

Knowledge tools for academics
and professionals

Module Series on Anti-Corruption

Module 10
Citizen Participation
in Anti-Corruption Efforts

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UNODC Module Series on Anti-Corruption

MODULE 10

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN ANTI-CORRUPTION EFFORTS

Background information

The UNODC Module Series on Anti-Corruption offers 14 Modules focusing on a range of core anti-corruption issues. This includes corruption's varied definitions and devastating effects, responses to corruption, and linkages between corruption and different topics such as good governance, comparative politics, whistle-blowing, justice systems, human rights, gender, education, citizen participation, peace and security.

The Modules are designed for use by both academic institutions and professional academies across the world. They are built to help lecturers and trainers deliver anti-corruption education, including those who are not dedicated anti-corruption lecturers and trainers but would like to incorporate these components into their courses. Lecturers are encouraged to customize the Modules before integrating them into their classes and courses. The Modules include discussions of relevant issues, suggestions for class activities and exercises, recommended class structures, student assessments, reading lists (with an emphasis on open access materials), PowerPoint slides, video materials and other teaching tools. Each Module provides an outline for a three-hour class, as well as includes guidelines on how to develop it into a full course.

The Modules focus on universal values and problems and can easily be adapted to different local and cultural contexts, including a variety of degree programmes as they are multi-disciplinary. The Modules seek to enhance trainees and students' ethical awareness and commitment to acting with integrity and equip them with the necessary skills to apply and spread these norms in life, work and society. To increase their effectiveness, the Modules cover both theoretical and practical perspectives, and use interactive teaching methods such as experiential learning and group-based work. These methods keep students and trainees engaged and help them develop critical thinking, problem solving, and communication skills, all of which are important for ethics education.

The topics of the Modules were chosen following consultations with academics who participated in a meeting of experts convened by UNODC, in Vienna in March 2017. The experts emphasized the need for increased anti-corruption education globally and advised on core areas to be addressed through the Modules. They considered it paramount that the Modules prepare university students and trainees for value driven effective action, keep students engaged, lend themselves to adaptation to different regional and disciplinary contexts, and allow lecturers to incorporate them as anti-corruption components within existing university courses and disciplines.

To achieve these objectives, the experts recommended that the Modules have a range of characteristics, ultimately being able to:

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Connect theory to practice » Emphasize the importance of integrity and ethics to everyday life » Encourage critical thinking » Stress not only the importance of making ethical decisions but also demonstrate how to implement the decisions » Use innovative interactive teaching methods » Balance general ethics with applied ethics | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Draw on good practices from practitioners » Link integrity and ethics to other global issues and the SDGs » Adopt a multi-disciplinary and multi-level approach » Focus on global ethics and universal values while leaving room for diverse regional and cultural perspectives » Employ non-technical and clear terminology » Be user-friendly |
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Drawing on these recommendations, UNODC worked for over a year with more than 70+ academic experts from over 30 countries to develop the 14 University Modules on Anti-Corruption. Each Module was drafted by a core team of academics and UNODC experts, and then peer-reviewed by a larger group of academics from different disciplines and regions to ensure a multi-disciplinary and universal coverage. The Modules passed through a meticulous clearance process at the UNODC headquarters before finally being edited and published on its website as open-source materials. In addition, it was agreed that the content of the Modules would be regularly updated to ensure that they are in line with contemporary studies and correspond to current needs of educators.

The present knowledge tool has been developed by the UNODC Corruption and Economic Crime Branch (CEB), as part of the Education for Justice initiative under the Global Programme for the Implementation of the Doha Declaration.

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Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Introduction | 07 |
| Learning outcomes | 07 |
| Key issues | 08 |
| Core terms and concepts | 09 |
| The role of citizens in fighting corruption | 11 |
| The role, risks and challenges of CSOs fighting corruption | 14 |
| The role of the media in fighting corruption | 15 |
| Access to information: a condition for citizen participation | 18 |
| ICT as a tool for citizen participation in anti-corruption efforts | 19 |
| Government obligations to ensure citizen participation in anti-corruption efforts | 20 |
| Conclusion | 21 |
| References | 22 |
| Exercises | 27 |
| Exercise 1: How can citizens participate in fighting corruption? | 28 |
| Exercise 2: How can investigative journalism fight corruption? | 28 |
| Exercise 3: Citizen journalism | |
| 29 | |
| Exercise 4: Game changers in anti-corruption: | |
| Key activists and media persons who drive anti-corruption actions | |
| 30 | |
| Exercise 5: The impact of civil society | 30 |
| Exercise 6: Using technology in the fight against corruption: blockchain & big data | 31 |
| Possible class structure | 33 |
| Core reading | 35 |
| Advanced reading | 37 |
| Student assessment | 40 |
| Additional teaching tools | 41 |
| Video material | 41 |
| Websites | 42 |
| Case studies, news reports and blogs | 42 |
| Guidelines to develop a stand-alone course | 43 |

Introduction

This Module addresses the participation of civil society – including individual citizens, civil society organizations (CSOs) and the media – in the fight against corruption. It explores issues of political participation, channels for reporting corruption, investigative journalism, freedom of the press in connection with anti-corruption efforts, online activities, social media, information technology, and the rise of citizen journalism. The Module suggests that greater transparency, accountability, and citizen monitoring, engagement and involvement can contribute to reducing and preventing corruption. By focusing on the role of citizens, CSOs and the media, the Module sheds light on a number of ways through which social accountability can be enhanced. The exercises provide examples of "trendsetters" and "game changers", i.e. key activists and media persons who drive anti corruption actions, as well as "ordinary individuals" working against corruption. This adds an important hands-on element to the Module, rendering it relatable to students at various education levels. Stories of people working against corruption help students to grasp the importance of the subject matter. The Module builds on the discussions of media integrity and ethics found in Module 10 of the UNODC Module Series on Integrity and Ethics. It also relates to many of the discussions in other modules of the UNODC Module Series on Anti-Corruption.

Learning outcomes

- Understand the importance of citizen participation in the fight against corruption, on both the personal level and through civil society organizations
- Develop a stronger sense of responsibility to actively engage in the fight against corruption
- Identify tools and opportunities for active citizen engagement in fighting corruption, including through information and communications technology (ICT) and social media
- Critically examine the role and responsibility of the media (including social media) and civil society organizations in the fight against corruption

Key issues

Corruption is a complex phenomenon that affects all segments of society. As such, it requires a comprehensive response from all sectors: public sector, private sector and civil society. An overview of the different forms and definitions of corruption, as well as its harmful effects across the globe, is available in Module 1 of the UNODC Module Series on Anti-Corruption. For present purposes, it should be noted that the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC)¹ refrains from providing one overarching definition of "corruption". Rather, it defines and classifies various acts of corruption as criminal offences, such as bribery and embezzlement (in both the public and private sectors); abuse of functions (i.e. when those performing public functions misuse their power to obtain a benefit); trading in influence; illicit enrichment; and money-laundering. With 189 States parties (as of November 2021), UNCAC is approaching universal adherence, and the different acts of corruption as defined by the Convention can be considered internationally accepted.

Module 4 and 5 of the UNODC Module Series on Anti-Corruption discuss, respectively, the roles of the public and private sectors in fighting corruption. The present Module complements those modules by focusing on the role of civil society – including individuals, civil society organizations (CSOs) and the media – in fighting corruption. It is widely accepted that anti-corruption efforts cannot be left solely to the State. To ensure the success of anti-corruption efforts, citizens must participate in the fight against corruption. The involvement of citizens is crucial for ensuring that both the private and public sectors are accountable to their stakeholders and conduct their duties in a manner that is transparent and in compliance with the law and ethical norms. Participation of individuals and CSOs, including professional bodies and global organizations, can have a significant impact on the fight against corruption on a local and international level.

To illustrate the importance of citizen participation in anti-corruption efforts, the Module examines the role of citizens, CSOs and the media in the fight against corruption; discusses the importance of access to information; and considers how citizens can use information and communications technology (ICT) as a tool for fighting corruption. At the same time, the Module discusses concerns about the potential instrumentalization and exploitation of citizen anti-corruption movements and the risks and challenges facing citizens who seek to participate in anti-corruption efforts. The Module concludes with a few notes on the obligation of governments to ensure citizen participation in anti-corruption efforts, in line with article 13 of UNCAC. At the outset, the Module briefly defines relevant basic terms (citizen participation, CSOs, the media) and core concepts (social accountability, empowerment, public trust, institutions and informal norms).

¹ Available from the corruption section of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime website (www.unodc.org).

› Core terms and concepts

The term civil society is understood in this Module as the sector of society that includes individual citizens, CSOs and the media, as distinguished from the public and private sectors. It is, however, noted that the definition of civil society is dynamic and evolving, as emphasized by the World Economic Forum (2013):

Definitions are changing as civil society is recognized as encompassing far more than a mere "sector" dominated by the NGO community: civil society today includes an ever wider and more vibrant range of organized and unorganized groups, as new civil society actors blur the boundaries between sectors and experiment with new organizational forms, both online and off.

