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Social Movement against Corruption: Evaluating the Contribution of Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB)

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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made.

This thesis contains no material which accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

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ABSTRACT

Although varying in nature and magnitude from one country to another, corruption is a global phenomenon and a problem. It emerged in the South Asian subcontinent as a direct and indirect result from the colonial regime but in recent times the extent of corruption became pervasive in Bangladesh. Global concerns about this situation intensified in the late 1990s, particularly by aid organizations and donor-funded NGOs. Bangladesh has a long and successful history of social movements against attempts to demean the rights of its people. Corruption is one such problem and in the absence of sufficiently strong political will, active public participation is required for its reduction and eradication. Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB) is one of the very few organizations in Bangladesh which work to mobilize the country's citizens to create such an anti-corruption demand and put pressure on government agencies to clean their act.

This research explores the anti-corruption strategy and activities in Bangladesh organized by TIB and investigates its role in creating a social movement against corruption. The three types of TIB activities, namely research (diagnostic studies, surveys, monitoring and database management), outreach and communication (policy advocacy, media campaigns, theatre, workshops, seminars and membership) and civic engagement (working with concerned citizens, volunteers, advice and information desk) are analysed. Their outcomes are discussed using a range of qualitative (interviews and focus groups with stakeholders) and quantitative (a public survey) methods.

The findings identify that the public engagement strategies of TIB are manifold and include generating consciousness through research, creating a trustworthy platform for people and using information and communication for a strong anti-corruption demand. Overall TIB has succeeded to create sufficient awareness, support and reliance among its stakeholders. Furthermore, the broad use of its ICT materials has contributed towards capacity building among stakeholders and the wider community. It is also serving many indicators of sustainable development. Despite the success there still remain some barriers to be overcome, such as over-expectation from

people, expanding the area and scope of work and lack of continuity in the opportunities offered to the younger generation. The research puts forward recommendations that could assist in making TIB's anti-corruption campaign stronger, more efficient and resilient.

The case study of TIB also contributes to the theoretical development and understanding of the stages of social movements, particularly in Bangladesh, and how they may occur to address the issue of corruption. Analysing TIB's activities, it is also argued that a social movement against corruption is simultaneously beneficial for democracy, leadership and resource protection.

This study finds that TIB is a 'unique brand' in the anti-corruption movement of Bangladesh to those who are aware of it. However, there still remains a large section of people who are not familiar with its name and its fight against corruption. Convincing evidence is presented that the people of Bangladesh are frustrated with the corruption and political leadership situation in the country and they share high enthusiasm to be involved in a social movement that can bring a positive change and in which TIB has proven to be an important player.

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ACRONYMS

ACC	Anti-Corruption Commission
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AL	Awami League
ASA	Association for Social Advancement
BAWIN	Bangladesh Water Integrity Network
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCCRF	Bangladesh Climate Change Resilience Fund
BCCTF	Bangladesh Climate Change Trust Fund
BIEC	Building Integrity for Effective Change
BNP	Bangladesh National Party
BRAC	Building Resource Across Community
BRTA	Bangladesh Road Transport Authority
BSS	Bangladesh Shangbad Shangstha (National News Agency of Bangladesh)
BTCL	Bangladesh Telecommunications Company Ltd.
BTI	Bertelsmann Foundation
CCC	Committee of Concerned Citizens
CFGN	Climate Finance Governance Network
ComSol	Community Solution
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
CRC	Citizens' Report Card
CSD	Commission of Sustainable Development
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FtP	Face the Public
GCI	Global Competitiveness Indicator
GD	General Diary
GoB	Government of Bangladesh
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
HREC	Human Research Ethics Committee
ICAC	Independent Commission Against Corruption
ICT	Information and Communication Technology

IDI	In-Depth Interview
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IJ	Investigative Journalism
IP	Integrity Pact/ Pledge
KII	Key Informant Interview
LPM	Landless People's Movement
MNC	Multi-National Company
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NGOAB	NGO Affairs Bureau
NHHS	National Household Survey
NICSA	National Interfaith Council of South Africa
NIS	National Integrity System
NLC	National Land Committee
O&C	Outreach and Communication
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RTI	Right to Information
SADC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SD	Sustainable Development
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SRS	Simple Random Sampling
StRS	Stratified Random Sampling
TI	Transparency International
TIB	Transparency International Bangladesh
UN	United Nations
UNCAC	United Nations Convention against Corruption
UNDOC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
VGD	Vulnerable Group Development
VGF	Vulnerable Group Feeding
WASA	Water and Sewerage Authority
WB	The World Bank
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WGI	Worldwide Governance Indicator
WPFI	World Press Freedom Index
YES	Youth Engagement and Support
YPAC	Young Professionals against Corruption

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Bangladesh, a forty-three year old country has become the centre of attention for the think-tanks of the world because of its simultaneous progress and failures in many sectors. The commendable eradication of poverty and hunger accompanied by increase in life expectancy and primary education rates together with decrease in fertility, child and maternal mortality rates has created a lot of hope amongst its citizens as well as development organizations (GED 2013, 12). On the other hand, political instability, environmental disasters and lack of employment, female empowerment and Information and Communication Technology (ICT) facilities (Khatun 2012) still remain matters of concern for the country. As a consequence, the achievements are not properly appreciated and utilized as the existing problems are overpowering them.

The most significant issue holding back the majority of development initiatives in Bangladesh is the lack of good governance, usually expressed in transparency, accountability, participation and rule of law (Agrast, Botero & Ponce 2011, 30). Of the elements that threaten good governance in the development sector, corruption is seen as one of the most destructive (EEA 2006). According to Madonsela (2010), there is a direct negative correlation between good governance and corruption.

As a social phenomenon corruption has prevailed in the South Asian region, including Bangladesh, for a long time but started to be treated as a major problem only since the very late twentieth century (Iqbal 2010, 85). The fact that corruption cripples economic, political and social development is becoming increasingly evident. However, many of the most convincing arguments for the need to fight corruption are hardly known to the key stakeholders of the country – its citizens. The government agencies which are expected to be primarily responsible to control and eradicate corruption, intentionally or unintentionally remain ineffective and quiet about it in public and policy debates. While these authorised institutions appear inefficient and lacking willingness to address the issues of good governance and corruption, the non-government sector, including non-governmental organizations

(NGOs), civil society and other development organizations, has begun to undertake many important initiatives in this regard. They include intense advocacy and awareness raising programs as well as creating pressure on the government agencies to ensure good governance and consequently reduce corruption (Sobhan 1998, Abed 2002, Ulleberg 2009).

These efforts however still remain limited. Only a very few government and non-government organizations in Bangladesh take steps to improve governance through reducing corruption. Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB) is the most prominent among them. It is a donor based non-profit non-government organization that strives to reduce corruption in Bangladesh. In fact, this is the only organization in the country that declares fight against corruption from a social perspective – that is engaging individual members of the Bangladeshi society in the battle against corruption, as its sole objective (SADC website). It is a catalyst in creating citizen awareness as a tool for reducing corruption to a tolerable level and potentially uprooting it altogether.

Though short, my engagement with TIB in 2009-2010 was very eventful, rewarding and experience growing. As I have always wanted to actively engage with and contribute to society, I joined TIB as an Associate in its Outreach and Communication division.

My role in TIB was to train the young volunteers how to fight corruption, including arranging satellite Advice and Information Desks (in the places where people suffer corruption due to lack of information), organizing peaceful human chains and public gathering events in protest against the corruption that is taking place in the country. I also had to deal with the media in order for TIB activities to reach broader sections of society and levels of organizations as well as to train local journalists in investigative journalism against corruption. Although as an ordinary citizen of Bangladesh I had some idea about dishonesty in governance, the association with TIB gave me deeper insights on how corruption is destroying my country like an incurable disease. This is when I felt a greater urge to contribute to the country's wellbeing by researching this topic and contribute towards improving the situation in Bangladesh.

I worked in TIB for more than a year before I moved to Australia as a PhD student. After having left Bangladesh for higher studies, my motivation to fight corruption was even stronger. When it came to choosing an area for my research I could not think of anything else but TIB and corruption in Bangladesh. I always had an appreciation for the way TIB works in awareness raising and corruption obliteration by engaging the citizens in Bangladesh; however being a dedicated and accountable employee is probably not an objective way to judge the organization. I decided to explore the extent of TIB's success (or lack of it) in fulfilling its theme of creating a social movement against corruption as a researcher and from a researcher's point of view. At the same time this project would enable me to recommend ways for TIB to improve its work. Also, another aspect that motivated me in undertaking this research is the fact that although TIB is a well-known name among the civil society of Bangladesh, no research has so far been done to specifically evaluate or explore its activities. This gives me an opportunity to walk along an unfolded area.

1.2 The Emergence of Social Participation to Address Corruption

Although corruption has been an age-old problem, it used to be considered a social taboo for serious research even as recently as three decades ago (Quah 1999, 484). These restrictions no longer exist and corruption has recently started to attract the global attention of policy makers and development practitioners. There has been a sudden change in the way corruption is perceived. It is no longer treated as auxiliary problems that would be solved if other problems, such as poverty, illiteracy, female deprivation and climate change are resolved. In fact, the current emphasis is that in order to solve the other problems, we need to stop corruption first. The most accepted reason for such an ideological change is the failure across the globe of many development initiatives. There is a growing understanding of how corruption can distort business activity, reduce investment, dampen the intended effect of policies and hinder the functioning of institutions (Barr & Serra 2009). In addition, there are also other possible explanations as to why corruption is obtaining more attention nowadays than before:

- The spread of democracy across various countries generated and established critiques for their political parties. Thus the previously overlooked fact that political corruption exists came to light (Rahman, Kisunko & Kapoor 2000).

- The interventions of donor agencies or donor countries over the nations obtaining financial aid play an important role in ensuring a transparent mechanism of fund allocation (Moon & Williamson 2010). The same logic applies for multinational investment firms as they find a transparent and accountable business atmosphere more profitable (Wei 1997).

- The reliance on market-based economy established the fact that in order to survive competition, corruption related inefficiency is no longer tolerable (Emerson 2006, 194).

- Globalization has a massive impact on unveiling the corruption situation (Golden 2002). Global operators from economies with little corruption very frequently come across countries where it is endemic and the difference becomes more vigilant. Consequently the country suffering from corruption feels an urge to take initiatives to improve its image and business opportunities.

- The free flow of information and active role of the print, electronic and alternative media made it possible to create more public awareness and hence more disclosure of corrupt incidence (Kolstad & Wiid 2009, 522).

As consciousness about corruption is increasing, initiatives by international organizations such as the World Bank, United Nations, OECD and Transparency International among many others, are also growing to address this problem following various tactics. One of the World Bank's (WB) approaches (Bhargava 2006) to combat corruption is to ensure good governance in the help seeking country. According to WB, a helpful tool for that could be to raise civil society's voice and participation. Ensuring freedom of information, initiating public hearing on law drafts, spontaneous and unhindered activities of the media and NGOs, empowering communities, instigating report cards and client surveys are some of the basic aspects of involving civil society. According to Satyanand (2005), as corruption is an ever-present threat to the world and is on an increase, it is better to be tackled before it occurs rather than after the event. Good governance is the best prevention for this.

In order to ensure good governance and consequently reduce corruption, some active catalysts are required. Being one of them, the media play a significant role in investigating and reporting on corruption, informing the public about corrupt

activities, both within the government and among public officials, as well as within the private sector (Businge 2011). Other important factors in this regard are NGOs and civil society. Sausa et al. (2009) combined case studies from different countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Africa and Latin America to demonstrate the influence of NGOs and civil society in reducing corruption in those areas. Transparency International is the leading organization in the world which works on civil society's empowerment and engagement in anti-corruption demand (TI & UNCAC Coalition 2013). Its active arm in Bangladesh is the subject of this study because of its social participation and overall influence.

1.3 Shift from Government to Development Agents

Corruption is not a new phenomenon in Bangladesh. The East India Company, which effectively seized power in Bengal in 1757, perpetuated a highly corrupt system, paying its employees sub-subsistence wages, thereby compelling them to resort to private business and extortion (Ahmed et al. 1992). Since then neither government has been able to take effective action to address the systemic issues which allow corruption to flourish. The consequence is that taxpayers and ordinary citizens, especially the poor, are paying for it.

A good number of works has been done previously regarding corruption in Bangladesh, its impacts and prevention measures. Although corruption is recognised to be a common activity in virtually all facets of the state-society interface in the country, it is frequently, and either implicitly or explicitly, described in normative terms, as deviant or pathological behaviour. With the exception of several references to the 'economic' advantages of corruption, the predominant assumption in the literature is that corruption has negative consequences, particularly as a social or political exchange. Therefore it is also most likely caused by negative motives and/or is dominated by negative influences. Akhter (1991) examines sector-wise corruption in Bangladesh including from political, social, administrative and international angles. He claims that corruption promotes moral deviation by turning human beings into self-centred and interest seeking individuals. Hence, corruption must be prevented and he recommends to follow the examples of other Asian countries such as Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan that have been able to achieve significant reduction starting from similar conditions.

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Ahmad's (1994) sociological search for the root cause of corruption finds that it occurs as the 'chain reaction' of incidences and activities. Its contemporary mechanism is based on public servants including bribery in their daily affairs. According to him, a proper leadership along with appropriate education and moral development are the pathways to overcome the problem of corruption. Hossain (1990) indicates that the bureaucratic culture in Bangladesh is one of the major reasons of patrolling both grand and petty corruption with callous bureaucracy badly affecting many administrative arrangements and development initiatives. Rahman (1988), Hussain (1990), Siddiqui (1996) and many others support this view. They also show that because of this type of corrupted bureaucracy foreign and domestic investments in the country are being deteriorated. Also, they feel that such culture invariably channels public resources to the rich and increases income inequality.

Umar (1994) links corruption with terrorism and also claims that this is more or less virtually accepted in the social system. He argues that in order to eradicate corruption, the root causes should be found and proper socio-economic set-ups should be encouraged and undertaken.

According to Iftekharuzzaman (the present Executive Director of TIB) (2005), corruption has resulted in human insecurity in Bangladesh in five broad areas: limited access to education, receiving inappropriate assistance in the health service sector, turning law enforcers into law breakers, misuse of reliefs during natural calamities and political rivalry and confrontation. His claims are based on research and review of relevant literature on human security and corruption as well as secondary analysis of the National Household Surveys on Corruption (1997, 2002 and 2005) conducted by Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB), TIB's corruption database, and other diagnostic studies. The analysis also draws on some of the Report Card surveys conducted by TIB on relevant sectors – this is a special tool of measuring corruption and facilitating citizens' response on selected areas of public service delivery.

Zakiuddin (2007) surveys the available literature on corruption in Bangladesh and his work is essential for understanding the situation in the country. His research claims that little is known about the manner in which corruption occurs, the process by

which, presumably, it grows and flourishes, the conditions which are conducive to its existence and the structures which support its survival. There is limited information about corruption as a process, practice and structural outcome. It can be said, therefore, that there is inconsequential independent appraisal of corruption as a social phenomenon in this country. Whatever independent or neutral discussion has been generated, it tends to focus mainly on the political or economic aspects of corruption. Certainly, a very few academic works have been devoted to obtaining empirically sound, theoretical analyses of the subject from a sociological perspective with a special reference to Bangladesh.

A very interesting piece of work is carried out by Khan (2004) who presents different aspects of corruption in Bangladesh. They embrace present concern of corruption along with its definition, causes and forms. The most important contribution of his work is the description of the modes of corruption during the governing era of all major political parties in the country and their undue influence on the administrative sector. To him, the sin-qua-non to eradicate corruption is to ensure transparency and accountability in the public service sector. A strong political will and well-organized movement by the civil society would be an effective tool to ensure transparency and accountability. Ethical reformation and inclusion of the media would also offer essential help.

The role of NGOs and civil society to reduce corruption through promoting good governance is strongly suggested by international organizations and researchers worldwide (PREM 1999, Knox 2009, Holloway 2011, USAID 1999, Asaduzzaman 2004). The key reason for this emphasis is that they work as catalysts for public participation and a transparent and accountable governance system. Hasan (2000) - a former Executive Director of TIB, points out the organization's role as the prime agency in Bangladesh in fighting corruption through awareness rising. He also describes TIB's methods, strategies and plans to eradicate corruption both in the long and short term. Hasan (2000) believes that any long-term anti-corruption strategy must have active participation from civil society and that without such a commitment a meaningful achievement would be elusive. At the same time the effective role of

'watchdog[1]' agencies and public awareness of their existence are two very important aspects that should be part in developing any anti-corruption plans and programmes. The 'watchdog' is a concept that is either misunderstood or seen as a misnomer in Bangladesh. Hasan (2000) also describes TIB's determination to continue its special relationship with the printed and electronic media, and encourage the highest standards in journalism by providing awards, training, mutual cooperation and information.

The crucial role of watchdog agencies in combating corruption is also stated by Hafizuddin (1999). Identifying the type of regulatory framework as well as watchdog agencies and organizations that are internal and outside the government, he expresses regret that function and accessibility records of these agencies are very poor. Though the existing laws are reasonable enough to fight corruption, what matters is their application. In order to make the watchdog bodies work effectively, certain measures could be adopted and this includes evaluation and reform of the current criminal justice system, ensuring citizens' knowledge about their rights, simplification of bureaucratic procedures and devising a mechanism to watch over the watchdog agencies. The push factor in these areas could be the media, concerned people's groups, civil society organizations and regular follow-up actions by these players.

As of 2014, over 2,000 organizations are registered in Bangladesh under the NGO Affairs Bureau (NGOAB) and an estimated further 300,000 associations and societies are registered under various other registration laws (NGOAB website). Most of these are active in direct service or welfare provision and as such contribute substantially to development. On the other hand, over the last five years there has been a noticeable shift in the common understanding of civil society beyond NGOs, including media, professional associations, trade unions and faith based organisations (SIDA 2013). Their voluntary initiatives to contribute in the demand for good governance are also noticeable.

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[1]Watchdog agencies are specific organizations which are meant to keep an eye on the deregulations of another greater organization. In this particular case of my study, NGOs, media, civil society, anti-corruption commission, law and order enforcing agencies can be treated as the watchdog bodies for the state to identify and expose any corruption taken place within the country.

From the literature analysed above, it is clear that the need for civil society participation and NGOs as watchdog bodies is an integral part in reducing corruption in Bangladesh. Transparency International Bangladesh deals with both these issues. In fact it is playing the leading role in this context (Das 2013). So far no research has been conducted evaluating TIB's activities. The studies that are available are either from within written by TIB personnel merely expressing what the organization is actually doing, including its aims and objectives or evaluations of donor agencies with an emphasis on usage of funds. An analysis regarding TIB itself, its activities and impacts from an objective point of view is still absent. Hence, this study is an initiative to evaluate the degree of TIB's success in achieving its commitment of creating social movement against corruption. Before starting the core aspects of the research, a historical perspective about social movement in Bangladesh is discussed in the following section, which helps to create the context of this study.

1.4 Social Movement in the Region of Bengal

The country of Bangladesh that exists today is the outcome of a number of revolutions, protests, patriotism and sacrifices from members of all levels of its society. Many a time, attempts have been made to destroy the culture and identity of the nation called Bengal but each time its inhabitants stood up, fought against the challenges and defeated them even at the cost of their own lives. Bangladesh, formerly known as the Bengal is and always has been a place of inequality (Haque 2002). The distinguishing nature of different classes has been quite pronounced there (Umar 2004). However, when it came to the issue of protecting the interests of the country or region from the evil intentions of outsiders, this inequality of income and status were never a problem for its people to be united and create a movement to establish justice. In all such occurrences to ensure or protect their own rights, the spontaneous participation of people from all income levels and social classes had been vibrant (Chakravarty 1998).

