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FIGHTING CORRUPTION THROUGH EDUCATION

E l l i e K e e n

COLPI Paper No. 1

prepared for COLPI by

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Executive Summary

This paper has been developed with the aim of assisting COLPI in identifying and formulating a new program line in anti-corruption measures that include a public awareness and/or an educational component, where these measures are not already covered in existing OSI program lines.

The paper is divided into two parts which may stand separately, although a number of the themes and suggested approaches reoccur and could be developed with both branches working in association. The first part of the paper looks at education in the community as a whole, in the form of promoting public awareness of corruption. The second part of the paper concentrates on initiatives in schools that could be used to develop understanding and awareness of the different aspects of corruption among young people and an appreciation of methods that could be used to reduce its prevalence.

Section 1 will rely on experience drawn from existing anti-corruption programs around the world, and, where available, in Eastern Europe itself. There is a great deal of expertise in this area. Section 1 will attempt to categorize the different efforts, and will provide an analysis of the different components required in effective public awareness programs.

Section 2, looking at work in schools, appears to be generally uncharted territory. There are few existing programs that look specifically at targeting the younger generation. One or two programs have developed handbooks or other publications which have been used for work with teachers, but none have been developed exclusively for this purpose. Several civic education or human rights programs include lessons whose general theme can be extended to cover corruption issues (such as issues of justice, responsibility, etc.) but the link is rarely made explicit within these courses. For that reason we have drawn up, in broad outline, some possible modules that could be used to address the issue of corruption explicitly, together with suggested (brief) methods of preparing teachers for this work. We also offer ideas for possible whole-school approaches to the problem.

1.2 Working Definitions

Corruption

We shall use the definition of corruption adopted by Transparency International: *the abuse of public office for private gain*. This definition leaves open to question whether certain practices fall within its scope (for example, small gifts to public officials), but we deliberately do not foreclose this question since we believe that it should be up to the different countries to decide where to draw the line, and which cases to target in their educational programs. In any event, those cases which most need to be addressed do, indubitably, fall under this broad definition; and we believe the debate itself is of importance, and could be held in the public arena.

Public awareness programs

We shall use this term in a narrow sense, referring strictly to activities designed to increase people's knowledge and understanding of the various forms and aspects of corruption—without necessarily implying any further objectives, such as encouraging them to campaign against it.

Public education programs

We shall use the term public education (in contrast to public awareness) to cover a broad spectrum of activities whose purpose fall under at least one of the following areas:

- The dissemination of information and increase in awareness about corruption
- The changing of perceptions and attitudes towards corruption
- The passing on of new skills and abilities needed to counter corruption

In our understanding, an educational program signifies *a program whose prime purpose is to reduce the amount of corruption in society*.

2. PUBLIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS

For dealing with this overwhelming problem of corruption the best position for civil society is within a broader coalition consisting of three pillars: government, the private sector and civil society. All three partners have to be involved for the fight against corruption to be credible as well as effective and sustainable.¹

Peter Eigen

2.1 The Role of Civil Society

Peter Eigen, the Chair of Transparency International, draws attention to two points here which are important for our purposes: the first is that civil society is a necessary element in any attempt to counter corruption, and the second is that it is not sufficient in itself, but needs to work in association with government and the private sector. We shall return to these points, but it is worth noting that public awareness programs need not be thrown into doubt by the lack of efforts on the part of government and/or the private sector: they may in such cases need to take a different focus, and concentrate on putting pressure on these other two "pillars" in order that a coalition of interests can be established.

Civil society is essential to efforts to combat corruption because it is itself necessarily involved to some extent in corrupt practices, and for that reason is as much an actor on the scene as government ministers, law officials, industrialists, etc. But its participation is also essential because there are a number of roles that civil society can play more effectively than any of the other actors. It can, for example, carry out a monitoring role, criticize and lobby for change, disseminate and publicize information, and ensure that those who are supposed to be acting in its best interests are held to account.

These various roles assist us in identifying a number of features of an effective public awareness program. Broadly speaking, such a program must consist of two separate stages: the collection or selection of information, followed by its dissemination or publicizing. However, any program that relies on this perspective is in danger of heading towards the measurement and dissemination of public perceptions as an end in itself, rather than towards promoting a change in those perceptions (at least) or a change in behavior (at best).

For that reason, we prefer, for the moment, to consider the question from the point of view not of those who must collect and then disseminate, but from that of those whom we would make "aware." Our objective, after all, is not awareness in itself, but the changes that we hope such awareness will bring about. We shall therefore take a *subject-centered* approach, and consider the requirements of civil society, if it is to carry out the roles outlined above.

2.2 The Needs of Civil Society

A) SELF-EXAMINATION

The involvement of civil society in anti-corruption efforts is essential, firstly, in this very fundamental way: where corruption is rife throughout a given society, a large part of its civil society must, by definition, be engaged in corrupt practices. This creates an immediate need for public education programs, in the broadest sense, to run alongside, or be incorporated within, attempts to fight corruption. Civil society needs to examine its actual role in the practice of corruption, and its potential role in fighting it.

AWARENESS

Through public awareness programs, individuals need to be made aware of their own participation in the process, and they need to appreciate the extent of corruption, as well as the harm it does to individuals and to society. The second task requires that campaigns and any publicizing through the media should be designed to shock—or at least to make people sit up and take notice. (The first task, making people aware of their own participation, is more difficult, and will need to be approached with sensitivity and care. Some ideas can be found in the third section of this paper.)

CATCHING THE PUBLIC EYE

There is a tendency for anti-corruption projects to specialize in statistics and deal in generalizations. For the broad mass of the population, such statistics may be no more (and no less) shocking than a comparison of the GDP or a balance of trade figures for two different countries. Clear methods of presentation and a judicious selection of results are of the utmost importance, and personal case histories or specific areas of corruption which are close to home will have far more impact. (See Example 1, below, for an effective method of collecting relevant information.)

CLEAR ALTERNATIVE COURSES OF ACTION

In order for self-examination to lead to a change in behavior, people will need to be made aware of possible alternative courses of action—and they should not be asked to achieve the impossible! Realistic and clearly-defined targets could be set, which could be as undemanding as questioning one's own inclination to engage in any form of bribery, or might include a request to report (possibly anonymously) all such occurrences, or else could be extended to events such as a nationwide "No Bribes Day."

Example 1

The Public Affairs Centre (Bangalore) designed and carried out a Report Card Study² to assess the nature and extent of problems encountered by the poor in their interactions with the health care systems in Bangalore. The study explored user perceptions on four types of hospitals... [and] covered a sample of 361 citizens drawn from 12,896 economically weaker households located... in and around Bangalore City.

The case studies revealed such startling facts as the phenomenon of bribing attendants in one of the Maternity Homes to see one's own baby (200 rupees for a male baby; 150 rupees for a female one!). They also brought to light the percentage of patients in the sample who had paid bribes to hospital officials (just over 50% of those using large public hospitals); the average amount for each bribe; and the main reasons for making them.³

Report card studies measure not perceptions of corruption, but concrete occurrences. Such studies will speak directly to most people and could also provide a focus for a specific campaign or action.

