled Tunisia with his family on January 14, 2011.

Professor Basal Saleh wrote in his article "Protest by Suicide as a Symbol of Resistance" (2011) that Tunisians were fed up with the status quo of a self-enriching and corrupt ruling family, which is the de facto governing system in the Middle East and North Africa. "The people are fed up with corruption, and that frustration is fueling much of the outrage behind the protests," said Saleh.

Tunisians sent a strong message that a culture of integrity is what they want, and for that they needed leaders who act with integrity and transparency; leaders who are responsive to the needs of all citizens so that the management of public goods benefits everyone (Global Integrity 2011).

Tools and Techniques Used

The revolution in Tunisia was compounded by various factors. Social media played a big role in sparking the street protest following Bouazizi's death. Some protesters launched a Facebook page to document riots and share news. Earlier, the Tunisian presidential airplane and the "unofficial" trips it had taken to Europe and the fashion capitals of the world had attracted the scrutiny of the country's most outspoken bloggers. Google Earth and YouTube videos had been used to map the plane's trips and publish the photos to back up the map. "Who is using the president's plane? Who approved the trips abroad and how much was it used for official business?" were some of the questions the bloggers posed to break the silence over corruption in the country. "I simply notice that there is nothing, not a single word in the Tunisian media that could explain the presence of the Tunisian presidential plane in Geneva's airport," one of the bloggers wrote in response to the social media awareness campaign (Global Voices 2010).

Outcomes/Impact of the Interventions

The death of a Tunisian street vendor served as a catalyst for a surge of protests that unfurled across North Africa and the Middle East. It led the then-President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali to flee the country after 23 years in power. It sparked significant protests in Egypt, Algeria, Yemen, Jordan, Bahrain, and Libya, and led some of these governments to make concessions in response to civic uprisings. It is now clear that these protests will have lasting effects on the political landscapes in the region. They have shone a spotlight on a pressing need for transparent state institutions that citizens can hold to account, opines *TruthOut* online magazine (2011).

A piece on American Public Media's *Marketplace* summed up the conventional wisdom nicely:

A couple weeks after Tunisia's former president fled the country, a sign that used to read "Ministry of

Finance” was crossed out, and read instead “Ministry of Thieves.” Tunisians sent a strong message that a culture of integrity is what they want. And while they acknowledge it certainly won’t happen overnight, they see promise in the fact that the rotten fish head is of Zine Ben Ali and his cronies is gone.

Lessons Learned

- Muhammad Bouzazi’s story exemplifies that a tiny spark can ignite a powerful blaze. Autocratic rule had produced disgruntled citizens, who ultimately took power in their hands.
- Transparency International highlights that major legal and institutional reform and capacity building will be necessary in Tunisia for many years in order for the tide to meaningfully turn on corruption. The reform process needs to start with good leaders and vigilant citizens who hold the government accountable.

Prepared by Sabina Panth

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Philippines – Case Study 4

Established Norms

Corruption in the Philippines is so rampant that the public has accepted it as *kalakaran* (a way of life). In a Web survey conducted to learn how an average Filipino feels about corruption in the country, a student responded, “I can compare our country to a person suffering from a malignant cancer. The doctor is fast losing hope of saving his patient because the cancer has already metastasized and spread out to many parts of the patient’s body. His only hope now is a miracle.” Another student had a different outlook. In his response to the survey question, he wrote, “We should blame ourselves. We let our politicians suck our blood and money. We never complain. We are not brave enough to fight for our rights. We always talk, we always criticize but we do not do anything. We deserve to be fooled” (The Filipino Global Community).

The Problem

The city of Oroquieta in the Philippines was dependent on central government revenue for its budgetary expenses. However, despite the limited resources, the city bureaucracy was known to have wasted public funds in several ways. A particular aspect of this, according to the nongovernmental organization (NGO) ECOLINK, was expenditures for government vehicle procurement, use, and maintenance. The residents of Oroquieta had long been observing that budgetary allocations intended for community-level socioeconomic development were squandered for the purchase of gasoline, overpriced vehicles, and vehicle misuse. Meanwhile, existing local mechanisms on curbing internal corruption were weak, if not totally absent. Also, citizens of the city lacked a medium to express criticism of corruption.

Objectives/Strategies for Action

ECOLINK geared up to prevent/curb corruption at the local government level through a series of interventions: (a) increasing citizen participation on the issue, (b) strengthening local mechanisms, and (c) reducing local government expenses. The NGO set out with the following activities:

- Measure the extend of funds wasted on vehicle procurement, use, and maintenance
- Develop a culture of vigilance in the locality against the corrupt practices of government offices, including the misuse of government vehicles
- Designing and implementing creative activities to foster the active participation of citizens in the campaign against squandering public funds
- Using media (community radio) and information communication technology (ICT) to mobilize citizens and expose corrupt activities

Tools and Techniques Used

As a part of the public vigilance and awareness raising campaign against corrupt practices, ECOLINK initiated a community radio program called *Bantay Kurapsyon* (Corruption Watch) in Oroquieta. The show initially started out as a commentary on local government affairs and corruption. But when the show received backlash and pressure, the hosts retaliated by directly soliciting public complaints and evidence on air and through mobile texting and Web mails. The program also went online with an E-newsletter and a Facebook account to reach out to a wider audience in support of the cause. The E-newsletter has a section that is devoted to public reporting on corruption cases. It reads, “Any information on corruption? Complaint against a public officer or office? Report here.” Similarly, billboards have been erected in major cities that feature a hotline for citizens to report on anomalies to *Bantay Kurapsyon*.

Outcome/Impact of the Interventions

The radio program *Bantay Kurapsyon* has been voted the most popular and credible public affairs program, according to its website. The show receives more than 146 text messages per show and at least 21 reports every day off-show, reports its January 2009 E-newsletter. The E-newsletter says that the show maintains an average listener-rating of 7,000 per show. The station manager of the FM station where the show is aired reported that “more and more listeners are tuning in their radios to the DXNA FM Station since *Bantay Kurapsyon* began.” More than 600 members have joined the program’s Facebook page, where discussions on contemporary politics and government affairs (such as budget in the health sector, spending in city hall construction, and corruption in the mayor’s office) are taking place.

The show has gained its popularity not only because it provides a forum to expose everyday corruption faced by ordinary people, but because it exploits its listener base to garner public support and take actions on the issues raised. For instance, a community member had reported that the head of a certain *barangay* (administrative unit) had been misusing a government vehicle for private use. After that program aired, more than a dozen text messages from the residents of the same *barangay* confirmed the case. Earlier, the *barangay* head had denied accusations against her, but she finally had to succumb to the public pressure and gave an apology to her constituents on air. “Since then, people have felt empowered. They have been reporting problems concerning government offices without fear. And the program keeps on its track,” the E-newsletter quotes Paul Gangoso, the executive director of ECOLINK, which cohosts *Bantay Kurapsyon* with the FM station.

The radio program *Bantay Kurapsyon* has tackled the following issues:

- Complaints of students, parents, and teachers against a school principal for allegedly inflicting psychological and physical harm on students
- Complaints against the National Food Authority for distributing rice containing harmful wastes of insects and farm animals and imposing quotas on stores
- Complaints against the failure of the government to finish road improvements

The following actions and achievements were prompted by these complaints:

- The Department of Education ordered a suspension of the school principal after conducting an investigation of the matter.
- The National Food Authority reviewed all rice distribution and cut off maximum acquisition quotas to stores.
- The road was immediately repaired.
- The practice of police victimization of small vendors no longer exists.
- The misuse of government-issued vehicles has been completely eradicated in the province.
- The city ombudsman has committed to take actions against 50 high-ranking government officials who have been alleged to have illegally used government vehicles for private purposes.

Lessons Learned

- Efficacy is strongly correlated with political and civil participation.
- Intermediaries, such as the ECOLINK and the FM station, can act as catalysts in mobilizing citizens to take actions against corrupt practices.
- The radio show gained popularity not only because it provided a forum to expose everyday corruption but because it exploited its listener base to garner public support and take actions on the issues raised.
- The participation of individuals in reporting cases of corruption actually made a

difference, and the political system was responsive to this participation.

Prepared by Sabina Panth

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Uganda – Case Study 5

Established Norms

For poor and uneducated Ugandans, the police forces are the makers and breakers of the law, and hence beyond reproach. The public was so accustomed to police bribes and abuse that the police force was declared the most corrupt institution in South-Western Uganda

The Problem

Most Ugandans had not realized how police abuse and corruption had affected their everyday lives. They did not know that corruption existed beyond mere bribes and how the general attitudes toward formal political processes influenced corruption levels in the country. They had not realized the collective damage of corruption to the country as a whole. The public needed to be aware of the laws governing the police force and the duties and obligations of the officers toward citizens. The police force also needed to improve its integrity in order to gain the citizens' trust and confidence.

Objectives/Strategies for Action

When the police force was declared the most corrupt institution in the country, the nongovernmental organization (NGO) National Foundation for Democracy and Human Rights in Uganda (NAFODU) decided to take action. NAFODU realized that addressing problems with the police force required a two-pronged approach: (a) working with the police to increase their ethical principles and integrity, and (b) making citizens aware of laws governing police conduct. Accordingly, a series of information campaigns was launched to generate awareness of and receive feedback from citizens on police corruption, while strategies were devised to assist and cooperate with the police force to reduce corruption and improve its integrity and image.

Tools and Techniques Used

- **Cooperation with the Police Force:** NAFODU organized a police commanders meeting that enabled police officers to share experiences regarding police integrity and how the police could regain public trust and confidence. The meeting led to the development of strategies for improving police Integrity. The NGO trained 180 police officers. The training was designed to help the police officers to understand their codes of conduct, the constitution, basic standards of policing in Uganda, and the derivation of their power.
- **Information Campaign:**
 - *Radio Program:* The *Gwanisa Oburi Bwenzuzi* (Fight Corruption) radio program was launched in five districts. Radio broadcasts were aired to promote public engagement and information exchange on laws governing the police force and their duties toward citizens. The radio program was also used to promote citizen outreach and recruitment and networking of monitoring and vigilance committees to watch and register complaints of police corruption.
 - *Survey:* In order to assess the nature of corruption and identify loopholes in police force regulations, NAFODU conducted citizens' surveys in the five selected districts of its program interventions. (The NGO plans to do another survey at the end of the project to determine if there have been any improvements in areas that were identified in the survey as particularly problematic.)
- **Establishment of Monitoring and Vigilance Committees:** NAFODU mobilized citizen bodies and vigilance committees to track the conduct and behavior of the police officers in the respective districts. To ensure local presence in each district, NAFODU established district-based offices in Kisoro, Kanungu, Rukungiri, and Ntungamo, with each district having its coordinator appointed by the NGO. The coordinator was responsible

for handling complaints from the public against police personnel and liaising with police in the district.

Outcome/Impact of the Interventions

According to NAFODU, the 48 episodes of the *Gwanisa Oburi Bwenguzi* radio program have had the following results:

- Increased awareness of corruption has been evidenced by increased reporting of corruption cases to NAFODU offices. NAFODU has received both written complaints and phone calls. Also, many people have approached NAFODU to act as volunteers in the fight against corruption in their districts and communities.
- The impact survey of the radio program revealed that at least 70 percent of listeners are able to name NAFODU as an anticorruption organization. "If we can get two or more organizations in Uganda that are like NAFODU, corruption would be history," commented a regular listener to the program.
- Sixty percent of the listeners were able to name at least three acts of corruption that have been punished by an administrative or legal sanction.
- Unlike in the past, when most citizens perceived that corruption existed only in the form of bribes, the radio program helped the public become aware of other forms of corruption, such as the following:
 - Mismanagement of public projects and public funds or property
 - Neglect of duty
 - Causing financial or property loss to the government
 - Making false claims
 - Embezzlement
 - Abuse of office or authority
 - Influence peddling

- Theft or diversion of public funds or assets
- Fraud
- Forgery or uttering false documents
- False accounting
- Conflict of interest
- Victimization
- Delay in public service delivery
- Nonpayment of entitlements (e.g., salaries, benefits such as pensions)
- Breach of the Leadership Code
- At least 70 percent of listeners became aware of existing government channels for public complaints and recourse:
 - The Directorate of Ethics and Integrity
 - The Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets Authority
 - The Office of the Auditor General
 - The Inspectorate General of Government
 - The Criminal Investigations Department's Fraud Squad
 - The Directorate of Public Prosecutions
 - The Public Accounts Committee of Parliament
- A hotline was established and at least 50 public reports of corruption were received at the time of the survey. At least 30 of these came from the districts and rural areas.
- NAFODU worked with the Inspectorate of Government to put in place a suggestion box at NAFODU offices. The postal address was revealed to the public, who were encouraged to report corrupt officials.