Formerly Bengal was ruled by different Hindu Kings e.g. the Pals, Shikhs, Senguptas and Sens among others. Although the history of Muslim influence in the Indian subcontinent started in 711, the 1203 conquest of Ikhtiar Uddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiar Khalji of the Bengal by defeating Laksman Sen (Mortaja 2007) was a crucial point in its history. Since then Bengal was mostly reined by the Mughals and

other Muslim emperors until the British started to set up their colonies on the subcontinent during 17th century (Lapidus 2002). In 1757 Bengal was captured by the British and they ruled the region for two hundred years. During this entire period, the domination and torture by the British rulers were ruthless (Elliott 2012). They used all available resources in India to make the British Government's economy stronger, irrespective as to whether they were causing poverty, chaos or insecurity in this region. Moreover, they also didn't respect the custom of religious beliefs among the Hindus and Muslims living in Bengal.

As a consequence, all through these two hundred years of British ruling there were continuous protests, revolts and movements against the government. After many years of effort, the British regime came to an end in 1947 and India was partitioned in two countries named India and Pakistan (Farewell 1989). The present Bangladesh was a part of Pakistan then known as East Pakistan. Although there were great expectations from the new country of Pakistan that the fortunes of the Bengalis would be changed in a better direction, in reality the situation was not better than in previous times (Jalil 2012). After 25 years of deprivation and unjust tendency by the West Pakistan Government, a new nation named Bangladesh was born in 1971 through a nine-month blood-spattered liberation war.

There have been several occurrences of social movements in the area of Bengal governed by different rulers (Lewis 2011). The history of Bangladesh of today could broadly be described according to five different eras. Those are as follows:

- The Hindu regime (before 1203)
- The Muslim regime (1203 - 1757)
- The British ruling (1757 - 1947)
- The Pakistan period (1947 - 1971)
- Bangladesh (1971 - present).

Examples of social movements that took place in this region during the more recent periods of British and Pakistan ruling are described below. They cast light on the commitment and capacity of the Bengali people to fight injustice.

1.4.1 British Period (1757–1947)

The Indian Rebellion

The Indian rebellion which occurred in 1857 was an outburst caused by dissatisfaction over the one hundred years of oppression by the ruling East India Company. Although the rebellion was initiated by soldiers of different parts of the then India, including the area of Bengal, it was supported by many other civilian members of the country. This included the aristocratic class who thought that the British were intruding in the long socio-cultural tradition of India, rural landowners who had lost most of their land as a result of the reform policy and peasants who had been tortured by the representatives of the company for high tax burdens (John 2012).

The soldiers, locally termed as "sepoys", started the revolt because of a complexity of reasons. It was an expression of the rage against several issues that hit their sentiments. Firstly, recruitment of soldiers from higher casts was more common in Bengal than in other parts of India, which was continual and even encouraged by the Company in the first phase. Later on at the beginning of 1840s when this custom was abolished, the sepoys from higher casts were disappointed and feared that their religion would be abolished (Bayly 2001). Secondly, there was a change in payment among the soldiers; serving in Punjab and Awadh was no longer considered as a "foreign mission" and the extra allowance for that was terminated. Also there was a rule binding new recruits to serve overseas. This created anxiety among the old soldiers that the same might be applicable also to them in the near future (Guy & Boyden 1997). Thirdly, the number of British soldiers was increasing in the military and even being junior in rank, they used to demean the local senior soldiers. For example, they received promotion more frequently than the local soldiers (Omissi 1994).

The rebellion started as the rage of the soldiers reached its peak when they were asked to bite off one special type of cartridge for their rifles – pre-greased with pork and beef fat. Biting anything made of pork is offensive for the religious belief of the Muslims while the same applies for the Hindus in the case of beef. Although the incidence first occurred in Meerat, the news spread very fast all over India and the soldiers were furious. Soldiers from Bengal, Delhi, Meerat, Kanpur, Lakhnow,

Jhansi and many other places started the revolt in full phase in 1857. Mangal Pandey from Kanpur was one of the remarkable leaders of this revolt who was later killed by the East India Company. Rani (Queen) Lakhsmi Bai of Jhansi with her rebel group captured some areas which were under British colony. However while fighting heroically, she was killed in the war against the company.

Although at first, the British were shaken by the force and volume of the movement, gradually they started to recapture the areas of revolt by killing and arresting the rebels. The prime reason behind this was that in spite of being a large movement it was not lead by any particular person or body. So the movement very often lost its direction. However the sacrifice of all these soldiers and civilians was not without any outcome. At last the reign of the East India Company over India ended in 1858 and Bengal was brought under the direct administration of the British Government. Thus the amount captured by the middlemen was reduced to a large extent in terms of tax payment. Also, the military were reorganized after this rebel and the tradition of giving privilege to higher cast people in army recruitment was abolished. The social movement achieved its goals.

The Indigo Revolt

The indigo revolt is also known as "The Neel (blue) revolt" and was a non-violent peasant movement that took place in 1859 (Bhattacharya 1977). Indigo, more commonly known as 'neel' in the subcontinent, was very profitable to produce since there was a huge demand in the world market for blue dye for clothes. The East India Company forced the peasants of Bengal to produce only indigo, instead of food crops or other necessary yields. Such cruel act did not only create food crisis in the area but also caused enormous poverty among the farmers through the loan called 'Dadon' (Gidhial 2010). Whenever farmers were not financially able to go for indigo cultivation they were forcefully given this loan with sky-high interest. For many farmers, it was not possible to repay the loan during their lifetime. As a result their ancestors also had to bear the burden of the loan. Although the East India Company made a huge profit out of indigo plantations, the farmers were only given a very nominal price for their yields. Most of the local zaminders (landlords) were also in favour of the indigo plantations since they were the middlemen of this business.

In 1859 some peasants first declined to go for any further indigo cultivation; this sense of revolt spread very fast over the Bengal and all farmers showed the same response. The revolt was brutally subjugated by the local representatives of the company, yet the farmers were not demoralized. They continued their movement. People from all over Bengal supported them morally and materially. The greatest intellectual support came from Deen Bandhu Mitra's play "Neel Darpan (Guha 1974)" which was also translated in English. It depicted the brutality that was going on in the name of indigo cultivation.

All these efforts did not go in vein. After the injustice became public, the British government was forced to form the "Indigo Commission" in 1860 (Bhattacharya 1977, 20). Later on this commission recommended the recruiting of honest police officers to supervise the indigo cultivation and allocating of a significant portion of the profit to the peasants. Thus the unfortunate chapter of indigo cultivation was closed.

1.4.2 Pakistan Period (1947 - 1971)

The Language Movement

The "Language Movement" is one of the brightest episodes of the history of Bangladesh when the Bengali language speakers showed to what extent they could sacrifice to ensure the right of language. From the very beginning of the birth of the Pakistan nation in 1947 the east wing of the country was deprived in every aspect by the west wing. As a continuation of this, an attempt was made to make Urdu the sole national language of Pakistan. This was not a justified decision since among the 69 million people of Pakistan at that time, the native language of 44 million east Pakistani was Bengali (Al Helal 2003). The then leading scholars of East Pakistan showed their objection to this decision. They indicated that not only the majority of the country would lose their right of language but also they would be disadvantaged in obtaining government jobs and facilities in other sectors (Umar 1979). Realizing the gravity of the problem, people, especially students of universities and colleges also started to show their agitation through rallies and strikes. Attempts were made by the West Pakistan government to suppress these movements through police brutality and arrests. However they only fired up the movement: the more there was oppression, the more people were determined to make Bengali a state language. The

situation lasted from 1947 to 1952, despite the fact that during this period the West Pakistan government showed its fortitude in the "Urdu only" state language policy.

To demonstrate an all-out protest against this policy, a strike and rally were announced on the day of 21st February 1952 by the protesters. In order to afflict this, Section 144 was imposed by the government which meant that no more than 4 persons could assemble at any one time anywhere.

The protesters were determined to fight against the program, even by disobeying section 144 and so they did. Students and people from all sectors of society gathered in the premises of the University of Dhaka in the morning of 21st February 1952. Police fired tear shells at them first and then started open fire which caused the death of the students named Rafiq, Salam, Barkat, Jabbar among others. With the news of this killing, the whole country burst out in outrage and started a general strike by shutting down all office, business and educational institutes. More people were killed and many were arrested when police tried to control this civil unrest. This situation continued for quite a few days. On the first anniversary of the event, a "Shaheed Minar" (monument) was built in the memory of the martyrs who sacrificed their lives and people wore black badges to mourn. In the face of continual activities and fearless protest, the West Pakistan Government was bound to declare Bengali as the second official language of Pakistan besides Urdu on 29th February 1956.

To show tribute to this unique spirit and uphold the ethno-linguistic rights of people around the world UNESCO declared 21st February as the International Mother Language Day (Glassie & Mahmud 2008) which is a matter of great pride for all Bangladeshis.

The Liberation War of Bangladesh

West Pakistan used to dominate over East Pakistan from the very beginning of the birth of the Pakistan nation. Although East Pakistan had the majority of people, the resource allocation for the west wing of the country was far larger than for the eastern one. The following table (see table 1.1) shows the disparity of budget allocation for the two parts of Pakistan in that period.

Year	Spending on West Pakistan (in millions of Pakistani rupees)	Spending on East Pakistan (in millions of Pakistani rupees)	Amount spent on East as percentage of West
1950-1955	11,290	5,240	46.4
1955-1960	16,550	5,240	31.7
1960-1965	33,550	14,040	41.8
1965-1970	51,950	21,410	41.2

Table 1.1: Budget allocation for East and West Pakistan

(Source: 4th Five Year Plan of Pakistan 1970)

East Pakistan was neglected in the government office, military sector and other facilities. These biased tendencies of the government were creating dissatisfaction among the political leaders and general people of East Pakistan day by day. Even during the massive cyclone of 1970 in East Pakistan, the government showed negligence and unwillingness to supply sufficient amounts of relief materials for the disaster-affected people.

In the same year a national election was held where the Awami League from East Pakistan won the largest number of seats in the national assembly. Even though, West Pakistan was not ready to accept Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of Awami Leage as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Rather they suggested there to be two Prime Ministers – one for each wing. This created serious rage in the east wing followed by strikes and other forms of protests. Sensing a civil war, the West Pakistan government announced that they would sit with Sheikh Mujib to resolve the problem. In reality the Pakistan army was preparing to attack the innocent Bengali people. In the evening of the meeting on 25th March 1971, Sheikh Mujib was arrested and the army killed and tortured thousands of people.

On 26th of March 1971, Major Ziaur Rahman declared the independence of People's Republic of Bangladesh on behalf of Mujib and the liberation war started. Men and women from all sectors of society who hardly had any idea of fighting took part in this armed war. Those who could not attend the direct war in the field were also involved in this battle. Many helped the freedom fighters with intellectual advice. Others provided logistic support even at the risk of their own lives. People living

abroad worked actively to attract the sympathy of the whole world and raise funds for Bangladesh. The war lasted nine months. During this time 30 million people were killed, two million women were raped and nine million people became homeless. In spite of all these tragedies Bangladeshis did not give up, they kept fighting for their existence as a free nation. On 16th December 1971, with the help of the Indian army Bangladesh defeated Pakistan and the new country was born.

The historical context shows that people of the Bengal region have always been vocal about establishing their rights and preventing injustice. This trend has continued after Bangladesh's independence. When people's interests are seriously affected through injustice, a social movement is likely to emerge. With corruption posing significant threats to the country's economy and wellbeing, if community members are rightly motivated they would start resenting it and actively respond to it. Hence the advocacy role of TIB to make people aware and encourage them against corruption is the key issue to explore in this research. Further details about this study are presented in the section to follow.

1.5 Research Question and Objectives

The research question of the thesis is:

"What is the contribution of TIB in creating a social movement against corruption in Bangladesh?"

The theme of TIB, which represents the organisation's dedicated target and commitment, is "Social Movement against Corruption" (TIB website). This research tries to find out how much the organization is succeeding in fulfilling its theme. The main objective is to explore TIB's role in generating a concern about corruption in the social context of Bangladesh. It is difficult to measure this contribution in a specific manner as the social sector is dynamic. However, by pinpointing I will look for TIB's position in engaging the Bangladesh community and creating awareness among people in regard to reducing corruption. The specific objectives for the achievement of the research question are:

- Describe the views of different stakeholders about the concept of corruption in Bangladesh and TIB's role as a movement in this context;

- Analyze TIB's mode of operation in reaching people in the community to fight corruption;
- Identify the outcomes of TIB's social awareness creating activities, both at the local and national level;
- Recommend a further policy framework for addressing the problem of corruption in Bangladesh.

1.6 Significance of the Research

Because of their dynamic nature, patterns of corruption vary from society to society and over time. Therefore the solution to this problem should also be versatile and flexible. For Bangladesh, there should be a unique indigenous strategy which the development stakeholders could own. Although regarded generally as a problem, the large population (160 million) of the country is also its biggest strength. If such a large group of people stands up for a cause, the probability of success for that social movement would definitely be quite high. Transparency International Bangladesh is working on the preparedness and capacity building of the country's citizens for fighting corruption.

Carrying out research on this topic is significant because of the following reasons.

Firstly, this creates the opportunity to explore and expand the scope of citizens (especially youth[2]) to be engaged in the battle of fighting corruption and to contribute for the long–term development of the country.

Secondly, it provides a comprehensive analysis of the work of TIB in ensuring accountability and transparency in both, the public and private sector of Bangladesh, in order to achieve the goal of sustainable development.

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[2]As a developing nation youth consists among the 50% of the whole population of Bangladesh (Nugent 2006). So, youth have both the necessary cohort and the potential to lead the journey of fighting corruption. Without their involvement, the anti-corruption movement will not sustain (TI 2009a).

Thirdly, it adds new and suitable dimensions to the activities and campaigning carried out by TIB through examining the strong and weak aspects of its strategies. This is intended to help the organization to become stronger and a more efficient catalyst in the process of making Bangladesh a corruption-free society.

As a whole, the findings of the research make possible the exemplification of the phenomena of contemporary corruption reduction, social movement and civic participation and in particular, adding to the better understanding of their interconnectedness. It also contributes to future policy framework guidelines and community development planning. This includes finding the gaps and developing the ways for attaining appropriate measures to achieve a Bangladesh without corruption which would enable sustainable development initiatives to be more successful.

1.7 Thesis Structure

The structure of this thesis attempts to present a whole picture of TIB's contribution for an anti-corruption scenario in Bangladesh. It is organised in eight chapters according to different themes. **Chapter One** (this chapter) provided an overview of the issue that describes the background of the research and theoretical disclosure. It also stated the research question, outlined the objectives and significance as well as gives a synopsis of the chapters. **Chapter Two** describes the methodology used in the study including the four research tools, namely: previous experience; document analysis and literature review; observation and primary data collection. The construction of research instruments, such as interview schedule, survey questionnaire, focused group discussion guidelines, is also described here. Besides explaining the pre-planned data collection and analysis procedures, this chapter further narrates the strategies to address the unplanned obstacles.

The theme of **Chapter Three** is social movement and its different aspects. It covers definition, periodical evolution, various phases, classification and opportunities of social movement with appropriate examples. The incidences of social movement in Bangladesh and their typology are also discussed in this chapter. An analysis is further included as to whether there is need for a social movement against corruption in Bangladesh. **Chapter Four** is divided into three parts. The first of them deals with the concepts of corruption in general terms, including definitions provided by leading

organizations. It also sheds light on the much-debated issue of whether corruption can be measured. Various types of corruption followed by the factor promoting it and its consequences are included in this section. The second part illustrates the history and current situation of corruption in Bangladesh along with various anti-corruption initiatives. Finally, the emergences of TIB in Bangladesh along with a short introduction of its activities are provided in the third part.

Chapter Five analyses TIB's strategy and approaches for creating public awareness and engagement against corruption using empirical evidence gathered through interviews and group discussions with different stakeholders. The analyses continue based upon three different issues – consciousness generation, wining public trust and using information and communication technology. **Chapter Six** also deals with empirical qualitative data but it focuses on how corruption hampers sustainable development in Bangladesh and how TIB's anti-corruption social movement is contributing in the development of the situation. **Chapter Seven** explains the data obtained through a public survey in the different places of Bangladesh where TIB has operations. The focus of the survey is to seek public perceptions about corruption and TIB as well as people's expectations for improving the existing corruption situation. Information generated from qualitative data is also included here to support the survey results.

Finally, **Chapter Eight** presents concluding comments on the TIB case study and a summary of the answers to the research question. In addition, this finishing chapter recapitulates the findings of the thesis and puts forward directions for further research into social movement against corruption globally and in Bangladesh.

CHAPTER TWO
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

A well-developed methodology allows a research project to fulfil its objectives properly. In a broad sense, there are ten basic types (William 2001) of methodologies according to which research can proceed; they are: historical, comparative, descriptive, correlation, experimental, evaluation, action, ethnogenic, feminist/identity political and cultural. Selecting the best-fit methodology for any specific research depends on the nature, available resources and objectives of the study. The research question of this thesis is: "what is the contribution of TIB in creating a social movement against corruption?" Hence I intend to examine the impact of the social movement activities of TIB in Bangladesh on the phenomenon of corruption. The research aims to find out the nature and trends of social movement and corruption in Bangladesh and their extent. This matches with the basic criteria of descriptive research – a qualitative and quantitative research used to describe characteristics of a population or phenomenon being studied (William 2001). Data collection, evaluation, suggested changes are some basic activities required to answer my research question. These activities fit well with evaluation which is a qualitative research method formulated to obtain insight about different types of multifarious social concern (William 2001). Basing on those criteria the methodology for this research topic should be a combination of descriptive and evaluation methods.

These methods are applied to one particular case study – TIB, in order to understand how and why its activities impact corruption (Yin 2014). The advantage of using case study research is that it allows for in-depth analysis of one particular organization with rich description of its activities. This chapter describes the courses of action that I planned to reach my targets and the activities I have done to address the real life situations.

2.2 Case Study Area and Population

As I aim to evaluate TIB's progress and achievement in fulfilling its theme of social movement against corruption in Bangladesh, my study area is the working areas of TIB in Bangladesh. At the start of the research, I contacted the TIB management and

it gave me permission to carry out work on their organization (see Appendix 1). They also assured me that they would be of assistance as required, be it with providing resources or information. The organization itself is interested in being a case study for my research because no such analysis of TIB has taken place earlier. My research is likely to create a scope for TIB to evaluate its own activity, success and overall, its place in the society of Bangladesh.

The organization's activities cover two broad levels – national and local. The national level activities are mainly based in Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh. There are 64 districts under the seven divisions in the country for convenience of governance and administrative purposes. So far, TIB has established 45 Committee of Concerned Citizens (CCCs) in 45 districts for local level activities. Those areas are listed in table 2.1.

