PEOPLE POWER

Image source: India against Corruption, https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.rkadvaith.anticorruption

Shaazka Beyerle, FSI session, 2015

CORRUPTION IS -

the misuse of entrusted power for private gain.
Transparency International

a system of abuse of entrusted power for private, collective, or political gain – often involving a complex, intertwined set of relationships, some obvious, others hidden, with established vested interests, that can operate vertically within an institution or horizontally cut across political, economic and social spheres in a society or transnationally.

Shaazka Beyerle

…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

What is impunity?

Impunity is "no consequences, no accountability, no punishment for wrongdoing," (Maite Azuela, co-founder, DHP* movement, Mexico).

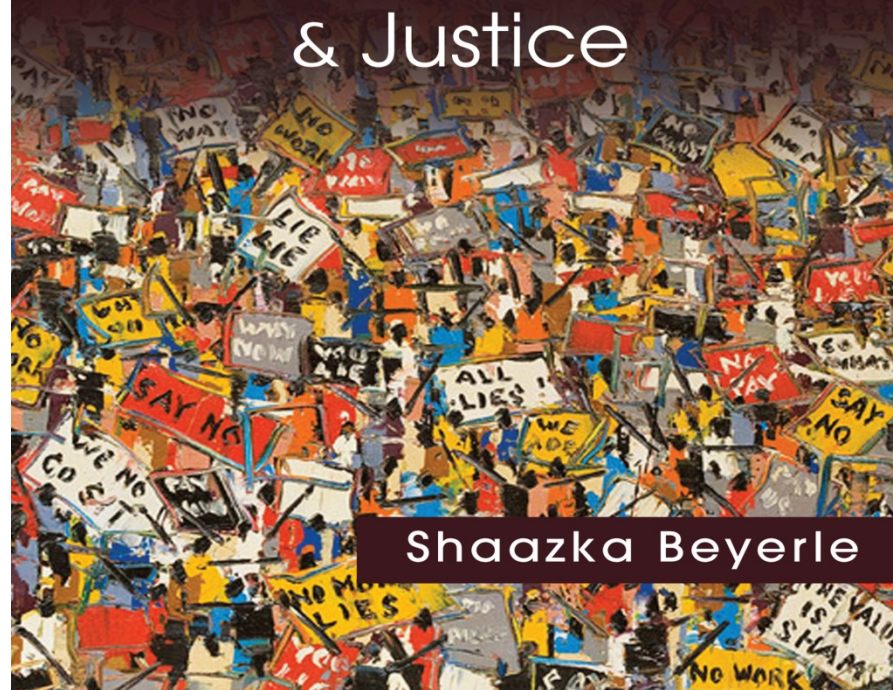Photo: Maite Azuela at DHP* table collecting signatures, http://dhpmexico.mx/

WHAT IS ACCOUNTABILITY?

…the concept that individuals, agencies and organizations (public, private and civil society) are held responsible for carrying out their powers properly.

(Excerpted from the Transparency International Plain Language Guide, 2009)

Curtailing Corruption

People Power for Accountability & Justice

Shaazka Beyerle

Research project ...

30 nonviolent movements, campaigns, organized grass-roots initiatives ➡ 16 cases, millions of people, around the world – Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil, Egypt, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Italy (10.12 -14.03), Kenya, Mexico, Philippines, Russia, South Korea, Turkey, and Uganda.

Photos: Top-Courtesy 5th Pillar; Bottom left-Ficha Lima screenshot; Bottom right-
http://192.185.143.58/~futurepr/muhuri/modules/mod_btslideshow/images/109/slideshow/banner6.jpg

5th Pillar
Corruption Killer

PROGRAMS - 5th Pillar   NÃO BOICOTE A FICHA LI...
www.avaaz.org/po/mobilize_ficha_limpa/   ha limpa 2010

AVAAZ.ORG
O MUNDO EM AÇÃO
DESTAQUES | ENVIAR | MÍDIA | QUEM SOMOS
ENGLISH العربية DEUTSCH РУССКИЙ ESPAÑOL FRANÇAIS
עברית 한국어 简体中文 繁體中文 日本語 NEDERLANDS ITALIANO

NÃO BOICOTE A FICHA LIMPA!