Lessons Learned

- Interviews with prominent personalities in the radio program established the credibility of the program and its content.
- An anticorruption media program cannot be operated solely on voluntary work. It needs full-time staff who can follow up on complaints and compile reports on the findings.
- For institutions like NAFODU, which cannot be legally engaged in penalizing perpetrators

of corruption, a radio program can help name and shame of perpetrators.

Conclusion

NAFODU acknowledges that the task of reforming corrupt practices in the police force is ambitious, but it believes that public trust in the institution can indeed be restored by working with the police force and the public separately and together. At the International Anti-Corruption Conference (IACC), it called on the government to ensure that the police force is provided with adequate resources (both managerial and financial) to improve police community services and discourage officers from indulging in petty corruption. The presenter did add, however, that the “low pay the officers receive

should not be a reason to convert the police stations into extortion and exploitation grounds.”

Prepared by Sabina Panth

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Guatemala – Case Study 6

Established Norms

In Guatemala, endemic corruption functions as an enabler of violent groups, which engage in illicit activities to make money and acquire weapons, or as a by-product of their efforts to capture local and national institutions and security forces, such as the police. Violent insurgents have used perpetual poverty and injustice in the country to justify their actions and recruit members, sustaining the cycle of violence (Samayoa 2010).

The Problem

Guatemala went through a civil war from 1960 to 1996 within the cradle of the peasant unionized movement. During the war, the army formed *Cuerpos Ilegales y Aparatos Clandestinos de Seguridad* (CIACS) (illegal groups and clandestine security apparatuses) as counterinsurgents, and promoted organized crime to finance them. Over time, the line between the political end and the criminal end became blurred with the emergence of a hidden power that has established a corruption-violence link, surviving the cessation of the conflict. When the war ended, CIACS continued its operation, furthering the political interests both of organized crime and real power in Guatemala. By 2002, CIACS had taken violent action openly against human rights defenders, journalists, judges, prosecutors, and politicians. The government, although aware of CIACS' role in these attacks, was too weak to confront the powerful criminal group (Samayoa 2010).

Objectives/Strategies for Action

In Santa Lucia Cotzumalguapa, a town in the south of the country, a local citizens' movement emerged in the aftermath of the civil war. Santa Lucia is unfortunately situated in a spot convenient

to cross-border narco-trafficking from Colombia to Mexico. The objectives of the Santa Lucia movement were to win back the community from the drug lords and organized crime, promote economic and social development, prevent electoral fraud, challenge the climate of impunity, and defend the victories along the way.

Strategies involved innovative grassroots campaigns and civic actions to break up the corruption-violence nexus, maintain resilience in the face of violent repression, and foster social and economic development. The movement aimed at fostering coalition between the political party established by *Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca* (former guerrilla groups) and the government to confront criminal activities, support fair local elections, and prevent drug lords from entering local politics. The civic engagement programs were specifically aimed at youth, who are often the targets of organized crime recruitment. As a result, strong public outcry emerged against government impunity of CIACS and its role behind violent crime and corruption.

An intensive civil movement also emerged at the national level that mobilized and garnered support from the international community, including United Nations, for dismantling CIACS operations. Together, these groups challenged government impunity for CIACS criminal activities. The coalition demanded the establishment of the International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG). The objective was to initiate the dismantling of the clandestine security apparatuses operating in the country.

Tools and Techniques Used

Organizers built a strong coalition that included women, youth, and community groups. They conducted a wide and creative range of nonviolent actions, such as civil disobedience, demonstrations, monitoring of municipal officials and spending, literacy and development programs, radio call-in programs, theater, and recreation projects. These

efforts were recognized and further supported by donor agencies operating in the country, including the United Nations Development Programme and the Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung foundation. A security plan was eventually developed with coordination among the donors and civil society activists.

Successively, monitoring of crime activities and reports about the situation of violence and the security plan were prepared and disseminated to the public. The security plan encouraged citizens and journalists to report on CIACS and organized crime, breaking the silence from decades of repression. The radio programs, forums, training, and university programs supported the campaigns. There was a mobilization of the human rights community, ombudsmen, and other civil society organizations. Statements and press reports against the government's apathy toward CIACS crimes were issued. The international community supported this effort. Human rights organizations helped in networking and protecting activists at risk. Together, the coalition formed CICIG and advocated for the government to recognize it as a legal body. A broad coalition of government officials, human rights and civil society organizations, and ombudsmen supported the call.

Outcome/Impact of the Interventions

In spite of violent intimidation, kidnapping, and murder, civil resistance is ongoing, and solidarity networks have been established with other communities and citizen groups in the country and across borders. People have continued to monitor the criminal activities and actions of the new authorities in power. Solidarity networks have helped share information, experiences, and strategies, send out letters, and come to one another's aid.

After large public actions targeting legislators, the government finally recognized the creation of CICIG and offered to support its objectives, although in practice the government has yet to prove its support.

The human rights defenders drew world attention to the struggle. Santa Lucia Cotzumalguapa became the host of national and international meetings, thereby sending a message to the corrupt power holders that the country and the world were watching and stood together with the townspeople.

Lessons Learned

- **A large public action pressured the government**, which previously was too weak to confront CIACS crimes, to agree to join hands in creating CICIG.
- **A coalition among community, national, and international groups** helped pressure the government to create CICIG. In extending the arena of resistance from the local to the regional and international, the community increased people power.
- Success is based on **capability to communicate the problem** throughout local, national, and international levels and with different interest groups.
- The citizens' movement led to the creation of an alternative system of civil resistance, involving national and transnational networking, solidarity, and actions.

Prepared by Sabina Panth

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Turkey – Case Study 7

Established Norms

In 1996, Turkey was plagued by a nationwide crime syndicate that involved paramilitary entities (*gladio*), drug traffickers, the mafia, businesses, government officials, and members of Parliament. The *gladio*-mafia combination affected all walks of life. Even the major broadcasting corporation was under the control of the mafia, which manipulated legislation and business links, and often resorted to extrajudicial killings to further their control. Consequently, “everybody suffered from this [corruption] the working class, the financial sector and the ordinary people,” according to Ergin Cinmen, one of the initial organizers of the Citizen Initiative for Constant Light—a grass-roots movement that fought to uproot corruption in Turkey.

The Problem

One event in particular has encapsulated the nefarious system of corruption in Turkey. A speeding car crashed on a highway late at night near a town called Susurluk; among the passengers were a police chief, who was also the police academy director, a member of Parliament, a mistress, and an escaped criminal and paramilitary member who was wanted by the Turkish courts, Swiss police, and Interpol. The escaped criminal is said to have possessed a fake ID that was signed by the then-minister of internal affairs. Further, the car contained cash, cocaine, and weapons (Beyerle and Zunes 2006).

In reaction to the scandal, students held protests throughout the country, which were harshly suppressed by the police. The government had been repeatedly using harsh measures on students' demonstrations, using force and restrictive measures to quell civic dissent.

Objectives/Strategies for Action

A group of professionals and civil society advocates decided that the Sukurluk scandal provided an opportunity to tap public disgust over corruption and push for definable changes by mobilizing the masses. Their demands were to remove parliamentary immunity, prosecute the founders of the criminal groups, protect judges trying such cases, and expose crime syndicate relationships.

They felt that citizens should feel a sense of ownership in the effort and ran the campaign in a nonpartisan and nonideological manner in order to attract the broadest possible base of groups and citizens, and also to protect activists against government attacks. Further, they adopted a leaderless organizational structure to defend themselves against reprisals and to reinforce the notion that the initiative belonged to everyone. To forge unity, the groups reached out to civil rights organizations, the Istanbul Coordination of Chambers of Professionals, the Bar Associations, unions, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and professional associations of pharmacists, dentists, and civil and electrical engineers.

The organizers then sought to come up with an innovative nonviolent tactic that would overcome obstacles, including violent crackdowns and imprisonment by the police and the feeling of fear and powerlessness among the population. They also wanted something that would be highly visible and create a sense of national “togetherness.” They felt the campaign idea should appear to come not from an intellectual or an elite group, but from an everyday person.

Tools and Techniques Used

The organizers carefully defined goals, analyzed the media's views on corruption, and developed a publicity strategy before taking action. They

constructed a sophisticated publicity campaign to spread their message, termed a “Unifying Proposition,” signifying a message that encapsulated the cause, the urgency for action, and the call for wider participation.

A teenage daughter of one of the lawyers came up with a simple, low-risk action—a synchronized turning on and off of lights. The Citizen Initiative for Constant Light was born out of this idea.

The group launched a public relations (PR) campaign and sent a chain of faxes to get word of the action all the way down to the neighborhood groups (this was before the widespread use of Short Message Service and e-mails). In the campaign’s printed materials, an anonymous “aunt” gave the call to action, symbolizing that the message came from an average person and not an elite group. The message read, “On February 1997, we will begin to turn off our lights at 9.00 p.m. every night, until the members of the crime syndicate and its connections in the state are brought to the court.” Press releases were sent to the media, signed “The voices of the Silent Majority.”

The National Broadcasters Association was looking for ways to improve the media’s image in citizens’ eyes (due to mafia capture and control of major broadcasting companies) prior to the Susurluk case. Following the crash, a PR professional who had been hired to help the association became personally involved in the Citizen Initiative for Constant Light.

After three months of strategizing and planning, on February 1, citizens in Istanbul and many other cities turned off their lights at 9 p.m. for one minute. Each day, the numbers grew, and after two weeks, approximately 30 million people, 60 percent of the population, were participating throughout the country. Feeling empowered, people began to embellish upon the action. They opened their windows, blew whistles, and banged pots and pans, while those on the road beeped their horns or blinked their lights at the appointed time. By the second week, entire neighborhoods were engaged

in street actions, which had a celebratory air. The citizen initiative received faxes and phone calls from people from all over Turkey. In many regions, people had organized complementary events. The campaign lasted six weeks, after which its organizers called a halt.

Outcome/Impact of the Interventions

The minister of interior, whose signature appeared on the fake ID of the criminal, was forced to resign.

The mass mobilization was so great that it is said to have inadvertently opened a window of opportunity for critics of the ruling party and its coalition to bring down the government. The government was forced to resign on February 28 during the Constant Light Campaign. Six months later, the parliament approved a new government.

The campaign had succeeded in breaking the taboo over confronting corruption, empowered citizens to collectively fight for a cause, and forced the government to launch a series of judicial investigations. As follow-up actions in subsequent months, the public presented a citizens’ report on corruption, held roundtable meetings to develop a reform proposal, and initiated a letter-writing campaign, keeping up the pressure on the government and preventing it from seeking legal loopholes to block the inquiries.

Under the next prime minister’s regime, reform sparked by the campaign continued. Court cases progressed, verdicts were handed down, and a new investigative committee prepared a report listing the names of all the people murdered by the crime syndicate. A parliamentary committee was also created to document the syndicate’s activities. Subsequent investigations were launched that exposed large-scale embezzlement, resulting in the arrests of well-known business executives (by 2010).

Although parliamentary immunity was not abolished and the sole survivor of the crash remained

in power, the campaign succeeded in sending strong message to the voters, who elected the AK Party, the reformulated moderate Islamic party.

Lessons Learned

- Civil resistance can be a force for reform, accountability, and transparency by giving people the means and leverage to fight corruption.
- Skills and strategies play a critical role in the success of nonviolent movements, as they can ameliorate and overcome unfavorable or difficult situational conditions. Here, the citizens overcame repressive measures using creative low-risk tactics that exerted civic pressure and attracted broad participation.
- Communications strategies targeting the public and various pillars of support, including the government, political elites, and media, can help confront the status quo.
- A clean image is essential to winning support. Associating an “anonymous aunt” with the anticorruption campaign had a galvanizing effect.

- Creativity is one of the factors that can determine the ability of civil movements or campaigns to overcome obstacles, adapt to changing circumstances, develop innovative tactics, and maximize the impact of their resources.
- Building unity around goals and people is critical.
- The organizers’ decision to end the Citizen Initiative for Constant Light campaign on a high note, before it eventually began to fizzle, was wise. It produced a sense of victory, which is a key strategic move essential for building a winning record and setting the stage for future actions.