Division	Districts with CCC	Division	Districts with CCC
Barisal	Barisal Borguna Jhalakathi Patuakhali Pirojpur	Chittagong	Brahmanbaria Chakaria Chandpur Chittagong Metropolitan City Comilla Khagrachari Patiya Rangamati Savar
Dhaka	Faridpur Gazipur Jamalpur Kishoregonj Madaripur Modhupur Muktagacha Munshigonj Mymensingh	Khulna	Bagerhat Jessore Jhenaidah Khulna Kushtia Satkhira

	Nalitabari Rajbari Savar		
Rajshahi	Bogra Chapai Nawabgonj Kurigram Lalmonirhat Natore Rajshahi City Rangpur	Rangpur	Dinajpur **G**aibandha Nilphamari
Sylhet	Sreemangal Sunamganj Sylhet		

Table 2.1: Locations of CCCs in the divisions of Bangladesh

In order to engage the young generations in fighting against corruption, 60 Youth Engagement and Support (YES) groups are established – 15 in Dhaka and 45 in the respective CCC areas. Specifically Dhaka and the 45 CCC areas are treated as the research area for the case study of TIB. The central office of TIB situated in Dhaka is also included in the case study area. In addition to the staff at the office, the TIB members are also included because of their interest and willingness to keep involved with and updated about the organization's anti-corruption campaign on a voluntary basis. Other areas of the country came under consideration based on the demand and relevance to the thesis. The following map in figure 2.1 depicts the core study areas for this research.
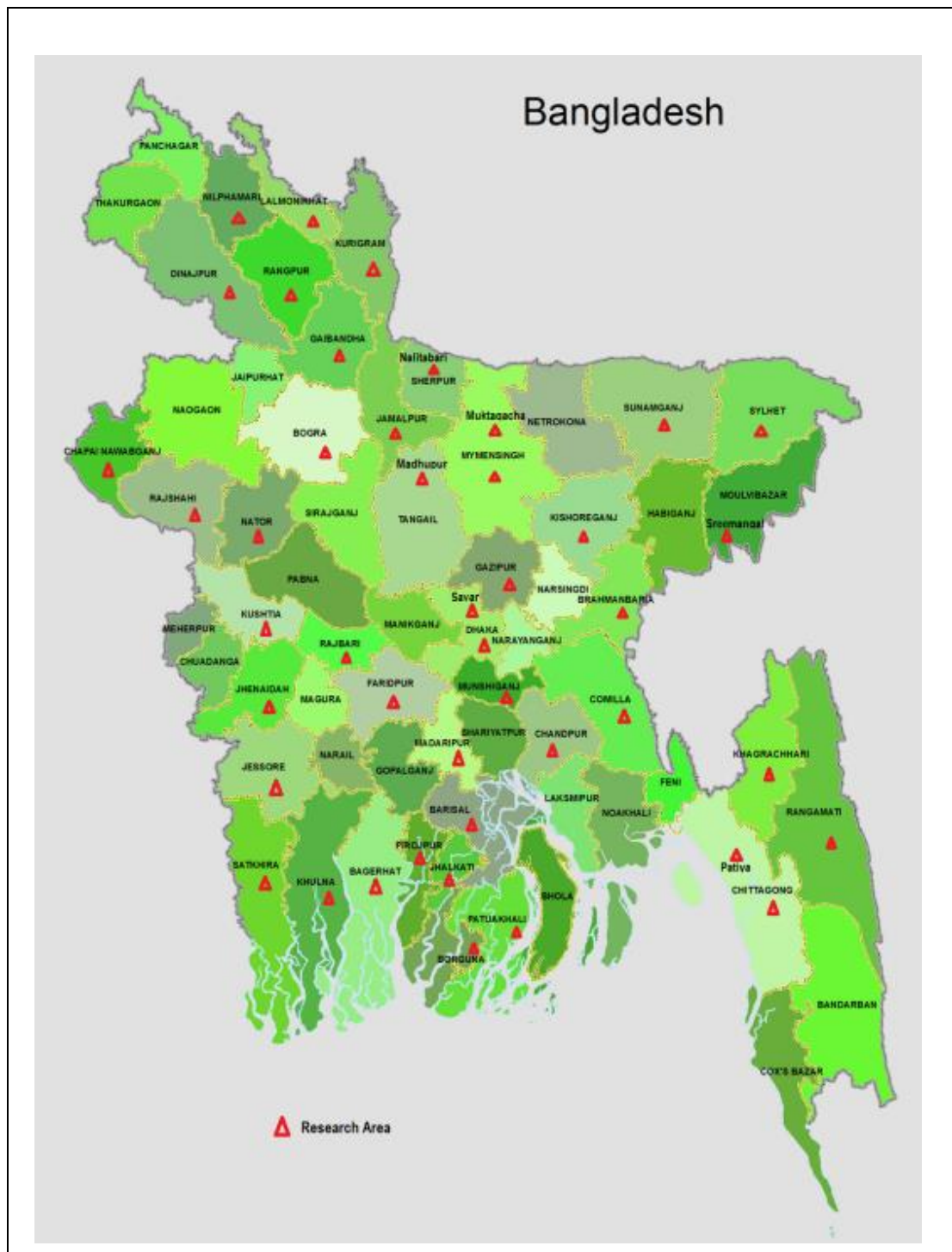
Figure 2.1: Study area of the thesis   (Source: TIB website)

The main study population covered is the people closely related to TIB both inside
and outside the organization. In addition members of society who are not related
directly with TIB were also part of the study in order to understand the
organization's standing within the community. The overall study populations for this
research along with the techniques used are listed in table 2.2.

No.	Research participant	Research technique used
1.	Members of TIB trustee board	In Depth Interview (IDI)
2.	TIB employees of different level (management, officials, field workers etc.)	In Depth Interview (IDI), Focused Group Discussion (FGD)
3.	Members of the CCCs (both conveners and general members)	In Depth Interview (IDI), Focused Group Discussion (FGD)
4.	YES members	In Depth Interview (IDI), Focused Group Discussion (FGD)
5.	TIB members	In Depth Interview (IDI), Focused Group Discussion (FGD)
6.	Representative from donor agencies	Key Informant Interview (KII)
7.	Representatives from alliance groups	Key Informant Interview (KII)
8.	Government organizations with whom TIB frequently deal (Anti-Corruption Commission and Information Commission)	Key Informant Interview (KII)
9.	People from various socio-economic backgrounds in the areas of TIB's has operation	Survey

Table 2.2: Research population and study techniques used

2.3 Research Tools

For this specific study, research tools are considered to be the components that helped me fulfil the objectives in a systematic manner. I used four different tools to achieve the necessary research components. They enabled me to reach a good and comprehensive understanding of TIB's activities and comment on them. These tools are:

- Previous professional experience

- Document analysis and literature review

- Observation

- Primary data collection, analysis and interpretation.

2.3.1 Previous Experience

According to Vogrinc et al. (2007) having previous experience in the study area helps the researcher to achieve their goal. As mentioned earlier, I worked in TIB for more than a year. This was in a very recent time and I understand that no big differences have been made in the mode of operation of the organization since I have left it. Such experience helped me obtain the preliminary position of TIB in terms of co-operation and its acceptance and support for this research. I have also used this experience to explore the areas of specific relevance to my thesis. For example, with the issues needing covering the previous familiarity with TIB enabled me to confirm "where should I knock for which purpose". Also, as a former employee I was known to most of the respondents of the in-depth interviews and participants in focused group discussions. This helped me build a quick rapport with the participants who were willing to properly engage with this study. Overall, this internal knowledge and previous experience allowed me to plan and organize the case study smoothly and easier than it would have been the case were I a stranger to the organization.

Also, I was born and brought up in Bangladesh and lived there for the whole of my life except for the years of PhD study. Being an engaged citizen of the country, I have a good idea about the history, governance, politics and corruption movements - past and present. Like many other ordinary people, corruption has affected me and my near ones, e.g. in receiving proper service and acquiring our rights as the citizens of the country. Consequently, I have always been interested in understanding and exploring ways to stop corruption. These circumstances provide the background for my motivation to conduct a study on Bangladesh that can assist the fight against corruption.

2.3.2 Document Analysis and Literature Review

Literature review allows a researcher to prove the 'researchability' of the topic by helping to find the gaps in the contemporary relevant research areas (Hart, 1998, 13). Without the literature review and document analysis used in my research, neither the theoretical background would have a solid platform for my views nor would statements be strongly supported by sufficient secondary data. This especially applies to the part of the research that I conducted analyzing secondary data[3]. It covers literature on corruption in general and specific reports on Bangladesh. At the same time literature on contemporary politics, government and administration is also of great interest though it has previously been stated that there is a dearth of works on evaluating the activities and programs undertaken by TIB. Books, journals, research reports, magazine articles, newspaper writings regarding and related to corruption and social movement are covered. Annual reports of TIB provide a valuable information on this issue. The libraries of Curtin University and other universities in Perth and Bangladesh are a rich source of desk research for the study. Moreover, publications on present-day governance, corruption and community engagement programs in Bangladesh were gathered during the field visits for the primary data collection.

This research is greatly facilitated by the advancement of technology that allows access to ample online documents through the internet with relatively less time and effort. The internet is specifically very useful in acquiring various government reports and features in different electronic media. The websites of Transparency International Bangladesh and Transparency International are particularly of great help to source various relevant documents and facts to enrich and justify my research.

2.3.3 Observation

Observation is a very important tool for research and data collection. It generates insight and better understanding of the phenomenon under study (Noor 2008, 5). During my fieldwork in Bangladesh observing the people closely related to TIB

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[3] For a specific research, any required information that is already collected or previously used by someone other than the investigator of that research is treated as secondary data (Kelly 2005).

helped me gather indirect information about the progress of the organization under case study in fulfilling its theme. I also needed to observe the general masses of Bangladesh regarding what they think about corruption in the country and TIB's contributing to overcome the situation. The information gathered through observation is complementary to the data collected through the survey, interviews, focused groups and document analysis. The informal observation approach allows considerable freedom with regards to what information is gathered. I used detailed notes of these observations during interviews, group discussions and the survey. Further on the general body language of TIB stakeholders during normal talk needs to be given attention as well as their unprompted expressions. Documents and other modes of the information gathering procedure only would not have been sufficient to get the full picture. As a researcher, my own observation and judgments play a vital role in reaching a distinct point of decision.

2.3.4 Primary Data Collection

Primary data for a study is usually required when the secondary sources of information are inadequate or inappropriate (Duval 2005). My literature review revealed that no sufficient research exists on the impact of social movements as a means of uprooting or reducing corruption in Bangladesh. Hence it is very important to obtain adequate first hand data in order to be able to analyze this phenomenon. Primary data collection was completed during my field visits to Bangladesh. This segment occupies the major portion of the research. The primary data obtained in my thesis can be divided into two broad categories. Those are:

1. Qualitative part and
2. Quantitative part

Detailed descriptions of the process of collecting primary data for both parts are stated below.

1. Qualitative Part

The qualitative part relates to people who somehow are directly or indirectly connected with the anti-corruption movement of TIB. These include all levels of TIB employees, CCC members, YES members, TIB members, members of the TIB

trustee board, members from the donor agencies, representatives from alliance organizations, Government officials and representatives from civil society. Information from these sources was gathered through three different ways using the following techniques:

I.   In-depth Interview (IDI)
II.   Focused Group Discussion (FGD)
III. Key Informant Interview (KII).

For the IDIs and KIIs semi-structured open-ended questionnaires were prepared as guidelines but each interview was different from the others since many related topics came through. Similarly, some topics for the FGDs were pre-defined but the participants had the liberty to bring upon other related topics to enrich the conversations. The semi-structured questionnaires for the IDIs and KIIs along with their purpose are described below in table 2.3.

Question	Purpose	Used in
What is your opinion about the current situation of corruption in Bangladesh?	Bring out expert opinion about different aspects of corruption and their impact on people's lives.	IDI, KII
What are the impacts of corruption on the people of the country?		IDI, KII
Has corruption somehow affected you or your near ones?	Find out whether personal sufferings have contributed for the stakeholders to stand up against corruption	IDI
What was your stand at that time?		IDI
What is your reaction when you know about corruption occurring around you which might not affect you but is harmful to society?	Reveal the level of commitment towards society	IDI

What is your professional attachment with TIB?	Describe the different types of relationship with TIB	IDI, KII
How did you come to know about the activities of TIB?	Understand what made TIB talked about in civil society	IDI, KII
How did you become involved with TIB?		IDI
What is your motivation to work with TIB?	Describe factors encouraging stakeholders to be involved with TIB	IDI
Do you feel any change in yourself and others' attitude towards you after joining TIB? Please describe it.	Understand change in stand for integrity and against corruption and level of acceptance of a TIB stakeholder by other people	IDI
What is your opinion about TIB's campaign of engaging people to fight against corruption?	Finding out people's power to bring positive changes. Also, analyze TIB's strategies and develop recommendation for improvement	IDI, KII
What are the main hindrances in engaging people to fight against corruption in Bangladesh?		IDI, KII
Do you think TIB is being successful in creating a social movement against corruption? Why or why not?		KII
Could you suggest any effective ways for TIB's strategic improvement?		KII
Share any specific memorable incidence in your journey with TIB.	Obtain real life examples of TIB's success or failure	IDI
Are you aware of any other organizations in Bangladesh	Understand how unique is TIB's movement in Bangladesh	KII

with similar goals to TIB and if yes, how does TIB compare to them?	

Table 2.3: Interview questions and their purpose

All questions and discussion topics were placed in Bengali. The idea behind it was to ensure the respondents' comfort since Bengali is the first language of Bangladesh and most ordinary people there do not feel comfortable speaking in English or any other language in their day-to-day conversation. With the prior permission of the interviewees, all conversations were recorded using an electronic device and later transcribed.

In-depth Interview

In-depth interviews allow a researcher to understand the boundaries of the research as well as to obtain potential solutions for the problem and get help to interpret the outcomes of the information gathered through surveys or other quantitative methods (PRA, no date). For my research, which deals with the social movement against corruption, it is of utmost importance to obtain the views on this issue of the most active stakeholders. In-depth Interviews are used for selected individuals who act within the rules and regulations of TIB. The interviewed stakeholders with their respective numbers are listed in table 2.4.

Interviewees	No. of persons interviewed
TIB employees from all levels	10
CCC members	5
YES members	10
TIB members	4
Members of TIB trustee board	2
Total	**31**

Table 2.4: Respondents of IDIs

The interviewed people are the core workforce of TIB that leads its activities in all aspects. While choosing the interviewees initiative is taken to keep the male/female

ratio balanced according to the respective numbers in the organization of a particular area. The respondent selection procedure is simple and easy. I collected the list of members for all groups mentioned above. Then the names were picked up to the predefined and pre-specified number according to Stratified Random Sampling (StRS)[4] for the employees and Simple Random Sampling (SRS)[5] for the other groups. The reason for choosing the StRS method for the employees is because not all employees are well connected with the program side of TIB. From my previous experience in the organization I sensed that I would be able to generate better quality information if I put more weight on the staff concerned with the program side rather than its administration or management. Also, to keep the male-female participation to a representative level I used the organization's data of male-female status for each group of stakeholders. After selecting the samples, I approached each of the respective persons as to whether they were able and willing to give me some time for the in-depth interviews. In the case when a selected person refused to participate in the interview, a substitute sample for each was chosen according to the previous manner and replaced for the interview. Time and place of the interviews were selected according to the respondents' convenience so that they would feel at ease while talking.

Focused Group Discussion

According to Catterall and Maclaran (1997) focused group discussion helps research with "benefits from participant interaction" as it generates synergism, snowballing, motivation, precautions and impulsiveness. Therefore, in order to make the information generating process more interactive for this study, focused group discussions were organized. Four FGDs were designed with 10-15 participants from one of the following groups.

➢ TIB employees
➢ CCC members

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[4] A sampling process where at first the population is divided into groups in such a way that the members are homogeneous within and heterogeneous between groups. Then simple random sampling technique is applied in each group to draw required number of samples (Ardily 2005).

[5] A technique of selecting samples from a population group where each and every member of the population has equal chance of being selected (Ardily 2005).

- ➢ YES members
- ➢ TIB members.

In this case also, the organizations information of gender was used for a balanced male-female representation. However, in spite of maximum effort, strict maintenance of this ratio was not always possible due to unavailability of the participants. Different productive views and suggestions were expected as a result of the spontaneous discussions and arguments. It is my understanding that some of the participants might not find it easy to speak on various issues in the presence of other people. There was an option for them to give their views in writing if they wanted to. My task as a moderator was keeping the discussion on the relevant track. It is likely that the discussion might become involved with irrelevant or marginal issues. In such situations, I had to remind the participants about the topic and time limits so that they become careful. The guidelines with the specific issues of interest prepared for FGDs is a helpful tool in this regard. The participation selection procedure for FGD is the same as for the IDI. I made sure that no IDI participant is included in the FGD. The issues discussed during the FGDs are broadly as follows:

- ➢ Corruption in Bangladesh and its reasons
- ➢ TIB's stand in fighting corruption
- ➢ TIB's stakeholders and their interactions
- ➢ Longevity of TIB programs
- ➢ Utilizing human resource to address corruption.

Key Informant Interview

For any Key Informant Interview, the term "Informant" means 'an individual who shares information' since they have acceptance in society and possess some special knowledge regarding the research topic (Gilchrist and Williams 1999, p. 77). The participants of the IDIs and FGDs are inseparable part of TIB and it is unrealistic to expect that they would give their opinion about TIB objectively highlighting both its positive and negative aspects. Hence, five KIIs were also conducted in order to obtain information from people other than those directly connected with TIB who are experts on or closely related with the main theme of the research. Their expert views help finding solutions and future policy making described in the thesis. Although a

standard semi-structured questionnaire was developed for the purpose of KIIs, the conversations focused on different topics given the difference of connection with TIB. In this research, the key informants are:

__Personnel of the Anti-Corruption Commission__ - To generate demand for the independence and effectiveness of the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) of Bangladesh, TIB has been working for long. This organization was the first to propose the need for an anti-corruption commission and the abolishing of the inefficient anti-corruption bureau in 2004 (Waves 2010). Hence, it is significantly important to obtain the view of the personnel from ACC regarding TIB and social movement against corruption in Bangladesh.

__High Official of the Information Commission__ - Access to information is a very useful weapon to combat corruption (Ofosu-Amaah, Soopramanien and Uprety 1999). From the very early stage of its establishment TIB has been campaigning and helping the Information Commission of Bangladesh in order to ensure the right flow of information being accessible to ordinary people. In that regard, the High Official of Information Commission was interviewed to find out TIB's contribution in this sector specifically and other sectors in general.

__Representative of a Donor Agency__ - TIB is a donor based non-profit organization whose financial and logistic supports come from the funds provided by six international donor organizations. The funding bodies of TIB are Department for International Development (DFID), Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), Norwegian Government, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SADC) (TIB website). However, TIB only receives funds from those organizations that allow keeping its independence and anti-corruption values and goals as they are and who also possess the same ethics (TIB website). So it is quite important and interesting to find out why

the donor agencies agree to fund TIB even when dealing with many rules and restrictions[6]. One high official from one donor agency was interviewed in this regard.

__Member of an Alliance Organization__ - TIB has quite a good number of alliances in several sectors, e.g. health, education, land authority etc., with whom it works in collaboration to ensure accountancy and transparency in those sectors by reducing corruption (TIB website). It is important to obtain the views of the alliances of why they are interested to be in the same row with TIB and what impact TIB's movement has on the activities of their organization and vice versa. A representative of one alliance organization of TIB was interviewed for that purpose.

__Representative from Civil Society__ - The role of civil society in establishing good governance is described in detailed later in this thesis. In short, it works as a mediator between individuals of a community and the governing body (Purcel 2012). It is of utmost importance to receive the view of civil society about any movement. One representative from civil society was chosen as an informant of the KII for my thesis. I prepared a short list of civil society representatives who have expertise on corruption and community engagement analyzing their contemporary activities published in the media. During my field visits in Bangladesh I contacted them and had an interview with the one who was prepared to allocate enough time and share insights.