The terms citizen and citizenship are associated with the status of being a member of a particular country and having rights by virtue of this status, including that of receiving protection from the State. Citizenship is sometimes defined not only as a status but also as a role, which requires taking an active part in the political life of one's country and to participate in the exercise of political power (Marshall, 1950). For present purposes, citizen participation refers to the role of citizens in addressing and fighting (including detecting and reporting) corruption. Such participation can take place on the personal or individual level, on a more organized level through CSOs, and through the media.

CSOs have been defined by the World Bank to include a wide range of non-private, not-for-profit organizations such as "community groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), labor unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations" (World Bank, n.d.). CSOs interact in the public sphere, are often autonomous, and are usually driven by interests that are not purely private or economic (see, e.g., Spurk, 2010). Depending on local and other contexts, CSOs can be formal or informal. They have different and sometimes competing objectives and ideologies. CSOs have also been described as organizations that arise from a failure of the State and markets, and are often created by citizens to fill gaps that result from those failures.

The media includes all channels of communication, such as broadcasting, the press and social media. The media is considered in this Module as a means for citizens to exercise scrutiny over the conduct of government and private actors and to keep corruption in check. A further discussion of the definition and forms of media is available in Module 10 of the UNODC Module Series on Integrity and Ethics.

Although not included in conventional definitions of civil society, academia is part of civil society insofar as individual and groups of academics are citizens, community groups, professional associations and so on. Under a more flexible definition of civil society, academia itself could be considered a component of civil society, alongside CSOs and the media. In any event, given the important role of academia in the fight against corruption, the insights and discussions of this Module are applicable to academia.

Social accountability and social empowerment

Active citizens are crucial to the fight against corruption: they call attention to corruption, sensitize the population to the problem and its impact, and act as effective watchdogs of politicians and parties by monitoring and keeping them under permanent scrutiny in terms of accountability and responsiveness. Active citizens help to cultivate anti-corruption behaviour among the ruling elite. This leads to a self-enforcing mechanism, as it binds politicians to behave ethically and deliver clean government, which citizens take as their corresponding rights (Collier 2002; Mungiu-Pippidi 2015). As stated by Adserá, Boix and Payne (2003, p. 445): "how well any government functions hinges on how good citizens are at making their politicians accountable for their actions".

The concept of social accountability refers to the responsiveness of public (and private) institutions to societal concerns, and their readiness to share information and facilitate public scrutiny of their actions. Leaders who are held publicly accountable for their actions are expected to behave better because they can be removed from office if their performance is considered unacceptable (however, see the discussion on "voters' forgiveness" in Module 3 of the UNODC Modules Series on Anti-Corruption). As Holmberg and Rothstein (2015, p. 14) describe it: "Citizens need to have their leaders on a leash – perhaps not a very short leash, but some constitutional-democratic constraints, as well as sharp-edged procedures of accountability are necessary."

To combat corruption effectively, citizen participation must not only enhance social accountability; it must also enhance social empowerment. The concept of social empowerment refers to the process of developing the capacity to produce the wanted changes in society (Mungiu-Pippidi, 2015). The importance of social empowerment cannot be overstated in this context, because of the barriers that may limit the ability of citizens to engage directly in the fight against corruption, including a lack of knowledge, resources (financial and other), information and legal support. The need for States to remove such barriers is addressed by article 13 of the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC), discussed below. Other barriers to citizen participation in anti-corruption efforts may include government repression of active citizens, either as individuals or organized into CSOs; censorship; or media control by government or powerful economic actors. For a further discussion of these and additional challenges faced by CSOs, see Tiersky and Renard (2016).

Modalities of citizen participation vary remarkably across societies, depending on the local legal and political structures that facilitate or hinder citizen participation. As a result, there are different levels of social accountability and social empowerment in different societies. The idea that public officials (and private actors) should give account of their conduct to society at large presupposes structures that enable a measure of transparency of information and public scrutiny. Thus, conditions that foster social accountability and social empowerment include the existence of a strong, demanding civil society, but also a free press and freedom of information (these are discussed below).

The related concepts of social capital and civic culture are also worth mentioning in the present context. Social capital and civic culture serve as normative constraints that could affect peoples' attitudes towards corruption. According to Mungiu-Pippidi (2013), social capital is "a widespread habit" of citizens to engage in formal or informal collective actions based on common interests, goals or values, while civic culture refers to the active engagement of citizens' social movements

and the media. For further discussion, see, for example, Johnston (2011), Mungiu-Pippidi (2013), and Marquette and Peiffer (2015). On collective action against corruption, see Module 5 of the UNODC Module Series on Anti-Corruption.

Public trust, institutions and informal norms

Public institutions ideally need to act in socially accountable and ethical ways to earn and maintain public trust. Conversely, citizens' expectations of public institutions are and ought to be high: not only as a way to hold these institutions to account for unethical behaviour, but also because the very premise of public institutions is to provide public goods and services to the community they serve. The challenge is that citizens' trust in public institutions is hard won and easily lost. A lack of social accountability can adversely influence citizens' trust in public and political institutions. Some scholars consider the lack of citizens' trust as part of the "collective action problem" that leads to corruption (the collective action problem is explained in detail in Module 4 of the UNODC Module Series on Anti-Corruption). They furthermore argue that government performance, including reforms and establishing new institutions, cannot be successful without citizens' trust (Johnston, 2011). Thus, social accountability, public trust and public institutions are interlinked in a complex and fragile relationship.

It should also be noted that, while efficient and accountable institutions are important, many scholars have argued that formal institutions such as the judiciary, anti-corruption agencies and other law enforcement organizations are overrated in terms of their ability to control corruption and are far from sufficient (Charron, Dijkstra, and Lapuente, 2015). Thus, the role of informal institutions and social norms should also be considered when analysing citizen participation in anti-corruption activities. Social norms, values and traditions (including laws and institutions) impact individual's basic understanding of what others do (descriptive norms) and what others think they should do (injunctive norms). Cialdini, Kallgren and Reno (1991) define descriptive norms as "an individual's perceptions of what is commonly done in specific situations, without assigning judgment, while an injunctive norm dictates how an individual should behave". Social norms dictate the extent to which individuals engage and expect others to engage in corruption. Social norms can be formal (written laws and formal institutions) or informal (based on culture and social interactions). Although, the later are more difficult to observe, they play an important role in explaining corruption and require particular consideration (see, e.g., Kubbe and Engelbert, 2018).

> The role of citizens in fighting corruption

Citizen participation is not a new concept, although it has gained traction in the past few decades. As stressed by the National Democratic Institute (a United States-based CSO), citizens have "the right to participate in decisions that affect public welfare" and such "participation is an instrumental driver of democratic and socio-economic change, and a fundamental way to empower citizens". Citizen participation has also been described as "a process which provides private individuals an opportunity to influence public decisions and has long been a component of the democratic decision-making process" (Cogan and Sharpe, 1986, p. 283). Citizen participation is classified as direct or indirect, with direct citizen participation being regarded as "the process by which members of a society share power with public officials in making substantive decisions related to the community" (Roberts, 2008, p. 5). There are even international treaties that highlight the importance of citizen participation, such

as the Aarhus Convention on Access to Information², Public Participation in Decision-Making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters.

The discourse on citizen participation has traditionally focused on participation in democratic decision-making, and there are different ways in which citizen participation is operationalized in democratic processes. This can be through bottom-up measures, such as voting, grass-roots organization and participation, or through top-down mechanisms spurred by organizations such as the Open Government Partnership (discussed in Module 4 of the UNODC Module Series on Anti-Corruption). Innes and Booher (2004) have identified five grounds for upholding citizen participation in public decision-making: 1) to include public preferences in decision-making; 2) to improve decisions by incorporating citizens' local knowledge; 3) to promote fairness and justice, and hear marginalized voices; 4) to legitimize public decisions; and 5) to fulfil the requirements of the law.

Citizen participation in relation to anti-corruption efforts encompasses dynamics and approaches that may differ from citizen participation in other public processes, given that the State may not always provide citizens the same access to space and information in relation to fighting corruption. Corruption bypasses democratic mechanisms to the extent that Mark Warren (2004) has defined corruption as a violation of democratic inclusion. Corruption bypasses the laws and rules that were democratically established and excludes those who do not participate in corrupt exchanges (e.g. services that are meant to be public are allocated to those who bribe or on the basis of clientelism). For this reason, the role of citizens is better understood in terms of social accountability, where the citizens oppose corruption by keeping it in check, critically assessing the conduct and decisions of office holders, reporting corruption misdoings and crimes, and asking for appropriate countermeasures.

Concrete ways in which individual citizens may contribute to the fight against corruption include reporting on corruption to the authority or through the media, and supporting training programmes and sensitization campaigns that aim to create a culture of integrity and zero tolerance for corruption. Sometimes even refusing to participate in corrupt practices is an important act of resistance. It is worthwhile dedicating a few lines to the issue of reporting on corruption, as this is one important avenue through which individual citizens can participate in anti-corruption efforts. As technology has advanced, new methods of citizen reporting have become available. Most anti-corruption agencies now allow reports to be made online. In many countries, smartphone applications are enabling citizens to easily report incidents of corruption. In 2012, the World Bank released its own Integrity App³. This app allows users to make confidential reports of fraud and corruption in World Bank projects. It also provides links to the outcomes of investigations. Another approach to reporting corruption outside official channels is through the use of crowdsourcing and social media. In India, for example, Swati and Ramesh Ramanathan created the online platform called "I Paid a Bribe"⁴ to expose everyday corruption by allowing people to post their stories anonymously (Strom, 2012). The website has not only served to document corruption, but also to increase awareness among the public. Another example is Digiwhist⁵, a web portal and mobile app technology launched in Europe for the "systematic collection, structuring, analysis, and broad dissemination of information on public

² Available at https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=IND&mtdsg_no=XXVII-13&chapter=27.