Prepared by Sabina Panth

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India (1) – Case Study 8

Established Norms

For many Indians, basic services such as obtaining a driver's license, a voter ID, or a birth certificate are time-consuming and often become unbearable when officials request "hidden fees" to help expedite the service. Below is one such scenario:

For more than a year and a half, an old woman has been asking the Revenue Department for a land title (*patta*) for the little land she owns. She needs the land title in order to qualify for a collateral loan that she plans to use for her granddaughter's college education. The responsible officials at the Revenue Department are purposely dilly-dallying until the woman pays a fee for the service, which is supposed to be provided for free. She is poor and cannot afford to pay the bribe (5th Pillar website).

The Problem

Transparency International (TI) reports that each year almost four million poor Indian families must bribe officials for access to basic public services. Fifty percent of Indians have firsthand experience of paying a bribe or peddling influence to get any type of job done in a public office. As of 2010, India is the ninth most corrupt country in the world, with about 54 percent of Indians paying a bribe in the past year, according to TI. Many Indians are resigned to paying bribes for government services and to smooth daily transactions.

Objectives/Strategies for Action

Several new initiatives have come up in the civil society sector to raise awareness of corruption-related issues and to build anticorruption platforms. The nongovernmental organization (NGO) 5th Pillar is one such organization, which is promoting the use of zero-rupee notes to fight corruption by shaming the officials who ask for bribes. The idea was dreamt

up by an expatriate Indian physics professor from the University of Maryland who, traveling back home, found himself harassed by endless extortion demands. He used the zero-rupee notes as a polite way of saying no to officials who held out their hands for *riswat* (bribes). Vijay Anand, president of 5th Pillar, thought the idea might work on a larger scale.

Tools and Techniques Used

The zero-rupee protest note being promoted by 5th Pillar looks like a regular 50-rupee (Indian currency) bill. It carries the phrase "Eliminate Corruption at All Levels" on the front. Instead of "I promise to pay the bearer..." the bill reads, "I promise to neither accept nor give a bribe."

Initially, the NGO printed 25,000 zero-rupee notes and distributed them to students in the southern state of Tamil Nadu. Since 2007, it distributed more than one million bills in five languages, covering 600-plus institutions. Volunteers hand them out near places where officials often solicit bribes, such as railway stations and government hospitals.

The notes are printed and distributed in a few major regional languages of India. To take this concept worldwide, the website <http://zerocurrency.org/> came into being, offering zero currencies of the world in a downloadable format. 5th Pillar maintains a website and distributes a Tamil monthly magazine called *Matram* (Change) that recounts, in an entertaining fashion, the chase, capture, and downfall of many corrupt officials.

According to Beyerly (2011), the movement has developed two defining methods. The first is the promotion of a "nonviolent weapon" for ordinary citizens to refuse to pay petty bribes, and sending a message of "noncooperation to corruption" by assuring people that they are not alone; they are part of a larger movement. The second filing a Right to Information (RTI) to hold officials accountable by documenting misbehavior complaints. Tactics associated with RTI have included inspection and audits of public

works, leafleting, and backup for those wanting to approach the state government's Vigilant Department and the Central Bureau of Investigation's Anticorruption Zone.

The movement also engages in tactics designed to heighten awareness, build interest, communicate the message, garner media attention, gain support, and exert civic pressure on authorities to protect the RTI. These include human chains, beach rallies, signatures on huge banners of the zero-rupee note, street-corner meetings, village processions, poetry contests, diaspora chapters, "peaceful agitation," badges for honest officials, humorous stunts, and reporting instances of corruption via Short Message Service and the Internet.

"Because of the way we operate, not attacking or accusing any party or individual, we have faced no problem, no danger, no threats, no resistance," Anand says. "In fact, in the last three years 5th Pillar has not made anyone's life more complicated by offering a zero-rupee note in place of a bribe."

5th Pillar's strategy has been to target schools and adolescents. "We reach out to a younger generation and drive home the message in a hard-hitting manner. This is not a choice. It's an imperative. We teach them that bribery and corruption are poison. We use that word. Then they take a pledge, sign a banner and go home and tell their parents," says Anand.

"We use the rupee note to kick off conversations," Anand told CNN (2010). "When we step out of the office in Chennai to get lunch, we give them out to people waiting for their food. I give them out to people boarding planes, anywhere where people are waiting."

Outcome/Impact of the Interventions

"It [the zero-rupee note] gets the job done," Anand says. "Just try it. People are startled that you address the issue in public. We teach people to think that

taking a bribe is equal to stealing and begging and to feel unafraid. In fact, it's usually the person suggesting a bribe who feels uncomfortable." He adds, "hundreds of Indian citizens write and e-mail 5th Pillar every month. Hundreds more phone in every day. The zero-rupee note allows its user to make a cutting statement without any of the grand moralizing about the 'war on bribery and corruption.'"

Anand claims the notes have even had a practical effect, often shaming officials into getting business done efficiently without using real cash.

One official in Tamil Nadu was so stunned to receive the note that he handed back all the bribes he had solicited for providing electricity to a village. Another stood up, offered tea to the woman from whom he was trying to extort money, and approved a loan so her granddaughter could go to college.

Ravi Sundar, an information technology recruiter in the southern city of Coimbatore, said he used the notes whenever he had government business to sort out. He gave one example of a tax official who refused to process documents unless he paid her 500 rupees.

"I handed over the zero-rupee note which I always keep in my pocket," said Sundar. "She was afraid and didn't want to take it. She completed the job immediately and said she was sorry and asked me not to take it forward."

Most of the success has taken place in India's largely educated southern cities Chennai, Vizag, Bangalore, and Hyderabad. But Anand has also received calls from Nepal, Argentina, Mexico, France, and Germany. Some want their own note to fight corruption; others want to use it in schools to teach children.

As a result of the campaign, some officials have the zero-rupee note displayed in their office to let people know that they are noncorrupt. The note serves as a way for citizens to demonstrate that "I will not pay a penny more than is required by law to get access to the basic rights to

which I am entitled.” Because the currency carries the contact information of 5th Pillar, the official knows that the individual who has presented the note is not alone.

Lessons Learned

- **The backing of an organization is important in individual fights against corruption:** Ordinary people are more willing to protest when they know an organization is behind them.
- **The success of tools like the zero-rupee note lies in people’s willingness use them.**
- **Using nonviolent tools to fight corruption invites less retaliation:** “There has not been one incident where a zero-rupee note has created a more serious situation,” said Anand.
- **When people are not afraid to stand up against corruption, corrupt officials get scared:** Corrupt officials who seldom encounter resistance from ordinary people are frightened when people show their zero-rupee notes, making a strong statement condemning bribery.

- **The notes maybe valueless, but not worthless:** The zero-rupee note has allowed its users to make a cutting statement without any of the grand moralizing about the “war on bribery and corruption,” according to Anand. Its help in transforming social norms is the key to fighting petty corruption.

Prepared by Sabina Panth

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India (2) – Case Study 9

Established Norms

Corruption is rampant in India, where citizens come face to face with it in their daily lives. For instance, a widow is unable to access food through the Public Distribution System because the government official demands a bribe to issue her a ration card.

The Problem

There has been increasing anger and frustration over bribery in India, but at the same time there is a high level of tolerance. Some citizens habitually offer bribes in exchange for services, further perpetuating corruption. Citizens are also afraid to raise their voices against corruption for fear of retaliation and further setbacks to obtaining essential public services.

Objectives/Strategies for Action

Janaagraha, a nonprofit organization, came up with an idea to boost citizens' confidence in obtaining services without succumbing to bribes. It decided to build an online forum to encourage victims to report on incidences when they have been forced to pay a bribe, when they have resisted a demand for a bribe, or when they did not have to pay a bribe because of honest officers on duty or improvements in law or procedures. The idea was to empower citizens to bring out their stories in order to build greater awareness of everyday corruption.

The collated information is intended to be used to assist in arguing for improving governance systems and procedures and tightening law enforcement and regulation, thereby reducing the scope for corruption in obtaining government services. The idea was to use a systematized process to identify the most serious areas of corruption rather

than taking action with specific departments based on individual citizen reports.

The organization desired citizens to act through a simple, easy, and nonthreatening process, where they are not required to identify themselves or give an individual official's name in their reports.

Tools and Techniques Used

The "I Paid a Bribe" website was launched on August 15 (India's Independence Day), 2010. Citizens can submit their reports through telephone calls, blog posts, audio/video recordings, or by following the format in the website. The information obtained is aggregated and analyzed to identify more corrupt departments, loopholes used by officials to demand bribes, and situations in which bribes are demanded. The format for reporting is compartmentalized in a manner that allows both the viewers and the host organization to observe the nature, pattern, types, and distribution of bribes across cities and government departments.

Features such as "Frequently Asked Questions," "Discussion Forum," and "Ask Raghu" in the website allow citizens to interact with hosts as well as with one another to share information on procedures, fees, and time required to obtain services in specific sectors or government departments. T.R. Raghunandan, who has 30 years of experience in civil service in India, answers specific questions, providing people with the information they need. He explains that people are usually very fearful of the government, mainly owing to lack of information. "There should be more information available so that people are more confident in dealing with officials and can insist on following established procedures and not paying a bribe," says Raghu

People can also give their suggestions and contribute to newer practical and tactical approaches to dealing with corruption on the website's forum. Through this platform, citizens can share their experiences of corruption, monitor injustice, and collaborate to fight against it. Janaagraha plans

to put out white papers, the first one being on land and property registration, along with a video feature, so that people are equipped with the right knowledge about the procedures, fees, time needed, and the duties of the officials.

Outcome/Impact of the Interventions

The “Impact” section of the website mentions cases in which people have been able to stand against bribery through information Janaagraha has made available, and by simply providing a platform for citizens to raise their voices. The section mentions case stories where information on the website has been used to take corrective measures. One striking example is that of a transport commissioner who asked Janaagraha to give him a list of complaints against his department, and issued show-cause notices to 20 senior officers based on the location of the bribes paid.

I Paid a Bribe (IPAB) has entered its second and third phases of engagement with the government by publishing its first *Janamahithi* (information for the people) report on the bribes paid in the Transport Department, Bangalore. The transport commissioner of Bangalore, Bhaskar Rao, invited the team to brief the Regional Transport Office (RTO) officials on the report. During the briefing, IPAB also gave recommendations on how to

make the RTO offices bribe-free. The group has also come up with a “10 commandments” poster on how to avoid paying a bribe, which will be put up in all RTO offices in Bangalore soon. It has begun work on the second *Janamahithi*, which will be on the bribes paid in the registration department in Karnataka—a different state.

Lessons Learned

- Online technology can be a powerful platform to empower citizens and build solidarity to fight corruption.
- Information can make people more confident in dealing with officials and refusing to pay bribes.
- An online tool with organizational backing can garner citizens’ actions and alert or pressure the government to take corrective measures to fight against petty corruption.

Prepared by Sabina Panth

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Hong Kong – Case Study 10

Established Norms

“Some get on the bus, others run alongside it, yet very few stand in front of it.” This was how the entrenched norms of corruption in Hong Kong were described. Alan Lai Lin, a former commissioner of Hong Kong’s Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC), further asserted, “It would probably start with an officer finding some cash in his personal locker. Then, it was up to him. He could quietly accept it and tacitly ‘get on the bus’ of corruption. Or he could, if he refused to accept the money, mind his own business and ‘run alongside’ the bus, in which case he would become a virtual outsider and never expect to go far in his career. But worst of all was for him to ‘stand in front of the bus,’ that is, to report corruption. It was simply suicidal in job terms and an invitation for victimization” (Lai Line 2000).

The Problem

Illegal kickbacks, protection rackets, bribes, and other corruption-related crimes were accepted as “a way of life” in Hong Kong until the early 1970s.

The problem of corruption was epidemic in the whole government. It permeated every part of people’s lives. Scenes like ambulance men demanding “tea money” before picking up a sick person and hospital amahs asking for “tips” before giving patients a bedpan or a glass of water were commonplace. Public distrust of the Anti-Corruption Office, which was part of the police, was deep-rooted (LaMagna 1999).

Objectives/Strategies for Action

When the government decided to set up an independent body to tackle corruption, the then governor openly declared that lasting success would

require nothing short of a “quiet revolution in the society.” He knew too well that law enforcement action alone, no matter how effective, would not be able to stamp out corruption in the long term (LaMagna 1999).