A votação da Ficha Limpa foi adiada mais uma vez. Ainda faltam 9 destaques (emendas) a serem votadas, a maioria **compromete dramaticamente o texto proposto**. Continuem ligando! Vamos **bombardear os deputados que estão boicotando a Ficha Limpa** com ligações para que eles sintam o custo político de ir contra a Ficha Limpa! Ligue e fale:

"Sem boicotes, nem alterações: aprove a Ficha Limpa hoje!"

Os telefones e emails são:
Henrique Eduardo Alves (PMDB): (61) 3215-5539 / dep.henriqueeduardoalves@camara.gov.br
José Anibal (PSBD): (61) 3215-5832 ou (11) 3667-7811 / dep.joseanibal@camara.gov.br
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Jovair Arantes (PTB): (61) 3215-5504 / dep.jovairarantes@camara.gov.br

Nós já somos mais de 2 milhões de brasileiros pela Ficha Limpa mas precisamos mostrar que somos sérios e comprometidos. Os deputados precisam entender que a sua ausência na votação - é um voto contra a Ficha Limpa!

Depois de ligar - deixe um recado no chat ao vivo ao lado, para registrar a sua ligação.

Caso você queira falar com os deputados do seu estado, use a ferramenta abaixo

CLIQUE AQUI PARA DIVULGAR

Ao ligar, mencione os seguintes pontos:
• peça que ele compareça à votação e que uma ausência será interpretada como voto contra a

Depois de ligar, diga-nos como foi ou por que você acha importante a Ficha Limpa!
Clique em "make a comment" para nos contar como foi. Não se esqueça de mencionar seu estado de residência!

SSL is required

100%

Interview with a resident

Nonviolent tactics targeting corruption and impunity:

➢ information gathering, Right to Information procedures

➢ monitoring - reconstruction and development projects, officials, institutions, budgets, spending, public services (16.10)

➢ social audits and "face the people" fora (14.1)

➢ noncooperation with corruption

➢ civil disobedience

➢ low-risk mass actions (11.10)

➢ displays of symbols

➢ street theatre, visual dramatizations, stunts

➢ music, poetry, cultural expressions

➢ humor

➢ dilemma actions

Photos:
Top – Textbook Count campaign (Philippines) (photo from Annie Enriquez-Geron)
Middle- left - shayfeen.com tea glass (photo from Engi Haddad)
Middle right – DOSTA! I wrote the graffiti T-shirt, photo from Darko Brkan)
Bottom: CAGE (Citizens Alliance for the General Election) 2000 campaign

- ➢ engagement with powerholders
- ➢ digital tactics using FB, blog, SMS, e-petitions, Tweeting,)
- ➢ education and training (6.10)
- ➢ social and economic empowerment initiatives
- ➢ youth recreation
- ➢ creation of parallel institutions
- ➢ anti-corruption pledges, citizen-sponsored awards
- ➢ protests, petitions, vigils, marches, sit-ins
- ➢ reverse boycotts
- ➢ nonviolent blockades
- ➢ nonviolent accompaniment

Photos: Top-Provincial Monitoring Boards, Afghanistan, photo from IWA
Middle- CAGE (Citizens Alliance for the General Election) 2000 campaign
Action (Photo courtesy of Taeho Lee);
Bottom: Addiopizzo movement, mafia free shop (http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comitato_Addiopizzo)

5 TAKEAWAYS

1. *Citizens - organized in grass-roots movements, campaigns and community initiatives – achieved real outcomes, for example:*

    ➢ Empowering ordinary people to file RTI petitions and refuse bribe demands (India)

    ➢ Protection of anti-corruption commission and securing release of jailed deputy commissioners (Indonesia)

    ➢ Rectifying reconstruction/development/anti-poverty projects (Afghanistan, Kenya)

    ➢ Refusing to pay extortion money to Cosa Nostra mafia (Italy)

    ➢ Judicial investigations , trials and verdicts (Turkey)

    ➢ Resignation of corrupt prime minister halfway through term (Bosnia-Herzegovina)