³ For more information about this app, see www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2012/11/08/world-bank-introduces-new-integrity-app-international-anti-corruption-conference.

⁴ Available at www.ipaidabribe.com/.

⁵ Available at <http://digiwhist.eu/>.

procurement and on mechanisms that increase accountability of public officials in all EU and some neighbouring countries". Using the transparency and public accountability of open access, Digiwhist focuses on assessing fiscal transparency, risk assessment and impact of good governance policies.

In many countries around the world, there is a concrete risk of the normalization of corruption and the decline of public criticism of manifestations of corruption. In an ironic twist, corruption ends up being considered a necessary evil or even a shortcut to access some important goods. In such contexts, the critical attitude of citizens toward corruption is weakened or altogether lost. In other cases, high levels of corruption, citizen frustration with public sector corruption and poor governance (which often corresponds to high levels of corruption) may lead to citizen apathy, a lack of civic engagement and a lack of trust in the political and democratic process. Apathy and indifference are dangerous because where citizens fail to hold public officials accountable, corruption spreads even further, together with impunity for corrupt conduct (Olsson, 2014).

Citizen apathy or a lack of civic engagement may be addressed by empowering citizens and by introducing innovative approaches to citizen participation (McCormack and Doran, 2014). For example, the NGO Transparency International launched an anti-corruption tool called the Advocacy and Legal Advice Centre (ALAC)⁶ aimed at enhancing awareness of corruption and its negative consequences, and at facilitating the reporting of corruption. It started with three initial ALACs in Romania, North Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and later established more than 60 centres on all continents. These centres provide victims and witnesses of corruption with practical assistance to pursue complaints and address their grievances. Through providing this support, the centres make it possible for citizens to denounce corruption and participate in anti-corruption efforts.

It is crucial that in all countries, citizens are able to recognize corruption and are empowered to participate, so as to avoid the consequences of unabated corruption, such as deep inequalities (Uslaner, 2008), increased levels of private dishonesty (Gachter and Schulz, 2016), the demoralization of the public (Ariely and Uslaner, 2017), instability and even violent extremism (Chayes, 2015). For a further discussion of the adverse effects of corruption, see Module 1 of the UNODC Module Series on Anti-Corruption.

Where citizens and public officials pursue, use and exchange wealth and power in the absence of appropriate accountability mechanisms, it is common to witness the establishment of what Michael Johnston (2005) called the syndromes of corruption: influence markets, elite cartels, oligarchs and clans, and official moguls. For a further discussion of these syndromes, see Module 2 of the UNODC Module Series on Anti-Corruption.

One should be aware, however, of the possible instrumentalization of citizens' anti-corruption attitudes. Transparency International observers remarked, for example, that corruption is an important element of populist rhetoric. Populist leaders tend to use public outrage for corrupt behaviour to punish political adversaries. Populist movements present themselves as an anti-corruption force drawing on the idea that corrupt elites work against the interest of the people. In many cases, however, such movements are not accompanied by an actual anti-corruption strategy and even facilitate new forms of corruption (Transparency International, 2019). For a further discussion on this topic, see Module 1 of the UNODC Module Series on Anti-Corruption.

⁶ Available at www.transparency.org/reportcorruption.

› The role, risks and challenges of CSOs fighting corruption

Starting in the late eighteenth century, civil society has been conceived as separate from state institutions. CSOs came to be seen as a means of defence against despotism and other potential abuse by political leaders (Bratton, 1994; Spurk, 2010). In the last 20 years, "thanks to the development of new communication technologies, especially the Internet, CSOs have become more and more global and have become a new regulation agent both at a national (or regional) and global levels" (Desse, 2012). CSOs play a growing role in economic, social and environmental issues and have an increasing influence on global governance issues (Desse, 2012).

There are different roles that CSOs, as well as academia, can play in anti-corruption efforts. Kamstra (2017) conceives of these as an educational role, a communicative role, a representational role and a cooperative role, stressing the fact that CSOs do not operate as monolithic or homogenous entities. More concretely, anti-corruption roles of CSOs include education, research, monitoring, awareness-raising, advocacy, mobilization and organization, and the promotion of private prosecutions where possible. Specific case studies from Indonesia, India, Brazil and Argentina, where CSOs were successful in exposing and fighting corruption are discussed by Grimes (2008).

Like the media, CSOs can hold officials accountable and pressure the State to take necessary action against corruption. Some CSOs, such as Global Integrity⁷ and the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP)⁸, were founded by investigative journalists who sought an additional outlet to address corruption issues. Other CSOs, like the NGO Transparency International, have become a point of reference for corruption scholars and activists on all continents. Transparency International is not structured centrally, but with national chapters located in many countries, represents an ideal type of network for a social movement organized around a collection of autonomous and independent actors unified by a common anti-corruption goal (De Sousa, 2005).

At the same time, CSOs and individuals involved in the fight against corruption face the risks of being harassed, harmed and compromised by powerful elites. According to Essoungou (2014), for example, CSO staff in Nigeria are often "poached" by corrupt officials and offered lucrative posts in government while CSOs in Congo and Uganda often face police or judicial harassment. Other challenges, elaborated upon further by VanDyck (2017), include long-term sustainability and funding. In some cases, the CSOs themselves become corrupt. Corruption scandals involving CSOs have occurred in many countries, e.g. Finland, Honduras, Nigeria, USA and others (Smith, 2010; Trivunovic, 2011).

An additional challenge to successful CSO participation is the use of CSOs as political instruments. This can occur, for example, when a public official or government member, or their relative, runs an anti-corruption CSO. In such cases, a serious conflict of interest arises. It is then questionable whether the CSO acts in the public interest. Furthermore, if most of the CSOs in a given country are run or owned in the same manner, then instead of taking the necessary actions to hold officials to account, or to pressure the State to implement reforms and increase transparency, the CSOs might

⁷Available at www.globalintegrity.org/about/.

⁸ Available at www.occrp.org/en/about-us.

do the opposite and in fact contribute to more corruption.

A further challenge is that CSO participation can sometimes be driven by top-down, one-size-fits-all approaches. This is because most civil society projects are funded by foreign aid programmes and, to attract donors' support, CSOs often espouse a whole range of worthy causes with an overt anti-corruption agenda, which flows from previous projects funded by the same donor. According to some observers, fewer than half of the civil society projects in Eastern Europe conducted in the period 2000–2010 were locally designed (Mungiu-Pippidi 2010). The rest were adopted or imported from other countries, and almost all of them were funded by international donors and private foundations. Such projects are often too general to genuinely connect with citizens' everyday lives and problems. Moreover, they do not give citizens immediate and concrete reasons to become involved (such as for the purposes of improving public utilities and services, or to reduce police exploitation) and instead justify themselves in general terms, such as to provide "better governance" or "a better society for all". A crucial risk here is that, instead of reducing corruption, these projects could undermine citizens' trust in the whole civil society sector (Mungiu-Pippidi 2010).

An additional problem related to external funding of civil society activities is that CSOs could be created to promote or conceal corruption schemes. In some cases, CSOs could be used just to take advantage of foreign aid or to meet donor demands that a civil society organization be involved in the management of the funds (Themudo, 2012). Drawing on cases from Afghanistan and some Eastern European countries, Chayes (2015) argues that this is a common scenario in transitional countries that are in the process of building a democracy. International donors are attracted by local "self-promoting activists" who are very persuasive in promising outcomes that donors expect to hear. However, the real objective of these local activists is not always to strengthen democracy, but rather to capture funds. For this reason, in some countries embroiled in conflict or in post-conflict phases, citizens have lost trust in international funding programmes, especially those aiming to promote good governance and reduce corruption (Chayes, 2015).

All these risks and challenges should be considered by civil society actors when planning activities for enhancing citizen participation in the fight against corruption. Moreover, to be effective, all civil society anti-corruption efforts should be tailored to the local context of the given society.

➤ The role of the media in fighting corruption

The media (including social media) has an important role in the fight against corruption as it can demand accountability and transparency from the public and private sectors. There are several studies that have demonstrated the correlation between press freedom and corruption (Bolsius, 2012; Brunetti and Weder, 2003; Chowdhury, 2004; Fardig, Andersson, and Oscarsson, 2011). The media provides information on public sector corruption where governmental activity is opaque by design or by default. The media, and in particular investigative journalism, plays a crucial role in exposing corruption to public scrutiny and fighting against impunity. This is set out in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report on the role of the media and investigative journalism (2018). A prominent example of international cooperation activities that brought fraud and corruption to the attention of the public and law enforcement authorities is offered by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ)⁹. UNODC (2013) examines and elucidates good practices in the journalism profession and in legislation promoting broader freedoms of opinion

⁹ Available at www.icij.org/.

and expression that can support anti-corruption efforts.