TRAININGS AND SPECIAL COURSES

In addition to those already served by other OSI programs, it may also be possible to target certain sectors of society directly, using more strictly "educational" programs designed to address such issues as responsibility and individual empowerment.⁴ We shall look at this in more detail with reference to teachers and students in Section 2. But there may also be scope to organize events on a semi-formal basis with other sections of the population; for example, through the organization of public debates or as part of the preparation for a monitoring or campaigning role. Example 2 outlines a practical instance.

Example 2

An *Integrity Pact*⁵ tries to bring together government agencies and private sector bidders in public procurement, with civil society groups monitoring the agreement. In Argentina, the local TI Chapter Poder Ciudadano has negotiated a limited Integrity Pact for the selection of contractors to build a new subway line. Bidders were requested to sign (voluntarily) a pledge of integrity committing them to transparency and compliance with legal and ethical principles. Poder Ciudadano arranged a series of Public Hearings, at which all important aspects of the project were aired and could be questioned by the public at large, and specific recommendations for changes could be made. Poder Ciudadano prepared itself for its role at the Hearings and afterwards by training about 35 volunteers, consisting of professors, students, business experts and retired persons.⁶

Adults are unlikely to attend courses whose purpose is (advertised as) the changing of attitudes. But they may be drawn to such courses if these are seen to be preparing them for some other purpose—such as a monitoring or campaigning role.

B) 'CHEERLEADING'⁷

If public education programs are to have any force, individuals will need to feel that their efforts are not being carried out in isolation, and that they are having some effect on the situation as a whole. NGOs and the media will have an important role in drawing people together and encouraging their efforts—including those of government officials and the private sector—as well as attending to the selection and presentation of information which is to be passed on to the public.

SEEKING OUT THE POSITIVE

Positive results are as much in need of public dissemination as are the harmful effects of corruption. Publicity campaigns must refer to concrete results obtained under anti-corruption programs in order to emphasize the real possibility of change.

INCREMENTAL CHANGE

Since wholesale changes in the overall situation will happen only in the medium to long term (and since they are anyway difficult to measure) it is important to set realistic, easily-measurable and non-ambitious targets which can be

achieved in the short term, and whose results can then be made public and triumphed as a success. Projects may have to set—and recognize—intermediary goals, and emphasize the importance of incremental change. Rather than attempting to eliminate corruption in the health service as a whole, individual hospitals or even wards could be targeted; for example, a maternity ward which charges mothers to see their children. The privatization of a single company or natural resource could be monitored closely; the passing of a single law (a Freedom of Information Act, for example) could be made the subject of a national campaign (see Example 3).

Example 3

The Czech National Chapter of Transparency International ran an important campaign in 1999 on the Freedom of Information Act. Before the law went before Parliament they held a seminar for experts in the field and published a small brochure that was sent out to all MPs. They also ran a postcard campaign: 10,000 specially-designed postcards were distributed free of charge through more than 160 Prague cinemas, cafes and restaurants in order to draw attention to the Act, and encourage people to lobby their MP. 40 MPs (out of 200) contacted TI to say that they intended to vote for the law, and TI named them in the public Press. The Law was passed in the summer of 1999.

It would be important to follow up an effective campaign such as this, not only in order to bring home its success, but also in order for individuals to be made aware of their entitlements under the new law.

COOPERATIVE EFFORTS

Where possible, the public should be involved actively in any such projects, and should be given specific but straightforward tasks, such as writing to MPs, campaigning, using national hotlines, etc. An attempt should be made to include as many members of the public as possible in order to build up momentum for national anti-corruption efforts, and to create the impression that this is indeed a national effort and not just a short-term, one-off event initiated by either the Government or the third sector. As another source of help, other NGOs could be brought in to lend their support.

C) MONITORING

There are two ways in which the public may be called on to carry out an active monitoring role. The first is in a very general sense, where people are encouraged to keep a constant eye out for instances of malpractice in everyday life. It is probably unrealistic to believe that active monitoring will play an important part in anti-corruption efforts in Eastern Europe, at least for some time. However, one should always keep in mind that to a certain extent, public figures in a democratic state (however poorly developed) will always be conscious of the effect their actions may be having on public opinion.

CHANNELS FOR COMPLAINTS

At the very least, the public should be well-informed about the effective channels for the submission of complaints and of available methods of redress. This would serve the purpose both of facilitating (and perhaps encouraging) people to take individual action, and of providing a further check on those contemplating corrupt behavior.

The second monitoring role involves the identification of some specific area to be watched over, such as corruption among traffic police, a particular case of privatization, or anti-corruption pledges by public figures. These may either attempt to involve all members of the public (as would probably be the case with the example of traffic police and perhaps with anti-corruption pledges) or only a small group of volunteers (as with the Integrity Pact in Example 2, above).

REPORTING

Where the intention is to involve as many members of the public as possible, the important issues tend more to concern the difficulties of building a nationwide campaign than the role of monitoring per se. As long as tasks are made specific and not unrealistic, and people are clear about what is required, the chief difficulty will lie in encouraging them to take part (and, in particular, to act) on cases that they have observed—to phone a hotline, for example. This could turn out to be a genuine obstacle in some of the countries, particularly where there is a strong culture against "telling on one's neighbor."

VOLUNTEER GROUPS

A more promising line is to use relatively small groups of people to take part in specific and precisely-defined monitoring exercises, such as in Examples 2 and 4 (below). If such exercises are given wide publicity both during and after the event, this may be a more effective way (gradually) to get more members of the

public involved. Besides Integrity Pacts, groups could also be set up to monitor pledges by individual politicians, observance of a piece of anti-corruption legislation, even court cases. Regular meetings of the group, with reporting-back from individual members and joint action in the name of the group as a whole, would provide a less daunting framework for making complaints.

Example 4

In February 1998, TI were included as observers of a ‘flagship’ privatization—that of the Bulgarian Telecommunications Company. With the agreement of the Bulgarian Privatization Agency, they were provided with all information dealing with the privatization process, and were given the opportunity to sit in on most meetings with participating companies, to meet these companies and to discuss their perceptions of the process before and after the final adjudication.

TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES

For an official role as monitor, an individual would clearly need preparation, perhaps in the specifics of the legislation, or in the details of the Integrity Pact, or perhaps in the accepted practice of other countries. Bringing members of the public into such monitoring groups would provide opportunities for broader training programs.

A very interesting instance of a monitoring role undertaken on behalf of the public has been initiated by the Bulgarian Coalition 2000⁸ (see Example 5).

Example 5

⁸The Civic Observer is elected and designated by local non-governmental organizations and is legitimized before the public, the media, and the local authorities as a key figure in the implementation of civic observation at the municipal forums.