2. Quantitative Part

The quantitative part of information gathering relates entirely to people who are not connected with TIB and its programs, i.e. general people of the community. A survey was designed to be conducted among people in different places of the country. The respondents were chosen randomly from the 45 areas where the CCCs are situated and also from Dhaka city: 10 respondents from each CCC area and 10 respondents from the adjacent area of each of the 15 YES groups of Dhaka city were selected

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[6] Usually the donor organizations have tendencies to impose their own strategy and recommendations upon the organization receiving the funds. This tendency directly or indirectly affects the vision, mission and independence of the donor dependent body (Bräutigam 2000). However, TIB raises funds without compromising the anti-corruption fortitude and hence the control of the funding bodies on governance issues is comparatively much less in the case of TIB.

according to different socio-economic background. The differentiation is done according to tertiary level education, education up to secondary level and no or education up to primary level. The reason for choosing education as the indicator for socio-economic status is because it is a primary pre-requisite in Bangladesh to identify an individual's background both in terms of social and economic perspective. In total there were 600 respondents - 10x45=450 from CCC areas, and 10x15=150 from Dhaka city. While selecting the respondents, the rough ratio of male to female proportion in each segment was maintained. Since women in Bangladesh have a more limited access to information than men (ICDDR,B 2009), more weight was given to men while selecting respondents, i.e. more male than female respondents were selected. Also, the proportion of illiterate or primary pass people in the country is larger than the two other divisions (Mitra et al. 2011). So, more respondents were selected from this division. Data was analysed according to relative shares to represent both genders and all education levels. Overall, the breakdowns of the respondents for each area are presented in table 2.5. The total numbers of respondents in each group are also shown in brackets.

Sex / Education	Male	Female	Total
No/ Primary	3 (180)	1 (60)	4 (240)
Secondary	2 (120)	1 (60)	3 (180)
Tertiary	2 (120)	1 (60)	3 (180)
Total	7 (420)	3 (180)	10 (600)

Table 2.5: Sex-education distribution of the respondents of the survey

The main purpose for this quantitative survey is to attain an objective idea about the position of TIB in society regarding its anti-corruption campaign. It is inconvenient and non-representative to select individuals for interviews, so the survey method was chosen to obtain their views. As TIB's theme is to reach ordinary people, make them conscious and work against corruption, the thesis would not be complete without considering their views. The survey's intension is to find out the extent to which TIB is able to reach the people of the Bangladeshi society, including whether TIB is a well-known organization to people from each strata of the community or to some

specific group of people. The respondents of this survey are a small sample of the communities where TIB has its operation.

The method applied for selecting the samples is a combination of random sampling and quota sampling. In quota sampling the selection of a sample is made by the interviewer who has been given quotas to fill from specified subgroups of the population (Deville 1991). The reason for selecting quota sampling is, it is quick and cheap to organize in the absence of a complete population list (Doherty 1994) and considering my limited stay in Bangladesh during the field visits. However, quota sampling is known to suffer from biasness in selecting samples (Levy & Lemeshow 2008). The random sampling is combined to overcome this problem. That means, the samples are supposed to be chosen randomly but only up to fulfilment of the quota for a specific educational background group. For example, in an area, only the first two randomly selected males with secondary education are included in the survey. The respondents are chosen randomly from places in the vicinity of the TIB office where people usually gather around, e.g. market places, office areas, educational institutes etc. In each area I used the help from one of the local residents in finding such places and to communicate with the local people. I sought help from the TIB officials and they willingly and generously assured me to support me in finding the local guides.

For this part of the data collection, a closed-ended survey questionnaire is prepared where the multiple options of answers are finalized mostly on the basis of the outcomes of the qualitative data collection. The survey questionnaire along with its questions and options is described in table 2.6.

Corruption scenario in Bangladesh		
Question	Options	Comment
1. What is your opinion about the level of corruption in Bangladesh?	Very high	Corruption permeates all sectors of the society and have deep negative impact on people
	High	Corruption is a way of life and people are used to it impacts

	Medium	Corruption is a common practice and people are often affected by it
	Low	Corruption is rare and not many people are affected by it
2. What is the main reason for corruption in the country?	Misuse of power	Public officials exploiting the power given to them to serve people
	Lack of consciousness	People's ignorance on how corruption takes place and how they become victims of it
	Greed	When people desire to have more and more even if they don't actually need those
	Unhealthy politics	Politicians' unethical practice to concur the power at any cost and achieve maximum possible benefit out of it
	Poverty	When people cannot meet their basic needs and tend to do chose a wrong way
Corruption in daily life and suggested remedies		
3. In which sector are you mostly affected by corruption?	Education	During admission, awarding scholarships, teaching at class, receiving grades etc.
	Receiving service	Whether people are obtaining service that they are supposed to get in a proper way
	Professional area	Getting jobs and promotions, proper distribution of workload
	Daily social activities	Whether the social values and interaction among people are degrading
4. What are the factors that might help you to overcome the daily hardship of corruption?	Proper implementation of the law	Offenders are certainly and adequately punished according to the rule of law
	Availability of information	When people have a clear idea or can find out about their rights and

		responsibilities
	Objective media	When the media publish only what is true without being manipulated by the power holders
	A ground to protest	People having the opportunity to express their disappointment and take some action
Ways to reduce corruption		
5. What would be the most effective way to reduce corruption in Bangladesh?	Combined protest	People have the ability to bring positive change if they are united and active
	Proper education	When students are not only literate but also conscious about problems in society
	E-governance	Using modern technology to ensure transparent and fair governing
	Positive change in leadership	When leaders think and work for the betterment of people and the public good, not only for themselves
Citizens versus corruption		
6. What should be a citizen's role in preventing corruption?	Abide by the law	Not choosing the wrong way for small personal benefits, e.g.- not bribing the service provider to move ahead in the queue
	Teach children to be responsible	Ensuring proper values education for the young generation
	Get involved in anticorruption movement	Actively take part in anticorruption initiatives if available
7. What is your response to corruption occurring nearby (might not be affecting you)	Do nothing	Accept corruption
	Protest alone	Raise concern publicly
	Protest unitedly	Join other people who protest
	Report to	Make an effort for the authority to be

	authority	informed about corruption incidents
Perceptions about TIB		
8. Do you have any idea about TIB?	Yes	
	No	Go to question 13
9. What type of organization is it?	Please describe in your own words	
10. How did you get to know about TIB first?	Media	TV, radio channels, newspapers, online media etc.
	Friends and family	During regular conversations
	Local activities by TIB	Anti-corruption campaigns in different local level organizations
	Professionally	Dealings with TIB through the organization where the respondent works
11. In which sector TIB has become successful?	Creating anti-corruption demand	Making people realize corruption cannot be a way of life
	Uniting people against corruption	Encouraging people to protest against corruption together
	Reducing corruption	Significant improvement in the corruption situation
	Generating leadership	Introducing the idea of leadership beyond the political sector
12. What would you opine for the strategic development of TIB?	Expanding its operation area	Starting activities in smaller administrative areas than districts
	Include the media more	Partnership, training programs for journalists, public relations with the media, more publication of TIB news etc.
	Increasing	Evaluating the programs that took place

	follow-up programs	and their impacts on the corruption situation
	Providing legal aid	Legal support for the helpless victims of corruption
13. Do you think TIB's strategy of including citizens in the anti-corruption movement is an effective one?	Yes	Why or why not?
	No	
14. Are you interested to be involved in TIB's anti-corruption movement?	Yes	Why or why not?
	No	
15. Do you know about any other organization with a similar objective as TIB?	Yes	Please give the name of this organization
	No	

Table 2.6: Survey questions with explanation

For the purpose of primary data collection, I travelled from Perth to Bangladesh twice. The first time I arranged the trip during October – November in 2011 for thirty-two days. This trip was specifically for the qualitative data collection, i.e. the IDIs, KIIs and FGDS. On the basis of the obtained qualitative data, I prepared the survey questionnaire for the quantitative data collection. In 2012, I travelled to Bangladesh again in November and returned to Perth in January 2013 after sixty-three days of field visit for collection of quantitative data through the survey.

2.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a process used to transform, modify and standardize certain information collected during research with the view to reach a certain conclusion. It supports the researcher to deliver findings by structuring, filtering and interpreting

the new information (Durosaro 2004). Since this research is based on both qualitative and quantitative data, I use different approaches to carry out the analysis.

Qualitative - The data gathered through interviews are analyzed for themes with the help of NVivo qualitative software after the recorded conversations are transcribed and translated in English. In addition, all the interviews were also thoroughly analyzed individually as each of them was similar in some and different in many aspects from the others.

For the focused group discussions, the transcribed conversations are separated based on different pre-defined themes. After that, the various expressed views are enlisted against each theme and the frequency of each view is noted. While analyzing the data, the observation notes taken during the interviews are also considered.

Quantitative - After gathering all quantitative data, they were categorized according to sex, area of residence and educational background with the help of the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) software. Then the actual numbers and percentages of each category for each question are obtained. The software is also used for the graphical representation and interpretation of the data.

2.5 Ethics Approval

In keeping with the requirements of thoroughness and behaviour in research, ethical approval was sought from the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) at Curtin University. The ethics application was approved in March 2012 and renewed in February 2013. This process of ethics approval concentrated on three main areas: obtaining informed consent from the participants in the research, protecting the privacy and confidentiality of the records and ensuring no risk of harm for the participants. These three conditions are met in the following ways:

- Both oral and written requests are made to individuals for participating in the data collection process informing them about the objective and nature of the research (see Appendix 2 for participant information). Data was collected only from those who gave their consent (see Appendix 3 for consent form).

- A nondisclosure of identity and confidentiality of the research data was assured by not including participants' names or any kind of indication that might reveal their identity throughout the research.

- No administrative, psychological, political, biological, medical or other instruments were used which might cause harm to the participants.

2.6 Managing Real-Life Issues

The designed research work went through mostly smoothly. However some issues arose which were not in my plan or under my control. They required me to make some alteration in the original research method in order to overcome these constraints. Following are some such examples.

2.6.1 Interviews of TIB Staff

All interviews were conducted face to face while I visited Bangladesh for my fieldwork, except for the interviews with TIB employees. This is because of time constraints but also because of other barriers at the respondents' end. The employees have a very busy time at TIB during office hours. It was very hard for them to find an hour-long time to sit with me and conduct the interview. Also, some of them were not very comfortable to speak freely in the office premises because of the thought that someone may somehow overhear something the respondent would not like to share anywhere else but during the interview. I could have met the respondents at their home or some convenient place according to them but this too was becoming hard for some because of my relatively short pre-defined stay in Bangladesh.

Considering all these matters and seeking the kind consent of the respondents I decided to conduct the interviews over the telephone from Australia. I consulted with the respondents whether they would be willing to agree to be interviewed by phone after my return to Australia. They agreed and we made arrangements to organize convenient time through e-mail. On the basis of that scheduled time I could conduct the interview over the phone similarly to a face-to-face interview. The potential respondents opined that this was the most convenient, less time and effort consuming way out for them to participate in the interview in a spontaneous manner. The added benefit for me was saving some time. In fact I could allocate more hours for these

interviews without the constraints of the very tight scheduled field visit in Bangladesh.

2.6.2 Ensuring Participation in FGDs

The FGD sessions were very interactive and easy flowing. Most participants were willing to express their views and get involved in constructive arguments and discussions with others. However, in each session there were some participants who were hesitant to take part in the conversations. My role was to encourage them to talk by asking direct questions, such as: "What do you think of this particular issue". I observed that in most cases, once such a participant spoke for a while, they started to feel more at ease and became more interactive.

Also, I realized that it would be a hard task to gather CCC members and YES members from different districts for the purpose of focused group discussions. Keeping that in mind I planned my field visit to Bangladesh in such a time when the yearly CCC-YES convention would take place in Dhaka. All or most of the CCC and YES members from all parts of Bangladesh join this program which is organized to facilitate evaluation of their own work, peer learning and strategizing for the future. I took the opportunity of this program and it was easy for me to arrange FGDs with these two groups of field level volunteers who were already in Dhaka.

The FGD originally planned with TIB members was not possible to organize as not many of them were able to gather at the same time due to their busy schedule and my limited time frame. It would have better have their views on the issued covered in the FGDs through an interactive process. However, to minimize the missing of data, I discussed those issues with the TIB members who participated in the in-depth interviews. Thus the views of TIB members of the FGD topics were also included through an indirect way and my research was not much affected due to lack of insights from one group of stakeholders.

2.6.3 Explaining the Questionnaire

Some of the survey participants were having problems in reading the questions, especially the ones with no or primary level education. In such situations, I read out

the questions clearly and then explained the options for answering. After they opined for one option, I ticked that on the questionnaire form for them.

I also explained the questions in more detail when participants needed some help in understanding it. The most frequently asked question in this regard was: "What is E-governance?" because the term appeared in the questionnaire as one of the options for reducing corruption in Bangladesh. I explained the term in such a way that they could connect with and also referred to the election manifesto of the present government of Bangladesh which gave high emphasis on building a "Digital Bangladesh", i.e. ensuring E-governance if they were elected (Kabir 2009). This helped people to quickly understand what was meant in my question.

There were also some exceptions in the case of the open-ended questions included in the questionnaire. For example, there was a question: "Are you interested to be involved in TIB's anti-corruption movement? Why or why not?" More than half of the respondents were reluctant to answer saying: "I don't know what to write". In such situations I explained that they did not need to write anything rather they could just tell me how they felt about the issue and I would write it for them. Almost all respondents who were reluctant to write felt much easier then and could properly answer. After they finished the answer I would write it down on the questionnaire form. Consequently this section of the questionnaire changed from being self-administered to administered by me.

2.6.4 Covering All Survey Areas

The process of collecting the quantitative data, i.e. conducting the survey among ordinary people did not go according to my plan all through the way. Unfortunately, the period I was in Bangladesh for the survey became a time of political unrest. The main opposition party was blaming the Government for destroying the opportunity for a free and fair election in 2014 and was demanding to form an unbiased and transparent Caretaker Government[7]. The Government however was not at all ready to

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[7] A form of government system in Bangladesh in which the country is ruled by a selected government that does not represent any political party for a temporary period during the transition from one elected government to another, after the completion of tenure of the former. The idea behind this kind

listen to the opposition party's demand. As a result of this argument, the opposition party was calling for different strikes very frequently to show their agitation and fulfil their demand. The Government on the contrary tried to subdue the agitators by charging baton, opening fire and tear shells on the protestors. These attacks and counter attacks often made it hard even to go outside the house let alone travelling around different districts. Such a circumstance was hindering the planned workflow during my limited stay in Bangladesh. It seemed that I would not be able to cover by myself all the places around Bangladesh where TIB has its activities.

As a solution to this problem, I decided to hire people to conduct the survey for me in some areas. I made a list of selection criteria (see Appendix 4) for hiring and choose 16 places[8] that are comparatively harder to reach in terms of time and transportation. Then I approached to TIB inquiring whether they would be willing to assist in selecting one YES member from each area as a prospective data collector. The response from TIB was positive and it rendered its supporting hand with CCC members and Area Managers of each area selecting the most appropriate YES member on the basis of the selection criteria provided by me. In a few CCCs none of the YES members had all the qualifications I had specified. In such cases the YES member with the experience of conducting a survey was chosen. The reason I opted for YES members as surveyors was that they had a better conception about corruption and TIB than any other randomly selected people. It was also a privilege for them to communicate with the respondents explaining the key terms and questions. Also as having experience in field data collection was a non-negotiable qualification for the potential candidates, the surveyor was better placed to handle any difficult situation that could arise during the survey activities.

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of government is to ensure the transparency and peace of the election process. Initiated in 1990, this specific government system was abolished in 2011 by the Government - elected in 2008.

[8] Gaibandha, Nilphamari, Dinajpur, Kurigram, Lalmonirhat, Rangpur, Sylhet, Bagerhat, Satkhira, Khulna, Barisal, Pirojpur, Jhalakathi, Borguna, Patuakhali, Khagrachari and Rangamati.

Once the YES member was selected as the surveyor in one area, the respective TIB Area Manager let me know their phone number and e-mail address. Then I was able to communicate directly with them sending the questionnaire and the guidelines (Appendix 5) I prepared for them. After they received the documents, I called them over the phone and explained thoroughly the questions with the options from the questionnaire and the guidelines. As they are all connected with TIB very closely, they could understand the explanations very easily and quickly. I also discussed with them the difficulties that I incurred while collecting the data and how I overcame them. Then they conducted the survey and mailed me the data sheets after they gathered all of them. Their hard work and sincerity at which they helped me with such a short-notice need to be recognized and are highly appreciated by me.

2.7 Conclusion

This research used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods and techniques which were particularly tailored to the case study of TIB. The complexity of conducting fieldwork in Bangladesh required some adjustments in the originally planned activities which allowed for a good coverage of the research tasks. The following table (2.7) shows the actual number of participants covered by each of the research techniques.

Technique	Participants	No. of participants		
		Male	Female	Total
IDI	TIB employees	6	4	10
	CCC members	3	2	5
	YES members	7	3	10
	TIB members	3	1	4
	Members of TIB trustee board	1	1	2
FGD	TIB employees	8	6	14
	CCC members	7	4	11
	YES members	11	8	19
KII	Personnel of ACC	4	1	5
	Personnel of Information Commission			
	Representative of Donor Agency			

	Member of Alliance Organization Representative from Civil Society			
Survey	No education/ Primary pass	180	60	240
	Secondary Pass	120	60	180
	Tertiary Pass	120	60	180
	Total	420	180	600

Table 2.7: Participants covered in primary data collection

The methods used in this study allowed me to establish and maintain a very good link between the social movement against corruption and the activities of Transparency International Bangladesh. I learnt a lot through all steps of the methodology. Specifically the literature analysis and the survey opened the opportunity for brainstorming and exploring new areas for research. During the interviews and FGDs I realized many new interesting facts regarding TIB about which I was not aware. As a very proud and satisfied ex-employee of TIB, my continuous effort was to stay away from any bias while analyzing the collected data using different methods. Overall, I believe the whole research methodology proved to be successful for attaining the answer to the primary research question.

The remainder of the thesis reflects the outlined methodology. The two chapters to follow present the literature review on social movement and corruption and the analysis of the empirical data collected for the study is next.

CHAPTER THREE
THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

3.1 Introduction

According to the vocabulary, the meaning of the word "movement" refers to a group of people working together to share common ideas (Hornby 2000). When the adjective "social" is added to "movement" it generally implies that the organising body is the whole or a part of society that is showing dissatisfaction, grievance or enthusiasm in order to ensure these common ideas (Snow, Soule and Kreisi 2007, 3). In the first part of this chapter, I explore the concept of social movement together with the reasons for its emergence. The scopes and consequences of social movements along with stages and possible classifications are also discussed.

The focus of this research is Bangladesh. In spite of being a relatively small country on the world atlas, Bangladesh has many heroic, prestigious and successful examples of social movements. In the times prior and post-independence the whole society stood together, raised its voice and established demands even when facing serious obstacles from the ruling body. In the second part of this chapter, examples of such social movements in Bangladesh are described.

The last section of this chapter contains a discussion on how social movements create pressure on the government demanding transparency and accountability. Factors contributing to the raise of demand against corruption are also conferred.