In many countries, the media confronts unethical people or practices and may often be the catalyst for a criminal or other investigation. For instance, in South Africa, news reports on large-scale corruption and clientelism at the highest levels prompted the Office of the Public Protector (an independent ombudsman) to investigate the allegations. This investigation led to the 2014 Nkandla report¹⁰ and the 2016 State Capture report¹¹ which found unethical and illegal activity by the then President Jacob Zuma, which contributed to his decision to resign in February 2018. In Bulgaria, in 2019, a joint investigation by Radio Free Europe and the NGO Anti-Corruption Fund revealed that many high-level politicians and public officials had acquired luxury apartments at prices far below the market rates¹². This investigation led to the resignation of the then Justice Minister, three vice-ministers, several MPs as well as the head of the Bulgarian Anti-Corruption Agency. These types of outcome have been described by Stapenhurst (2000) as the "tangible effects" of the media's fight against corruption, while the "intangible effects" of media anti-corruption efforts include "enhanced political pluralism, enlivened political debate and a heightened sense of accountability among politicians, institutions and public bodies".

Media reports on corruption have also taken centre stage at the global level. A case that demonstrates the importance of journalists and the media in detecting incidents of corruption is the Mossack Fonseca Papers case (widely known as the Panama Papers case). In 2015, an anonymous source leaked documents from the Panama-based firm Mossack Fonseca to the German newspaper Süddeutsche Zeitung. The newspaper investigated the documents with the help of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) and published over 11.5 million documents containing information about secret trusts, financial transactions with tax havens, and more than 200,000 offshore entities (the online database Offshoreleaks, created by ICIJ, provides open access to all papers leaked from Mossack Fonseca). The release of these documents has led to lawsuits in numerous countries around the world. Over USD 1.2 billion have been recovered in countries including Iceland, Uruguay, Mexico, New Zealand, Belgium and the United Kingdom¹³.

Stapenhurst (2000) distinguishes tangible (direct) and intangible (indirect) ways in which the media assists in detecting corruption. Examples of tangible effects of exposing corruption in the media include: fuelling public outrage at corruption in government, forcing the impeachment and resignation of a corrupt official, prompting formal investigations into corruption, and spurring citizen pressure for the reform of corrupt States. An example of an intangible effect of the media on corruption is raising public awareness about weak economic competition, and the fact that more competition could increase accountability and create incentives for public officials to investigate corruption (Stapenhurst, 2000).

¹⁰ Available at www.publicprotector.org/sites/default/files/Legislation_report/Final%20Report%202019%20March%202014%20.pdf

¹¹ Available at www.publicprotector.org/sites/default/files/legislation_report/State_Capture_14October2016.pdf.

¹² For more information, see https://acf.bg/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Apartmentgate_en_web.pdf.

¹³ A list of countries that have launched investigations as a result of the Mossack Fonseca Papers is available at www.icij.org/investigations/panama-papers/panama-papers-revenue-recovery-reaches-1-36-billion-as-investigations-continue/.

The extent to which journalists can assist in detecting corruption depends on whether the media is free and independent. For media reporting and journalism to play an effective role in corruption detection, the media has to be free and independent. Freedom of information (FOI) laws are important in determining the role of the media in detecting corruption. Further, there must be legislative frameworks in place to protect journalists and their sources from unfounded lawsuits, recrimination and victimization (OECD, 2018). On the extreme end of the scale, whistle-blowers and journalists have been killed for their role in exposing corruption¹⁴ (OECD, 2018). For a broad discussion of ethics, integrity and the media, see Module 10 of the UNODC Module Series on Integrity and Ethics.

Despite the importance and utility of the media in the fight against corruption, media ownership may undermine anti-corruption efforts, especially where politicians, business leaders or corrupt elites unduly influence the media. In such cases, media reporting may be biased and used to manipulate citizens (Freille, Harque, and Kneller, 2007). Investigative journalists have reported intimidation, attempts to undermine their professional credibility and political represions. Moreover, journalists often receive death threats and some have been killed because of their investigations on corruption (OECD, 2018). According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, 56 journalists were murdered in 2018 alone¹⁵. Freelance journalists are more exposed to violence than other journalists, probably because they lack adequate institutional protection (OECD, 2018) and are also more likely to take higher risk jobs. Moreover, private media owners or the State may heavily interfere with freedom of expression.

Social media is considered more widely accessible, and more resistant to top-down control compared to traditional media. Social media fights corruption by providing information in the form of analysis, commentary and advocacy and through investigations and crowdsourcing. Social media provides an outlet for so-called "citizen journalism" as there are several social media platforms where citizens can provide information on corruption, which is then investigated by government authorities or journalists. Social media may also mobilize public opinion in a way that increases citizen engagement with particular issues (Robertson, 2018), and, on reaching a certain level, this can lead to uprisings and changes in government, as has occurred in several countries such as Tunisia Egyptand Armenia through activism on Twitter (Enikolopov, Petrova, and Sonin, 2018). Notwithstanding the positive effect that social media can have in engaging citizens in the fight against corruption, it should be taken into consideration that the contemporary mass media platforms are vulnerable to abuse, which can lead to the sustained spread of disinformation among citizens. In particular, the growing prevalence of false information spread via social media – known as "fake news" – has become a major threat to public trust in both mainstream and independent media outlets. Fake news not only disseminates incorrect information, but is also often used with malicious intent, for example to discredit political adversaries by casting doubt on their integrity through weaponized reports alleging corrupt conduct, or to discredit journalists who report cases of corruption accurately (Kossow, 2018). Countering such abuses requires the coordinated efforts of the whole society, which again brings to mind the collective action problems mentioned earlier. For additional discussion on citizen journalism and social media platforms see Module 10 of the UNODC Module Series on Integrity and Ethics.

¹⁴ For more information, see www.transparency.org/en/press/transparency-international-joins-campaign-to-protect-journalists

¹⁵ Available at https://cpj.org/data_killed/2018/?status=Killed&motiveConfirmed%5B%5D=Confirmed&type%5B%5D=Journalist&start_year=2018&end_year=2018&group_by=location.

› Access to information: a condition for citizen participation

One crucial aspect of enabling citizen participation – whether by individuals, groups or the media – is their access to information and the mode in which they access information. Module 6 of the UNODC Module Series on Anti-Corruption introduces the notion of freedom of information (FOI) laws, which increase transparency and thus help the fight against corruption. Numerous non-profit groups around the world disseminate information on FOI laws and pressure governments and public institutions to adopt laws and regulations that facilitate public access to government records and proceedings. Examples of NGOs with a focus on FOI laws include Freedominfo.org and the United States-based National Freedom of Information Coalition located at the University of Florida. The World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the OECD also support FOI laws as a tool to combat corruption. While many States over the past few decades have adopted FOI laws, these laws are often seen as contentious (Banisar, 2006). The 2007 Freedom of Information law, which was tabled in Russia, for example, was the longest debated bill in the Duma¹⁶. To date, numerous countries do not have FOI laws.

In Latvia, for example, the World Bank encouraged freedom of information as a tool to address corruption, strengthen the reform process and "assure vertical (bottom to top and citizens to government) accountability in the system" (World Bank, 2003, p. 4). Although, the Latvian Government adopted a FOI law in 1998, this law was determined not to be enough by the World Bank. Therefore, to fulfil the condition of the World Bank's Programmatic Structural Adjustment Loan, Latvia made additional reforms on information access for the public, including new regulations concerning classification of information and requirements for all public institutions to prepare and publish annual reports on their activities (World Bank, 2003, p. 4).

As the example of FOI reforms in Latvia demonstrates, legal structures must be supplemented with enforcement mechanisms and accountability systems to combat corruption successfully. Kelmore (2016) cautions that while many countries have adopted FOI laws, there is great diversity in the "definitions for both the type of information covered and the nature of the right. Access to various particular types of information is routinely granted in piecemeal fashion through all levels of government including national sub-constitutional laws, national constitutions, and regional and international treaties." In many countries, including the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom, there are also restrictions on FOI laws¹⁷.

While some activists rely on FOI laws to obtain information necessary to fight corruption (these are sometimes called "access to information activists"); other activists fight corruption by using information that is already out there (sometimes called "open data activists"). The following quote from the Information Activism website¹⁸ expands on both types of activists:

Access to information activists put pressure on governments to enact and implement laws

¹⁶ For more information, see www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/research/research-archive/foi-archive/international-focus/russian-federation.

¹⁷ To consider an example of how freedom of information is facilitated in the United States and when this right is restricted, see the discussion on the Freedom of Information Act available at www.foia.gov/about.html.

¹⁸ Available at <https://informationactivism.org/en/open-data-what-it-so-what.html>.

enabling people to ask questions of any official body that is part of or controlled by the state, and receive prompt and thorough answers. They draw on the idea that information produced using tax money is owned by the tax-paying public, and should be made available to them without restriction. As public bodies respond to people's queries and pro-actively publish the information they create, people are able to see, better understand and scrutinize the workings of the public bodies they fund. Access to information is seen as a necessity for effective participation in public life; a tool to redress one sort of imbalance between people and the powerful institutions that govern them.