The competencies of the Civic Observer involve monitoring in the following spheres of municipal activity: public procurement, licensing, leasing, repair and construction of municipal sites; and discussion of the structure, number of staff members, and remuneration of the municipal administration.

The Civic Observer monitors the decision-making process in the designated spheres at the sessions of the Municipal Council, the meetings of the permanent municipal committees, and other specialized municipal bodies; has access to documents, protocols, and decisions of the respective authorities, and is entitled to oral and written information about the work of the municipal administration. He is to monitor the observation of the lawful rules and procedures and safeguard the rights of citizens and their organizations.

The Civic Observer submits regular reports about his activity to the partnering organization and Coalition 2000, and informs the public and the media of the findings of the observation.

D) CRITIC, WHISTLE BLOWER, LOBBYIST

Most of the requirements for this role have already been mentioned under other sections—in particular, under CHANNELS FOR COMPLAINTS and REPORTING. The emphasis under this section is on encouraging the public to act, and not merely in a personal capacity, but on behalf of and in conjunction with other members of society. Public officials need to begin to feel that they are under general scrutiny, and that certain consequences will follow if they engage in unfair practices. The public itself needs to appreciate the potential it wields to influence change in this way.

The two most common excuses for indulging in corruption or for not working to combat its presence are that, "I can do nothing to change things" and that, "if I did not take this bribe/offer it, then someone else would." We need to put an end to both attitudes by demonstrating that individuals can do something to alter the current state of affairs, and that there are large numbers of individuals ready to do so.

PEOPLE POWER

Civil society needs to begin to call the shots—and once it has realized that it can do so it will want to do so increasingly. Visible success stories will play the most important role here, but so too can national events which result in a show of solidarity. Demonstrations, public rallies and nationwide events can bolster confidence and feelings of solidarity as well as giving public officials something to think about.

As with all campaigns, unusual, imaginative and eye-catching events that help to attract public interest may be an effective means of drawing the public in and creating a powerful force for change. In rural Uganda, street theater and traveling drama groups provided an effective medium; in some countries, "anti-corruption days" have succeeded in provoking public involvement; others have organized pledge campaigns that incite politicians to commit to anti-corruption platforms at election time.

In addition to publicizing and making available channels for complaints, programs must also promote the recognition of anti-corruption strategies (including key legislative initiatives) and the importance of including the key political and legal structures in the land. Where these strategies are not already present, or are not likely to be implemented, public campaigns could be used to encourage lobbying for such initiatives to be undertaken (as with Example 3 above).

2.3 Planning a Program

We felt it necessary at the beginning of this paper to distinguish between public awareness programs and public education programs, because it seemed to us that many existing programs stop short of where they should ideally lead. Awareness of corruption may be necessary in order to provoke public interest and action, but it is probably not sufficient on its own: at best, it is a very slow motivator.

The previous section aimed to identify some of the *active* functions that civil society can serve in countering corruption. We identified some particular problems in expecting it to carry out that role and, thereby, some of the elements essential to an effective educational program that seeks to implement changes in society. Our emphasis throughout has been on the *changes*, because we believe that such programs should be both more and less ambitious than to aim at public awareness *per se*. More ambitious, because there are specific, concrete and measurable goals which can be achieved even through a short-term project; and these goals are actually more likely than mere information about corruption to have an impact on public perception. Less ambitious, because we should not be deceived into thinking that a change in behavior will automatically follow from greater awareness.

The diagram below aims to provide a general scheme for setting in place a public education program. It is not comprehensive, but indicates the type of considerations which should influence both the content of such a program, and the form of presen-

tation. We do not underestimate the importance of choosing these two elements correctly. The order presented in the diagram represents our preference for seeing these two fundamental elements as a means to an end rather than an end in themselves.

PLANNING A PROGRAM

WHAT MESSAGE DO YOU WISH TO GET ACROSS?
 That corruption...

- harms people; harms society;
- is unconducive to economic development;
- infringes human rights; is illegal;
- is on the doorstep;
- that we can fight it;
- that it is being seriously addressed
- that certain legislation exists
- that specific legislation is necessary; etc.

WHAT IS (ARE) THE TARGET GROUP(S)?

- the entire population
- the young; mothers
- politicians
- NGOs
- the business community
- a cross-section of society
- voters; etc.

WHICH CHANGES DO YOU HOPE TO SEE?

- a change of consciousness in the target group; in society
- newly acquired skills
- more active involvement by civil society
- new legislation
- institution of Ombudsman
- the righting of an injustice
- a fairly executed privatization process
- fair elections
- removing a public official
- case brought to trial

HOW IS CHANGE EXPECTED TO COME ABOUT?

- shocking people into action; frightening them
- argument / persuasion
- careful monitoring
- through legal channels
- elections / referenda
- financial incentives or disincentives
- other rewards / punishments
- increased alertness
- a feeling of empowerment
- examination of personal responsibility
- public pressure; lobbying

HOW DO YOU GO ABOUT COLLECTING AND SELECTING INFORMATION?

- available in existing publications; enlisting the help of journalists;
- questionnaires to members of the public;
- focus groups;
- questionnaires to public officials;
- economic statistics: calculation;
- report cards;
- case studies: personal reports

HOW WILL THE INFORMATION BE PRESENTED? WHAT MEANS WILL YOU USE TO DISSEMINATE IT?

- through the printed press
- television or radio
- on the internet
- campaigns; public rallies
- mail-shots, leaflets, posters
- articles, statistics
- advertisements or infomercials
- training courses; debate programs; seminars / workshops

3. SCHOOL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

This section is devoted to programs for young people, and to ways in which schools may be able to address the question of corruption in society. The main part of the section (3.2) contains outlines of lesson plans that could be integrated into existing school curricula and, in particular, into existing OSI programs in schools. Although we have broken these down into separate units, many of the units overlap, and we have therefore not repeated lessons which could fall into more than one unit. To clarify this point, we offer in the next section (3.1) suggestions for which of the lessons could be combined into coherent modules, and within which courses.

In sections 3.3 and 3.4 we also deal briefly with two further school-related issues. Firstly, we look at ways of working with headteachers in order to develop an integrated, whole-school approach. Secondly, we consider topics for inclusion in a teacher-training program—either within existing training programs in civic education, or as a separate course. Ideally, any attempt to incorporate anti-corruption education into schools would include both elements.

3.1 Existing Programs

The lesson plans outlined in section 3.2 have been drawn up with a number of existing courses in mind, and they could be included within these courses either individually or in combination. The following table offers some possible combinations, although it should be borne in mind that much will depend on the specific courses offered in particular schools. For example, a school may offer a critical thinking program in years 7 and 8, followed by a Street Law program in years 9 and 10. In such a case, the school would be advised to take these two courses in sequence and include lessons in anti-corruption in each, according not only to the content of these courses, but also to the lessons which may be included under the subsequent course.