3.2 Defining Social Movement

The concept of social movement in account in academia is not very old, although it is not very recent either. McCarthy and Zald (1977, 1217) defined social movement as "a set of opinions and beliefs which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distributions of the society". This definition does not include the concept of activities carried out in a social movement in order to fulfil its demand. Also, the authors conceptualize social movement as an informal and non-organised phenomenon. In the 1980s, Turner and Killinan (1987, 223) defined a social movement as "a collective acting with some continuity to promote or resist a change in the society or organization of which it is a part. As a

collectivity, a movement is a group with indefinite and shifting membership and leadership whose position is determined more by informal response of adherents than by formal procedures for legitimising authority". Despite its focus on action and organised response, this definition still remains within the informal approach of rejection.

In the 1990s, Diani (1992, 8, 9, 11) identified three components of social movements, as follows:

- "*Network and informal interactions* - A social movement is a network and informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations.
- *Shared beliefs and solidarity* - The boundaries of a social movement network are defined by the specific collective identity shared by the actors involved in the interactions.
- *Collective action on conflictual issues* - Social movement actors are engaged in political and/or cultural conflicts, meant to promote or oppose social change either at systematic or non-systematic level."

In this conceptualisation the informal approach of social movements remains, but a much stronger organizational and interactive characteristic of the phenomena is observed. More recently Tilly (2004, 4) gave a definition that describes the current nature of social movement as "a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others". He points out that this is a way to ensure people's participation in the governing system.

Hence, *when the general members of the society or participants in an organization sense that there are developments that will not result in greater good or will be detrimental, they refuse to accept them. Rather they rise in group against this and place their demands for or against the changing situation. The whole process of realising, refusing, organising, placing the demand and campaigning on that is called social movement*. This is the definition of 'social movement' adopted in this thesis.

Every social movement that has occurred so far has been the result of inequity, mistreatment, abuse of power or another social injustice (Crossley 2002, 18). There seems to be a strong link between dissatisfaction and the evolving of social movements. For example, a reason that makes people raise their voice and protest is when they feel that they are being oppressed in showing or claiming their identity in any particular sphere of life - social, economic, political, cultural and so on (Mallick, No date). Below are other examples of situations where people were dissatisfied with particular actions or suffered from identity crisis and which lead to social movements as a consequence.

Anti-Nuclear Movement: From the very early period, the usage of nuclear power in various fields especially in weapons was questioned by politicians, diplomats and humanitarians. In 1945 atomic bomb blasting occurred in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and thousands of lives were killed. From then on till nowadays concerned people all over the world protest against nuclear technology. They claim that it not only kills numerous innocent people, but also forms constant threat against world peace and the natural environment (Brown and Brutoco 1997, 191). Some mentionable demonstrations and protests against nuclear technology that took place around the world are: 1961 - USA, 1970 - Germany, 1975 - Europe and North America. Nuclear power became an issue of major public protest in the whole world in the 1970s (Falk 1982, 95).

Feminist Movement: The feminist movement evolved as a consequence from the long-term oppression and subordination of women in various aspects of life. It started when women became concerned about their justified rights and continued through a series of campaigns for improvement on issues such as reproductive rights, domestic violence, maternity leave, equal pay, women's suffrage, sexual harassment and sexual violence (Hooks 2000, 26). The movement began in the late 19th century but at that time it concentrated within the upper-class white women of the Western world only. It became popular all around the globe in the 20th century although the extent was not the same everywhere (Freedman 2003). Until now the movement's main concerns differ among nations and communities but the uniting platform is the role of women in society.

Landless People's Movement: The Landless People's Movement (LPM) is an autonomous social movement in South Africa. It stands for rural people and people living in hut arrangements in urban areas (Greenberg 2004, 6). The LPM refuges parliamentary elections and has a record of clash with the African National Congress. It is allied to La Via Campesina[9] internationally and its Johannesburg branches to the Poor People's Alliance in South Africa[10]. On 24 July 2001 provincial representatives of local landless formations met with regional organisations to bring together their grievances and cooperatively try to find alternative solutions to mitigate their sufferings. The LPM is the product of this meeting (Habib and Valodia 2006, 113). Originally the movement was primarily created and supported by a NGO, the National Land Committee (NLC), but in 2003 it broke with the NLC and since then operates autonomously. The Landless People's Movement has been successful in connecting the commonalities between both rural and urban land deficiency (Business Day 2011).

The above examples show that a common reaction of human beings is to stand up and unite whenever they are oppressed and sense injustice against them or humanity. These are the common grounds that generate different social movements in different places and in different times.

3.3 Historical Origins of Social Movements

The term "social movement" was first introduced and used by the German sociologist Lorenge von Stein (1959, 512) in academic discussions of the contemporary political activities of Europe during 1789 to 1850. He described the process through which the general working class was being conscious about its own rights and power. Before that, the voice of people was usually expressed through social gatherings at local level, such as in churches, funerals, local pubs bars etc. As stated by Tilly (2004, 25), the emergence of social movements in England and USA

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[9] An international movement which coordinates peasant organizations of small and middle-scale producers, agricultural workers, rural women, and indigenous communities from Asia, Africa, America and Europe.

[10] A network of radical grassroots movements in South Africa.

was based on the "profound political and economic change" during late eighteenth century caused by four political and social phenomena, namely war, parliamentarization, capitalization and proletarianization.

The involvement of America in the **Seven Year War**[11] with Britain (1756-1763) expanded the influence of government activities over ordinary people because of the mobilization and payment for the military action (Brewer 1989). This created scope for people of different occupations to negotiate with the government regarding the terms under which they would contribute. Due to the slow but steady process of **parliamentarization**, people in mass begun to communicate more with the government body through elected representatives including at the local level. This was widening the space for people to express their expectations and grievances (Tilly and Wood 2003). With **capitalization** occurring both in Great Britain and the American colonies due to the dramatic expansion of industrial and agricultural production, a new merchant class was booming other than the previous few landlords. Being the Government's creditors and managers of capital this class was becoming strong enough to raise its voice for its own rights and regulations. Lastly, **proletarianization** (Marshal, 1998)[12] freed workers from dependency on landlords, masters and large manufacturers and thereby provided them an opportunity to express their own social and political choice (Tilly 1984). As a whole these changes allowed to form alliances among petit bourgeois and the working class which consequently turned into organized associations, gatherings, campaigns and protests for different cause-specific occurrences. The authorities also were not able to take much initiative against such activities as being properly controlled by the alliances none of them were destructive. This was the period of emergence of social movements in Europe and America although they did not become an idiosyncratic, associated, renowned and widely available social manifestation till the nineteenth century onwards.

During the nineteenth century, social movements all over the globe appeared based mainly around equality of political rights among people of different strata in the

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[11] A world war that took place between the period 1754 -1763 and involved all the great powers of that era.

[12] The process by which sections of the middle class become absorbed into the working class.

countries. This period also includes movements to bring changes in political views, such as communism, socialism and social democratization (Tilly 2004). These strata-based movements became more specific in the twentieth century when women's rights, gay rights, peace, civil rights, anti-nuclear and environmental movements emerged. A very specific characteristic of social movements in this era is that the involvement of the media which became more pronounced than before. This expanded the level of social movements from regional to national and international. The changes in the 1900s were more rapid and radical than in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Although the influence of globalization was present in the movements of the late twentieth century it became vivid and distinct with the start of the twenty first century. The catalysts of globalization such as telecommunications, internet and satellite TV also made it possible to give a nationwide social movement international presence. Nowadays, no movement can be confined within the borders of a national territory; rather it can achieve support or opposition from all parts of the world through the new technologies of communication. Social movements today also create significant impact on the international relations between different countries. Table 3.1 summarises examples of famous social movements in different eras along with their basic common natures of operation.

Period	Social Movements	Main Features
Prior to 1800	Abolitionism (1542-1794), French Revolution (1789-1799), Polish Constitution (1791)	• Eurocentric • Primary stage of growing social consciousness • Human right based approach
1801- 1900	Evangelicalism (early 18th century), Transcendentalism (1820), Communalism (1830)	• Movement spreads beyond Europe • Demand for own rights • Influenced by religion
1901-2000	Anti-colonial struggle for independence, Feminism, Youth	• Radical and strata based in nature,

	movement, Environmental movement	• More influenced by media • Causes ahead of personal benefits
2001 onwards	Movement against Iraq war (2002), Orange revolution (Ukraine-2004), Tahrir square movement (2011)	• Influenced by ICT • Huge international impact • Very fast growing

Table 3.1: Social movements with common characteristics in different eras
(Source: Tilly 2004)

Social movements vastly differ in scope, type of change requested, targets, method of work, timeframe and range. However the life cycle of each of them remains more or less the same from emergence to the end point. According to the activist Bill Moyer (1990) who had been engaged in civil rights, peace and environmental movements, a standard social movement experiences eight stages during its life cycle. These particular stages could also be described under five broad segments. They are discussed below.

Segment A. Hidden problem

Stage 1: A critical social problem prevails but only a few people are concerned about it.

Segment B. Increasing tensions

Stage 2: Research and initiative by the concerned to educate the others are conducted which results in administrative actions by the authority to solve the problem. However, these administrative actions usually fail to properly address the problem.

Stage 3: More people become concerned about the existence of the problem and some tension rises. Like-minded organizations lend their helping hand.

Segment C. Take-off

Stage 4: Remarkable nonviolent activities and campaigns take place which makes it clear why the problem is harmful for the society.

Segment D. Waging the movement

Stage 5: The participants seek rapid success and feel frustrated when that does not happen. This makes it seem like the end of the movement.

Stage 6: With some new catalytic event the movement becomes broader by making the majority of the community members aware of the problem. In this stage the movement agenda gets a political form.

Segment E. Success

Stage 7: The majority of the community is ready to accept the alternative rather than the existing policies in order to address the problem. In spite of the authorities' attempt for the least change making, most or all demands of the movement are met. Some people of authority are stood down.

Stage 8: After the celebration of the success of the current, a movement dealing with a new issue starts on.

More recently Christiansen (2009), describes four fundamental stages of social movements namely - appearance, coalescence, bureaucratization and decline. The activities in each stage are shortly outlined below.

- **Appearance -** A very initial stage when the members of the community who would take an active part in the movement start to feel discomfort at an individual level. They might express this dissatisfaction informally to friends and family but no organised actions are adopted so far (Macionis 2001).

- **Coalescence** - The "popular stage" when the individual discomforts are organised and participants are vocal in expressing their agitation and demand (Hopper, 1950). This is the stage where leadership emerges and targets and strategies are set.

- **Bureaucratization -** This stage appears when after achieving the initial success of drawing the authority's attention, the movement needs a more formal intervention to reach its goal. Usually a third party with the specialization on the demand comes in this stage to work as a medium between the movement participants and the authority (De la Porta & Diani 2006).

- **Decline -** The stage when a social movement comes to an end through any of the following means: repression, co-optation, success, failure or establishment with

mainstream (Macionis, 2001). The after-effects of the social movements are also observed in this stage.

Moyer (1990) offered more detail about each stage of social movements, but unlike him, Christiansen considers the possibility of alternative endings other than achieving success only. The classification of the outcomes of social movements done by Gamson (1992) is very well-recognized (Fuller 2006). His two-dimensional analysis indicates that the outcomes could be based on new advantages (whether or not the opponent grants new substantive advantages to the constituency) or new acceptance (whether or not the opponent accepts the challenging group as a valid representative of constituent interests and consequently includes it in policy making procedures) (Gramson 1992). Combining these two dimensions creates a fourfold typology of social movement outcomes.

		New Advantages	
		yes	*no*
New Acceptance	*yes*	full response	co-optation
	no	preemption	collapse

Table 3.2: Gamson's typology of social movement outcomes

(Source: Fuller 2006, 130)

A particular social movement may go through various stages and may or may not reach its target but no social movement is a total failure. These are times when the points of view of concerned individuals become clear - may be not in the very first phase but gradually. This is very important because if like-minded people are getting together they are likely to re-emerge in the future when a similar type of problems arises.

3.4 Classification of Social Movements

One of the early and popular classifications of social movements is given by the cultural anthropologist Aberle (1966). He talks about four types of social movement based on their targeted people (individual or whole society) and the extent of change

(restoration or restructuring). Those types are: alternative, redemptive, reformative and revolutionary (see typology in table 3.3).

Target of People	Extent of Change		
		Restore	**Restructure**
	Individual Level	Alternative Social Movement	Redemptive Social Movement
	Whole Society	Reformative Social Movement	Revolutionary Social Movement

Table 3.3: Types of social movement as per change and target people

(Source-Aberle 1966)

Social movements can also be classified in a variety of ways depending on other different variables as compiled in table 3.4.

Variables	Types	Main Features	Source
Method of work	Advocacy	When the movement is based on non-violent way of motivating people and authority	Simons (No date)
	Resistance	A movement which develops by hindering the existing situation to fulfil its demand	
Theme	Old	Materialistic goal centric movements that used to take place before twentieth century	Stolley (2005)
	New	Movements with issues that go beyond personal interests	
Coverage	Global	A movement that looks for the solution of a transnational problem	
	Local	A movement that arises to address a difficulty arisen in a specific locality	

Relationship between stakeholders	Formal centralized	Social movements that have progressively institutionalized over time	Willems and Jegers (2012)
	Formal clustered	Movements with separated groups of participants with particular aims and strategies	
	Informal clustered	Start with the appearance of a cooperative identity and the discovery of common, but conceptual targets	
	Informal centralized	An ideology-based movement. centered on a particular body of thoughts	

Table 3.4: Types of social movements

The different taxonomies of social movements make it clear that not all of them necessarily have to have direct impact on the whole society. However, when the activities of the movements are carried out, this certainly influences all individuals around them. Also, whatever may be the type of a social movement, it must follow the key principle of non-violence. Research shows that with good leadership and specific goals, a well-organized non-violent social movement is more effective in reaching its targets rather than violent activities (Fuller 2007). The reason behind this is that, being based on timeless national, cultural, human and religious values and principles, and less threatening, the non-violence natures of social movements create the optimum opportunity for everyone to participate and support.

3.5 Benefits of Social Movements

A social movement is a way of modernizing, intensifying, regulating and uniting the voice of people to organize them into systematic actions for the expression of particular demands. These efforts create a competitive but authentic lawful freedom within civil society where the combination of campaigns, claim-making performances and all other activities acquire political standing. To analyse the benefits from social movements we need to understand what circumstances are likely

to occur as their aftermaths. This does not imply that the social movement necessarily has to be successful in order to leave a deep and significant impact in history. Records say that many social movements have influenced society even though they could not reach their goals; e.g. the Black Consciousness Movement[13] (Lobban 1996). The impacts however are better if the mission is properly accomplished. This boosts the moral of the activists to continue to work on that or related issues in the future. It also gives hope to other sectors in society to fight injustice.

In the following section some achievements that have flourished as the outcome of social movements in different sectors are narrated. From the various scopes of social movements, I have chosen the ones that resonate well with the main theme of my research topic - social movement against corruption. For instance, good governance is a must to ensure a corruption-free society and democracy has a broad and clear negative effect on corruption (Rock 2007). Hence, any process which assists in growing democracy also helps to reduce corruption and this is what social movements achieve. Also, the continual decrease of established corruption in a society needs dedicated leadership (Kiltgaard 2011, 32) and social movements have presented great leaders to the world. The selected examples shows how social movements help grow democracy and leadership. I have also tried to cover the positive between social movement and resource protection, a must for sustainable development as it emphasises not only on living today but also to secure the future (GTZ 2004). Since corruption is a process which often leads to misuse of resources, sustainable development will be impossible to achieve with existing corruption as this affects the economic, social and environmental integration in decision-making for present and future generations.

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[13] A movement that took place in South Africa was initiated to make the black people conscious about their political rights during mid-1960s. Although the leaders were captured and the movement was not successful in terms of achieving its goal, the seed of consciousness was sowed among the targeted people.

3.5.1 Social Movement and Democratization

Democratization is the process of making society democratic, i.e. accepting and establishing the proper representation of people's will. In recent times democracy is accepted as a perfect tool to ensure transparency and accountability in many of the developing nations (Ezenyili 2012). There is a broad and both-way relationship between social movements and democracy (Ibarra 2003). Historical data - both quantitative and qualitative have shown that the proceedings of social movements have the propensity to be favourable towards the process of democratization (Porta 2012). In the opposite way it is also true that democracy is a process which allows and nurtures the creation of social movements. They generally form when the expectation of the masses is not reflected in the decision-making process crucial to uphold the spirit of democracy. Most of the time however, social movements are not held to promote democracy; rather they are a by-product of the system (Tilly 2003). People fight for a cause challenging resolutions by a governing body expressing refusal to cooperate because public interest will be hampered. They might not have the slightest idea about ensuring democracy; but when they raise their voices, the authority gets a sense that a decision should not be made if it is not representative. This allows for the fundamental nature of democracy to be practiced. The American civil rights movement could be seen as an example of this as it helped restore democracy in the USA by ensuring the voting rights of the citizens (Goluboff 2007).

Some academics argue that social movements may even challenge democracy when the demand is for readjustment of the decision-making process. For example, during the early 21st century in India the "polarized, segmented Hindu and Muslim social movement activities" challenged the democratic process of the national command of being in religious harmony (Tilly 2004, 143). However, these incidences are very rare to be treated as the regular scenario.

3.5.2 Social Movement and Leadership

Leadership is a course of action by which one individual influences the feelings, approach and behaviours of other (Mills 2005, 11). It is one of the most important requirements for an organization or a group of people to operate properly and efficiently. Appropriate leadership helps the followers to overcome difficult situations successfully and to keep up the success. The opposite is also true -

inappropriate decision and the failure to take the necessary measures by the leader may cause large destruction. The issue of leadership in relationship to social movements is often overlooked by researchers (Ganz 2010, 511). The most likely reason for this is that the nature of collectiveness in such activities always lies in the centre of attraction which may overpower individual importance and contributions (Morris & Staggenborg 2002). In reality, the hard work, sacrifice and dedication required from the leaders of social movements are much more than in any other leadership because they rarely have established formal supportive structures.

Social movements generate exceptional leadership in several ways. **Firstly**, any social movement by its nature is time and commitment intensive. This is the reason for social movements to be usually led by young people who have less family duties and more time to spare (Nepstad 1999). However, these young people could engage in personal activities rather than doing something for the greater good. When someone starts to prefer public interests over personal benefits from a young age, the spirit of leadership is well instilled in them and will guide them later in life. **Secondly**, the main task of the leader is to ensure that the participants are highly focussed on the core issue of the movement in order to sustain its strength. In general, activists are not employed by the leader since social movements are usually voluntary. Many of them develop a sense of ownership and leadership themselves. As a result, the only way for the leader to keep the mass active is to convince them with charisma; ordering in an authoritative mode does not work. In such a way the greatest quality of a leader - good communication with people, is sowed within the new and young leaders. **Thirdly**, social movements have the option to create alternative leadership in the political sector of a country. In many cases countries suffer from "pseudo leadership"- leadership that is only meant for personal gain instead of the country's benefit (Mahjabeen 2011, 1). At the same time of being corrupted, there remains the problem of incompetence, passiveness and irresponsible way of governing among existing formal leaders. People may not have other choice but to elect public representatives from among these undeserving leaders because of the lack of alternatives. Social movements can open the door for the entrance of new leaders in the field of governance.

The rise of Che Guevara[14] is a very good example of this. He became involved with the social reform movement in Guatemala and eventually became a great leader of Cuba. Throughout his life he fought against unjust capitalism (Riddell 2008). He was committed to establish the ideas of freedom and democracy in different Latin American countries and laid his life for this. Still today he is widely remembered as the symbol of protest against unfairness all over the world.