Open data activists build on these ideas and concern themselves with the re-use of data and information released by public bodies. ... Many people use online forums, social media and blogs as a key part of their lives, using it [sic] to learn and form opinions and seek advice. Other, more technical groups "mash up" data – putting it online, showing it on maps, making it searchable – to try and show interesting or new things. Open data advocates ... argue that public bodies should not only release information and data with modern online habits in mind, but they should do it in a way that removes technical, financial and legal obstacles to any sort of re-use. In practice this means designing methods and standards for releasing different sorts of information in ways that anticipate but don't preclude what people might want to do with it.

› **ICT as a tool for citizen participation in anti-corruption efforts**

Information and communications technology (ICT) has become a very useful tool for fighting corruption. Of course, ICT-based social media has added a new dimension to the fight against corruption as information can find its way around the world in a matter of minutes and viral pictures or videos taken by citizen journalists can be used as evidence of corruption or other ills. In addition, these videos and images may be a catalyst for governmental action and can be used by the international community to apply pressure on States. The Internet gives a global dimension to the work of local CSOs and also enables collaborative investigative journalism. Some of the ways in which ICT is useful in the fight against corruption, and in particular in enhancing citizen participation in anti-corruption efforts, are:

Sharing information: Technology can be used to provide a platform for sharing information on cases of corruption, which can raise awareness of these cases and may act as a deterrent. For instance, platforms such as I Paid a Bribe in India (Kannaiah, 2016) and the Trade Route Incident Mapping System in Nigeria (Akinwale and Oyelami, 2015) provide crowdsourced information on demand bribery in different contexts. Anecdotal evidence suggests that those demanding bribes in areas where these platforms are used become more reluctant for fear of being identified on these platforms (Kannaiah, 2016).

Automation and digitization of government processes and services, including blockchain-enabled platforms: Technology has been used to automate government processes and reduce the face time public officials in certain positions have with the public. Automation may limit the discretion of public officials, increase transparency and make it more difficult for corrupt transactions to be effected. For instance, Adam Smith International undertook a project between 2002 and 2016, where it modernized the tax administration system in Afghanistan, and reduced corruption, while dramatically increasing tax revenue collection (ASI, 2016).

In addition, Ramey (2016) argues that automation and digitization may provide a verifiable audit trail that makes it harder to hide corrupt transactions. This is one of the benefits that the blockchain technology is expected to provide¹⁹. The technology became popular because of its ability to transfer data in a safe, tamper-proof and transparent manner. The data is stored in many devices rather than on one centralized server, which in combination with heavy-duty encryption, makes the system impossible to be hacked. On the other hand, this encryption does not allow the changing or deletion of information once it enters the system. Moreover, the blockchain's open source code makes the information publicly available and easy to trace at any time. In particular, the provision of government services on a blockchain-enabled platform could prevent fraud. The automation and digitization of government services ultimately facilitates access to information, which makes it easier for citizens to understand and engage with relevant processes – thus enhancing their ability to monitor the transactions and detect any irregularities.

Big data analytics: ICT enables citizens and civil society actors to utilize big data in a way that can assist in targeted change and reforms and in the understanding of trends and patterns relevant to anti-corruption enforcement. For instance, a project of universities in the United Kingdom and the African Mathematical Institute analysed large data sets of public procurement contracts financed by development banks in Tanzania over a seven-year period and found interesting patterns and red flags that had not been picked up by the development banks in the procurement process (David-Barrett, 2017). Data sets like financial disclosure, beneficial ownership, company data, financial intelligence data, tax authority data and procurement data could be analysed to provide patterns and evidence of procurement fraud or other acts of corruption.

› Government obligations to ensure citizen participation in anti-corruption efforts

The United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) provides the foundation for citizen participation in anti-corruption efforts in article 13(1), which requires States parties to "take appropriate measures to promote the active participation of individuals and groups outside the public sector, such as civil society, non-governmental organizations and community-based organizations, in the prevention of and the fight against corruption". Further to this, the article requires States parties to provide avenues for public participation in decision-making, as well as to protect the activities of (mainstream) investigative and citizen journalists subject to the rule of law. To operationalize the obligations under article 13, States can take a number of complementary measures. These include fulfilling the public reporting obligations under article 10 of UNCAC, which requires a State "to enhance transparency in [its] public administration, including with regard to its organization, functioning and decision-making processes, where appropriate". It also includes maintaining a robust freedom of information regime, providing citizens and civil society with the information needed to fight corruption, and ensuring that there is an enabling environment for the registration and functioning of civil society. The last measure requires the State, at a minimum, not to act in a way that represses or obstructs the work of citizens, CSOs and the media in their anti-corruption efforts.

¹⁹ For more information about the Blockchain technology, see www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_Realizing_Potential_Blockchain.pdf

These international law obligations are critical in helping to foster social empowerment (i.e. the capacity to produce the desired changes in society), by removing the knowledge and resources barriers that citizens can encounter when seeking to engage in anti-corruption efforts. Of course, these cannot exclude government repression of activists and control of the media – which not only undermine anti-corruption efforts but also place the lives of citizens at risk.

› Conclusion

This Module illustrated the importance of citizen participation in the fight against corruption, and the various tools and opportunities through which such participation can be pursued. Particular discussions shed light on how citizens can actively engage in anti-corruption efforts through ICT and social media, and on the role and responsibility of the media and civil society organizations in the fight against corruption. Through the different examples and class exercises, the Module seeks to help students develop and strengthen a sense of responsibility to actively fight corruption, and to equip them with the knowledge of how to practically engage in such efforts.

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Exercises and case studies

This section contains suggestions for in-class and pre-class educational exercises, while a post-class assignment for assessing student understanding of the Module is suggested in a separate section.

The exercises in this section are most appropriate for classes of up to 50 students, where students can be easily organized into small groups in which they discuss cases or conduct activities before group representatives provide feedback to the entire class. Although it is possible to have the same small group structure in large classes comprising a few hundred students, it is more challenging and the lecturer might wish to adapt facilitation techniques to ensure sufficient time for group discussions as well as providing feedback to the entire class. The easiest way to deal with the requirement for small group discussion in a large class is to ask students to discuss the issues with the four or five students sitting closest to them. Given time limitations, not all groups will be able to provide feedback in each exercise. It is recommended that the lecturer makes random selections and tries to ensure that all groups get the opportunity to provide feedback at least once during the session. If time permits, the lecturer could facilitate a discussion in plenary after each group has provided feedback.

All exercises in this section are appropriate for both graduate and undergraduate students. However, as students' prior knowledge and exposure to these issues vary widely, decisions about appropriateness of exercises should be based on their educational and social context. The lecturer is encouraged to relate and connect each exercise to the Key issues section of the Module.

It is recommended that lecturers begin by building a conducive and sympathetic environment at the start of class and before conducting the very first exercise. This can be done by breaking the ice in a supportive way, by respectfully examining students' starting orientations to corruption, and by demonstrating genuine interest in their perspectives. Once students come to see the lecturer as respectful, genuinely interested in their orientation to the material, and consistent in policing any snide or unsupportive comments by class members, that safe environment will enable effective learning and development.

> Exercise 1: How can citizens participate in fighting corruption?

Before coming to class, have students read Marquette and Peiffer (2015) available in the Core reading section of this module and watch the TED Talk Fighting Corruption in the Developing World²⁰. In class, students should be divided into groups of five to eight and take ten minutes to brainstorm and exchange ideas on how technology can be used by citizens to fight corruption. Ideas could be directed at addressing corruption in specific sectors that are vulnerable to corruption. At the end of the ten minutes, the ideas should be put on a board and the top five ideas selected and discussed.

Lecturer guidelines:

The aim of this exercise is to give a practical overview of how citizens can participate in the fight against corruption, with a focus on electoral corruption in developing democracies. It could take up to 45 minutes.

> Exercise 2: How can investigative journalism fight corruption?

Before coming to class, have students watch the TED Talk How the Panama Papers journalists broke the biggest leak in history²¹ or the TED Talk How I named, shamed and jailed²². After watching the videos, the class should be divided into five groups. Each group should look at one of the following websites:

- I. www.cenozo.org
- II. www.legalleaks.info
- III. www.occrp.org/en/gacc/
- IV. <https://en.arij.net/>
- V. www.icij.org/

and report to the other groups on:

- a) The approaches taken by these groups to fight corruption
- b) The synergies between these groups
- c) Which approach appears to be the most useful to fight corruption considering the local context.

Lecturer guidelines:

This exercise provides an insight into how investigative journalism works in different jurisdictions. The exercise should give students an understanding of how important the media is in the fight against corruption and the effort that goes into investigative journalism around the world. The exercise should also confront students with the ethical and other implications of investigative journalism in the form of WikiLeaks. Is there a duty on investigative journalists to be responsible, and to whom do they owe this duty? The lecturer may refer to the UNODC Module Series on Integrity and Ethics and particularly to Module 10 (Media Integrity and Ethics) of that series.

²⁰Available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=iFlgqzj4v70.

²¹Available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNvDRuGK84I.

²² Available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=LRTTPs-AujA.