EXISTING PROGRAMS	POSSIBLE LESSONS
Critical Thinking/Philosophy for Children	A,B,C,D,M,O
Street Law	C,D,F,G,L,M (M,O)
Human Rights	C,D,E,F,G
Economics/Business	A,J,K
Civic Education/Education for Democracy	A,B,C,D,H,I,N,O (all possible)

Although we have not included specific units for use in Step by Step programs, it would certainly be possible for teachers to begin to address issues relating to corruption in these sessions. However, we would not necessarily advise that this be done explicitly as "anti-corruption education" but rather that general moral issues be raised and discussed as a precursor to dealing with the topic directly.

3.2 Lesson Plans

UNIT 1: WHAT AND WHERE IS CORRUPTION?

A: EXPLORATION OF THE CONCEPT

Conceptions of what constitutes corrupt behavior—or at least, of what is *acceptable* behavior—often differ from one society to another, and even within sections of a single society. There are, in any case, many gray areas which do not fall neatly into an accepted definition of corruption such as *the abuse of public office for private gain*. Such definitions inevitably contain a subjective or evaluative element that will require clarification and some form of consensus.

Exercise:

To examine a number of borderline cases in order to define the limits of corruption.¹⁰ These could include examples of public officials accepting gifts, cases of "speed money," cases of officials using public resources for private affairs, and so on. Students could be asked to consider and discuss each of the cases, paying attention to the following questions:

- Was any dishonesty involved?
- Was there any injustice?
- Was this an instance of corruption?

B: WHERE IS IT?

It will be useful for students to have a clear picture of the extent to which corruption has permeated their own society. A class (or school) project could look at different spheres of public life, examining both the presence of corrupt activities within these spheres, and their effects.

Suggestions for activities and projects:

- Schools could make use of surveys carried out by local NGOs as part of public awareness projects. These may provide scope for statistical, geographical, and socio-cultural analyses, and could form a basis for further project work. Country comparisons of corruption levels could be used to raise questions about the causes of corruption in different communities.
- As connected or independent project work, students could carry out their own surveys among local communities in order to establish the (perceived) extent of corruption within public services. Questionnaires could be anonymous or data could be gathered from personal interviews with family members, close friends, etc. Where possible, people should be asked to give details about their individual experience.

Possible questions for public surveys:

- Do you feel that the situation has become better or worse with regard to corruption in the public services?
- If you have had contact with public services in the last year, for how many of these have you had to pay (as a percentage; figures could be collected for different public services; gifts could be included as a separate category)?
- Have you ever paid a bribe for medical services?
- Have you ever received worse service as a result of refusing to pay a bribe?

UNIT 2: MORAL ISSUES

Corruption is commonly perceived in many of the former communist countries as "the norm," as a widespread and "minor" abuse of social conventions, lacking in moral strength. Educational programs will need to point out the real victims of corruption, using these to explore concepts of justice, discrimination, honesty, rights and responsibilities, etc.

Crucially, examples must make explicit the *human rights* implications of corrupt practices, and should aim to use the moral arguments which apply in cases of human rights violations.¹¹ However, it will also be important to raise issues about personal responsibility in order to encourage students to become involved in measures to combat corruption.

C: THE REAL VICTIMS

Real case studies will be more effective than general statistics in appealing to feelings of injustice. Students may undertake small-scale surveys among disadvantaged members of society. The following is a case reported by Coalition 2000 (Bulgaria) which could also be used as the basis of a number of exercises:

Cases of corruption in Bourgas region (1999–2000)

In November 1999, Mrs. Karamfilka Georgieva from the town of Karnobat informed us that as a result of medical negligence and corruption she had lost her first grandchild and that the life of her daughter-in-law Maria Georgieva was in danger. Her daughter-in-law was to give birth to her first child in Karnobat Hospital. But the gynecologist on duty demanded 300 new leva for Maria's delivery. Being told that they did not have the asked amount, he left the woman unattended all night. As a result her baby was born with brain damage and she was transported to United Hospital–Bourgas in a critical condition. Our check showed that the baby died and that the mother is still in serious condition. At our insistence, Karamfilka Georgieva contacted the Regional Health Care Centre, whose director Dr. Georgi Pazderov approached the District Prosecutor's Office in Bourgas.

Exercise 1 (discussion)

- Was the gynecologist wrong to refuse to treat Maria without payment?
- Would his behavior have been justifiable if he had not received a salary for 3 months or if his salary was below the minimum subsistence level?
- If the government required a 300-leva fee which was fed back into the health service, would this make any difference to your judgment of the case?
- If the going rate for baby delivery is 300 leva, should Maria be entitled to free treatment?

Follow-up questions could form the subject of a debate:

- ❖ "Doctors are wrong to demand bribes from patients, but corruption among traffic police has no real victims."
- ❖ "If I wish to spend my money ensuring that my child enters the university, I am quite entitled to do so."

- ❖ "If the government does not respect my right to a decent standard of living, why should I honor my contract with it?"
- ❖ "If all of my colleagues receive additional pay for medical services, it is not fair that I do not."

Exercise 2 (role-play)

Students could be invited to assume the roles of some of the different characters who might be involved in this case, and asked at the end to apportion responsibility, where appropriate. This would stimulate deeper thinking about the systematic nature of corruption. The roles could be paired up in the following way:

- Maria's mother and the mother of another woman who gave birth to a healthy child the same night, having paid the 300-leva fee
- The gynecologist and the Minister for Health, who has had his budget reduced as a result of reduced tax revenues
- A colleague-doctor who refuses to take bribes, and a member of the hospital administration which turns a blind eye to the practice of bribe-taking.

D: NOTIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY

Programs need to point out the extent of passive acceptance of corruption, and to draw attention to notions of shared responsibility. They may also address the difference between engaging in corruption in order to obtain preferential treatment, and engaging in corruption in order to obtain fair treatment.

Exercise

Students could look at a number of misdemeanors in school life, some of which are connected with corruption in society (the link need not be made explicit to begin with). For example:¹²

- You see your friend stealing colored paper from the school stationary cupboard.
- Two children in the class consistently receive high marks for homework which, you believe, has not even been done.
- A fight is planned in the school between your friend and one of the older boys. You know your friend will come off worse.
- A child borrowed your colored pens but will not return them to you.
- Malicious gossip is being spread around the school about you.
- You see one of your peers cheating in a university entrance exam where places are extremely limited.
- You are given too much change when paying for your school meal.
- Your mother's valuable watch, which you had borrowed, has been stolen. You believe you know who has taken it, but the child denies it.
- You are offered the chance to view exam questions in advance for a small sum of money.

The questions can be used as the basis of class discussions. In particular, the teacher can draw out distinctions between different degrees of responsibility:

- Initiating unfair practices
- Engaging only when presented with the possibility
- Giving personal resistance
- Actively working to combat unfair practices in society.