3.5.3 Social Movement and Resource Protection

Social movements have a long tradition of protest against the destruction of resources - be it environmental, cultural or human rights. Since the mid of 20th century environmentalists have been active in different movements regarding the consumption of natural resources in order to preserve the world for current and next generations. It is their continuous effort that made the environmental issue more organized and official in the United Nation's Earth Summit in 1992 (Earth Summit 2012). One amazing aspect is that the activists not only fight for the human but also for all living beings on earth.

In the same manner whenever there arose possible threats to a certain culture, people protested against it. The "Fakir-Sanyasi[15] movement" in Bengal could be specified as an example of such protestation when the culture of showing respect to the spiritual personalities of the area was at stake. The fakirs and sanyasis of Bengal used to live on alms from general people and passed their lives in search of spirituality. Common people were very respectful to them for their religious and sacred lifestyle and were happy to contribute for their sustenance (Bhattacharya 2013). When the East India Company took control over India, it banned the alms collection by these spiritual persons. Being offended the fakirs and sanyasis started a rebellion (Marshall 1987, 96). People from villages supported them since this was also a cultural offence for them. This movement continued for 30 long years from 1760 to 1790. Although it was later pacified due to lack of concentration and direction, it was among the very early movements against British ruling on the Indian subcontinent.

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[14] Argentine Marxist revolutionary and the key figure in Cuban revolution.
[15] Muslim and Hindu monks respectively.

In the current era of information, technology and globalization, a social movement can take place all over the world in protest of injustice happening only in a single place. The largest ever coordinated public manifestation took place on 15 February 2003 when 8-10 million people in different places of the world came out in the streets to protest against the US invasion of Iraq (Hawken 2007, 13). The protesting people may have not had a particular interest in either Iraq or USA but they realized that whatever was going on was not right. They felt empathy for the suffering people of Iraq on humanitarian grounds and resented the destruction of the resources of the country. People joined the protest against this brutality from their own locations. The usage of technology and support from the mass media helped them to create a common platform throughout the world. Thus once again a social movement took place to speak for justice, peace and resource protection, but this time it had a global essence.

Social movements have generally been created in order to establish equality, harmony and integrity and they have a long history of glory, patience and sacrifice. They are some kind of a test for people that give them the chance to fulfil their responsibilities towards society by coming out from the loop of ordinary day-to-day livelihood activities. Some people pass this test by giving up the material privileges available to them or even by sacrificing their own lives while others remain unchanged. However those who have the willingness and bravery participate in such social movements become part of magnificent history and their lives remain as a glittering example for others to follow. Social movements are milestones in history and often represent turning points in the politics, governance and economics of a country. The section to follow presents some specific examples from Bangladesh.

3.6 Social Movements in Bangladesh

Bangladesh has had a strong tradition of struggle even before it was not established as an independent nation. After it achieved liberation social movements took place on various incidences. Among them, the two movements against autocracy and against war criminals are most remarkable as they were able to unite the whole nation together.

3.6.1 Movement against Autocracy

On 24th March 1982, General H M Ershad proclaimed martial law and became the autocratic President of Bangladesh through a military coup. The army took control over the constitution and arrested the leading political persons of that time who were all civilians (Bhuian 1999). The chance for democracy in a country which was established only in 1971 was at stake. This military intrusion in the ruling system was neither welcomed by the general people nor did it ever win the acceptance in any level of the Bangladeshi society. People lost their trust in the military since they crossed the line by taking control over the country instead of protecting it. Also, the autocracy made people feel insecure about the formation of the general civilian rule in the political field. After a long period of martial law, an election was held in the country in 1986 when Ershad was apparently elected as president. This election was rejected by the other political parties as instead of proper count the number of votes was manipulated (Riaz 2010, 49). It sowed the seed of corruption in the electoral process of the country.

Bangladesh appears to have a tradition to demand equality, justice and fight against corruption. In this period of autocracy people realized that their right to speak was hindered, the economy was at stake and the constitution of democracy was about to be destroyed. They raised their voice. At the beginning of the autocracy period the protests were small in size. In 1987 however the movement started in full swing and all over the country (Ahmed 1995). It was the two largest opposition political parties – the Bangladesh Awami League (AL) and Bangladesh National Party (BNP) that started the movement against autocracy to re-establish democracy. They used a number of actions, e.g. hartal (a Gujrati word meaning an act of mass protest in which a total shutdown of workplaces, offices, shops, educational institutes and courts of law as a form of civil disobedience takes place) and gherao (a Bengali word meaning "encirclement" which is a typical South Asian way of protesting; usually it means to surround a political person or government building by a group of people until their demand are fulfilled[16]). When there were attempts to stop these activities through the armed military opening fire and conducting arrests, the movement spread

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[16]This activity was introduced as a formal means of protest in the labour sector by Subodh Banarjee, the PWD and Labour Minister in the 1967 and 1969 United Front Governments of West Bengal, respectively, blockage of highway and rail lines, general strikes and rallies etc. (Dashgupta 1992).

over its sphere. Students, cultural activists and general people especially the middle class of the urban area, joined the movement (Khushbu 1991). They arranged a rally with festoons, student strikes, portrait ablaze and road shows mocking the autocratic government.

On 10 November 1987 a "Dhaka blockage" program was held with the demand for the resignation of President H M Ershad. The political activist Nur Hossain, with the writing "Down with autocracy, let democracy be established" on his chest and back was killed by the army and hundreds were arrested. On 8th February 1990 Dr Milon, a young medical person was also killed in the rally demanding democracy. These incidents made the people outraged and prepared the fall of the autocratic government. In December 1990 in the face of public movement and demand from all over the country the autocratic president H M Ershad was forced to resign from his post and democracy was re-established once again through a proper election system.

This movement is a successful example of a social movement that engaged the whole society and was reformative, according to Aberle's (1966) typology. It used resistance and informal clustering (see table 3.4). Its main benefit was restoring democracy but at the same time the corruption taken place under autocracy was also addressed through this movement.

3.6.2 Movement against War Criminals

A social movement that took place in Bangladesh in 2013 is the movement for the highest punishment for war criminals. During the 1971 liberation war of Bangladesh, some people did not support the fight for freedom and cooperated with the killing, torture and destructions of the Pakistan army. They formed groups named "Razakar", "Al-Bador", "Al-Shams" etc. and helped the army with information about the freedom-fighters and the intellectuals of Bangladesh. Also, they took active part in the anti-humanitarian actions of the Pakistan army. These people are known as the war criminals of Bangladesh.

It was a long term public demand to penalize the war criminals but did not happen due to proper political will. However, one of the major manifestos during the 2008 election of the newly elected ruling party of Bangladesh was to ensure the justified

punishment of the war criminals. Once the trial started in 2013, it was expected by the country people, especially the families tortured by the war criminals, that justice would be served. However, on 5 February, 2013 the sentence of Abdul Quader Mollah - a prime convict was published and the whole country expressed its frustration against the court's decision, since it seemed to be minimal in comparison to his crime. In order to convey the dissatisfaction, firstly the bloggers and online activists of Bangladesh arranged a demonstration at Shahbag, in Dhaka and thousands of people joined (Aljazeera 2013). Rapidly the movement spread over the country and people from all levels and parts of the society, within the country and abroad, showed their solidarity with the Shahbag movement. Road shows, candle light vigilance (see exhibit 3.1), civil resistance, demonstrations and online activities were part of this movement. This non-violent movement had the following basic demands:

- Rapid and adequate punishment for the war criminals
- Ban of Jamaat-e-Islami (a political party that opposed the liberation war of Bangladesh during 1971) from politics
- Boycott of Jamaat institutions

Exhibit 3.1: Candle light vigilance at Shahbag on 14th February 2013

(Source: eprothomalo.com)

In response to these protests and demonstrations the government organized a re-trial and a proper judgement was served. Also, a process to pass a draft bill to ban Jamat-e-Islam was initiated, and the trial of other war criminals is on process (BD news

2013). In its nature this movement was revolutionary and affected the whole society (see table 3.3). It used advocacy, had a new theme with local coverage and was informally centralised (see table 3.4). This movement has two basic benefits. Firstly, the people who caused loss of human lives are finally being held responsible which would prevent the re-occurrence of such events. It created a realization that no one can escape justice even if it takes long. Secondly, it gave hope among people that an alternative leadership can emerge in Bangladesh that can work to uphold the spirit of independence of the country and operate beyond the expectations of undue political favours.

The following table (3.5) summarizes the features of pre and post-independence social movements of Bangladesh:

Social Movement	Method	Theme	Coverage	Organized by	Extent of change
The Indian Rebellion (1857)	Resistance	Old	Local	The soldiers at first then local people	Reformative
The Indigo Revolt (1859)	Resistance	Old	Local	The peasants supported by intellectuals	Reformative
The Language Movement (1952)	Advocacy to resistance	New	Local/ Global	Students supported by mass people	Revolutionary
Movement for Independence (1971)	Advocacy to Resistance to Violence	New	National	Political leaders	Revolutionary
Movement against Autocracy (1986- 1990)	Resistance	New	National	Opposition parties supported by students and intellectuals	Reformative
Movement	Advocacy	New	Local	Online	Reformative

				against War Criminals (2013) activist supported by civil society	
against War Criminals (2013)				activist supported by civil society	

Table 3.5: Features of social movements in Bengal

The trend of social movement in Bengal demonstrates the peace-loving nature of its people. Their tendency for non-violent movements indicates that they do not want to be cruel until their last limit of patience. Also, a social movement may be organized by a certain group of people but the other parts of the society are always ready to support it if its cause is justified.

3.7 Social Movement and Corruption

Corruption is one of the most precarious problems of Bangladesh (Iftekharuzzaman 2005). It not only hinders the development process of the country, but also causes the long-term devaluation of the morale of the nation as a whole. Analysing the causes of corruption, researchers have been reasonably convinced that it is the power play of the public sector that creates direct and indirect paths for all kind of corruption (Alam 1995). Bangladesh as a developing nation is almost totally controlled by the Government via its public sector. Consequently the scope for the occurrence of corruption is also high.

When the government is unable to ensure transparency and accountability in the public sector, corruption takes place and the development process is hindered. This situation is the result of two simultaneous and both way processes - lack of willingness of the government to reduce corruption and ineffectiveness of the watchdog bodies in the public sector, such as police, judiciary and so on. Whether the government is effective in controlling corruption can be understood by the socio-economic and political stability of the country. If it is not effective, in order to restore a corruption-free public sector, the governing body needs to be put under pressure. The task of creating demand on the government can be done by four different but interrelated sectors, namely the opposition parties, donor groups, watchdog bodies and the community. The roles of each group in contemporary Bangladesh are described below.

Opposition Parties: In the system of a matured democracy, the opposition parties, especially the main opponent party, are the ones that have the highest opportunity and responsibility to demand a corruption-free public service system (Kiija 2005). Through monitoring the actions of the ruling party, they can execute constructive criticism and bring out new and more efficient ideas. They can also communicate with the people and inspire them to stand for their rights to reside in a corruption-free country.

However the roles of both the ruling and the opponent party have always been questioned in Bangladesh. It appears that all they aspire to achieve is to acquire the power by any means and misuse it for their own benefit (Rahman 2007). When in opposition the parties seem reluctant to get to follow the peaceful democratic process; rather they choose the path of fighting and destruction. When the ruling party becomes opposition they do the same (Moniruzzaman 2009).

It seems that the people of Bangladesh do not have sufficient trust or reliance on the main political parties, political leaders and the members of parliament (MPs). For example, when Transparency International Bangladesh released a report stating 97% of the MPs are involved with negative activities, 93% respondents of a survey of 3855 people agreed with this statement (Hussein 2012). Given these circumstances, it is hard to expect that the opposition party would be willing to create pressure on the government to eliminate corruption. There seems to be perpetuation and continuation of the problem with each consecutive ruling party or party coalition.

Donor Countries: Being a developing nation, foreign aid plays a vital role in the social and economic development of Bangladesh. In spite of being natural disaster prone, over-populated and attacked by poverty, the donors find Bangladesh a country of high potential and are willing to assist its development. Over the last decade Bangladesh received a total of US$371.4 million which made it the fourth largest aid recipient in the world (GHA 2012, 5).

The donors however want their aid to be utilized in a justified and accountable way. When they sense any corruption in using the aid money, they also demand explanation from the governing body. This pressure may sometimes result in

unfavorable ending. The donation money for the development process might be stopped and the image of the country may be demeaned. Such an incident took place in Bangladesh in 2012. In order to develop the transport and communication system in the south-west part of the country, a large project of building a 6.15 km long bridge across the Padma river was initiated that would cost approximately US$2.915 billion (Sabet 2012, 1). The lion's share of this cost was supposed to come from the World Bank and other lending agencies. On the basis of the donor agencies' requirement, a range of initiatives were taken to ensure accountability during the whole project. Nevertheless, the World Bank, the biggest funding organization for this project was suspicious that there might be corruption in the construction process and appointment of the consultant firm. As a result, on 30 June, 2012 it decided to cancel the loan. Although appeals and debates to restore the project continue, the possibilities for future funding are at a high risk due to the issue of corruption.

When the donor organizations create pressure on the government to ensure accountability, this has a significant effect. However, dependency on foreign aid is not expected forever as it could undermine the sovereignty of the country (Brandt 2013). Rather Bangladesh should work on becoming self-sufficient through domestic investment, export growth and foreign direct investment. Corruption can get on the way of any of these initiatives.

__Watchdog Bodies:__ Watchdog agencies are specific organizations with a purpose to keep an eye on the activities of another, often public institution or protect the rights of consumers (OECD 2005). Examples of these are NGOs, media, civil society at large, anti-corruption commissions etc. Law and order enforcing agencies represent the watchdog bodies for the state to identify and expose any corruption within the country[17].

The role of watchdog bodies is very important in creating demand for good-governance and corruption intolerance. They serve the purpose of raising people's

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[17]Further discussion on watchdog bodies takes place in the next chapter.

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awareness and spirit to distinguish between good and bad. However, the number of individuals working in such watchdog bodies is a very small section of society and in the case of Bangladesh they mostly do not represent the majority of population that lacks privilege, education and information. Unless or until these watchdog bodies represent the general people, their campaigns would not be effective in the long term. Although they act as a very good catalyst in demand creation, ultimately it is the general public that has to be involved with the watchdog bodies' activities (Tongeren et al. 2005). Transparency International Bangladesh is one such watchdog body. Its nature is unique in the sense that it is a donor sponsored NGO which works with the community to create anti-corruption demand.

Community: The three pressure groups stated above help create concern among people about corruption. However not all these factors work properly in the case of Bangladesh. At the end of the day people themselves have to create social movements for their own good. Success comes when people are directly involved with a particular cause.

In a democracy the government is of the people, by the people and for the people as stated by Abraham Lincoln (Owens 2009). When society is unified in its demand the government is bound to pay attention to it. The motivations and pressure obtained from the other groups and organizations should not be neglected as they help to create proper leadership for an effective social movement.

A bottom-up approach that is general people coming forward to speak up against corruption is likely to be the main force changing the existing practices in Bangladesh. An all-out effort applied by every concerned citizen will show the people's spontaneous and firm position against corruption. However, before this is achieved, the watchdog bodies need to create awareness among people and also guide them to engage in a peaceful and effective social movement.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter specially focused on the issue of social movement and its different features. The definition of social movement has changed over time and the focus has shifted from informal to formal in its nature, becoming active and organized.

Bridging the previous definitions and interest points for this research, a new definition of social movement was developed for this study. The concept of rejecting the upcoming change that might hamper the general masses has been adopted in this definition.

Dissatisfaction and oppression were outlined as the major reasons behind the development of a social movement. However, the trends and characteristics of social movements were found to be diverse in different historical periods. In earlier days, movements used to be controlled by the class distance and claims for rights in society whereas at present social movements are operated on greater causes and are influenced by globalization and ICT. Significant changes in the stages of well-organized social movements over time have also been observed. Initially success was seen as the only ending of a social movement but later on some alternative endings, such as repression, co-optation, failure or establishment with mainstream were included. This implies that a social movement can be treated to be of significant importance even if it is not successful in achieving its immediate target. Social movements have some by-product outcomes, such as enforcing democracy, creating leadership and protecting resources, which are requirements for building a corruption-free society.

Some variables which allow social movements to be classified are: the expected extent of change, target people, method of work, theme, coverage area, relationship between stakeholders among others. The analysis of social movements in Bangladesh shows that the country has a history to protest when its freedom or sovereignty is under threat. However, each time the primary initiative was taken by a group of people, and then the entire society joined them. Nowadays, a like-wise bottom-up approach in social movement is needed in Bangladesh in order to fight the grave problem of corruption. The government, opposition parties, donor agencies and watchdog bodies all have to work together to achieve this. More importantly, the community should be actively involved in the movement to make it successful and for its result to persist.

According to the presented classification the fight against corruption that is needed in Bangladesh should be a combination of reformative and advocacy-based social

movement. The chapter to follow examines specifically corruption in Bangladesh and the place of TIB in creating demand for reforms and facilitating advocacy.

CHAPTER FOUR
CORRUPTION: BANGLADESH PERSPRCTIVE AND
EMERGENCE OF TIB

4.1 Introduction

Corruption is a topic of interest and concern in academic circles, in the media, among people of different professions, students, foreign investors, aid agencies, government agencies and non-governmental organizations. The word "corruption" has originally come from a Latin verb "corruptus" which means "to break" (Iftekharuzzaman 2004, sec: 2). The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (Hornby 2000) gives the meaning of corruption as: (a) dishonest or illegal behavior, especially of people in authority; (b) the act or effect of making somebody change from moral to immoral behaviour. Corruption leaves deep impact on each individual's life, for most people - negatively, for a very few - positively. This chapter concentrates on the issue of corruption and its related Bangladesh manifestation - how corruption hampers most of the people's lives while favouring only a very few. Anti-corruption initiatives taken in the country are also discussed.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first of them explains corruption as defined by various researchers including nature, typologies and measuring indices suggested by various international organizations. It also describes the reasons for corruption and the consequent costs to society. The next part deals with the historical incidences that planted the seed of corruption in Bangladesh and the non-stop trend that helped it grow and become wide-spread over time. The present conditions of corruption in the country and their impacts on the socio-economic and political sectors are also included here. Various initiatives by the Bangladeshi Government are described together with the reasons why they are not able to reach their goals. The third part depicts how TIB emerged in Bangladesh, starting with the history of the base organization Transparency International (TI). Its role as a watchdog body and its sole purpose regarding the issues of corruption in Bangladesh are analyzed. The chapter also explains TIB's modes of action at both, the local and national level.

4.2 The Concept of Corruption

Corruption- which in very general terms is defined as abuse of power for personal interest (Mauro 2005, 164), has been described as a longstanding phenomenon, a deep-rooted vice and worldwide complexity causing problems in any society (Padhay 1986, 1). Many development initiatives around the world are failing because of corruption. According to Klitgaard's (1988) definition, the term corruption can be explained through the following equation in figure 4.1.