This exercise assumes that the students have read the following materials (referred to in the Core reading section):

- How investigative journalists helped turn the tide against corruption.
- The Role of the Media and Investigative Journalism in Combating Corruption.
- A Free Irresponsible Press: Wikileaks and the battle over the soul of the networked fourth estate.
- Corruption in the media in developing countries.
- Reporting on Corruption - A resource tool for governments and journalists.
- West Africa leaks: African Journalists discuss the dangers of investigative journalism in Africa.

› Exercise 3: Citizen journalism

Ask the students to check the Source Watch website²³ before they go to the class. The website collates a number of collaborative journalism platforms, where citizens can submit news. During the class, have the students watch the TED Talk Citizen journalism by Paul Lewis²⁴ or the TED Talk Citizen journalism by Brian Conley²⁵. After watching the videos, the students should be divided into groups of five and each group should go to the immediate environment (outside the class, in the halls, as appropriate) and use their smartphones to create a news story. This can be done by dramatizing a criminal act (such as bribery or embezzlement) or using whatever is available in the immediate environment to create a story. This exercise should highlight how easy (or difficult) it is to be a citizen journalist and how easy it is for citizens to create fake news.

The students should then discuss the following issues:

What are the ethical issues around citizen journalism?

How has citizen journalism affected mainstream journalism?

How can citizen journalism be used in the fight against corruption?

Lecturer guidelines:

The aim of this exercise is to provide students with an understanding of the effectiveness and the limitations of citizen journalism. It provides students with an opportunity to test out their own ability to be citizen journalists, but also to see the ease by which "fake news" can be created, and the impact that this can have. The exercise should get students to think about how the ethical issues around citizen journalism could be managed.

This exercise assumes that the students have read or watched in advance the following materials (see full reference in the Core reading and the Additional teaching tools sections of this Module):

- The Potential and Limitations of Citizen Journalism Initiatives: Chhattisgarh's CGNet Swara.
- Thinking about citizen journalism: The philosophical and practical challenges of user-generated content for community newspapers.

²³ Available at www.sourcewatch.org/index.php/List_of_citizen_journalism_websites.

²⁴ Available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=9APO9_yNbcg.

²⁵ Available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=kY-I9UQpf0Y.

- Is anything authentic in the age of social media?
- A retrospective on what we know, an agenda for what we don't.
- Fake News and Anti-Corruption.

› Exercise 4: Game changers in anti-corruption: key activists and media persons who drive anti-corruption actions

Have the students watch one (or more) of the following TED Talks: When you fight corruption it fights back²⁶, My battle to expose government corruption²⁷ or How to Expose the Corrupt²⁸. After watching the videos, students should consider and discuss the impact that these activists and organizations have had on corruption locally and internationally.

Students should consider the commitment and effort these activists put into this fight and the personal cost to them.

Lecturer guidelines:

This exercise should provide students with an understanding of the personal and professional costs of fighting corruption by individuals in different jurisdictions. Anti-corruption activists must realize that corrupt interests fight back when they are threatened and this should be known and understood by students.

› Exercise 5: The impact of civil society

Have the students watch the video Kony 2012²⁹. After watching the documentary, the class should discuss the various tools that the NGO Invisible Children used to push public opinion and "force" government intervention. This could take about 15 minutes.

Lecturer guidelines:

The aim of this exercise is to highlight what can be achieved when civil society is organized and determined and makes use of various channels to advance an agenda. The documentary to be screened in this exercise highlights the impact that civil society can have when it mobilizes around an emotional issue. In this case, the issue was children caught up in the conflict in central Africa spearheaded by Joseph Kony, leader of the Lord's Resistance Army. Whilst the issue is not about corruption but conflict, it shows the power that civil society and ordinary people can have to effect change.

This exercise assumes that the students have read the following materials (referred to in the Core reading section):

²⁶ Available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=l2XxuOY6zp0.

²⁷ Available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=sYUjyH8Y0No.

²⁸ Available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=aRRE5TEnfSA.

²⁹ Available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y4MnpzG5SqC.

- The Role of NGOs in combatting corruption: Theory and Practice.
- The Global Participation Backlash: Implications for Natural Resource Initiatives.
- Social Accountability Initiatives and Civil Society contribution to anti-corruption efforts in Bangladesh.

> Exercise 6: Using technology in the fight against corruption: blockchain and big data

Ask the students to read the materials listed below before they go to the class. During the class, students should be divided into small groups and discuss the potential applications for blockchain and big data in the following sectors:

- I. Public procurement
- II. Elections
- III. Land registration

Pre-exercise reading list:

Chene, Marie (2012). Use of mobile phones to detect and deter corruption. Bergen, Norway: U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, Chr. Michelsen Institute.

» Available from <https://www.u4.no/publications/use-of-mobile-phones-to-detect-and-deter-corruption.pdf>

Kossow, Niklas and Victoria Dykes (2018). Blockchain, bitcoin and corruption: a review of the linkages. Berlin: Transparency International.

» Available from <https://knowledgehub.transparency.org/assets/uploads/helpdesk/Blockchain-bitcoin-and-corruption2018-.pdf>.

Kukutschka, Roberto Martinez B. (2016) Technology against corruption - the potential of online corruption reporting apps and other platforms. Bergen, Norway: U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, Chr. Michelsen Institute.

» Available from www.u4.no/publications/technology-against-corruption-the-potential-of-online-corruption-reporting-apps-and-other-platforms.pdf.

Santiso, Carlos (2017). Is the data revolution a game changer in the fight against corruption? World Economic Forum, 24 February.

» Available from www.weforum.org/agenda/02/2017/is-the-data-revolution-a-game-changer-in-the-global-fight-against-corruption/.

Santiso, Carlos (2018). Can blockchain help in the fight against corruption? World Economic Forum, 12 March.

» Available from www.weforum.org/agenda/03/2018/will-blockchain-curb-corruption/.

Santiso, Carlos (2018). Will blockchain disrupt government corruption? Stanford Social Innovation Review, 5 March.

» Available from https://ssir.org/articles/entry/will_blockchain_disrupt_government_corruption.

Wickberg, Sofia (2013). Technological innovations to identify and reduce corruption. Bergen, Norway: U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, Chr. Michelsen Institute.

» Available from <https://www.u4.no/publications/technological-innovations-to-identify-and-reduce-corruption.pdf>.

Lecturer guidelines:

The aim of this exercise is to present the concept of blockchain and understand its implications for fighting corruption. For this exercise, students must have done the related reading and should be prepared to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of a blockchain platform in several public domains.

Possible class structure

This section contains recommendations for a teaching sequence and timing intended to achieve learning outcomes through a three-hour class. The lecturer may wish to disregard or shorten some of the segments below to give more time to other elements, including introduction, icebreakers, conclusion or short breaks. The structure could also be adapted for shorter or longer classes, given that the class durations vary across countries.

Introduction (10 mins)

- The class should start with questions to get students to think about their prior understanding of citizen participation and about citizen participation as a personal responsibility. Some questions that can be asked are:

1. What do you understand by citizen participation?
2. What does it mean to be a citizen in your country? Is citizenship defined by rights, duties, or a combination of the two?
3. Have you ever done anything which you feel contributed to the fight against corruption on any scale? It does not matter how small.
4. Do you think you have a responsibility to fight corruption? Why?
5. After this discussion, the lecturer can introduce the Module and give an overview of the key concepts.

Overview: How can citizens participate in fighting corruption? (45 minutes)

- Screen Fighting Corruption in the Developing World
- Conduct Exercise 1
- At the end of the brainstorming, the ideas should be put on a board and the top five ideas selected, and a brief discussion on students' choices should follow.

The role of the media and social media: How investigative journalism can fight corruption (25 minutes)

- Have students watch in advance of the class the video Panama Papers or the video How I named, shamed and jailed (pre-class)
- Conduct Exercise 2

Citizen journalism (40 minutes)

- Screen Citizen journalism
- Conduct Exercise 3
- The students should then discuss the following issues:
 1. What are the ethical issues around citizen journalism?
 2. How has citizen journalism affected mainstream journalism?
 3. How can citizen journalism be used in the fight against corruption?

Game changers & the impact of civil society (45 minutes)

- Conduct Exercise 4 or 5 by following the guidelines in the Exercises section (if time allows, do both)

Using technology in the fight against corruption (15 minutes)

- Students must have done the required reading for this exercise before class
- Conduct Exercise 6



Core reading

This section provides a list of (mostly) open access materials that the lecturer could ask the students to read before taking a class based on this Module.

Carr, Indira, and Opi Outhwaite (2011). The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in combatting corruption: Theory and Practice. *Suffolk University Law Review*, vol. 44, no. 3, pp. 615-664.

» Available from www.academia.edu/1213559/The_role_of_non-governmental_organisations_NGOs_in_combating_corruption_theory_and_practice.

Chadha, Kalyani and Linda Steiner (2015). The Potential and Limitations of Citizen Journalism Initiatives: Chhattisgarh's CGNet Swara. *Journalism Studies*, vol. 16, no. 5, pp. 706-718.

» Available from www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/1461670/10.1080X.2015.1054179?needAccess=true.

Johnston, Michael (2011). First, Do No Harm – Then, Build Trust: Anti-Corruption Strategies in Fragile Situations. Washington D.C.: World Bank.

» Available from <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/9046/10986>.

Kossow, Niklas (2018). Fake news and anti-corruption. Berlin: Transparency International.