ICAC was thus established with the statutory duties to educate the public about the evils of corruption and to enlist and foster public support in the battle. Community education was to be an integral part of the antigraft strategy, alongside detection and prevention.

Tools and Techniques Used

Many resources were deployed to win over an incredulous public, to assure them that ICAC was effective, impartial, and determined to remove the “rotten apples.” In order to allay public fears of possible retaliation, a stringent “sacred rule of silence” was instituted from the outset on the origins of corruption complaints under investigation.

Knowing that public support could dissipate at the slightest hint of inertia or inefficiency, ICAC commissioned regular surveys to gauge the public mood, assessing—

- Level of tolerance of corruption
- Tolerance of private sector corruption
- Willingness to report
- Public support

Corruption was simultaneously tackled on three fronts:

- Investigation
- Prevention
- Public education

These three functions were structured to be interdependent, each building on the strengths of the other.

To demonstrate to the public that the corrupt would be brought to justice regardless of who they

were, ICAC determined to act without fear or favor. ICAC took decisive enforcement actions to restore public trust. A series of high-profile arrests and prosecutions occurred, with police syndicated corruption on top of the list. The “big tiger” corrupt senior government officials were described in the mass media, convincing the public that the anti-corruption drive was serious.

Corruption prevention and community relations also moved into top gear. Prevention specialists examined the procedures and practices of all government departments, plugging loopholes and removing corruption opportunities along the way. An average of 100 studies a year were conducted on various government procedures and practices. In view of the growing demand, an Advisory Services Group was also established to provide tailor-made confidential advice to the private sector.

Understanding that “the cancerous cells of corruption may be dormant, but they are waiting to strike again,” the Community Relations Department (CRD) undertook the task of transforming the public attitude toward corruption. The CRD’s responsibilities included the following:

- Promoting the image of ICAC as an independent and determined anticorruption agency
- Educating the public on the anticorruption law
- Enlisting public support in reporting corruption
- Instilling and fostering a culture of integrity and fairness in order to ostracize the corrupt

Public education was carried forward through—

- Face-to-face contacts with all walks of life in the community to hammer home the evils of corruption and enlist support
- Extensive use of the mass media in illustrating the dire consequences of corruption and inculcating positive values in society

In an average year, CRD staff reached between 200,000 and 300,000 people through approximately

800 talks, activities, and special projects. CRD staff talked to every corner of society. Be it a civil servant, a taxi driver, a housewife, a teacher, a construction worker, or a successful businessman, everyone was a target. The CRD produced “practical guides,” newsletters, and other publications for government employees, trade unions, and other specific target groups on how to deal with tempting situations. An Ethics Development Center was established to promote ethical business practices, which were endorsed by major chambers of commerce in the country.

A Press Information Office was set up to provide the mass media with timely information on ICAC’s anticorruption initiatives. Television was also used extensively. TV advertisements and drama series based on real-life corruption cases were aired. The mass media strategy was divided into four phases:

- **The Era of Awakening:** A promotion campaign in the early 1970s was directed primarily at low-income people, such as hawkers or manual laborers, who were most vulnerable to abuses. Their sufferings were highlighted and they were urged to report their stories. The catch phrase of the campaign was “Report corruption.”
- **Level Playing Field:** In the economic boom of the 1980s, the message targeted private sector corruption. The message was that a level playing field for all investors was central to the continued economic well-being of the country. TV commercials were designed with a subtle tone, since the target audience was relatively refined and educated.
- **1997 Syndrome:** When Hong Kong rejoined mainland China, there were worries that the unscrupulous would scramble for money by illegal means before migrating to other countries. To counter this perception, ICAC set out to assure the public that it was as determined as ever to fight corruption. It put out a slogan: “Hong Kong’s Advantage Is ICAC.”

- **New Millennium:** Realizing that the digital age belongs to the youth, who were brought up without experiencing the ruinous consequences of unchecked corruption, ICAC reintroduced integrity education with youth as a target audience, using online channels. ICAC's youth website, "Teensland," scored more than one million hits within less than six months of its launch.

Outcome/Impact of the Interventions

The changes in public perception of corruption can be tracked by the following indicators:

- The percentage of nonanonymous corruption reports (a good indicator of public confidence) rose from 35 percent in 1974 to 56 percent in 1980s and has remained steady at about 68 percent in the past few years.
- The percentage of reports alleging government corruption dropped drastically, from 86 percent in 1974 to 60 percent in 1984 and 40 percent in 1999. Reports of police corruption plunged from 45 percent in 1974 to 30 percent in 1984 and to 14 percent in 1999. Most important, police corruption nowadays concerns only individual officers. Syndicated corruption is a thing of the past.
- In 1993, 36.7 percent of survey respondents said they would not tolerate corruption in both the private and public sector. The level rose to about 80 percent in the late 1990s and stood at 83 percent in 2000.
- In 1993, 44.6 percent of respondents expressed tolerance of private sector graft. This level dipped to 11 percent in 2000.
- The percentage of respondents indicating "willingness to report" corruption gradually rose from 54.4 percent in 1993 to 64.7 percent in 2000.
- Public endorsement of ICAC persistently hovers between 98 and 99 percent.

Effective enforcement can be tracked from the following outcomes:

- In the year of ICAC's inception, a police chief superintendent who had fled Hong Kong while under investigation by the police Anticorruption Office was located and extradited from the United Kingdom by ICAC. He was put behind bars for four years on charges of pocketing millions in "black money" during his tenure.
- Between 1974 and 1977, approximately 260 police officers of all ranks were prosecuted—four times the total number prosecuted preceding ICAC. In a single scoop, ICAC rounded up 140 police officers from three police districts. At one time, more than 200 were detained for alleged corruption.
- In ICAC's first year of operation, 3,189 reports of alleged corruption were filed, more than twice the number received by the police Anticorruption Office the previous year.
- Within three years of actions, ICAC pronounced that corruption syndicates within the civil service had been all but crushed.
- ICAC claims to have forged one of the most extensive community networks in Hong Kong.

ICAC claims that its efforts have turned Hong Kong from one of the most corrupt to one of the most upstanding societies in the world. According to an ICAC report, social disapproval of graft is so overpowering today that those convicted of corruption carry a lifelong stigma.

Lessons Learned

- Tackling corruption requires simultaneous efforts on three fronts—investigation, prevention, and public education.
- With full commitment, support, and well-thought-out strategies, a government anti-corruption agency can be the most effective instrument to fight corruption.
- An elaborate system of checks and balances is

important to ensure the integrity and credibility of a government-led anticorruption agency. All aspects of ICAC's work are subject to the scrutiny and monitoring of civilian advisory committees appointed by the chief executive.

- Adequate legal power should be bestowed on anticorruption agencies to avoid secrecy and manipulation by powerful vested interests. An independent judiciary is just as important.
- A high level of staff integrity is necessary to make anticorruption agencies effective. ICAC claims to have very stringent staff recruitment criteria. It also has an internal monitoring unit.
- Garnering support from the mass media was a great help in exposing corruption and the effective work done by ICAC to counter it.

- Public trust in a government-run anticorruption agency hinges on its ability to remain effective and impartial in the execution of its duties.

Prepared by Sabina Panth

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Argentina – Case Study 11

Established Norms

Carlos Minos, a legal philosopher, described Argentina as “a country at the margins of the law.” Some Argentines believe the political history of Argentina justifies this hypothesis (the country was under a dictatorial regime until the recent past). Some blame the country’s Italian heritage for “the way business is done,” which caters to the “mafia,” or the corrupt elite, at the expense of the silent majority. Public officials are known to command entitlement to benefits from citizens, and citizens feel it is their duty to serve the public officials. Such practices have been said to trigger institutional configurations and operations that have been linked to the economic meltdown in the country in the early 1990s (Sigal 2011).

The Problem

Argentina has consistently ranked among the most corrupt countries in the world, with Transparency International ranking it as the 106th least corrupt country in 2009. Abuse of public office for private gains is a prevailing condition in Argentina, undermining the rule of law, weakening institutions, and encouraging the excessive influence of private interests on public institutions.

Moreover, the structure of the legal system has provided vast impunity for corrupt officials. The interactions between federal judges and public functionaries takes place without oversight from any third party, generating a fertile climate for corruption. Judicial performance is extremely inefficient in the investigation of major acts of corruption. Despite a large number of reports that have been entered, only a tiny percentage of cases are tried. There is no provision for citizens’ access to legal information. Congress has yet to pass the Access to Information Law (Sigal 2011).

Objectives/Strategies for Action

The Civil Association for Equality and Justice (*Asociación Civil por la Igualdad y la Justicia*, or ACIJ) is a nongovernmental organization that works on strengthening democratic institutions and promoting human rights in Argentina. One of ACIJ’s main aims is to contribute to better performance and greater transparency of public institutions, such as administrative agencies, courts, and legislative and regulatory agencies.

In relation to the prevailing culture of impunity and corruption, ACIJ founders launched an investigation campaign to analyze how the judiciary handles corruption cases.

In Argentina, most corruption cases are not open to public, and trials go on as long as 14 years. After some years, the Statute of Limitations applies, preventing further investigation. Meanwhile, the corruption cases that do get public exposure are closed without any repercussions (Sigal 2011). To address this problem, ACIJ decided to operate a program, called Citizen Action and Anticorruption, with a two-pronged approach: to encourage the transparency of public agencies and institutions of government, and to analyze and promote the participation of citizens in the inquiry, prosecution, and punishment of crimes of corruption. ACIJ believes that citizen participation to confront corruption is a prerequisite for positive and sustainable results.

Tools and Techniques Used

ACIJ’s work in this area has been accomplished through a multifaceted approach, using both advocacy and litigation as tools to combat corruption. In the area of securing access to information, ACIJ had a recent successful request for information on more than 100 pending corruption cases. ACIJ is also aggressively pursuing advocacy and strategic litigation around the advancement of open corruption cases, and has advanced a case as far as the

Supreme Court, where it hopes the precedent will favor its anticorruption drive.

ACIJ has contributed to analysis and investigation of the problems with publications, such as a research report on investigative flaws in corruption cases that take more than 14 years to be heard. It has facilitated public access to clear and organized information related to corruption cases and trials in progress in order to encourage transparency by the judiciary, and most important, to encourage public involvement in the processes. It has launched a blog, entitled “*Sin Corrupción*” (Without Corruption), which provides a forum for discussing cases and explains legal rules and hurdles on access to justice, and simultaneously acts as external pressure on judges and prosecutors who access the information. The blog also provides a forum for publishing and debating case analysis and inefficiencies that tend to characterize the judicial investigations. Each month a particular theme related to corruption is addressed on the blog using written as well as audio-visual materials (e.g., articles, interviews, graphics).

ACIJ has also expanded its communication technologies in the fight against corruption with an online interactive database, which is a detailed directory of information on approximately 100 cases that it has been following for online debate and discussions. Information includes updates on each investigation; information about magistrates, public prosecutors, and other factors and actors involved in each case; as well as relevant past and future dates in the judicial agenda. A search engine format allows the information to be cross-referenced, enabling the user to access information using basic and advanced search criteria. The information is also color coded to signify the progress or the different stages of each case.

Outcomes/Impact of the Interventions

- ACIJ has created a “community of practice” through different information channels to encourage citizen participation and advocacy

initiatives to pressure for public access to government information, specifically in the dealings of corruption cases. No public discussion was held prior to this initiative on corruption.

- Citizens are becoming more aware of and informed on legal rules on access to justice, including the roles and responsibilities of public judges and prosecutors and the rights of corruption victims.
- Through its blog and online database, ACIJ has facilitated public access to clear and organized information on corruption cases and trials in progress, leading to pressure for transparency in the judiciary and active citizen involvement in this process.
- Journalists have shared information that ACIJ made available through different channels for wider public knowledge, while relevant organizations have used and linked the ACIJ online information channels in their work.
- Since the blog’s creation, the number of visitors has steadily increased and now reaches an average of 3,500 hits per month. The blog has also been linked to other popular social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter.

Lessons Learned

- Innovation and incorporation of new technologies, such as the blog and online database, can be effective tools for monitoring corruption cases, increasing citizen participation, promoting transparency in the public sector, and, more broadly, in strengthening democracy and the quality of democratic institutions.
- The fight against corruption is a long, tiresome, relentless effort. The movement needs to have a long-term goal but with consistent short-term, visible outcomes, to keep citizens engaged.
- It is easy to garner citizens’ involvement in the fight against corruption once they are informed and aware of the problems and opportunities.