Corruption = **Monopoly** + **Inequality** - **Accountability**

Figure 4.1: Defining corruption   (Source: Klitgaard, 1988)

It indicates that corruption in a society is the result of three simultaneous situations. **Firstly**, a very few people have access and control over the resources, including the assets in the government. **Secondly**, there are large differences in the income levels within the society. Some people own resources way in excess than what they require while others are not able to have the minimal income they need to fulfill the basic rights of life, i.e. - food, clothing, shelter, education and medical assistance. **Thirdly**, the people with the power and resources do not have to answer to anybody within society for what they do. This lack of accountability allows them to become successful in acquiring further control over the society and economy. Their method of operation is neither transparent nor honest. These three elements of corruption are the consequence of bad governance (Balboa & Medalla 2002, 1) which creates two distinct groups within society – one that commits corruption and another larger group that becomes the victim of corruption. Often the situation is so bad that the later group consciously and unconsciously supports the actions of the former group as the only way to live.

The multi-dimensional and context-specific nature of corruption makes it hard to define in an inclusive way. Myrdal (1968, 73) considered the traditional power structure of Asian society and defined corruption as "not only all forms of improper or selfish exercise of power and influence attached to a public office or to a special position one occupies in public life but also the activity of the bribers". This is in line

with the widely used definition of corruption as "misuse or abuse of public power for private gain" (Stark, 1997,108, Gray & Kaufmann 1998, 7, Legvolt, 2009). International organizations including the World Bank (1997a, 1), UNDP (1999, 7) and Asian Development Bank (2010, 31) also accept this definition. However, its emphasis is only on the corruption taking place in the public sector while it might also be present in other ways of authority, such as political parties, private business sector, MNCs, NGOs etc. (USAID 2005). Wilson (1968, 55) gave a more generalized definition stating that "corruption occurs whenever a person in exchange for some private advantages acts other than his/ her duty requires". A more recent comprehensive definition of corruption given by Balogun (2003, 129) takes the issue of violation of regulations into account. According to him corruption is "ignoring approved codes or rules to attain personal ends or manipulating to frustrate public interest". The National Accountability Bureau of Pakistan (2002, 5) defines corruption as "a behaviour on the part of office holders in the public or private sector whereby they improperly and unlawfully enrich themselves and/or those close to them, or induce others to do so, by misusing the position in which they are placed". According to Tanzi (1995, 162) "corruption is the intentional non-compliance with the arm's-length principle aimed at deriving some advantage for oneself or for related individuals from this behavior". He emphasizes three basic elements of corruption - intentional non-compliance, bias and obtaining advantage.

These definitions make it clear that corruption is an action that hinders a person to perform his/her duty properly with the intension to achieve private gains even at the cost of disadvantages for others. The definition adopted in this thesis is as follows: *corruption is a form of behaviour which departs from ethics, morality, tradition, law and civic virtue and deviates a person from formal duties because of personal attains.* Its focus is on the particular individual that ultimately commits corruption irrespective of the broader conditions or expectations within the society. It has three elements: first, the basis of inappropriateness of the action - be it on moral or legal grounds; second, the departure from the standardly defined or expected actions; and third, the personal gain. All of the above elements may not be simultaneously present in an explicit form in any act of corruption. For example, the personal gain may not immediately manifest or be well concealed as favoritism towards a particular person

or group of people. Nonetheless, ultimately all three are found as the basis for corruption to occur.

4.3 Measuring Corruption

In a vocabulary meaning corruption is an abstract noun which by nature cannot be measured. However, the World Bank (WB) attempts to monitor and measure corruption in three broad ways. They are as follows (Kaufmann, Kraay & Mastruzzi 2006a, 2):

- By assembling the well-versed analysis of pertinent stakeholders.
- By keeping track of countries' institutional features
- By cautious inspections of explicit and significant projects.

The WB has been using these corruption measuring tools in countries such as Tanzania, Uganda, India, Ukraine etc., and has become successful in improving the effectiveness of specific programs, such as education and health care (Kaufmann, Kraay & Mastruzzi 2006). On the contrary, according to IMF (Tanzi 1998, 21) there is no direct way to measure corruption, but it can be done indirectly through ways such as reports on corruption from published sources, e.g. electronic and print media, case studies on corrupt organizations, questionnaire based surveys, etc. Several international survey based measures of people's perceptions of corruption are presently being used by policy makers and development practitioners to estimate the dimensions and magnitude of corruption across countries. Periodically conducted by different international agencies, these surveys have earned much credibility (World Bank 2000, 8), although they measure perception of corruption rather than the amount of experienced corruption itself. Some of the corruption measurement tools are discussed below.

Corruption Perception Index (CPI) – This is a corruption ranking system carried out by Transparency International annually since 1995. Currently it covers 174 countries by ranking them based on an assessment of corruption from 100 "no corruption at all" to 0- "highly corrupted situation" (TI 2012a). The CPI ranks the countries according to their professed intensity of corruption, as determined by specialist evaluation and opinion surveys from at least three different sources. These sources

are internationally recognized by reliable development and business organizations. According to Wilhelm (2002) there exists a very strong positive correlation between the CPI and two other proxies for corruption: black market activity and superfluity of regulation. On the other hand, it has significant negative correlation with real gross domestic product per capita (RGDP/Cap[18]).

__Global Competitiveness Report__ – This is a yearly report published by the World Economic Forum since 2004 (Xavier & Artadi 2004). It evaluates the capability of countries to allocate the levels of resources to their citizens in a most productive way. To do so, the report measures the set of institutions, policies and factors that set the current and medium-term levels of economic prosperity. It includes over 110 variables - two thirds coming from the Executive Opinion Survey, the rest - from publicly accessible resources such as those of the United Nations. The variables are organized into twelve pillars, with each of them representing an area considered an imperative component of competitiveness. These twelve pillars are further arranged in three indices, named basic requirements, efficiency enhancer and innovation and sophistication factors (Xavier et al. 2012). Each index ranges from one to seven representing not competitive and highly competitive, respectively. This report by measuring competitiveness serves as an indicator for the level of good governance and consequently the level of corruption present in government and associated fields.

__Worldwide Governance Indicators__ - This is a significant part of a long-standing research program of the World Bank and captures six key dimensions of governance, namely voice & accountability, political stability and lack of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law and control of corruption. They determine the feature of governance in over 200 countries, based on close to 40 data sources produced by over 30 organizations worldwide and are updated annually since 2002 (Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi 2010, 2, 3). The governance indicators enhance the possibility for growing experiential research on governance and equip activists and reformers worldwide with advocacy tools for policy reform and monitoring. The indicators, including the associated data behind them, are a major area of interest for the current research and opinions which strengthen the necessity

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[18] The actual increase in goods and services excluding the impact of rising prices (Leamer 2009)

and demand for good governance as a key for development (Kaufmann & Kraay 2002).

Besides being used widely, these types of corruption measuring indices are also criticized for various reasons, mainly for considering perception rather than corruption experience (Donchev & Ujhelyi 2013), complexity, hidden biases, lack of conceptual clarity etc. (Langbein & Knack 2010). As measuring corruption itself is a difficult, if not impossible task, having some idea of its intensity and nature in a particular country is very important and this is what such measuring tools deliver.

4.4 Taxonomy of Corruption

Corruption can take place in various forms and extents. Johnson and Sharma (2004, 2) developed a list of overlapping and interrelated acts through which corruption can appear, namely:

- **Bribery and graft -** any pledge or activity to give or obtain money, goods, assets, benefit, opportunity, or power with a dishonest plan to persuade or to manipulate the procedures, votes, or views of people in any public or official facility. It does not necessarily have to be of financial charge; rather it can be a gift to influence the behavior of the receiver (Beare 2012).
- **Kleptocracy -** a process through which public or private officials take advantage of governmental corruption to extend their personal wealth by thieving and embezzling of state funds.
- **Misappropriation -** intentionally consuming official funds for some unauthorized purpose by presenting forgery activities and not utilizing them for the actual purpose of allocation.
- **Non-performance of duties -** when deployment in an office takes place on the basis of nepotism and compromises the required qualification, then it is very much likely that the employed person would not be able to perform as per the demand of the position.
- **Influence peddling -** the illegal way of exercising one's manipulative power in government or acquaintances with people with influence to attain special treatment or superior position for another, usually in terms of getting some

benefit in cash or kind. This practice minimizes the scope of democratic politics for the general public and creates conflict of interest.

- **Acceptance of improper gift -** receiving valuable and luxurious items given by clients spontaneously or under pressure to provide the service that an official is supposed to do as part of his/her job responsibility.

- **Protecting maladministration -** the general terms maladministration means failure of performance by a government, non-government or private organization, or entity to execute its duties and responsibilities as expected. Maladministration is not always a cause or consequence of corrupt situation. Wastefulness, clerical mistakes, lack of skill, negligence etc. are some of the other reasons for maladministration. However when significant and intentional attempts are made to protect maladministration in order to achieve personal gain, the way for corruption becomes smooth.

- **Abuse of power -** the activity of the power-holders to attain unfair means by intimidation, suppression and torture over powerless people.

- **Manipulation of regulations -** usually hinders the free and fair operation of the market and represents a misleading idea of price, stock, trend or currency. This is usually done to ensure better opportunity for some specific and pre-determined company or person that belongs to the authority or their acquaintances.

- **Electoral malpractice -** a process through which election candidates hamper the free flow of decision making by the voters. This includes vote buying, alluring and threatening the voters, taking control over ballot boxes and election pole etc.

- **Rent seeking -** helps to grow monopoly business by corrupt operators with the help of public officials through creating artificial shortage. It can generate price hikes of different daily necessities.

- **Clientelism and patronage -** the dyadic, asymmetrical, personal and enduring, reciprocal and voluntary relationship between two groups of people from different standards society favoring each other for personal gain (Muno, sec:2). An example of this is politicians providing material favors in exchange of citizen support.

- **Illegal campaign contribution -** providing unregulated contributions to manipulate procedures and set of laws and trying to make these unauthorized procedures accepted and popular.

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Begovic (2006, 4) categorizes corruption in three different types on the basis of circumstances under which it takes place. They are described as follows:

1. **Speeding up corruption -** when the service provider claims unauthorized extra advantage from the service seekers even when the latter group has full legal right to receive the service with no extra charge.
2. **Violation of rule -** when the enforcement of rules and laws is not appropriate or is biased. In such situations people may avoid punishment even by violating the law or receive undeserved facilities only because they provide the corrupt administration unauthorized benefits.
3. **State capture -** when the legislation and public policies are transformed in a way that only a very few people with power and recourses could be benefitted. In such situations public policies are inevitably formulated to favor the very rich businesspeople and powerful politicians, not the general public.

The classification of corruption according to the World Bank (2000, 8) is in three different typologies according to magnitude, who is involved and affected sector. These are described in table 4.1.

Variable for Typology	Types	Nature
Typology 1- Magnitude	Petty Corruption	Everyday corruption taking place at the implementation end of low level personnel. It grips little amounts of money but usually affects the poorest members of a society in their day to day interactions with public services, is more common in less developed countries, where people must often pay a bribe to obtain the services that they should get for free (Riley 1999, 192).
	Middling Corruption	The extent of corruption in terms of effects and frequency lies in between grand and petty, nevertheless it involves significant benefits

		and causes malfunctioning. This usually takes place in the enterprise level involving managers and employees but can also occur in government.
	Grand Corruption	Takes place at the policy making and implementation end of the society; individuals at a high level take advantage of their positions to extort inducement, misuse large sums of money or modify systems to gain private interests (Andvig and Fjeldstad 2001).
Typology 2- Who is involved	Individual Corruption	Isolated and infrequent in nature, where an individual or a group of individuals' method of work goes against the defined interest of the institution they are representing; usually these individuals are not very dangerous although this could harm the morale of the society.
	Institutional Corruption	When the entire institutions or sectors are pervaded by corruption; it is rather a situation than an act when each or most people misuse their bigger influence over their subordinates or clients in terms of power and resource. This practice makes the democratic process less effective and causes loss in public trust (Lessig 2012).
	Systematic Corruption	Takes place in other than abusing irregular occasions, corruption infects the entire society becomes an accepted means of conducting everyday transactions, and most people have no alternatives of dealing with corrupt officials; in such a case corruption is an incorporated and indispensable aspect of the economic, social and political system, and in

		wider situation, a way to sustain the whole system.
Typology 3 - Sector	Bureaucratic Corruption	Also known as "administrative corruption", it is the abuse of position, authority or possessions generally existing within public bureaucracies; although it is usually initiated by a group of staff officials or their superiors, private parties as their agency clients can also be involved. Evident particularly in large and centralized governments; clients - be it individuals, business or institutions from other sections in the public sector, are very active catalysts of bureaucratic corruption (Gould 1991, 468).
	Political Corruption	"Any transaction between private and public sector actors through which collective goods are illegitimately converted into private-regarding payoffs" (Heidenheimer 1996, 339); it can take several forms including buying political influence and votes, providing patronage along with recruitment in public and private jobs, illegal campaigns; financing and using government machinery to fill party coffers.

Table 4.1: Typology of corruption   (Source: World Bank 2008)

The existing taxonomies of corruption discussed above show that in addition to the intention of private gain, the opportunity to misuse power can also lead people towards corrupt acts. In each case, it is ordinary people or service seekers who have to pay the cost of corruption. Hence, the personal attains in the adopted definition of corruption refers not only to receiving money and obtaining goods and benefits but also to exerting power.

4.5 Factors Promoting Corruption

The World Bank (1997b, 103) describes corruption as a reflection of existing behavioral patterns, social values and norms within a society. The very basic cause for a person to commit a corrupt act is the rationality of getting maximum economic benefit or another way of personal satisfaction. People often cross the fine line between profit maximization and malpractice while being rational to economic welfare. On the other hand, in the developing era of unjust capitalism and consumerism in the less industrialized countries, supply remains shorter than demand creating competition among consumers. In order to accomplish the desired goal or obtain the wanted object by any means, people get involved in corruption. However, it is a more complex phenomenon and the following discussion describes other major causes of corruption in human society. Three groups of factors were identified by Poeschl & Riberio (2012, 8), namely individual, contextual and structural. They are outlined below.

Individual Factors - include a tendency for crime, greed and lack of ethics or rational choices made by the actors of corruption (Miller 2005). The presence of corruption in an individual in presentdays can be the consequence of long-term manners of cultural values inherited form ancestors, such as negotiations, favor exchanging and absolute harmony with extended families, tribes and other collective divisions (de Sardan 1999, 25). Also, often when a person's normal income does not provide him/her with a decent living, the door can easily be open to bribes.

Contextual Factors - refer to the prospect of getting involved in corrupt actions, created by important governmental projects or credit incentives, due to the lack of measures aimed at preventing corruption (Argandona 2001). Ouma (1991) argued that corruption was a product from impractically low payment, making it impossible for the public servants to live within their legitimate means and the tendency of self-aggrandizement among other people wanting to take advantage of the vulnerable situation of the public servants. Corruption thrives if the consequences of getting caught and punished are low relative to the benefits. The situation becomes worse when there is lack of effective accountability in government and little scope for asking questions to the service providers - from parliament members to employees in clerical posts. Such an environment can sustain as citizens often do not have

adequate information about the regulations and the levels of service they are entitled to obtain from public agencies. Also, when the resentment of the general public towards corruption in the government sector is insufficient (Paul 1997), the urge to speak against corruption does not form.

Structural Factors – indicate failure of the state in the nation's inadequate democracy, underdevelopment and poverty (Seyf 2001). Governments act as monopolies in many aspects particularly when it comes to policies and diplomacy, public agencies with ascribed decision-making powers and allocated roles. In highly corrupt countries there is little awareness that it is the state's obligation to secure public concern or that legislation should be formed and implemented to protect the public rather than private interest. There is usually no institutional control on abuse of power, and no will or capability to address corruption (Shah and Schacter 2004). Weak enforcement of the law and order and insecure property rights encourage corruption. When property rights are weakly defined and poorly enforced, the boundaries between public and private ownership become blurred. Also, closed political systems, that tend to exclude aggregate interests are more prone to social inequalities, which in turn contributes to high levels of corruption through state capture (Bhargava 2005, 3). When such monopoly, discretion and lack of law enforcement prevail, development initiatives are highly likely to fail resulting in shortage of capital and employment opportunities. As a consequence, low levels of income and poverty will exist in full frame which again is a major catalyst for booming corruption (Graaf 2007).

In all these factors peer-pressure can have a very significant influence in both social and professional fields. In social life, people tend to commit corruption when they see others doing the same and obtaining benefits without being punished. On the other hand, in professional sectors when most people are corrupt, they seem to create pressure on the ones who are honest to prevent hindering og the chain of corruption.

4.6 Corruption Consequences

A broad consensus emerged in recent years that the aftermath of corruption in most cases is not at all positive for people, community and society. Corruption is an insidious menaces that breeds and increases poverty (Myrdal 1986). It is a challenge

to development, an indulgence to inequality and injustice, a force to undermine democracy, a formidable impediment to poverty alleviation and achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (Kaufmann 1997). Corruption negates the rule of law, distorts the market and stifles economic growth. It creates and perpetuates social and economic deprivation and inequality, leads to violation of basic constitutional and human rights, breeds crime, social frustration, discontent and insecurity. As the former UN Secretary General Kofi Anan (2003) explained:

"This evil phenomenon (corruption) is found in all countries – big and small, rich and poor – but it is in the developing world that its effects are most destructive. Corruption hurts the poor disproportionately – by diverting funds intended for development, undermining a government's ability to provide basic services, feeding inequality and injustice, and discouraging foreign investment and aid. Corruption is a key element in economic underperformance, and a major obstacle to poverty alleviation and development."

Khan (2004) indicates some positive sides of corruption, such as generating employment, enhancing efficiency, speeding up the slow work process. However according to him, all these positive sides turn out to be negative in the long run. In order to describe the cost of corruption, three different but interrelated fields - economic, political and social, are described below.

__Economic Issues__ - Mauro (2005) finds that corruption lowers private investment and thus reduces economic growth. It raises transaction costs and uncertainty in an economy which consequently paves the way to inefficient economic outcomes. The transparency of economic transactions by both state-owned and private sector firms reduces dramatically due to corruption. The presence of corruption is often considered as the indicator of fiscal weakness (Amundsen 1999). It forces small and fare organizations to be subversive, diminishes the state's capability to increase revenues and leads to ever-higher tax rates being charged on fewer and fewer taxpayers.

Corruption is double jeopardy for the poor and unprotected (Bottelie 1998, sec:2). They pay a high share of monopoly rents and bribes, while they are often deprived of

essential government services. Its costs and negative economic impact tend to fall more heavily on small enterprises and on individuals in a weak economic position.

Political Issues - corruption may render a country ungovernable and lead to political instability. It undermines the state's legitimacy by weakening its ability to promote development and social justice (Khan 1996, 19). When information regarding the presence of corruption in dealing with public goods and services becomes widespread and known, this naturally creates distrust in government among the public. If people have no other option to get rid of a corrupt government and officials, not even by choosing other parties, political stability might be challenged through riots and rebels out of frustration. Political surroundings that have become advantageous to corruption reinforce the demand for illegitimate produce and services. High intensity of corruption in a country can also create conducive environment for crime networks, as has happened, for example, in Russia and Ukraine (Bhargava 2005).

Social Issues - when corruption reaches its peak, it can cause a feeling of alienation from the government and the electoral process among the greater part of citizens, which consequently jeopardizes democracy (Idris 2013). Extensive corruption also weakens the collective principles of social order and the shared belief that makes social and communal relationships possible. It increases social insecurity and inequality among people causing chaos and unrest.

Corruption has an overall negative effect on people, societies and nations. The pattern and magnitude of its consequences however vary from country to country. As indicated earlier, corruption leaves deeper effects on the underdeveloped and developing nations than the developed ones. In relation to countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Gould and Amaro-Reyes (1985) claim that corruption has a lethal, often destructive effect on administrative performance and politico-economic development, decaying public confidence, perverting institutions, processes and even goals, favoring the very few privileged and powerful and indulging the non-rational criteria in public decisions.