» Available from <https://knowledgehub.transparency.org/helpdesk/fake-news-and-corruption>.

Lewis, Seth C., Kelly Kaufhold and Dominic L. Lasorsa (2010). Thinking about citizen journalism: The philosophical and practical challenges of user-generated content for community newspapers. Taylor and Francis. Retrieved from the University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy

» Available from <https://hdl.handle.net/123405/11299>.

Marquette, Heather, and Caryn Peiffer (2015). Corruption and Collective action. Bergen: U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, Chr. Michelsen Institute.

» Available from www.u4.no/publications/corruption-and-collective-action.pdf.

Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina (2013). Controlling Corruption Through Collective Actions. *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 26, issue 1, pp. 101-115.

» Available from www.researchgate.net/publication/290889362_Controlling_Corruption_Through_Collective_Action.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2018). The Role of the Media and Investigative Journalism in Combating Corruption. Paris

» Available from www.oecd.org/corruption/the-role-of-media-and-investigative-journalism-in-combating-corruption.htm.

Ronan, Kaunin (2018). Social Accountability Initiatives and Civil Society contribution to anti-corruption efforts in Bangladesh. Bergen: U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, Chr. Michelsen Institute.

» Available from www.u4.no/publications/social-accountability-initiatives-and-civil-society-contribution-to-anti-corruption-efforts-in-bangladesh.pdf.

Santiso, Carlos, and Benjamin Roseth (2017). Is the data revolution a game changer in the fight against corruption? World Economic Forum, 24 February.

» Available from www.weforum.org/agenda/02/2017/is-the-data-revolution-a-game-changer-in-the-global-fight-against-corruption/.

Spurk, Christoph (2010). Understanding civil society. In Civil society and peacebuilding: a critical assessment, Pfenholz, T. ed. Boulder Rienner.

» Available from www.researchgate.net/publication/264885895_Understanding_Civil_Society_-History_debates_and_contemporary_approaches.

Wall, Melissa (2015). Citizen Journalism: A retrospective on what we know, an agenda for what we don't. Digital Journalism, vol. 3, issue 6 (February), pp. 797-813.

» Available from www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/21670811.2014.1002513/10.1080?needAccess=true.

Wheatland, Ben, and Marie Chene (2015). Barriers to Collective action against corruption. Bergen: U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, Chr. Michelsen Institute.

» Available from www.u4.no/publications/barriers-to-collective-action-against-corruption.pdf.

Advanced reading

The following readings are recommended for students interested in exploring the topics of this Module in more detail and for lecturers teaching the Module:

Bauhr, Monika, and Marcia Grimes (2017). Transparency to Curb Corruption? Concepts, Measures and Empirical Merit. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, vol. 68, issue 4 (November), pp. 431-458.

Benkler, Yochai (2011). A Free Irresponsible Press: Wikileaks and the battle over the soul of the networked fourth estate. *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*.

» Available from <https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/10900863/benkler.pdf?sequence=1>.

Bertot, John C., Paul Jaeger, and Justin Grimes (2010). Using ICTs to create a culture of transparency: E-government and social media as openness and anti-corruption tools for societies. *Government Information Quarterly*, vol. 27, issue 3 (July), pp. 264-271.

Bingham, Lisa Blomgren, Tina Nabatchi, and Rosemary O'Leary (2005). The New Governance: Practices and Processes for Stakeholder and Citizen Participation in the Work of Government. *Public Administration Review*, vol. 6, issue 5 (September), pp. 547-558.

» Available from <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un-dpadm/unpan039447.pdf>.

Chêne, Marie (2011). Use of mobile phones to detect and deter corruption. Bergen, Norway: U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, Chr. Michelsen Institute.

» Available from <https://knowledgehub.transparency.org/helpdesk/use-of-mobile-phones-to-detect-and-deter-corruption>.

Dupuy, Kendra (2017). The Global Participation Backlash: Implications for Natural Resource Initiatives. Bergen, Norway: U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, Chr. Michelsen Institute.

» Available from www.u4.no/publications/the-global-participation-backlash-implications-for-natural-resource-initiatives.

Kamstra, Jelmer (2017). Dialogue and Dissent Theory of Change 2.0: Supporting Civil Society's Political Role. The Hague: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands Social Development Department Civil Society Unit.

» Available from www.nwo.nl/binaries/content/documents/nwo-en/common/documentation/application/wotro/assumptions---dialogue-and-dissent-theory-of-change/Annex1_Dialogue+and+Dissent+Theory+of+Change+-+June+2017.pdf.

Kaplan, Andreas and Michael Haenlin (2010). Users of the World Unite: The challenges and opportunities of social media. *Business Horizons*, vol. 53, issue 1 (January-February), pp. 59-68.

Kossow, Niklas and Victoria Dykes (2018). Blockchain, bitcoin and corruption: a review of the linkages. Berlin: Transparency International. Berlin: Transparency International.

» Available from <https://knowledgehub.transparency.org/helpdesk/bitcoin-blockchain-and-corruption-an-overview>.

Kukutschka, Roberto (2016). Technology against corruption- the potential of online corruption reporting apps and other platforms. Bergen, Norway: U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, Chr. Michelsen Institute.

» Available from www.u4.no/publications/technology-against-corruption-the-potential-of-online-corruption-reporting-apps-and-other-platforms.pdf.

Kumar, Krishan (1993). Civil-Society - An Inquiry into The Usefulness of An Historical Term. British Journal of Sociology, vol. 44, no. 3 (September) pp. 375-395.

Mauro, Paolo (1996). The effects of corruption on growth, investment and government expenditure. International Monetary Fund.

» Available from www.imf.org/en/Publications/WP/Issues/2016/12/30/The-Effects-of-Corruptionon-Growth-Investment-and-Government-Expenditure-2042.

Muhangi, Denis (2004). Study of Civil Society Organizations in Uganda. Uganda Program For Human and Holistic Development.

» Available from http://uphold.jsi.com/Docs/Resources/Research/CivilSociety/civil_society_organisation_mapping_study_phase2.pdf.

Linders, Dennis (2012). From e-government to we-government: Defining a typology for citizen coproduction in the age of social media. Government Information Quarterly, vol. 29, issue 4, pp. 446-454.

Mendes, Mara (2013). Corruption in the media in developing countries. Bergen, Norway: U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, Chr. Michelsen Institute.

» Available from www.u4.no/publications/overview-of-corruption-in-the-media-in-developing-countries.pdf.

Morris, Stephen (2008). Disaggregating Corruption: A Comparison of Participation and Perceptions in Latin America with a Focus on Mexico. Bulletin of Latin American Research, vol. 27, issue 3 (July), pp.388-409.

Moschini, Silvina (2019). Transparency and tech together can safeguard taxpayers' money. World Economic Forum, 26 August.

Roberts, Nancy (2008). The Age of Direct Citizen Participation. London; New York: Routledge.

Sansito, Carlos (2018). Can blockchain help in the fight against corruption? World Economic Forum, 12 March.

» Available from www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/03/will-blockchain-curb-corruption/.

Song, Changsoo and Jooho Lee (2016). Citizens' Use of Social Media in Government, Perceived Transparency, and Trust in Government. Public Performance and Management Review, vol. 39, issue

2, pp. 430-453.

Smith, Graham (2009). Democratic Innovations: Designing institutions for citizen participation (Chapter 1). Cambridge University Press.

Tronsor, Elizabeth, and Julius Hinks (2019). Real Lives, Real Stories: The Power of Information in Asia Pacific. Berlin: Transparency International.

» Available from www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/real_lives_real_stories_the_power_of_information_in_asia_pacific.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2004). Global Action against Corruption: The Merida papers. Vienna.

» Available from www.unodc.org/documents/corruption/publications_merida_e.pdf.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2013). Reporting on Corruption - A resource tool for governments and journalists. New York; Vienna.

» Available from www.unodc.org/documents/corruption/Publications/2013/Resource_Tool_for_Governments_and_Journalists_COSP5_ebook.pdf.

Wickberg, Sofia (2013). Technological innovations to identify and reduce corruption. Bergen, Norway: U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, Chr. Michelsen Institute.

» Available from <https://knowledgehub.transparency.org/helpdesk/technological-innovations-to-identify-and-reduce-corruption>.

Student assessment

This section provides a suggestion for a post-class assignment for the purpose of assessing student understanding of the Module. Suggestions for pre-class or in-class assignments are provided in the Exercises section.

One or more of the following brief assignments is recommended:

1. Thought paper: Students should write a reflective paper on their experience with or views of corruption in their home country and the personal contribution they can make to the fight against corruption. This is not an academic paper, but should include as much as possible the student's own story and thoughts on what he or she can do in a personal capacity. This paper should be around 1500 words long, including footnotes and references.
2. Group work: Students in groups of five should write the concept paper for a new app to be used in the fight against corruption. Students should choose to design an app for either electoral corruption, police corruption or corruption in schools or universities. This concept paper should be no more than 1500 words long, including footnotes and references.
3. Research paper: Students could be asked to write a paper on one aspect of citizen's contribution to the fight to corruption. For example, they may be encouraged to choose a case of investigative journalism and show the contribution to uncover wrongdoing, but also the difficulties encountered in denouncing and making public the information. This paper should be 2000 words long, including footnotes and references.