Prepared by Sabina Panth

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Brazil – Case Study 12

Established Norms

As in the majority of countries around the world, it was not uncommon for political candidates running for office in Brazil to have a criminal record. In Brazil, both the political system and citizenship remained immune to parliamentary crimes, which included money laundering and corruption.

The Problem

At one point, 147 out of the 513 members of Congress in Brazil faced criminal charges in the Supreme Court or were under investigation. Most of the crimes involved either violating campaign finance laws or stealing public money through corruption. The same went for 21 of 81 seating senators (*The Economist* 2010). However, these politicians had little to worry about. The law had been modified to limit parliamentary immunity for corruption, but the Brazilian justice was patient. Politicians had the right to be tried by the Supreme Court, but many cases lapsed before they were heard. Even when the candidates were convicted, they lost only temporary rights, as the law allowed them to run for office in the following election year, and they resumed their usual business of crime and corruption (Mühlbeier 2010).

Objectives/Strategies for Action

A coalition of civil society organizations called the Movement for Fighting Electoral Corruption started a campaign to put an end to parliamentary immunity, mainly in allowing convicted politicians running for office, which included barring the convicted officials from reappearing in the following election or filing appeals to prevent them from having to serve their sentences. The movement campaigned to introduce legislation to qualify only candidates who had clean a criminal record to pursue a political career.

Tools and Techniques Used

The movement initiated a massive campaign to collect physical signatures along with voter IDs that were required to introduce legislation through a popular initiative into the Congress. This required a massive and detailed logistical task, including mobilizing volunteers and sending them out to the communities and on the streets, and the campaign headquarters had to receive and process huge amounts of paperwork. The campaign managed to manually collect 1.6 million signatures. This helped create the *Ficha Limpa* (Clean Record) bill. The spirit of the bill was to accomplish the goal of the campaign to clean up Brazilian politics.

To enable the bill to move forward, the campaign developed a strategy to build support within Congress. This included referencing the constitutional root of the bill—as stated in the first paragraph of the Brazilian Constitution, “all power emanates from people and it will be exercised on their behalf.” The negotiations that took place during this process helped improve the bill further.

The movement became an online phenomenon during the legislation’s trajectory in Congress in 2010. Avaaz.com conducted a massive online campaign that included support for the bill by an additional three million advocates via the Internet. The online campaigning was a valuable addition to the offline campaign and helped push *Ficha Limpa* legislation through Congress. On June 2010, President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva signed the bill, which became the historical and revolutionary *Ficha Limpa* law. Six days after the signing, the Brazilian Superior Electoral Court ruled that the law will be applied to the coming year’s elections.

Outcome/Impact of the Interventions

- The popular people’s movement led to the president signing the *Ficha Limpa* law that will disqualify from political office (for eight years) all those convicted of crimes, as well as

all those whose resignations were motivated by a desire to avoid impeachment (as determined by the electoral tribunals) from running for office. The electoral court ruled that the law will apply not just to those convicted in the future, but also to those who already have a criminal record and those who resigned under a cloud during the current Congress.

- Since the bill passed, more 330 candidates for office are facing disqualification.
- The day after the *Ficha Limpa* law went into effect, protests against officials suspected of criminal activity were launched in 13 cities in the southern state of Parana. According to one report, the protest was against corruption and the recent scandals involving allegations of legislators' paying fictitious employees and embezzling public money in the Parana Legislation Assembly.
- Even before the bill was approved, the popular movement pressured several politicians to step down. For instance, a deputy of the Brazilian Workers Party announced his resignation on Twitter. He was investigated for suspected involvement in connection with at least 20 transgressions, including the embezzlement of public funds. In his resignation announcement on Twitter he wrote, "People don't want criminal records and I respect that."
- The movement is expected to change the trend of the voters, even if the judiciary fails to enforce the law. According to the political analyst Nelson Rosario de Souza, "It's a complex thing for the population to analyze all the characteristics of a candidate. But if the politician undergoes *Ficha Limpa* screening, voters' analysis will be easier."

Lessons Learned

- Popular uprisings through strong coalition can mount public pressure for corrupt politicians to step down. Even before the *Ficha Limpa* law

was passed, a Brazilian Workers Party deputy was forced by public pressure to step down from his position.

- While online campaigning is effective, off-line campaigning is equally important in mobilizing community support and building strong networks to fight corruption. The off-line movement law helped initiate the massive signature campaign and the collection of voter IDs required for to introduce the bill. It also helped negotiate and build support within the Congress to improve and pass the bill.
- A combination of online and off line campaigns proved effective in passing the *Ficha Limpa* law.
- "If citizens don't make a demand, politicians will keep on doing whatever they want," explained Wilson Lopes dos Santos, a 57-year-old engineer who participated in the demonstration.

Prepared by Sabina Panth

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Colombia – Case Study 13

Background

The National Strategy Information Center (NSIC) is a Washington, DC-based nonprofit educational organization. Through the Culture of Lawfulness (COL) Project, it is developing and implementing programs around the world to increase societal support for the rule of law.¹ To accomplish this, the COL Project works with a variety of actors, such as school systems, law enforcement, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the United Nations, and the Organization of American States.

COL defines a “culture of lawfulness” as “a society in which the overwhelming majority of members are convinced that the rule of law offers the best long-term chance of securing their rights and attaining their goals. They believe that this is achievable and are committed to upholding it.” COL uses a framework that builds upon past successful initiatives such as those in Sicily and Hong Kong in the 1980s. Within this framework, COL collaborates with key sectors in a country—including public servants, law enforcement, mass media, school-based education, and centers of moral authority (respected individuals, religious institutions, etc.)—to develop and implement rule of law education within and among their institutions. When these different sectors work together synergistically, they create a unified, overarching effort toward strengthening a culture of lawfulness throughout their society.

Since early 2008, COL has been using this framework for a three-year initiative with local government and civil society leaders to combat corruption and promote the rule of law in the Colombian city of Pereira. When COL first began its work in Pereira, some existing national efforts helped it get started. For example, a formal education program aimed at enhancing integrity and the rule of law had already been instituted by the National Colombian Police in police academies across the country. A 60-hour culture of lawfulness course for ninth graders was also being taught in

22 municipalities. Furthermore, Bogota, under the leadership of mayor Antanas Mockus in the mid-1990s, saw a drastic improvement in legal reasoning and responsible behavior, proving that such change on a large scale was possible in Colombia.

COL had three broad goals in Pereira over its three-year period:

1. To consolidate a group of public and private local authorities to become leaders in fostering a culture of lawfulness
2. To promote knowledge and the transformation of attitudes directed at recognizing the benefits of a culture of lawfulness, with special attention to honesty and transparency in everyday actions
3. To institutionalize education about the rule of law in synergistic programs across sectors, including schools, NGOs, local government, and the private sector

Objectives/Strategies for Action

COL has worked with Pereira governmental and nongovernmental leaders to institute a series of programs aimed at promoting respect for the rule of law among the people of Pereira. Though not all of their specific tactics are aimed at combating corruption exclusively, promoting this broader issue in many areas of daily life can ultimately create a culture that is intolerant of corruption, as respecting the rule of law becomes a norm for everyone in society. COL explains this approach as follows: “By marginalizing lawless behavior, a culture of lawfulness helps protect societies against major threats to democracy: organized crime, corruption, extremism, political violence, authoritarianism, and public fatalism.”

Centers of Moral Authority

One major objective in Pereira is to consolidate a group of community leaders from both the public sector and civil society to advocate for broad

societal support for the rule of law. These leaders include the mayor, City Council members, leaders of NGOs and churches, Pereira's Transit Institute, and the city's secretaries of education and health.

COL supports initiatives undertaken by faith-based organizations to promote transparency and fight corruption. The Catholic Diocese of Pereira, for example, has begun using its monthly magazine, *Pregon Catolico*, to issue calls for transparency to big businesses and the public sector, as well as to inform about the personal and collective consequences of bribes. Likewise, Council of Evangelical and Protestant Churches of Colombia (CEDECOL) pastors in Pereira are joining together to advocate against corruption and to become involved in community projects. With technical assistance from COL, CEDECOL has developed a guide for pastors, advising them how to encourage their congregants and all people to reject crime and corruption and to make responsible individual decisions.

Public Servants/Law Enforcement

The police are a major focus not only of COL's work in Pereira but of other regional and nationwide initiatives. When law enforcement officials promote the rule of law in their professional and personal lives, citizen confidence increases. This ultimately allows police to become more effective at improving security. Fifteen police lieutenants are currently working with community members on action plans to diminish specific security challenges in Pereira, such as piracy, the sale of stolen goods, the violation of traffic laws, the falsification of documents, and street theft.

Police are also encouraging the population to take a stance in the crime-fighting process by reporting crimes they witness, a practice that increases the police's likelihood of solving crimes.

The police also are working to increase their visibility to and rapport with the population via mass media strategies. The police have created *Parche Legal*, a weekly radio talk show featuring

students who have learned about the importance of culture of lawfulness in school. Students play music that appeals to Colombian youth and engage in frank discussions about how to fight corruption on their own level, such as in school elections. The program provides an outlet for youth to openly discuss the crime and corruption they face in their neighborhoods and allows them to develop possible solutions with law enforcement authorities.

Mass Media—Daily Efforts to Educate Readers and Viewers

The mass media are also playing an important role in fostering a culture of lawfulness. In addition to regular coverage of COL initiatives in press, radio, and television news sections, entertainment radio and television programs are generating community support for the rule of law. For example, *Voxpopuli*, a weekly news talk show, interviews well-known regional leaders about what the culture of lawfulness means to them and how they are promoting it. Band members performing live on *Vitrola* radio music program discuss the consequences for the music industry of purchasing pirated goods. A local community radio station sponsors a talk program, *Legalismo*, designed to educate listeners on how to defend themselves from unfair legal proceedings.

School-Based Education

A curriculum aimed at teaching students about the benefits of the rule of law and how it applies to their lives in and outside the classroom has been instituted in many of Pereira's schools. The ninth grade Culture of Lawfulness curriculum has been introduced in 56 of Pereira's 64 middle schools. Likewise, several other educational initiatives aimed at children, such as the aforementioned *Parche Legal*, work to instill a respect for the rule of law in people at a young age.

It is hoped that educational programs targeted at children will have an impact that reaches beyond children alone—for example, sending positive messages to parents when children bring home homework from the COL curriculum.

The above is just a sampling of how COL collaborates with local partners in its four framework areas. It also supports a variety of local organizations in combating corruption. One such organization is *Vida y Futuro*, a microlending nonprofit in Pereira that is actively participating in culture of lawfulness education. Recipients of microloans have in the past been known to engage in unlawful practices such as tax evasion, not applying for permits, hiring underage workers, purchasing and reselling contraband products, and not abiding by food and health regulations. *Vida y Futuro* saw an opportunity to create a fairer and a more equitable community of small entrepreneurs. In addition to developing workshops about the role of businesses in the promotion of the rule of law, *Vida y Futuro* created a culture of lawfulness certificate for loan recipients. The certificate allows recipients to commit to specific lawful behaviors of their choice. Examples include paying their taxes on time, abiding by labor laws, formalizing their business through the Chamber of Commerce, or reporting any public official who tries to offer them bribes.

At the base of many of the culture of lawfulness activities developed in Pereira is the idea of becoming a part of daily life. One major way this is achieved is the renovation and recuperation of public spaces. For example, a task force composed of both government, law enforcement, and civil society institutions is currently working to clean and reclaim *Parque la Libertad*—a local park where crime and underage prostitution are rampant.

Likewise, a major area of COL's work in Pereira focuses on transportation safety. COL learned that a major cause of traffic accidents in Pereira was ignorance of traffic laws. With the partnership of the police, Megabus (the city's metrorail system), the secretary of education, the Institute of Transportation, CEDECOL, motorcycle repair shops, and City Hall, an initiative was launched to educate Pereirans about traffic safety and decrease the number of accidents involving motorcyclists and pedestrians. One initiative included giving "*prueba de vida*" cards to cyclists. These cards

contain a short (three-question) quiz about simple traffic laws, then ask cyclists to sign a safety pledge and hand them in. More than 4,000 pedestrians and motorcyclists have signed and returned these life pledges. In addition, several main thoroughfares in Pereira have been updated with traffic lights and new lane markings, and more than 200 citations have been issued to cyclists and motorcyclists for law infractions, with emphasis on equal application of the law regardless of political or socioeconomic status.