    ➢ Ficha Limpa (Clean Record/Clean Slate) legislation (Brazil)

    ➢ Curbing police corruption (Uganda)

    ➢ 69% blacklisted candidates defeated in election (South Korea)

2. *People power targeting corruption is manifested frequently in societies enduring poor governance, poverty, low levels of literacy, and severe repression, the latter perpetrated by the state, paramilitary groups, or organized crime.*

A ten-year meta-case study analysis of citizenship, participation and accountability concluded:

> [citizen engagement] "can make positive differences, even in the least democratic settings – a proposition that challenges the conventional wisdom of an institution – and state-oriented approach that relegates opportunities for citizens to engage in a variety of participatory strategies to a more 'mature' democratic phase…"

--John Gaventa and Gregory Barrett, "So What Difference Does it Make? Mapping the Outcomes of Citizen Engagement. Institute of Development Studies," Working Paper, Vol. 2010 No. 347, October 2010.

Photos: Movement to Defend Khimki Forest (Russia)

3. When the grass-roots fights corruption, it's real, not abstract.

➢ It's linked to grievances that harm people in their everyday lives or to blatant powerholder impunity that displays contempt and disregard for citizens.

➢ Movements and campaign are often not identified as anti-corruption.

4. Bottom-up nonviolent campaigns, movements and local civic initiatives can:

➢ Empower and protect honest powerholders and integrity champions pursuing accountability, reform and change from within the system

➢ Empower and protect honest state officials caught in a system of corruption to refuse to go along with it, i.e., noncooperation with corruption

- ➢ Disrupt vertical and horizontal forms of corruption
- ➢ Create political will to enact policies, laws and administrative mechanisms to curb corruption and illicit financial flows and/or to implement them
- ➢ Contribute to changing behaviors, practices and general norms regarding corruption and, potentially, illicit financial flows.

Images: Left-http://www.mcce.org.br/site/; Right-http://pt.globalvoicesonline.org/2010/04/07/brasil-blogosfera-pede-aprovacao-do-projeto-ficha-limpa/

5. Top-down and bottom-up approaches are complementary (not mutually exclusive).

Assumption – once anti-corruption structures are put in place, illicit practices will change.

But how can all those benefitting from corruption be the ones to curb it?

"...Sometimes an institution becomes too sick to fix itself. Not that the institution is necessarily blind to its own sickness. But that it doesn't have the capacity, or will, to do anything about it.

Sometimes an institution, like an individual, needs an intervention, from people, from friends, from outside."

— Lawrence Lessig
REPUBLIC, LOST
How Money Corrupts Congress and a Plan to Stop it

People power can bring a strategic advantage to curbing corruption and impunity:

- adds **extra-institutional pressure** to push for change, when state and non-state powerholders are:

➢ indifferent to civic demands

➢ beholden to special interests

➢ corrupt and/or unaccountable

➢ have entrenched vested interests

➢ and institutional channels are blocked or ineffective.

THREE DYNAMICS OF PEOPLE POWER TO CURB CORRUPTION

1. DISRUPTION -

disrupts activities, practices and dishonest relationships, within systems of corruption

[Interrupts the corrupt status quo and changes behavior]

Photos: Left – Movement to Defend Khimki Forest, ; Right – G-Watch, Ateneo School of Governance, Philippines

2. PRESSURE –

applies nonviolent pressure through the **power of numbers** – people raising their collective voice over shared demands, on corruptors who (up to that point) have been unwilling to change the venal status quo

[Pushes governments and also non-state actors to change policies, and enact/implement legal and administrative measures]

Cicak, cicak di dinding! Mari serbu buaya!

Translation: Small CICAK's. Let's attack crocodile!

Image: CICAK (Love Indonesia Love Anti-Corruption Commission) campaign sticker

3. ENGAGEMENT -

wins people over/shifts loyalties/
produces "defections"
from the:
➢ public
➢ government/state
➢ private sector
➢ other parts of society

**[Not everyone is equally loyal –
corruptible – wedded to the corrupt
system!]**

Photo: NAFODU-Police-Community Partnership Forum

GROUP EXERCISE