UNIT 3: CORRUPTION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

There are numerous ways in which corruption could be incorporated into Human Rights courses. It is essential that corruption come to be seen as a human rights issue—that is, as something which is morally wrong and harmful to individuals, and which is proscribed by international human rights law. The moral aspects have been addressed under a number of the suggested exercises, and we would suggest incorporating an exercise similar to C: THE REAL VICTIMS within this module.

Where possible, programs need to draw particular attention to the implications of corrupt practices for already disadvantaged members of the population, in order to appeal immediately to students' sense of justice. Corruption in education and in health services provide obvious and immediate links to questions of human rights, but it is also important to look at cases which do not so obviously harm the individual, in order that these do not come to be seen as the only "immoral" forms of corruption.

E: CORRUPTION AND THE UDHR**Exercise**

Students could be asked to consider a number of areas of corruption and to identify any articles in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (or other international documents) which may be contravened by corruption in these spheres. For example:

- Protection rackets
- Paying a journalist to run or not to run a particular story
- Promotion through nepotism
- Speed money ensuring swifter registering of a company
- "Buying" a place at a state university
- Bribing a court official
- A company paying a politician to represent its interests

Topic for debate or discussion:

"When preferential treatment is secured by the payment of a bribe to a public official, there is no objective or reasonable justification and it constitutes discrimination."¹³

F: RIGHT TO FAIR TRIAL

There are a number of available exercises suited to this theme. Students need to understand both the essential elements of a fair trial and also the inherent right of everyone to receive a fair trial before being condemned.

- The first need could be satisfied through a brainstorming exercise, and then by comparing the demands laid down by the UDHR or the ECHR (Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, or European Convention on Human Rights). Students could also be shown examples of unfair trials in history, such as the show trials of the Stalin era.
- The second need could be addressed by looking at controversial groups within the local countries. For example, Chechen terrorists and Roma are two groups who are often condemned in the press without a trial. Cases of mistrials, such as the Birmingham 6, could be used to show that evidence can be fabricated, and that public demand for a conviction can interfere with the impartiality of a process.
- Students could also look at legislation in their own country that ensures the impartiality of judges, the right to a defense lawyer, etc. They could explore the legal channels available in cases of appeal against an unfair trial, including appeals to their country's constitutional court or to the European Court of Justice (where appropriate).

G: FREEDOM OF OPINION AND EXPRESSION

Again, there are many lessons available which deal with this theme. The most important area as far as corruption is concerned is the freedom of the press, which is one of the basic requirements for any battle with corruption. Students need to understand that censorship, in any form, infringes upon both the right of journalists to self-expression, and the right of the public to receive information.

- Exercises will need to address not only direct forms of censorship, but also self-censorship, either through genuine fear or for pragmatic, career-oriented and financial reasons. Direct censorship could be illustrated by the growing number of untimely and unexplained deaths of investigative journalists in the last few years, particularly in Russia (and in Northern Ireland). Students could look at the need in their country for a Freedom of Information Act—or if one already exists, at the substance of such an act.

- Students could undertake studies into media ownership in their own country. The comparison of a single story as reported in different newspapers could be used as a discussion point. Students could consider questions concerning the objectivity of reporting and the extent to which editors or proprietors influence the content of the printed press.

UNIT 4: FIGHTING CORRUPTION

As with the public education programs, work in schools will need to look at two central issues under this theme:

1. The extent to which the individual ought to resist engaging in corruption
2. The extent to which individuals ought to work to combat corruption in society

Both these issues can be addressed using general exercises on responsibility such as in lesson D: NOTIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY, above. However, they should also be raised in a context where individuals realize that they can influence the process. Students will need to be shown ways in which to do so, in addition to being shown the positive results of such initiatives. Ideally, the message would be brought home by their undertaking or at least participating in activities themselves. We shall look at some means of doing this under lesson N: REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION.

Lessons will need to address the issue of empowerment and to indicate ways in which "the system" can be vulnerable to people power. They may look at the various ways in which the individual citizen is able to influence political and legislative processes (we address this directly in Unit 7: CORRUPTION AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY).

H: WHO IS IT?

Exercise

Students could be given the results of public surveys showing the extent of corruption. For example, surveys in Albania¹⁴ indicate the following:

- About half of private citizens admitted to having paid bribes since 1991.
- One quarter of private citizens who had a seriously-ill family member admitted to paying bribes to state medical workers.

- More than half of the firms surveyed admitted that they pay bribes to public officials. The cost of corruption to these firms is approximately 7% of turnover.
- Almost 50% of firms that maintain contacts with public officials in order to receive permission to participate in governmental procedures admitted to paying bribes. These firms pay bribes 70% of the time.
- More than 50% of customs officials "purchase" their positions. Other public jobs are frequently purchased, including tax inspectors, judges, natural resource regulators, prosecutors, police officers, local officials and Ministers.

Issues for consideration:

- Suggest to students that if matters do not change, at least half of the members of the class will pay bribes to public officials when they leave school. Ask them to imagine for themselves which camp they believe they would fall into (this does not need to be discussed openly, although with a trusting relationship in the class, it might be useful to do so).
- Ask them how they would feel if the class (or the school) made a pact that no individual would engage in corruption, and one person broke the pact.
- How would they feel if they were that person?
- What would happen if everyone refused to pay bribes to public officials?
- What would happen if all public officials refused to take bribes?

I: SUCCESS STORIES

Students should be shown examples of successful efforts to fight corruption, both in their own country and around the world. For example:

- The "cash for questions" issue (UK), which resulted in the Nolan Report. Students could investigate whether the recommendations that were made in this report are in place in their own country.
- The Jonathan Aitken case (UK), which illustrates the important role of the media (and also the patience that is often required in fighting corruption). The issue of fighting corruption through the media could be directly addressed.
- Cases which have not received such a high profile, but which illustrate the role of NGOs and the practical effects of reporting a case of corruption. For example, the following case was reported by Coalition 2000:

In December 1999, the Bourgas press reported that an ambulance driver with Bourgas Emergency Aid who had to transport an elderly woman to hospital asked for 20 leva from her next-of-kin. The latter paid him the money, but later reported the case in the press. Following our check, the director of Emergency Aid Dr. Vassil Ginev appointed a commission to investigate the case, but no results have as yet been announced.

UNIT 5: CORRUPTION AND THE MARKET ECONOMY

Exercises in this unit could look at the impact of corruption on the market economy and the general standard of living. They could address the issue both from the perspective of the individual business, and from that of the country's finances as a whole. Numerous surveys and statistics exist which could be used as the basis of lessons on this theme. The following are some examples (taken from various sources) which could be used as starting points for discussion.