Another important initiative has been the city's public communication campaign, undertaken with the support of Megabus, the Catholic Church, the secretary of planning, the mayor's communication office, public advertising, and other independent groups. This four-phase campaign includes public service announcements on billboards, Megabus, trains and in buses, as well as partnerships with newspapers and radio stations, in which a select group of citizens are recognized as "*Heroes de Legalidad*"—individuals who make significant contributions toward protecting and promoting the rule of law in their daily lives.

Though some of these initiatives start small and initially may reach only a fraction of the population—such as cyclists or microloan recipients—COL's programs are all intended to be part of a larger whole, working together to promote a culture of lawfulness. It is important to note that many of the programs listed above under each of COL's four framework parts really extend across framework lines. The public communication "Heroes of Lawfulness" campaign is both a mass media campaign and a centers of moral authority initiative.

Outcomes/Impact of the Interventions

The COL program has not yet conducted a formal assessment of its effects (such an assessment is due in January 2011). Yet results can already be seen on an anecdotal level. As one police sub-lieutenant

explained, the program allows him to have more of a relationship with the citizens he protects: "By way of this program, one enjoys a closer proximity with the community. ... It improves my work as a police officer since it is founded on the leadership and commitment that the police should have with the community."

A Pereiran teacher agreed, saying that the curriculum she teaches also changed her own attitudes toward lawfulness: "With respect to myself as a teacher of the program, it has allowed me to reflect and reevaluate my mindset toward certain acts that seemed very 'normal,' but at the heart of the matter were illegal. ... For example, my perspective toward buying pirated CDs, books, and photocopied material without respecting the author's rights have changed, making me a citizen with greater respect for the laws of my country."

One other clear result can be seen in the projects that have arisen purely out of citizen excitement over lawfulness programs. The mayor's office and Megabus, for example, were so impressed with the efforts of *Vida y Futuro* that they are featuring one of the microloan recipients on a billboard to recognize their efforts to make a living in an honest manner. The billboard will consist of a gigantic portrait of a microloan beneficiary with the following text: "As a food vendor, I earn my living in an honest way to make my children proud. And YOU? What are YOU going to do for a culture of lawfulness?" This is part of the mayor's office and Megabus's citywide "*Heroes de Legalidad*" program.

Results can also be seen in the number of people who take part in COL activities. Perhaps the most prominent was the first annual Culture of Lawfulness Week in June 2009. This event comprised 22 large-scale cultural, athletic, and community events, and drew more than 20,000 participants.

Lessons Learned

- **Learn from and build on other successes.** COL has learned from approaches that generate positive results elsewhere. For example,

some of Pereira's traffic and public space education campaigns are based on programs instituted in the late 1990s by then-Bogota mayor Antanas Mockus.

- **Concrete and simple programs are easier to implement.** Start small, and help people to engage in rule of law principles on a personal level, as with the microloan or bicycle pledge programs or through art and theatre contests. Make programs simple, doable, and engaging for the target audience.
- **Get into people's daily lives.** This is a corollary to the above lesson. COL's programs tend to fall into two basic categories: (1) Those with specific and measurable objectives, such as decreasing the number of traffic accidents through targeted strategies; (2) those that promote attitudes of respect for the law, like public education campaigns. These two approaches work together to give people regular opportunities to change their attitudes of apathy, fear, and indifference to positive actions that help build the rule of law.
- **Balancing public image.** Because Pereira's mayor so readily embraced culture of lawfulness education, the media first saw the Culture of Lawfulness programs as exclusively an administration effort. It is important to identify respected private sector leaders who can talk publicly about the efforts to promote the rule of law by civil society.
- **Addressing local needs:** Understanding local voices and needs is necessary when designing culture of lawfulness programming. Though advances in *Parque de Libertad* are making headway, progress would have been faster if government and civil society leaders had consulted with those who frequent the park before designing the educational program. Local neighborhood groups and civic organizations whose members live near the park are now partnering with municipal government and civil society leaders.

Prepared by Danielle Kurtzleben

Endnotes

1. For educational purposes, the rule of law is described as having three main principals: (1) the law applies

to all equally and is uniformly enforced, (2) laws are created with citizen participation, and(3) the law protects individual and collective rights.

United Kingdom – Case Study 14

Established Norms

There was a permissive institutional norm in the British Parliament regarding the allowance claimed in the performance of official duties. As members of the House, some of the elected officials exploited their privileges by claiming reimbursement for expenses that were outside the allowance rules. The *Green Book*, published yearly by the UK House Department of Finance and Administration, lays out the rules governing the expense that members of Parliament (MPs) are allowed to claim for reimbursement.

While the institutional culture of the British Parliament allowed the MPs' claims to go unchecked, the political norm cultivated a disengaged public, who viewed the business of the MPs as beyond their reach

The Problem

The UK parliamentary expenses scandal, more widely known simply as the “expense scandal,” began to unfold in 2005, with repercussions still being played out today. When members of the British press learned of and publicized reports that MPs were spending taxpayer money inappropriately, the resulting widespread outrage led to the resignation or ousting of more than two dozen MPs and Cabinet members. But it also helped to spark interest in freedom of information, as well as the hope for change in the institutional culture of Parliament.

At the time this scandal broke, claiming a variety of expenses had long been a well-established norm in Parliament. The UK House Department of Finance and Administration's *Green Book*, distributed to MPs annually, spells out the rules governing the expenses that MPs are allowed to claim for reimbursement. The *Green Book* says that “Parliamentary allowances are designed to ensure that Members are reimbursed for costs properly

incurred in the performance of their duties” (UK House of Commons 2009).

The *Green Book* lists six categories of expenditures that MPs may claim for receiving parliamentary allowances:

- Employing staff (Staffing Expenditure)
- Facilities, equipment, and supplies for themselves and their staff (Administrative and Office Expenditure)
- Overnight stays away from home while on parliamentary duties (Personal Additional Accommodation Expenditure)
- Communicating with constituents (Communications Expenditure)
- House stationery and postage (Stationery and Postage)
- Travel between Westminster, the constituency, and the member's main home (Travel Expenditure)

The Department of Finance and Administration sends a copy of the *Green Book* annually to MPs, reminding them of their duties to be honest and prudent in the reporting of allowances.

Objectives/Strategies for Action

In January 2005, two journalists and a freedom of information advocate decided to investigate the nature of these expenses. They used the newly enacted Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to request details of MPs' expenditures claimed under the Personal Additional Accommodation Expenditure, which covers costs MPs incur when they stay at residences away from their primary homes for the purposes of attending Parliament sessions. The House of Commons rejected the request in April 2005, and the three petitioners appealed to the information commissioner. Over the next three years, members of the House of Commons made several moves to block or delay the release of expenditure information, and the petitioners repeatedly

appealed. It was only in January 2009 that Commons members stopped their attempts to block the FOIA request and announced that the expenditure information would be made public in July 2009.

However, before the information was made public, the London newspaper *The Daily Telegraph* obtained a leaked copy, and in May 2009 began publishing reports of MPs' expenses in installments. *Daily Telegraph* reporters at the helm of the investigation credit a whistleblower for alerting them to the egregious expenses claimed by MPs. This unnamed mole was outraged that members of the UK military were among those processing MP expense claims, moonlighting between tours of duty in Iraq and Afghanistan so that they might earn enough money to buy basic safety equipment such as body armor.

The release of the expenditures data both captured the public's attention and helped to expedite the public release of expenses information—in June 2009, a month ahead of schedule, Parliament released a full detailing of all approved expenses from 2004 through 2008 on its website.

More than half of the 646 MPs were implicated in the scandal; 389 MPs were forced to repay more than £1 million in inappropriate expenses, with the average per MP being around £3,000 (Winnett 2009). Among the outrage-provoking expenses claimed by MPs were £1,851 for an imported rug, £8,865 for a plasma TV set, and a whopping £13,000 by one MP for a mortgage he had already repaid.

Ben Leapman of the *Daily Telegraph* reported that one MP from the outskirts of London “was claiming £14,000 a year in second-home allowance when his constituency was only 17 miles from Westminster.” When asked if it was right for taxpayers to foot the bill for an arguably unnecessary second home, this MP replied, “It has always been a provision of the House of Commons that it should be so” (Leapman 2009). This is a clear statement of an entrenched set of unethical norms about expenses.

The *Daily Telegraph* website continues to update its readers on the expense scandal and now has an easily searchable page (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newsttopics/mps-expenses/>), allowing readers to look up expenses information by MP or by district.

Outcome/Impact of the Interventions

The most visible results of the scandal pertain to the punishment of those found guilty of expense fraud. As of February 2010, 389 MPs had been ordered to pay back £1.12 million (Wright and Groves 2010). Furthermore, the careers of several MPs have been cut short. More than 120 declared that they will not seek reelection in the June 2010 elections—a record-setting figure (Winnett and Prince 2009). Additionally, in February 2010, it was announced that four MPs would face criminal charges.

One of the most prominent MPs implicated in the scandal was Michael Martin, speaker of the House of Commons, who stepped down amid fraud accusations in June 2009. His successor as speaker, John Bercow, has vowed to reform the House of Commons and regain the trust of the British people.

However, it is clear that the press will not let this story go. The *Telegraph*, for example, maintains a special page on its site devoted to updates related to public figures' expenses, often providing daily reporting on the subject. The *Daily Mail*, BBC, *Times of London*, and countless other UK news sites also continue to monitor this story closely. Having learned of this persistent culture of corruption, the media's interest does not appear likely to wane anytime soon.

All of this is evidence of a widespread changing of norms. Parliament's formerly permissive norms regarding expenses can be seen in its creation of an oversight body. In July 2009 it passed the Parliamentary Standards Act, which established the Independent Parliamentary Standards Authority (IPSA). This new body, independent of any of

the branches of UK government, is authorized to perform several regulatory duties, including setting an expenses regime for MPs, administering that regime, and paying MPs' salaries (IPSA 2010, 14). One step it took was soliciting advice for how to change the expenses system. Throughout January and February 2010, IPSA received thousands of responses from citizens, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and MPs themselves and published those responses on a website. The results of this consultation, as it was called, were compiled in an executive report released in February, along with recommendations for next steps. IPSA plans to hold another consultation at the start of the next Parliament on the subject of MP compensation (IPSA 2010, 15).

Research performed by the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO) in 2009 also showed some evidence of increased knowledge and concern about transparency among the British public in recent years. For example, 37 percent of respondents to an ICO survey spontaneously mentioned an "awareness of the right to request information held by the government and other public authorities" in 2009, a 6 percent increase over 2008. Additionally, 18 percent of respondents spontaneously mentioned FOIA, representing an increase of 2 percent over 2008. Perhaps more striking, 82 percent of those surveyed said they had heard of FOIA when prompted, an impressive 28 percent increase from 2004 (ICO 2009, 7).

The ICO report also noted that "transparency and accessibility...continue to be translated to the public." Respondents were asked if they agreed with the following statement: "Information you want about the government and other public authorities is available and accessible." Fifty-nine percent agreed, which was a 9 percent increase over 2008; only 25 percent disagreed. Respondents also held information to be an important issue: 80 percent believed "access to information held by public officials" to be a concern, compared to 48 percent in 2004—a fact that ICO cites as "demonstrating the ever-increasing profile of this subject" (ICO 2009, 6).

Of course, it is impossible to establish causality between the expense scandal and these statistics about public opinion and public knowledge. Not all of ICO's figures boded well for transparency and accountability: In 2009, 54 percent of respondents said they would consider exercising their rights under FOIA, a 6 percent decrease since 2008 (ICO 2009, 8). However, one can at least perhaps say that the scandal increased the visibility of FOIA in public discourse.

Elections are another arena in which British citizens' participation and ideas can be seen. One small bright spot in the aftermath of the expense scandal is that of somewhat increased citizen attention to parliament and elections. A May 2009 poll by YouGov asked UK citizens about the scandal's potential effects on their likelihood of voting in upcoming parliamentary elections. Fifty-four percent said they would have voted anyway, but 19 percent said they were more likely to vote as a result of the expense disclosures, compared to 16 percent who said the scandal made them less likely to vote (YouGov 2009). Furthermore, citizens appeared willing to hold their representatives accountable; an Ipsos Mori poll from May 2009 showed that 52 percent of Britons said they would "vote for a different candidate not caught up in the scandal, even if it meant voting against the party they want to win the election" (Ipsos Mori 2009).