Additional teaching tools

This section includes links to relevant teaching aides such as PowerPoint slides, video material and case studies, that could help the lecturer teach the issues covered by the Module. Lecturers can adapt the slides and other resources to their needs.

› Video material

Citizen journalism (2011). Paul Lewis, TEDxThessaloniki (17 min). In this video, journalist Paul Lewis talks about new media, citizen journalism and how he has used social media to investigate two murders. He also talks about the new level of transparency and accountability social media offers in public life.

» Available from www.youtube.com/watch?v=9APO9_yNbcg.

Citizen journalism is reshaping the world (2012). Brian Conley, TEDxMidAtlantic (10 min). In this video, Brian Conley, Director of the Small World News initiative, explains how important citizen journalism in the modern world is by telling the stories of numerous journalists who have been jailed because of their actions.

» Available from www.youtube.com/watch?v=kY-l9UQpf0Y.

Fighting Corruption in the Developing World (2016). James D Long, TEDxUofW (30 min). In this video, James D Long presents a broad overview of what individuals and civil society can do to fight corruption and the role that technology can play in fighting corruption. The talk illustrates that "ordinary" people with limited resources can have an impact on anti-corruption by being innovative, committed, willing and brave.

» Available from www.youtube.com/watch?v=iFlgqzj4v70.

How I named, shamed and jailed (2013). Anas Aremeyaw Anas, TED2013 (12 min). Journalist Anas Aremeyaw Anas has broken dozens of stories of corruption and organized crime all over Ghana - without ever revealing his identity. In this talk (in which his face remains hidden), Anas shows footage from some of his investigations and demonstrates the importance of facing injustice.

» Available from www.youtube.com/watch?v=LRTTPs-AujA.

How the Panama Papers journalists broke the biggest leak in history (2016). Gerard Ryle, TED Summit (13 min). In this TED Talk, Gerard Ryle gives an insight into how the Panama Papers investigation was conducted.

» Available from www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNvDRuGK84I.

How to Expose the Corrupt (2009). Peter Eigen, TEDxBerlin (16 min). In his talk, Peter Eigen describes the counter-attack on corruption led by his organization, Transparency International.

» Available from www.youtube.com/watch?v=aRRE5TEnfSA.

My battle to expose government corruption (2012). Heather Brooke, TEDGlobal 2012 (19 min). Journalist Heather Brooke uncovered the British Parliamentary financial expenses that led to a major political scandal in 2009. She urges us to ask our leaders questions through platforms like Freedom of Information requests - and to finally get some answers.

» Available from www.youtube.com/watch?v=sYUjyH8Y0No.

Why young people should care about corruption (2019). Transparency International (4 minutes). Can young people end corruption? Why should they even care? Why is it important to participate in elections? These are some of the questions Transparency International asked four young Panamanians on the occasion of International Youth Day.

» Available from www.youtube.com/watch?v=5OCos3c9XZI.

› Websites

Curbing corruption – a knowledge hub offering various tools and materials on anti-corruption reforms.

» Available from <https://curbingcorruption.com/>.

Involve – provides a vast collection of tools, case studies and publications on citizen participation in decision-making and building democracy.

» Available from www.involve.org.uk/resources.

International Association for Public Participation – IAP2 offers a wealth of resources available to assist organizations, decision makers, policymakers and practitioners to improve the quality of public participation, which could be used for case studies or class discussions.

» Available from www.iap2.org/page/resources.

› Case studies, news reports and blogs

Fitzgibbon, Will (2018). 'We are the enemies of our leaders': Meet the journalists behind West Africa Leaks. International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, 22 May.

» Available from: www.icij.org/investigations/west-africa-leaks/enemies-leaders-meet-journalists-behind-west-africa-leaks/.

Harber, Anton (2018). How investigative journalists helped turn the tide against corruption. News24, 19 March.

» Available from www.news24.com/Columnists/GuestColumn/how-investigative-journalists-helped-turn-the-tide-against-corruption-20180319.

Hlebo, Jesse (2015). Is anything authentic in the age of social media? The Conversation, 23 January.

» Available from www.nytimes.com/2012/03/07/business/web-sites-shine-light-on-petty-bribery-worldwide.html?mtrref=https://theconversation.com/jesse-hlebo-isanything-authentic-in-the-age-of-social-media-36633.

Olarewaju, Tolu (2019). Can social media help anti-corruption drives? A Nigerian case study. The Conversation, 4 June.

» Available from <https://theconversation.com/can-social-media-help-anti-corruption-drives-a-nigerian-case-study-118190>.

Guidelines to develop a stand-alone course

This Module provides an outline for a three-hour class, but there is potential to develop its topics further into a stand-alone course. The scope and structure of such a course will be determined by the specific needs of each context, but a possible structure is presented here as a suggestion.

| Session | Topic | Brief description |
|---------|--|---|
| 1 | Overview: How can citizens participate in the fight against corruption | This should discuss issues like the meaning of "citizen", the rights and responsibilities of citizens and the relationship between active citizenship and good governance. The session should highlight the history of citizen participation in democracy and how citizen engagement has changed in modern times. The lecturer should cover the open data movement and the implications that it had on citizen participation in the fight against corruption. Resources: The Antidote to Apathy ³⁰ |
| 2 | Collective action against corruption | This session can look at the issue of collective action against corruption. Based on the premise that corruption is a problem of the collective, efforts to address corruption also have to be collective. Collective action is based on the idea that the private sector, civil society and the public sector work jointly together to provide solutions to domestic corruption problems. Resources could include UN Global Compact, A Practical Guide to Collective Action against Corruption ³¹ (2015). |
| 3 | The role of the media and investigative journalism | This class should provide detailed information on the history of investigative journalism, the approaches taken by journalists in recent years to uncover corruption – collaborative, multi-jurisdictional and the impact these efforts have had on corruption globally. Topics should include the Mossack Fonseca Papers ³² , Paradise Papers ³³ , and Wikileaks ³⁴ among others. |

³⁰ Dave Meslin (TEDx Talks), "The antidote to apathy", video, October 2010.

³¹ Available at <https://www.unglobalcompact.org/library/1781>.

³² See notes 9-13.

³³ For more information about the Paradise Paper, see www.globalwitness.org/en/campaigns/corruption-and-money-laundering/paradise-papers/.

³⁴ For more information about Wikileaks, see <https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/10900863/benkler.pdf?sequence=1>.

| Session | Topic | Brief description |
|---------|--|---|
| 4 | The role of social media in the fight against corruption | Social media has been used as a tool to highlight various wrongdoings, including corruption. How have platforms like Twitter and Facebook been used in the fight against corruption? Are there any drawbacks to this? How do the corrupt use social media and how can this be counteracted. A case study can be Bell Pottinger's "white monopoly capital" social media campaign that was financed by corrupt elites in South Africa to distract the public from the corruption and state capture that was being perpetuated ³⁵ . |
| 5 | Citizen journalism and the benefits for anti-corruption | Students can watch the TED Talk on Citizen journalism and from there engage in a discussion on what citizen journalism means and the implications of this for anti-corruption. |
| 6 | Citizen journalism and the detriments | Class discussion on the detriments of citizen journalism - fake news, trial by the media and the impact of unverified reports on the lives of the subjects. How can these issues be addressed in an unregulated space? Does mainstream media have a role in ensuring responsible and ethical citizen journalism? |
| 7 | Game changers in anti-corruption | This class should focus on individuals and organizations who have made a significant impact on the fight against corruption. The lecturer can select two examples and study their profile in class and end with a discussion of what was done right and what mistakes were made and what lessons can be learned from the stories of the selected persons. For instance, the discussion could focus on international examples with global impact on anti-corruption and local actors relevant to the country of study. |
| 8 | Transparency and Open Government | This class can focus on the role of transparency, access to information and open data in anti-corruption efforts. The session should also examine the founding objectives of the open government movement as well as the connection between the concept of open government, citizen participation and corruption. |

³⁵Available at www.nytimes.com/2018/02/04/business/bell-pottinger-guptas-zuma-south-africa.html#:~:text=Bell%20Pottinger%20P.R.-,Firm%20for%20Despots%20and%20Rogues%2C%20Met%20Its%20End%20in%20South,levels%20not%20felt%20since%20apartheid.

| Session | Topic | Brief description |
|---------|--|---|
| 9 | Big data as a tool in the fight against corruption | This class can discuss the idea of big data and how it can be used to highlight corruption trends and patterns to provide contextualized solutions and reforms. |
| 10 | Blockchain as a tool to fight corruption | Blockchain has been presented as a panacea to address issues of transparency, traceability, compliance, flexibility and stakeholder management in private sector supply chain management. What potential uses can it have in the public sector? There are already many blockchain-based applications in relation to land registration. The Dubai Blockchain Strategy 2020 ³⁶ is a project where Dubai intends to move all government services to a blockchain platform by 2020. This class could examine some of the test cases of blockchain discussed in the module and determine whether it may provide solutions to corruption in areas like public procurement. |

³⁶ For more information, see <https://cointelegraph.com/press-releases/how-dubai-is-aiming-to-become-the-first-blockchain-powered-city-by-2020>.



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