J: IMPACT ON BUSINESSES

- More than half of firms surveyed in Albania stated that they would be willing to pay higher taxes if the government could effectively control corruption. On average, firms were willing to increase their tax payments by more than 10% of overall revenues.¹⁵
- Most firms surveyed admitted to paying bribes in order to lower their official tax burden and to secure various licenses. Senior management in private enterprises spent about 40% of their working time with public officials "securing" licenses and permits and "negotiating" taxes and penalties. The corresponding figures for Chile, El Salvador and Uruguay were between 8 and 12%.¹⁶
- Russian businessmen are considerably more likely to have to bribe officials than their Polish counterparts, and it takes about four times as long to register a business in Russia as in Poland. Even with such bribes, business establishments in Russia will be inspected twice as often as those in Poland, and nearly twice as many of them will be fined.¹⁷
- Corruption breeds on itself: it gives the bureaucrats incentives not only to keep inefficient rules in place (so that they can take more bribes) but also to multiply such rules.¹⁸

K: IMPACT ON THE PUBLIC PURSE

- Corruption tends to swell the informal economy because business deals involving corrupt officials cannot be enforced in state courts and are rarely subject to official rates of taxation. The unofficial economy reduces the country's tax base and official foreign exchange holdings (thus fostering capital flight) and in so doing lessens the state's ability to manage the economy.¹⁹
- Business people who rely on corruption operate in the informal economy, break legal rules, and pay few taxes. As people pay fewer taxes, the state is less able to provide the public goods needed for economic growth.
- Between 1989 and 1996, the unofficial segment of [Ukraine's] economy had grown by about 38% to 50% of its overall GDP. The increase was due partly to the significant decline of the official economy during the period and partly due to the tripling in absolute size of the unofficial economy.²⁰
- Bribes are typically offered to public officials in order to counterbalance the poor quality of goods or services which would probably never be chosen in fair competition, and to create a market for goods which are in fact not needed at all.

UNIT 6: CORRUPTION AND THE LAW

Where the law is not respected, society offers one less obstacle to corrupt behavior among its individual members—and where corruption is rife in a society, it will never be easy to engender respect for the law. Both of these links need to be made apparent, but the second creates an intrinsic difficulty for the teacher of law or legal education in post-communist states. How can teachers back up the importance of obeying the law, when students see (at least in some countries) that adults do not necessarily adhere to the practice themselves? We believe that this issue must be addressed directly through legal education, and that teachers are as much obliged to admit to the difficulties involved as they are to provide students with the basic demands of the law.

L: THE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

- Students should certainly be made aware of the legislation in their country, and the extent to which corruption is illegal, not merely morally irresponsible. Education in this area should place emphasis on appeals to uphold the law, and should clearly inform students about the sanctions that exist in order to encourage people to do so.

- Programs must also promote the recognition of anti-corruption strategies (including key legislative initiatives) and the importance of including the key political and legal structures in the land. Respect for the law will not easily be engendered where the law is seen only as a constraint on individual freedom, and as a creation of powers scarcely respected by society.
- Students could look at a number of cases and be asked to examine the laws under which these cases would fall. The reasons behind these laws, and their benefits to society and to the individual, should emerge from such a study.

M: BREAKING THE LAW

Both of the exercises in Unit 2 address the question of moral responsibility for obeying rules and laws, and either could be used with a more legal bias. Alternatively, dilemmas such as Kohlberg's Heinz Dilemma²¹ could be used to explore in more detail the various reasons for obeying the law. Students need to understand that the reasons for obeying laws are multiple, complex, and exist at a number of different levels. Not the least of these is that in order to maintain relative peace and stability, any society must abide by a set of agreed rules—whether or not there are strong reasons in individual cases for breaking some of them. This moral basis for obeying the law is often absent in post-communist societies; and its absence is used to justify the act of offering bribes, and frequently even the taking of bribes.

UNIT 7: CORRUPTION AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The links between an non-democratic society and a corrupt society are numerous. Indeed, each of the units which have preceded this one cover elements essential to a healthy democratic society. This unit, therefore, concentrates on two issues which are fundamental to the concept of democracy, and which have not been covered so far:

1. A genuine democracy sees public officials as public servants—that is, as serving and representing the interests of the public (and not of themselves!).
2. Democracy depends on the participation of citizens for its effective functioning. Even public servants cannot be expected to be icons of virtue.

N: REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION

If democracy is to be understood as *rule of the people* (at least in a representational sense), then students need to be given an idea of how to elect their representatives responsibly, and how to hold them to account. They need an understanding of the rights to which they are entitled in a democratic society, the responsibilities of the individual citizen in such a society, and the *means* by which individuals can carry out their responsibilities and claim their rights. These issues are addressed by numerous exercises in general (and theoretical) form, many of which could be used as an introduction to the activities outlined below.

The activities provide suggestions for practical ways in which students can appreciate the different ways of participating, and can begin to gain a sense of how such participation can help to keep public officials in check. Students should certainly be shown examples of successful petitions or campaigns (e.g. the Poll Tax in the UK, environmental action, or many of the campaigns undertaken by Amnesty International). They could be encouraged to take part in one or more of the following:

- Carrying out their own surveys (as in Unit 1) and publicizing the results as widely as possible within the school or the local neighborhood
- Organizing a campaign or demonstration in their locality on a particular area of corruption (one interesting campaign might address the question of MPs' immunity from prosecution!)
- Writing letters and sending petitions to MPs or to the country's President
- Sending letters to local newspapers
- Producing a school newsletter to publicize the effects of corruption
- Linking up with an NGO that works to combat corruption. Some students may even be able to be involved in a monitoring exercise, which could then be fed back to others in the class.

O: TRUST

Where there is widespread corruption, there will be little trust between members of society; and where there is no trust, the concept of representative democracy carries little meaning. Educational programs undoubtedly need to attempt to address the question of trust, but single lessons are probably incapable of achieving the desired impact. Trust needs careful cultivation: it must be helped to develop, and it needs time and constant attention if it is to become deep and genuine. For that reason, we see a continuous approach, a process of establishing trust, as the most effective means.²²

However, a single lesson could at least begin that process by raising questions about the importance of trust in a democratic society, and by laying the foundations for more trusting relationships at least within school time.

Questions:

- What would the world be like if there was no such thing as trust? What would people be like?
- If you had to choose someone to represent your interests, what type of qualities or character would you like them to have?
- If you had been democratically elected to represent "the people," on what basis should you make your decisions (e.g. the wishes of the majority, minorities, society as a whole, or those who elected you)?
- Do you think it is right that democracies give everyone the right to vote? Why should those we do not trust be entitled to choose the government?
- Do you think there are people who cannot be trusted *at all, by anyone, ever?*
- If you have been genuinely trusted to do something, do you generally try to keep that trust? Why?
- If you sense that someone does not trust you, how does that make you feel about them?

Follow-up activities:

Students could be asked to draw up their own "Integrity Pact" or "Pledge of Trust" to act as a guide to behavior within the class (or school). Monitors or peer mediators could be appointed (or elected) to assist students in observing the pact. (This would be far more effective if teachers also agreed to abide by the pledge.)