The same poll also showed that an overwhelming 80 percent of British people said the political system was "to blame for the expenses scandal, and not just politicians." This, together with the aforementioned public response to IPSA's consultation, shows that UK citizens paid attention to and understood the nature of the corruption.

Yet for all this, change in MP norms surrounding expenses is disappointingly slow: In March 2010, the *Telegraph* reported that MPs are fighting IPSA's attempts to reform the expense system. Proposed reforms include requiring MPs to lease, not purchase, second homes; restricting second homes to MPs who live outside of London; and requiring

receipts for all expenses claimed. MPs responded by saying that these restrictions were prohibitive for MPs “without substantial private means” (Winnett and Prince 2009). MPs also have spoken out against IPSA’s proposal that MPs only travel the rails in first class under “exceptional circumstances,” claiming that traveling first class is necessary to their work (Sawer and Leach 2010).

Contributing Factors to Success

The expense scandal is an obvious case of how a healthy media sector is essential to a functional, noncorrupt democracy. The *Daily Telegraph* performed a valuable service in that it worked to uncover and present public data to its readers—the average UK citizen would likely not have had the time or energy to make FOIA requests, much less to contend with Parliament’s repeated attempts to block those requests, or to make the results of that research public and widely available. Because the *Telegraph* kept the public informed of the scandal and its repercussions, it also thus indirectly forced MPs to answer for their actions, either facing scrutiny or even stepping down. The *Daily Telegraph* thus exemplified how a good media organization can serve as a barrier against corruption.

However, a watchful, active citizenry is also integral to holding guilty parties accountable. Were it not for the whistleblower, this story might not have come to light. When citizens know that they can come forward with a minimal risk of repercussions—for example, in this case, the whistleblower was able to remain anonymous—they are more likely to do so.

The media-public watchdog collaboration that brought the scandal to light has sparked interest in using these tactics more widely. NGOs have taken an active role in promoting freedom of information since the scandal, promoting initiatives to get people involved in holding the government accountable via FOIA. The Campaign for Freedom

of Information, a London-based advocacy group that was instrumental in helping to pass FOIA, collaborates on various anticorruption ventures, such as working with the UK Statistics organization on investigating the Ministry of Justice’s FOIA numbers and teaching courses to both citizens and public officials on how to use FOIA.

Likewise, Transparency International UK is putting pressure on political parties to fight corruption. In November 2009, it published *Zero Tolerance for Corruption*, a 20-point agenda for action that asks all of the UK’s major political parties to commit to fighting corruption by formally committing to a zero-tolerance corruption policy in their manifestos (Transparency International UK 2009).

Finally, Parliament itself has decided to make its expense practices more transparent; data on expense claims, contributions, and allowances have been made readily available to the public on <http://mpsallowances.parliament.uk/>.

Lessons Learned

- **Freedom of information laws are not themselves enough to fight corruption.** They are useful only when citizens know about and use them.
- **Journalists and citizens can be more effective by working together.** Whistleblowers and enterprising members of the press are essential to promoting a corruption-free culture, and can together be very effective to this end. Members of the public, for example, might see impropriety but not have the time or resources to investigate it, as in the case of the expense scandal. But when members of the public bring such information to well-informed journalists—who know FOIA rules and how to use them effectively, and also have the time and energy to fight for freedom of information—corrupt practices can more easily be brought to light.

- **Corrupt officials will attempt to hinder even the most well-established press.**

Even in a highly developed nation with a sophisticated and well-established press system, corrupt government officials can hinder the free flow of information. MPs held up the release of expense information for four years after the initial FOIA request was made.

- **Shaming works.** Simply publicizing the MPs' shameful acts created enough pressure to cause many to resign their political offices.

- **Be preventative, not just reactive.** The media, public, civil society, and government all were forced to be reactive in this case, but as a result many people from all these are now acting preventively—for example, teaching lessons about and learning about FOIA, assisting IPSA—to reduce the chance that such a scandal will happen again. The media can likewise play a part in mobilizing the population against corruption, as it clearly did in this case.

Prepared by Danielle Kurtzleben

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Indonesia – Case Study 15

Background

Indonesia's Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) is an excellent example of an anticorruption initiative that has gained widespread public support. It was described by BBC News in 2009 as "one of the few institutions people in this country [Indonesia] actually have faith in." Established by 2002 law, KPK began operations in 2003, following decades of attempts (with varying success) to fight a culture of corruption among government officials and citizens alike. It handles around 30 percent of Indonesia's corruption cases and has a 100 percent conviction rate against officials from all branches of Indonesia's government.

Indonesia has a long history of corruption. Suharto, the president of Indonesia from 1967 to 1998, presided over 31 years of power abuse by public servants of at levels. Perhaps most well-known of Suharto's corrupt practices was nepotism, giving top posts to his close relatives. Indeed, in 2004, Transparency International named Suharto the most corrupt leader of the 20th century,¹ estimating his monetary gain over those 31 years at \$15 billion to \$35 billion. Corruption was such a fact of life in Indonesia that the citizens even had their own shorthand to describe it: the acronym KKN, which stands for the Indonesian words "*korupsi, kollusi, nepotisme*"—"corruption, collusion, nepotism."²

After Suharto's resignation in 1998, Indonesia faced chaos; a 2003 World Bank report notes that, though corrupt, Suharto "succeed[ed] in delivering high levels of economic growth and substantial poverty reduction despite high levels of corruption" because his regime "was careful to ensure that the scale of corruption did not deter investment and economic activity." Furthermore, the report noted, any such success "is overstated since it came at a high cost in terms of weak and corrupt institutions, severe public indebtedness through mismanagement of the financial sector, the rapid depletion

of Indonesia's natural resources, and a culture of favors and corruption in the business elite."³

Amid the climate of chaos and potentially growing corruption that followed the Suharto regime, several anticorruption measures were tried and failed. KPK is the seventh in a line of commissions created to fight Indonesia's corruption problems.

Commissioners are selected by the parliament from a pool selected by the president. Corruption cases handled by KPK are tried by the Corruption Crimes Court. KPK is a very powerful institution, with wide-ranging authority—it can authorize wiretaps, order travel bans on individuals, request financial information about suspects, freeze suspects' financial accounts, request the assistance of other law enforcement agencies, and take over the indictment or prosecution of corruption cases being conducted by the police or the attorney general's office.⁴

Amien Sunaryadi, one of the first KPK commissioners, believes that KPK's short life span since 2003 can be characterized as having two periods. During the first, from KPK's 2003 inception until mid-2009, he characterizes public support for the KPK as middling. Merly Khouw and Steve Burgess, who work in the East Asia and Pacific Anticorruption Focal Point at the World Bank, likewise say that this period was characterized by both cynicism and cautious optimism on the part of the Indonesian people. The Indonesian citizens, say Khouw and Burgess, applauded KPK's successes but also maintained an attitude of skepticism toward this success, regarding it as fragile. For example, when a new board of commissioners was chosen in 2008, many Indonesians feared that KPK's power would subsequently diminish.

But according to Sunaryadi, public attitudes toward KPK turned markedly more positive and public support for KPK skyrocketed when two KPK officials—Chandra Hamzan and Bibid Samad Riyanto—were accused of accepting bribes from a

corruption suspect attempting to flee the country. The case culminated in November, when 270 minutes of KPK wiretap tapes were played back in court, revealing “an intricate plot with fabricated testimony aimed at ousting Bibit and Chandra.”⁵

Public outrage at the flagrant corruption took many forms, including Facebook protest groups and street protests. A Facebook group supporting Hamzah and Riyanto currently has more than 1.4 million members, and Facebook was also used in November 2009 to publicize a rally in support of KPK, with more than 5,000 people in attendance.

The outpouring of public support helped to inspire action against the officials responsible for framing Chandra and Bibit. Indonesian president Yudhoyono, who had been seen as too distant from the case, responded to the pressure by telling the police chief and attorney general to discharge those in the tape recordings from their duties.

More recently, KPK has been working to uncover how Bank Century, once Indonesia’s 13th largest bank, used the \$716 million in bailout funds provided to it by the government in November 2008. The Jakarta Post reported in March 2010 that Indonesia’s Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Center “recently listed hundreds of suspicious transactions related to Bank Century, some of them linked to high-profile politicians.”⁶ The Indonesian Parliament requested that KPK investigate this case, and an investigation has been under way for several months. As Sunaryadi told CommGAP, although public perception is that the minister of finance is guilty, KPK has found no conclusive evidence of his guilt. This has caused some deterioration of public opinion of KPK’s effectiveness.

The Indonesian people have reacted not only to instances of corrupt practices but also to apparently entrenched corruption norms among the powerful. When Susno Duadji, former head of the Indonesia National Police, likened the effectiveness of anticorruption activists’ efforts to a gecko fighting a crocodile, Indonesians were outraged and latched onto the “gecko” label. Sunaryadi says

that after this interview, “very quickly the term became very popular, with positive perception for KPK and negative perception for the police,” and the Indonesian people formed the “*Saya Cicak*” (“I am a gecko”) movement, which has been active in anticorruption protests.

Tools and Techniques Used

The formation and operations of KPK have proven as important to its success as its actions. Khouw has said that, while past government anticorruption initiatives were “toothless tigers,” KPK gained the trust of the Indonesian public in part because of its transparency from its very inception. Its first commissioners were selected transparently and included many respected and well-known Indonesians, such as prominent businessmen. This gave the commission instant credibility with many Indonesians.

Furthermore, the comprehensive powers that KPK has at its disposal are responsible for many of its anticorruption gains. KPK modeled itself on Hong Kong’s Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) but added prosecutorial powers to those of prevention and investigation⁷.

ICAC itself has praised KPK’s results, explaining why this commission has succeeded when so many past initiatives in Indonesia had failed:

One of the main reasons why these previous efforts have not been successful is that they only focused on repressive actions: pre-investigating, investigating, and prosecuting corrupt acts. Although repressive operations are vital for the success of corruption eradication, these past efforts failed in the medium to long term due to the lack of significant preventive actions. The KPK is therefore a fresh start, a new way of looking at the corruption epidemic: the agency shall not monopolize the anti-corruption effort, but merely act as a trigger mechanism to empower authorized institutions to become more effective. Selected cases are handled by the KPK, in order to show the public that it is

serious; prevention activities such as socialization, education, research into the potentials for corruption of each government institution, and so on, provide the basis for a long-term anti-corruption strategy. Of course, prevention activities will likewise fail if the KPK is unable to show corruptors and the public that it means business by actively bringing down corruptors.⁸

Burgess expresses similar sentiments. Just as ICAC notes that KPK is a “trigger” mechanism, Burgess foresees a day when that trigger is no longer needed. He says that ideally, KPK need not exist forever; rather, it can use its powers to change both citizen and governmental norms, then wind down its power. Once the police and attorney general’s office are able to fight corruption on their own and gain the trust of the people in a less corruption-tolerant society, KPK and its broad powers will no longer be necessary.

Thus, many of KPK’s successes can be seen at the operational and organizational level. However, it has used some effective techniques as well. One of these is education. In December 2009, KPK partnered with the National Education Ministry to put on a seminar showing teachers how to include anticorruption education in their curriculums. A *Jakarta Post* story from December 2009 describes how KPK and Ministry of Education have “jointly published anticorruption modules that could be distributed to students. The modules are intended for kindergarten up to high school students and the subjects contain social, cultural and religious values, including teaching them not to take the belongings of others.”⁹

Success, of course, has been the most powerful technique. As noted above, the Indonesian people began to trust KPK when they saw it succeeding at combating corrupt practices. But this success also had to combine with visibility, both of the wrongdoings of corrupt officials and of KPK’s efforts. One aspect of visibility is maintaining constant activity. KPK works to maintain a low but steady flow of cases, done at regular intervals, to keep its activity

constant and in the news. Likewise, KPK’s abilities to use strong measures such as travel bans and wiretapping have proven very effective in bringing down very high-ranking corrupt officials. However, such powers must be closely monitored, used wisely, and used only as long as they are necessary, to protect against abuses.

As stated above, social media sites like MySpace and Facebook have been among the most successful anticorruption tools in Indonesia, used to organize and publicize protests. But they are also simply a convenient way for people to make their voices heard, as Teten Masduki, the secretary general of Transparency International in Indonesia, told the *Asia Times* in November 2009. “Now we have a new model on how to control our government. ... With new technology it’s easy to share our dissatisfaction with the president: just update your status.” Masduki also worked to release a mobile phone ringtone in support of KPK. The *Asia Times* reported that, in the first few hours after its release, the ringtone had been downloaded by more than 40,000 people.¹⁰

In some cases, KPK has not even been directly involved in the social media initiatives; concerned users start their own online movements and gain support via their social networks. One example is Usman Yasin, a lecturer at Muhammadiyah University in Jakarta, who started a KPK-supporting Facebook group to publicize protests and rallies.

