





# DISRUPTING CORRUPTION: PEOPLE POWER TO GAIN ACCOUNTABILITY





# How is corruption linked to violent conflict and human insecurity?

- War economies function through malfeasance parties depend on fraud, bribery, and criminal groups to "grease the wheels."
- Corruption can draw out bloody confrontations.
- Endemic corruption can stimulate social unrest and foment violent conflict.
- Corruption can inhibit sustainable peace in postconflict contexts.
- In fragile/new democracies, corruption is an enabler of state capture.

## Breaking the vicious cycle

- Authoritarian and/or ineffectual governance paired with endemic corruption results in further de-legitimization of authority and rule-of-law.
- This leads to fragmented tyrannies, which in turn reinforces authoritarian rule and ineffectual governance.
- Civil resistance can activate an anti-corruption cycle.
- Nonviolent social movements and grass-roots campaigns can create alternative loci of power which can impact this corruption-violent conflict cycle.

#### **CORRUPTION IS--**

the misuse of entrusted power for private gain.

\*\*Transparency International\*\*

a system that involves a complex set of relationships, some obvious and others hidden, with established vested interests, that can cut across political, economic and social forces.

...the external manifestation of the denial of a right, an entitlement, a wage, a medicine...

Aruna Roy, Co-founder, Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS) movement

# LIMITATIONS OF TRADITIONAL, TOP-DOWN APPROACHES TO CURB CORRUPTION

- Technocratic and legislative emphasis: developing rules, norms, practices and institutions that usually target public administrations, e.g., commissions, decrees, codes of conduct, ethics agencies, laws
  - Systemic nature of corruption can be missed
  - > Limited focus on societal sectors beyond the state.
- Assumption: once anti-corruption structures are put in place, illicit practices will change
  - > But how can those benefitting from corruption be the ones to curb it?
- People not factored into the equation: ordinary citizens bear the brunt of corruption and suffer from it. Bottom-up approaches:
  - Alter priorities to controlling those forms of graft and abuse most harmful or common to the public, especially the poor
  - See citizens as sources of power and positive change.

#### A BOTTOM-UP APPROACH TO CURBING CORRUPTION

Strategic value of people power: extra-institutional pressure to push for change, when power-holders are corrupt and/or unaccountable, and institutional channels are blocked or ineffective.

#### Top-down and bottom-up, grass-roots approaches are not mutually exclusive. Civic campaigns and movements can:

- Disrupt vertical and horizontal forms of corruption
- Foster holistic approaches, including graft both in the state and other sectors of society;
- Embed anti-corruption into larger set of goals for accountability, participatory democracy, and social and economic justice
- Create political will and bolster efforts within systems of corruption
- Complement and reinforce legal and administrative mechanisms
- Support/protect honest individuals and other powerholders who are attempting to enact reforms and change.





#### **Dynamics of Civil Resistance to Curb Corruption**

## Mobilized citizens, engaged in organized, collective nonviolent action, can generate social force - people power - that:

- disrupts dishonest relationships and the status quo within <u>systems</u> of corruption by
  - shaking up corrupt interactions and relationships, generating political will
  - pushing for people-centered measures
  - > reinforcing new patterns of administration and governance centered on accountability to citizens.
- wins people over to the civic campaign or movement, from the public and even from within corrupt systems
- weakens sources of support and control for unaccountable and corrupt power holders, entities, and their enablers
- exerts pressure on the state as well as on other sectors of society



## Tactical range of grass-roots anti-corruption campaigns/movements

- noncooperation
- civil disobedience
- low-risk mass actions
- displays of symbols
- > street theatre, visual dramatizations, stunts
- songs, poetry, cultural expressions
- humor
- services "report cards" and candidate "report cards"
- monitoring of officials, institutions, budgets, spending, public services
- information gathering, Right to Information procedures
- social audits and "face the people" fora
- social networking technologies (e.g., FB organizing, blogging, SMS)
- education and training
- social and economic empowerment initiatives
- youth recreation
- creation of parallel institutions
- > anti-corruption pledges; citizen-sponsored awards
- protests, petitions, vigils, marches, sit-ins
- > strikes, boycotts, reverse boycotts
- nonviolent blockades
- > nonviolent accompaniment.







## COMMON ATTRIBUTES OF CIVIC ANTI-CORRUPTION CASE STUDIES

- Can be found in democracies and brutal authoritarian regimes
- Prevalent in societies enduring poor governance, poverty, low levels of literacy, and severe repression (perpetrated by the state, organized crime or paramilitary groups)
- Rather than spontaneous outbursts, organization and planning precede action (even when there's a scandalous event arousing public indignation)
- Struggles are often multidimensional in focus corruption doesn't occur in a vacuum
- Skills and strategy matter more than conditions
- Women and youth often play galvanizing roles
- "Defining methods" around which an array of nonviolent tactics revolve, are common
- Civic pressure can be magnified through engagement with selected powerholders
- Success in one struggle inspires new applications, knowledge-sharing among campaigns even across borders.





#### GENERAL LESSONS LEARNED

Moving from abstract issues
 to everyday concerns –
 to win public support

2. Clear objectives and demands – to engage citizens and have visible outcomes and incremental victories



The Textbook Walk in Dauin, Negros Oriental coincided with the town fiesta, resulting in what organizers called high-energy volunteerism. The local government provided two trucks to haul the books from the schools district to the local elementary schools. Photo courtesy of G-Watch



# 3. **Unity** – of grievances, goals and people



# 4. Ownership and social identity – cultivating a sense that everyone is part of the fight against corruption and everyone can play a role



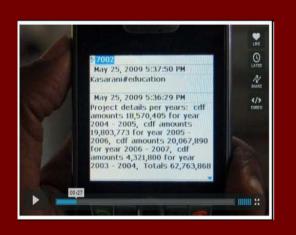


Tunis, Jan. 17.11. (AP Photo/Christophe Ena)

5. Honest image – the association of groups in society perceived as incorruptible and honest can have a galvanizing effect.



6. Creativity and tactical innovation – necessary to overcome obstacles and



repression, adapt to changing circumstances, build campaign resilience, maximize the impact of resources.

#### 7. Information+action= power

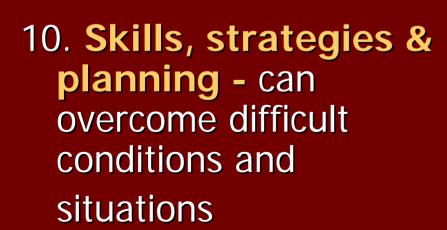
-- collection, access, and dissemination of info can be a powerful tool when combined with nonviolent action





8. Education and training – often neglected but always essential for building campaign capacity, confidence, hope, courage

9. Communications – strategically important to build awareness, win support, involve citizens in activities





CANVAS (Centre for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategies)





Image: AP Photo





Mohammed Abed, AFP / Getty Images