3.3 Whole School Approach

There are a number of interesting possibilities to be explored in this area, within the framework of democratization of schools, and we shall touch on the details only briefly. The basic idea is that there is limited point in setting aside time in the curriculum to teach young people about democracy if the culture in other lessons, and around the school as a whole, is anti-democratic. One of the key aims in education for democracy (or legal education, or anti-corruption education) is to promote certain values, and values cannot be "promoted" in a purely academic way, and amidst a culture where they are not obviously *valued*.

Work with interested headteachers could attempt to reform certain practices, relationships and management structures in schools in order to create an atmosphere of trust and mutual respect which would reinforce the messages of the lessons we have outlined. Ideally this would be done by working closely with headteachers, and with at least one other teacher who would be responsible for coordinating efforts throughout the school.²³

COMPONENTS OF A TRAINING COURSE

We have tried to illustrate the intrinsic relationship between a culture of democracy and a culture in which corruption is not tolerated—or at least, is not allowed to gain a serious hold. We would not advocate (necessarily) making corruption itself the major component in work with headteachers, but we believe that most of the issues that fall under the topic of democratization of schools relate directly to the fight against corruption. A separate module could make the link between the two concepts explicit—but even then, the issue would probably best be raised within a general human rights framework ("corruption" itself is a loaded term, and might put off some headteachers). The following themes could form the basis for a training course:

- **Concepts of democracy:** consideration of the main values of democratic society, and of how these can be incorporated into school life (this idea is outlined in more detail under 3. 4 Teacher Training, below)
- **Improving relations among teaching staff:** trust, transparency, cooperation and mutual support
- **An integrated approach:** delegation, teaching methods, a school vision and "hidden messages"
- **Giving students more responsibility:** transparency and freedom of information/ expression, school councils, peer mediation programs
- **Work with parents and the local community:** community programs, involving and empowering parents (issues of accountability)
- **Human rights issues:** fair assessment of pupils, justice, anti-discrimination, anti-corruption.

3.4 Teacher Training

There is undoubtedly a need for teachers to receive some preparation for education in anti-corruption, both in order to address pedagogical issues and to address their own positions on the matter. There is, after all, little point in students receiving lessons about corruption from teachers who are unable to speak with conviction on both the possibility and the desirability of defeating it.

However, this may turn out to be an issue to which teachers are sensitive, at least in those countries where corruption is extremely widespread. It may be better to address the questions only within general civic education or human rights courses. We would suggest that the first exercise below, which is a more detailed version of lesson A: EXPLORATION OF THE CONCEPT, could be used both to address teachers' attitudes and to illustrate a general methodology appropriate to civic education.²⁴

More specific courses could be organized for teachers (or headteachers) who were interested in pursuing a more integrated approach and were not afraid of addressing the issue of corruption directly. The following gives some ideas for how these could be conducted.

COMPONENTS OF A TRAINING COURSE

SESSION 1: WHAT DO WE UNDERSTAND BY CORRUPTION?

In order to clarify their own attitudes on corruption, teachers could themselves be asked to work through the examples below, and to consider:

- Was any dishonesty involved?
- Was there any injustice?
- Was this an instance of corruption?

The debriefing could ask teachers to consider their responses in the light of their being not merely ordinary members of society, but individuals with a particular responsibility to educate young people in the civic virtues. If some teachers admit to wanting future generations to form a set of beliefs different from their own, this could engender a useful discussion on how it could be brought about.

Cases:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To avoid having to visit the police station and pay a full fine, a traffic offender offers to pay directly to the traffic policeman. The policeman did not ask for the money but accepted it. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone visits a government office and receives good assistance from the officer in charge. When the matter is concluded, he offers 100 LC which the official accepts.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone needs service from a government department. The official deliberately takes his time. The person gives the officer money (50–100LC) to speed up the work and reward the official for effort. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A government official uses an official car and petrol for personal affairs.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A businessman gives a commission fee to a government department or official looking after a project. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A high-ranking military officer receives a commission fee on arms purchases.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone makes a secret payment to a minister or to the protégé of a senior officer or minister. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A person is promoted because he is a blood relation or protégé of a senior officer or minister.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A government official goes to work late, returns home early and uses an official house for private affairs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A government official pays money to an agent or higher official in order to get a promotion.

SESSION 2: ANTI-CORRUPTION THROUGH EDUCATION

This session could be devoted to an examination of how the issue of corruption can be approached through the curriculum—for example, by running through the substance of the different Units above. Depending on the level of experience of participants (whether, for example, they were already familiar with participatory teaching methods), the work might need to be extended to two sessions.

SESSION 3: FIGHTING CORRUPTION

An individual session could be devoted to lesson N: REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION, and to examining the ways in which students can become actively involved in fighting corruption. Teachers would be encouraged to make sure that some of the activities were undertaken by their students.

SESSION 4: AN INTEGRATED APPROACH

Participants could be introduced to the possibilities of extending their own efforts to other lessons in the school, and of involving members of the administration. They would be asked to examine a series of *democratic concepts* within the school framework, and to consider the hidden messages that children pick up within the school walls.

Concepts of Democracy:

1. Rule of law

- Who makes the rules in the school? (*If your answer is that teachers or the head-teacher does: is this fair?*)
- Do the rules apply to everyone, equally?
- Are teachers subject to the same rules as their pupils?
- Ought they to be? (For example, do they apologize if they arrive late for lessons? Do they always listen while students are talking to them?)

2. Accountability, or, Control of the Abuse of Power

- Are there people (e.g. parents) to whom the school ought to be accountable, but who in fact have little influence over its policies and practices? (What would they feel about this?)
- Is there any favoritism or corruption within the school?
- Do teachers ever abuse their power over students? (Do you think the students would agree with your response?)
- Do any mechanisms exist to which students could resort in cases of such abuse?
- Are there procedures for staff members to complain or air grievances?

3. Rights

Are you confident that all the rights of your students are respected within the school? For example:

- Freedom of speech (Do students feel able to express any opinion?)
- Human dignity (Are students ever humiliated in class?)
- Tolerance/lack of discrimination (Are people condemned for their opinions? Are minorities protected?)
- Are the best interests of the child always the primary consideration?
- Is there any physical or mental violence?

4. Justice and Equality

- Are all students treated in the same way?
- Do teachers criticize or reprimand students unfairly when they do not know the answers to their questions?
- Are the punishments for misbehavior fair? Are they consistent?
- Are students innocent until proven guilty?
- Do they feel able to complain about violence? (What happens? Is it addressed effectively?)
- Is everyone given a fair hearing?

5. Transparency

- Are all school rules known to students? To parents?
- Are decisions and policies made public beforehand?
- Are people able to find out why certain policies have been adopted, and who is responsible for them?
- Are there opportunities/forums where anyone is able to publicize certain matters?
- Are the school accounts public?

6. "Rule of the people," Participation, Elections

- Are there opportunities for teachers, students or parents to influence school policy?
- Are these opportunities open to all members of each group?
- Are people consulted in matters where they will be directly affected?
- Are they encouraged to participate actively in aspects of school life?
- Are there mechanisms by which those in power are made accountable to students or parents?
- Are there mechanisms for acting to remove abuses of power?

4. REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper has discussed the possibilities for tackling the problems of corruption within a fairly extensive geographical area, involving substantial cultural, political and social differences, but within a relatively limited practical arena. In connection with the practical sphere, we mentioned at the beginning of the paper the need to integrate programs involving civil society within a larger framework of anti-corruption programs. However, we have addressed in this paper only anti-corruption programs which can be termed educational; and within this area, we have addressed only three main audiences: members of the general public, teachers, and young people.

The wide geographical area and the narrow field that we have taken as the subject of our study are two limitations that make practical recommendations for the different countries within the Soros network somewhat difficult to develop, and make them tend toward the very general. We feel strongly that the actual content of educational programs should be determined to a large extent by the possibilities within each country, by the different problems that each faces, and (above all) by the stage at which each finds itself in the fight against corruption.

Nevertheless, some general points can be drawn out which should be borne in mind by the national offices while building a strategic plan. In particular, there is a need for the national offices to explore the possibility of combining efforts in the area of education with other anti-corruption initiatives being undertaken. We conclude, therefore, with some broad recommendations as to how this may be done:

1. Offices will need to investigate efforts already underway to fight corruption through government agencies, the NGO sector or international agencies.
2. Where programs are already in existence, national offices may be able to assist in coordinating efforts and in publicizing their objectives and any results. Such coordination of efforts will strengthen the message being brought to the public and help to build support for projects.
3. Where there are few programs already in existence, there will be a need to bring the issue of corruption to the public eye through loud publicity campaigns, using the mass media where this is possible. Information being brought to the public domain should be concrete, provocative, and of immediate relevance.

4. Offices should be aware of governments' willingness, or otherwise, to engage in the fight against corruption, and they should be ready to work with governments when this is appropriate. Where government programs are already in existence, national offices should encourage efforts by other organizations to build on, publicize and monitor their programs.
5. Offices may organize trainings for volunteer members of the public to enable them to carry out a more effective monitoring role; they may also organize debates in the media or in public locations to look at the more complex and controversial aspects of corruption.
6. Offices should attempt to forge links with businesses, encouraging greater transparency and using media sources to publicize the efforts or achievements of any companies in this field. They could also work to establish Integrity Pacts, where a monitoring role is given to the third sector.
7. Offices should be aware of the legislation already in existence, and of possible ways to improve upon this legislation or even to introduce new acts. Where legislation is too weak to offer protection to anti-corruption efforts, they may need to engage in lobbying the government.
8. Offices should ensure that the public is well informed about channels for complaints and effective remedies. Where these do not exist, they should work to establish alternatives (such as hotlines).
9. Offices should work actively to encourage and support schools to incorporate anti-corruption programs into their curricula, and may play a part in teacher training. There should be continuous two-way communication between schools and NGOs engaged in the fight against corruption, since each may support the other in their efforts. Young people should be encouraged to participate actively in campaigns or other projects.
10. Offices must work to set up pockets of activity in anti-corruption (probably at local levels) that can show positive results. Concrete achievements and the involvement of as many actors as possible may, in time, help to create a bandwagon and to isolate those unwilling to become involved. National offices should aim for small gains, with the widest possible publicity.

ENDNOTES:

1. "Civil Society in the Fight Against Corruption," Dr Peter Eigen 8th International Anti-Corruption Conference.
2. This methodology was developed by TI Bangalore. More detail can be found in "Citizen Feedback Surveys to Highlight Corruption in Public Services," K. Gopakumar, TI Bangalore, September 1998.
3. K. Gopakumar, TI Bangalore, *op. cit.*
4. This may perhaps controversially be termed a 'need': it is a need that civic society may not agree that it possesses!
5. This concept was developed by Transparency International in the 1990s and was originally known as the Islands of Integrity Model. For more details, see their paper "The Integrity Pact (TI-IP), A Status Report," November 1, 1999.
6. "The Integrity Pact (TI-IP), A Status Report," November 1, 1999.
7. This is Peter Eigen's term: "...civil society has to play the roles of critic, cheerleader, catalyst and advocate of those interests which are underrepresented," 8th International Anti-Corruption Conference; *op.cit.*
8. We are a little more sceptical about Coalition 2000 quarterly 'monitoring' of public perceptions of corruption both because the results are presented in an overly scientific way, which is unlikely to appeal to the broad mass of the population; and more importantly, because we are doubtful that public perceptions can be greatly *influenced* by surveys which merely reflect their presence. But this is a popular approach, so it may be an idea worth giving more attention.
9. From the Coalition 2000 website: <http://www.online.bg/coalition2000>.
10. A form of this exercise is given in more detail under the section 3.4.1, "COMPONENTS OF A TRAINING COURSE," p. 33.
11. A separate unit is included for use in Human Rights courses. These two will obviously overlap.
12. The idea is based on a lesson by the Citizenship Foundation, London: "Taking Action" in *Understand the Law*. Some of the examples may not be universally appropriate.
13. Nihal Jayawickrama, "Corruption—a violation of human rights," Sofia, June 1998.
14. For ACER and the World Bank. Students should be given statistics from their own country.
15. ACER and the World Bank.
16. "Why is Ukraine's economy—and Russia's—not growing?" Daniel Kaufmann, Conference, Paris 1998 (OECD, OSCE, EDI).

17. "Corruption: The Polish and Russian experiences," Timothy Fry, *USIA Economic Perspectives*, Nov. 1998.
18. "Stealing the State, and Everything Else," Mark Hessel and Ken Murphy, *TI Working Paper*.
19. "Corruption: The Polish and Russian experiences," Timothy Fry.
20. "Why is Ukraine's economy—and Russia's—not growing?" Daniel Kaufmann.
21. Heinz's wife has a fatal form of cancer, and Heinz is unable to beg or borrow the money required to treat her. He contemplates breaking into the doctor's office and stealing the drug in order to save his wife's life. The dilemma is made more poignant by the fact that the doctor who discovered the miracle cure is demanding an unreasonable amount of money for the drug, in order to enrich himself.
22. See the next section, "WHOLE SCHOOL APPROACH," for more details on this idea.
23. This is a method we have used with headteachers in Romanian schools. The structure of the training workshops—which partly corresponds to that suggested in this paper—was published in *Democratising your school*; Ellie Keen and Anca Tirca, 1999 (Romanian language).
24. Alternatively, D: NOTIONS of RESPONSIBILITY could perform a similar function in training workshops.

Human Rights Education Associates (HREA)

HREA is an apolitical, non-profit organisation working internationally to support efforts aimed at introducing human rights concepts and values into educational curricula and teaching practices. HREA works with individuals, non-governmental organisations, inter-governmental organisations and governments interested in implementing human rights education programmes. Queries to HREA should be addressed to:

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