Another technique for combating corruption in Indonesia has been the use of well-known or respected individuals in anticorruption initiatives. For example, several of KPK’s original commissioners were businessmen well known throughout Indonesia. KPK has also partnered with major religious organizations to make a joint statement against corruption—it is hoped that, when citizens see the leaders of their faith communities taking a stand against corruption, they will be more inclined to do so.

Celebrities are another group that can play a vital role in spurring people to fight corruption. One example of this is that of Slank, a popular

Indonesian rock group that has become synonymous with anticorruption efforts. Slank's lyrics often speak out against corruption, and have infuriated parliamentarians, who threatened to sue Slank for defamation. A Slank spokesperson told CommGAP that Slank supporters came to their rescue in this situation, showing solidarity among anticorruption advocates: "When the lyrics and music of Slank's song 'Gosip Jalanan' [Word on the Street] had parliamentarians in Jakarta threatening to sue them for besmirching the good name of the DPR [Indonesian parliamentarians], the masses strongly rallied behind Slank in the media, blogs etc. There was a plan by 100 lawyers volunteering to defend Slank should the case make it to court."

Slank is also an example of informal alliances in the fight against corruption: The band performed in front of the KPK building in 2009 to protest the Chandra-Bibit arrests, and while there is no formal relationship between Slank and KPK, the two continue to support each other informally.

Outcome/Impact of the Interventions

KPK's most notable success can be seen in its 100 percent conviction rate and the individual cases it has won, such as that of getting Chandra and Bibit released. Transparency International, an international nongovernmental organization that works to fight corruption, has noted these changes and clearly taken them into account in its Corruption Perception Index (CPI), which rates corruption levels in countries around the world. The higher the rating, the less corruption a particular country is experiencing. Indonesia has risen steadily in its CPI rating in recent years, from 2.3 (on a scale of 1 to 10) in 2007, to 2.6 in 2008, to 2.8 in 2009.¹¹

Furthermore, as noted by Burgess and Khouw, the people of Indonesia appear less cynical and pessimistic about corruption than they formerly were. This is borne out in public opinion surveys of the Indonesian citizenry: A 2008 poll sponsored

by the U.S. Agency for International Development showed that the Indonesian people care deeply about the eradication of corruption: 64.3 percent said they considered corruption an "important" problem facing the country, and 52.9 percent cited "the fact that s/he is against corruption" as a major factor in their voting decisions in the 2009 presidential election.¹² This makes it the third-most cited criterion in voting decisions.

Lessons Learned

- **Some of the most powerful initiatives are not part of a formal, planned communication strategy.** For example, many social media initiatives, student protests, and Slank's anticorruption lyrics and special concerts were not officially sanctioned by KPK. But KPK's clear track record in fighting corruption no doubt gave citizens hope, inspiring them to encourage the fight against corruption.
- **Success breeds success.** The combination of public outrage at entrenched corruption and public support of KPK helped lead to concrete actions in the Bibit-Chandra framing case. Such success would not have been possible if the public did not perceive KPK as a successful organization.
- **Anticorruption strategies are not universally transferable.** As Burgess told the World Bank, KPK works uniquely well in Indonesia; it was created in the right place at the right time—when public tolerance of corruption had reached a low and people wanted a change. Culture and attitudes must be taken into account before institutions like KPK can be put in place and used to their full potential.
- **Corruption commissions need not be permanent.** Indeed, the broad powers of KPK might be detrimental if maintained for an extended period; such powerful institutions are better seen as a means to an end—government officials who do not abuse their power, and citizens who do not tolerate such abuses.

Prepared by Danielle Kurtzleben

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Bangladesh – Case Study 16

Background

Bangladesh has long been battling corruption. The country was ranked 139th out of 180 countries on Transparency International's (TI) 2009 Corruption Perception Index. Though this is a low ranking, it is an improvement over years past: The country was ranked the lowest on TI's Corruption Perception Index for five years straight, from 2001 through 2005. In 2009, on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being the least corrupt score possible, Bangladesh received a rating of 2.4 on TI's scale.

Indeed, corruption has become a part of daily life for many Bangladeshi people—public officials requiring bribes for basic services and “skimming off the top” by imposing arbitrary fees have become such a part of life for Bangladeshis that many do not bother to question or fight such practices.

A schoolteacher told Reuters in September 2009 that corruption has affected every part of his life, from employment to food to medicine: “I had to pay 100,000 taka [US\$1,430] as bribe to get this job. But the poor salary I get covers only a part of my expenses,” he told the reporter. He continued, “Grocery sellers ask higher prices every next day, doctors at government clinics won't treat my child without money or give me medicine supposed to be a free handout.”¹

This individual-level problem is so rampant that it has taken a major toll on the country's economy at large: It is estimated that 3 percent of the country's gross domestic product is lost each year to corrupt practices such as bribery and the deliberate overpricing of public goods and services. Economists also say that corruption is preventing foreign investment in Bangladesh.²

Transparency International has used its already very strong presence in Bangladesh to take on this problem. With TI's well-established presence in Bangladesh—at more than 250 employees

and 5,000 registered volunteers, Bangladesh is the country in which TI has its greatest presence—and its history of tried-and-true campaigns against corruption, it has many resources and much research to draw upon to help its work in Bangladesh.

One of TI's major programs in many countries are Advocacy and Legal Advice Centers (ALACs). Their purpose is “to inform citizens about their legal rights and equip them to take action on cases of corruption that they have witnessed or been victim of. This can involve legal action, filing complaints with responsible anti-corruption or other agencies, ‘blowing the whistle’ within institutions or bringing media attention to the issue.”³

Dr. Iftekhar Uz-Zaman, the executive director of TI Bangladesh, says that TI saw Bangladesh as a great place to use the ALAC concept.⁴ He said that corruption had become so widespread that it had become an entrenched norm among Bangladeshis—they had stopped seeing corruption as offensive, much less as punishable. They had also lost sight of their rights in obtaining basic goods and services; Zaman identifies education, health, and local government as the three areas in which corruption was having the greatest impact on the lives of Bangladeshis. He told CommGAP that one of the major goals of using the ALAC concept in Bangladesh was to inform the public of the services they could expect at hospitals and in schools, and entitlements they could expect from local government, as well as what they could expect to pay for services such as medical care.

And so in 2003 the Advice and Information Desk (AID) program was instituted in Bangladesh. What began as six desks soon grew to thirty-six spread throughout the country, working to empower Bangladeshis to fight corruption in their own daily lives.

Tools and Techniques Used

TI Bangladesh's AID program has used a variety of tactics to help educate the Bangladeshi people about the effects of corruption and their rights in

combating it. These communication campaigns involve common tactics such as fliers and brochures, but this alone is not sufficient in Bangladesh, where literacy rates are low. This has created the need for other tactics, like AID's program of setting up tables in front of public institutions, such as hospitals and schools, to inform people who are going in of what services they should expect.

Tabling in front of institutions of public service also exemplifies another general tactic of TI's efforts in Bangladesh: making information convenient. Instead of waiting for citizens to come to them, TI has started a program of mobile AIDs that can go door to door to educate citizens. AIDs have also used street theater to bring information to the masses in public places—this technique can be very effective at getting the attention of people who might not otherwise seek out the assistance of AIDs.

Of course, fighting corruption cannot be a one-sided affair; aside from educating citizens, AIDs also put pressure on service providers to end practices that are costly to customers and the country at large. Zaman told CommGAP about one notable example that occurred at a Bangladeshi hospital, where potential patients were routinely overcharged for services. To use the hospital, citizens needed to purchase tokens, which cost 4.50 taka. But the token sellers never gave change to buyers, meaning that anyone paying with a 5- or 10-taka note ended up paying a .50 or 5.50 surcharge. This practice had become an accepted part of daily life. However, AIDs, with support from citizen activists and volunteers, helped to pressure the token-sellers and hospitals to alter the system. They arrived at a solution that could benefit society instead of taxing it: the token rates were refixed at 5 taka, with the extra .50 from each token now going toward a fund to help poor patients obtain hospital service.

AIDs cannot do their work alone; as Zaman told CommGAP, "It is not a tool in isolation." Indeed, TI uses a variety of other programs and is assisted by a variety of other organizations and people.

Perhaps the greatest sources of support that TI has are citizens themselves, in the form of youth

empowerment and support (YES) groups and committees of concerned citizens (CCCs). YES groups are often made up of college and university students who volunteer to help TI with its initiatives. CCCs are organized TI-supported groups, one in each of the 36 AID districts, that help to mobilize people on a local level to take stands against corrupt practices and put pressure on, for example, institutions that are unfair in their pricing or practices. Many CCCs are headed by respected community members, which can help to motivate citizens to get involved. They also have mandatory female representation, ensuring equal representation.

Citizen Report Cards (CRCs) are another important part of TI's work in Bangladesh. These are anonymous evaluations that citizens can fill out and return to their AIDs about the quality of service at their local schools or hospitals. The benefits of this program are twofold: It allows TI and its AIDs to keep abreast of corrupt practices in their communities and also allows citizens to do their civic duty of reporting corruption without fear of retribution.

Finally, TI works with partner organizations when particular expertise is needed. For example, if a local government is being unfair in its land management practices, Zaman says, TI will call upon an organization that has greater knowledge and specialization in that area. TI Bangladesh has partnered with groups ranging from local social service organizations to human rights organizations. These partnerships, Zaman says, are helpful beyond their most immediate benefits to citizens, in that they make corruption an even more prominent part of public discourse: "We would like to see as many organizations talking about corruption as possible."

Outcome/Impact of the Interventions

Zaman says the successes seen by the AIDs are "unquantifiable." While he notes that public opinion about corruption as an acceptable daily part of life has changed for the better in recent

years, he also says that AIDs and much of TI's work have effected more meaningful change on a local level, and in specific instances.

As in the case of the hospital tokens, AIDs have experienced success with pushing individual public institutions to be more transparent and fair in their practices. One program that has seen results in this area is that of Integrity Pledges, in which service-providing institutions identified by TI sign nonbinding social contracts with CCCs and groups of respected individuals nominated by service recipients. TI selects these institutions by looking at public perceptions (such as the results from CRCs) and then setting standards for the institutions to maintain, such as the use of open, participatory budgets. The Integrity Pledge program gives CCCs and individuals alike a stake in bettering an institution's practices.

In addition, TI's work against corruption in Bangladesh has seen larger success in the political arena. TI Bangladesh was instrumental in the formation of Bangladesh's national Anti-Corruption Commission and also persuaded Bangladesh to sign onto the UN Convention Against Corruption in 2007.

Lessons Learned

- **Know and stick to your role.** Zaman told CommGAP that one of the biggest challenges faced by the AIDs in Bangladesh is managing expectations. Citizens often approach workers at AIDs for assistance in combating individual instances of corruption, a role that the AIDs do not fill. Rather, workers at the AIDs point citizens to places where they can obtain legal assistance services, for example, in helping them to bring legal action against unjust institutions.
- **Youth are a powerful force.** College and university students make up a major part of the AID programs' people power. They act as volunteers, manning AID tables and helping to advocate for TI causes. Though there is naturally high turnover in this volunteer

workforce, they are a free source of very energetic labor, says Zaman.

- **Understand the particulars of the country in which you are working.** As Zaman noted, Bangladesh has a low literacy rate (47.9 percent over the age of 15 can read and write, according to the *CIA World Factbook*).⁵ Thus, brochure campaigns are less effective than tabling in front of popular institutions and other mobile AID campaigns.
- **Success and integrity are among the most powerful tools at an anticorruption organization's disposal.** Zaman says that one of the key contributing factors to the AIDs' success is "the integrity and credibility of the work we do." When citizens begin to see that corruption does not need to be the norm in the most important areas of their lives, and that TI is sincere in its efforts, attitudes can change, and citizen-supported initiatives can gain major momentum.
- **Many strategies working together are effective at creating comprehensive corruption reform.** Though the AIDs have been successful, that success would not have been possible without the assistance of other TI-supported programs, such as the CCCs. Only by coordinating broadly across several levels of society can corruption be fought and defeated at all levels.

Prepared by Danielle Kurtzleben

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Towards A New Agora

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