Bangladesh is one of the poor developing countries and has experienced the devastating effects of corruption since its establishment as a nation. Although most characteristics and categories of corruption universally apply across Bangladesh, there are some unique circumstances that affect its society and make the problem worth researching. One of them is the existence and operation of TIB. The section to follow examines these issues in more detail.

4.7 Corruption in Bangladesh

The presence of corruption is not a recent phenomenon. In primitive societies due to the simplicity of the lifestyle, a person with more power used to take advantage over the ones with less power. We can find the effects of corruption narrated in various writings across different areas from literature to academic research (Noonan 1984). The following discussion explores the historical context and the present scenario of corruption in Bangladesh.

4.7.1 Historical Overview

Similar to other parts of the world corruption existed in the subcontinent long before Bangladesh was established as a country. In the famous treatise "Artha-shastra" written by Kautilya, Prime Minister of the then Indian King two thousand years ago, forty techniques for siphoning off money by the government employees were mentioned (Ahmed 2002). He also states that it is impossible for one who is dealing the king's wealth not to embezzle just as it is "impossible not to taste honey that one may find at the tip of one's tongue" (Ahmed 2002, 26). This implies that committing corruption up to a certain level was accepted in those days.

During the Hindu and Buddhist eras (up to 12th century A.D.) and then throughout six hundred years of Muslim rule, according to Ahmed (2009, 4) no large-scale corruption was observed in Bengal. Another school of historians however claims that the Mughal Governors and administrators of Dhaka indulged in corrupt practices and the legendary Governor Shaista Khan's daily income was an amazing 2 Lakhs (200,000) rupees (Mamoon 2000). Even though these were grand corruptions, the general people's lives were hardly affected by them. The Mughals are more famous than criticized for creating trade opportunities, developing infrastructure and expanding public welfare (Karim 1995). A widespread view is that corruption

proliferated in the subcontinent on a wider scale mainly during the rule of the British East India Company followed by the British colonial rule. The East India Company, which effectively seized power in Bengal in 1757, perpetuated a highly corrupt system, paying its employees sub-subsistence wages, thereby compelling them to resort to private business and extortion (Ahmed 1992). In this period there grew various levels of middlemen between the Company and ordinary taxpaying grassroots people who misused their powers to achieve some extra gain. Although the power of such middlemen was abolished after the subcontinent came under the control of the British reign in 1857, the high officials of the colony continued the process of resource exploitation in the area (Ahmed 2009).

After the emergence of Pakistan in 1947, many wealthy businesspeople from the Hindu community left East Bengal for India. A newly formed business and industrial class of Pakistan soon replaced them. Becoming rich overnight, these businesspeople attempted to make quick profits on a massive scale. Therefore, they developed a close liaison with the bureaucracy. As a consequence, corruption rapidly spread within the administrative structures of Pakistan; and following the imposition of Martial Law in 1958 it increased manifold after an initial period of resistance. It did not, however, confined within the bureaucracy alone; in no time the political field also became corrupt and criminalized. The Basic Democracy Program introduced during the 1960s with the objective of strengthening local government instead gave impetus to the spread of corruption (World Bank 2000). A 1968 sample survey designed to evaluate the impact of the public works program on the rural areas found that 64% of the respondents believed that the Union Council Chairpersons[19] were misappropriating funds; 53% felt that the Circle Officers were also corrupt and 68% accused the chairpersons of collusion and nepotism in exercising powers (Sobhan 1968).

Since the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971, corruption has consistently increased over the years in terms of both intensity and magnitude. However, the martial law regime of General HM Ershad (1982-90) is often blamed for institutionalizing corruption in the country's administration. Various studies found that corruption did

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[19] Head of the smallest rural administrative and local government unit.

not attain such a height at any other time before and it was rampant in all areas of society and the economy (Chowdhury & Majumder 2002). The other two main political parties that have formed government periodically before and after the Ershad regime government were not able to take effective action to address the systemic issues which allowed corruption to flourish. Rather the Bangladesh's political leaders, who should be the place for greatest trust of the masses, have often, remained as the prime cause of the high incidence of corruption (Alam 1996). It seems that in Bangladesh no political government has adopted proper initiatives to overcome the long-rooted problem of corruption. The hope generated by the caretaker government of 2007-08 based on their rigid stance against corruption, massive anti-corruption drive and mass arrests of corruption suspects also turned out to be short-lived. This happened firstly because the caretaker government had to deal with various institutional, legal and political constraints and secondly, the caretaker government itself was a temporary system. When the normally elected democratic governments came to power the situation became just as before again.

4.7.2 Cultural Values System versus Corruption in Bangladesh

Bangladesh is a country where people of four major religions and 27 ethnic groups live in peace and harmony (Islam 2011, 30). Religion occupies a very important and sacred place in most people's lives of the country and the values system here is largely religion driven (Banarjee 2005, 70). Religion encourages good deeds to ensure reward in the current life and the life after death. These good deeds refer to kindness, modesty, helpfulness, conservation, justice, charity, honesty, gratefulness, forgiveness, patience and perseverance among many others. Clearly, these values do not allow acts like corruption that harm others, make someone dishonest, increase someone's demand and greed and indulge injustice. One of the basic objectives of the education system of Bangladesh is also to inculcate moral and spiritual values, non-communalism, human rights among students and to encourage them to acquire scientific, cultural and human values and to shun superstitions (National Education Policy 2010, 5). So habitually, the majority of people in the country do not intend to break the rules of values as this goes beyond their culture.

Despite the existence of religious values driven lifestyles, the cultural pattern of the concept of accountability is unidentified and confusing in the Bangladesh society.

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The traditional society of Bangladesh is based on hierarchy in terms of wealth, social position, educational background, seniority, and gender, such as father-children, teacher-student, senior official-subordinate official, husband-wife, educated-uneducated etc. (Yousuf 2010, 429). Whoever belongs to the more favourable position in society imposes control over the weak. On the other hand there remains no viable mechanism for ensuring accountability of the senior or stronger group/ patron and hence no effective sanction is devised for them (Rahman 2005, 10). This discrimination is prevalent and accepted across the entire society. The corrupt power-holders such as politicians, businesspeople and government officials who are treated as the elite strata take the opportunity of this very culture. Because of the elevated security system around them and the weak mentality of ordinary people, none dares to hold them responsible for their corrupt actions. No effective initiative is imposed to take them under legal custody or any other accountability mechanism even if they are found guilty.

4.7.3 Current Corruption Situation in Bangladesh

As stated before, corruption has deeper and more damaging effects for under-developed and developing countries (Gray and Kaufmann 1998). Being a developing country, Bangladesh is an example of this. Corruption is such seriously prevalent in Bangladesh that it is now treated as 'a way of life' and seems to be inseparable from normal lifestyle. It is recognised to be a common activity in virtually all facets of the state-society interface, although the values system of the country absolutely and unambiguously describes it in normative terms, as unexpected or non-standard behaviour (Ahmad 2007). It is appreciated worldwide that, besides being able to maintain a steady growth in GDP, Bangladesh has made noteworthy progress in a number of social sectors such as gender equality in education, decline of child mortality etc. Despite all these positive initiatives, corruption, patronage networks, misallocation and embezzlement of funds have slowed down the financial system and barred the country from making a developmental effort (BTI 2012). According to Khan (2007), 2-3% of GDP growth is lost each year due to corruption. A study carried out by the University of Stockholm found that corruption in Bangladesh transfers public assets to unproductive sectors, diminishes the competence of the public administration motivating officials towards rent seeking, obstructs the

government from executing good policies and weakens public confidence in the state (Pulok 2010, 10).

According to different corruption measuring indices Bangladesh is among countries with high corruption and low level of good governance. For the year 2012, Bangladesh is the 32nd most corrupt country among the 176 countries chosen for the CPI (TI 2012a). The Corruption Perception Index 2012 measured and published by Transparency International ranks Bangladesh 144th out of the 176 countries and territories assessed, with a score of 26 on a scale from 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean). However, Bangladesh has achieved significant improvement in reducing corruption in the last decade. Five years between 2001 and 2005, it was measured as the most corrupt country in the world (Ahmed 2009, 7). Incessant advocacy against corruption by different stakeholders has enabled the situation to improve but there is still a long way to go. Figure 4.2 demonstrates graphically Bangladesh's development in CPI over the last ten years.
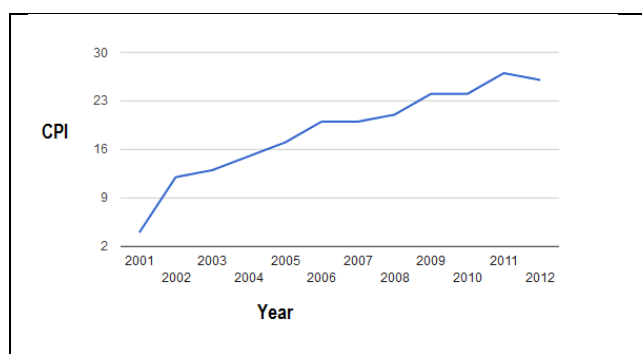
Figure 4.2: Bangladesh's score in CPI from 2001-2012

(Source: The Global Economy)

Similarly, the World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI, No Date) place Bangladesh in the lowest quarter of the percentile ranks, with a score of 16.1, on a scale from 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean), in terms of control of corruption. Bangladesh's score in controlling corruption dropped significantly between 1998 (39) and 2002 (4.9) but there are indications of progress made in recent years as reflected by the slight improvement of the country's performance between 2006 (11) and 2011 (13). The country's score on the rule of law has improved slightly between 1998 (19.6) and 2011 (28.6) but is still considered as disturbingly weak.

The Global Competitiveness Report 2012-2013 places Bangladesh along with the *Factor Driven* (World Economic Forum 2012, 10) countries where there are hardly any presence of efficiency and innovation in the state system. According to this report, Bangladesh also scores poorly in all indicators referring to corruption as shown in table 4.1.

Indicator	Score (0- worst, 7- best)	Rank (out of 144)
Diversion of public funds	2.6	107
Public trust in politicians	1.9	124
Irregular payments and bribes	2.2	144
Transparency of government policymaking	3.9	101

Table 4.2: Bangladesh's performance in GCI (indicators related to corruption)

(Source: Global Competitiveness Report 2012-2013)

In line with these results, the citizens of Bangladesh also identify corruption as a growing crisis in their country. As revealed by Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer 2011, almost half of the respondents are of the opinion that corruption has increased in Bangladesh in the past 3 years. Moreover, 72% of the surveyed citizens reported having experienced bribery in the year 2010 (TI 2011a).

4.7.4 Corruption in Different Sectors of Bangladesh

Corruption penetrates all sectors of the society - from the public sector to business, education and the health system. The sections to follow outline some sectoral specifics. Although they are described separately, in reality each of the issues is interlinked with the others.

Administration and Public Service: Bangladesh's administration system is devoid of sufficient resources and is considerably underperforming due to widespread corruption, politicisation of the bureaucracy and dominant patronage networks (Rahman 2013). Bullying, bribery and extortion are common in citizens' interaction with state services and the poor are the most vulnerable because of their dependence on basic services such as education and health (TI 2011b). A study examining Bangladesh's social security programs, such as Old Age and Freedom Fighter

Allowance Programmes, reports that their effectiveness is greatly hampered by embezzlement, abuse of power and corruption connected with operation and management (ADB 2012).

Environment and Climate: The geographical situation of Bangladesh, along with high population density and lack of protective infrastructure, makes it specifically exposed to climate change and hence the country has advanced into an important beneficiary of climate finance initiatives. Here, the lack of transparency and democratic processes in the funds' allocation led to controversy and consequently to the protests of Bangladeshi civil society organizations against the related governance structure (Dutta et al. 2011). Climate finance in Bangladesh is also hampered by lack of access to information, accountability, partisan political influence, enforcement deficit and weak monitoring and oversight (TIB 2010a).

Construction: Construction projects through public procurement are one of the sectors most hampered by corruption in Bangladesh. The tradition of short bidding periods, poor advertising, nondisclosure of selection criteria, poor specifications, negotiations with bidders and rebidding without adequate justification creates opportunities for corruption and bribery (Mahmood 2010). Most of the times, these unprofessional practices are indulged by the corrupt power-players in the field so that they can maintain their unfair business. The World Bank has cancelled and demanded refund of Taka 68 million from three construction projects on the ground of corruption (Ara and Khan 2006).

Law Enforcement: Police corruption can be stated as the most dangerous problem faced by ordinary people in Bangladesh as this sector has more opportunity to use its legal power illegally. The police force is purportedly used by elected politicians in a regular manner to keep their control over the political ground through torture, physical abuse and random detention of opposition leaders, journalists, activists and whoever appears as a threat (Edston 2005). Nepotism and political affiliations are common factors influencing recruitment in the police which is also a major reason for it to be often pressurized to carry out illegal instructions (Banarjee 2009). Another crude reality regarding the police force is that it has very low salaries and

difficult working conditions with inadequate resources which creates strong ground for bribe-taking and extortion.

Judiciary: An effective, independent and unbiased judiciary contributes significantly in the overall integrity system of a country by establishing the rule of law. Separation of powers and judicial independence have been a long-term demand of the media, civil society and general people and this came true by a law passed in 2009. However, in reality, the Bangladeshi judicial system is still suffering from political intrusions and misuse of executive power at all levels: recruitment, administration and decision-making (TI 2011). Very often ordinary people cannot hope for justice as their remain the constraints of bribery, lengthy procedures, lack of information and political influences.

4.7.5 Impact of Corruption in Bangladesh

Corruption in Bangladesh is a matter of national disgrace. It impedes any organizational development through four-dimensional effects, namely evolutionary hazard (potential vulnerability), strategic impediment (misuse of resources), competitive disadvantage (lack of trustworthiness) and organizational deficiency (malfunctioning) (Lou 2005). The following key impacts hinder the development of economic, political and social sectors of the country:

- When corruption and economic growth coexist in a country, the payoff is additional costs and distortions which hit the poor hard and worsen the existing bureaucratic inefficiency (Mandal: 2002). Even the continued and steady growth of GDP in Bangladesh does not create hope for the socially weak because of the following reasons. Firstly, the growth could have been stronger if corruption were absent (Rahman & Yusuf 2010). Secondly, the growing GDP is also an indication of the simultaneously growing income inequality, where a handful of corrupt people control the majority of resources and ordinary people cannot properly meet their daily basic necessities (Islam 2009). Corruption has also increased poverty in Bangladesh through massive embezzlement of the domestic and foreign development funds, creating unemployment and misuse of resources (Treisman 2000).

- Corruption deprives the poor from receiving proper public services. As they do not have the capability to access private health, education and other services, they have to rely on the available public providers. However, evidence shows that 92% of public service seekers become victims of corruption by being forced to pay bribes. (Hasan 2007). This widens the social gap and creates grievances among people as their rights as citizens are not met properly. On the other hand, it also creates a tendency for public servants to deny their responsibilities.

- Bangladesh offers promising opportunities for investment, especially in the energy, pharmaceutical, information technology and infrastructure sectors as well as in labor-intensive industries such as ready-made garments and household textiles. The country has made gradual progress in reducing some constraints on investment, but bureaucratic and political corruption continues to hinder foreign investment causing hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of loss in terms of unrealized investment and income (Hossain 2000). The lack of transparent judiciary impedes the enforcement of contracts and the resolution of business disputes (Langseth 2001).

- Corruption hampers government activities and hence weakens the whole governance system of a country (Del Monte & Papagni 2007). Studies point out that political interference in the day-to-day functions of government offices is ever-present in Bangladesh (Jahan & Shahan 2008). The internal structure of the bureaucracy itself facilitates corruption at every stage. Some key consequences of these forms of administrative corruption are: high losses suffered by public-sector utilities; forcing donor countries and agencies to hire lobbyists to clear their projects by bribing officials at different levels and failure of development programmes to reach their targets due to massive theft, huge misuse of resources and inefficient workforce due to nepotism (Kochanek 1993).

- In Bangladesh, corrupt people are not brought under appropriate punishment and honest people suffer from poverty, insecurity and inappropriate public services (Younis and Mostafa 2000). This certainly allows people to practice corrupt acts lowering the morality of the nation.

- The politicians of Bangladesh are blamed for bribery, embezzlement, fraud and extortion (New Age 2007). Political corruption reaches the highest level of the government as well as the parties. Most political parties are characterized by

politics of conspiracy, self-interest, greed and power-expectation. The growing presence of property owners in the political arena has further driven up the cost of elections (Sobhan 2002). Becoming the leading party forming government broadens the path to corrupt money and all political parties try to achieve this with any means. Thus political conflicts increase at an alarming level during election times putting the country's stability at stake.

The most perilous outcome from corruption in Bangladesh is that it is not only a problem by itself but also triggers other complications. Controlling corruption in terms of prevention and enforcement of punishment is closely related accountability, rule of law and government effectiveness. The section to follow describes the initiatives taken by the Government of Bangladesh to address corruption control.

4.7.6 Anti-Corruption Efforts at Government Level

Though pervasive, corruption has always been treated as a negative activity in Bangladesh. The country has taken noteworthy steps forward in the fight against corruption in the times of different governments. The National Household Survey 2012 conducted by TIB attempts to describe the extent of corruption in different sectors experienced by people in Bangladesh. The findings are presented in table 4.2. For comparison, the overall results from 2007 and 2010 are also included.

Sectors	Percent of households experiencing corruption		
	2012	**2010**	**2007**
Law enforcement	75.8	79.7	96.6
Land administration	59.0	71.2	52.7
Judiciary	57.1	88.0	47.7
Health	40.2	33.2	44.1
Local Government	30.9	43.9	62.5
Electricity	18.3	45.9	33.2
Tax	16.8	51.3	6.4
Education	14.8	15.3	39.3
Banking	7.1	17.4	28.7
NGOs	5.0	10.1	13.5

Others[20]	54.9	34.1	35.5
All sectors	**55.8**	**84.2**	**66.7**

Table 4.3: Household experience of corruption

(Source: TIB NHHS 2012, 2010b & 2007a)

It is clear from table 4.3 that ordinary people experience or become victims of corruption mostly because of law enforcement agencies, including the police force, although the extent is reducing over time. Other sectors where corruption has consistently diminished are local government, education, banking and NGOs. The following section describes the Bangladeshi Government's anti-corruption initiatives in different sectors.

Reference to Corruption in Bangladeshi Law: Article 20 (2) of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh stipulates:

"The state shall endeavour to create conditions in which as a general principle, persons shall not be able to enjoy unearned incomes, and in which human labor in every form, intellectual and physical, shall become a fuller expression of creative endeavour and of the human personality" (GoB 1998, 11).

The Anti-Corruption Commission Act 2004 provides a consolidated framework to prevent corruption and other corrupt practices in the country. The provision of Corruption Act, popularly known as Anti-Corruption Act of 1947, defined corruption in terms of misconduct. Corruption, as implied in this Act, involves any of the following (GoB 2008, 23)-

- *"Dishonest or fraudulent misappropriation or otherwise converting for his/ her own use any property entrusted to him/her or under his/her control as a public servant or allowing any other person to do so*

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[20] This include services provided by institutions such as BRTA, Passport Offices, BTCL, Postal Department, WASA, or services such as recruitment, promotion and transfer in different organisations, collecting pension and services from any private companies.

- *Obtaining valuable things or pecuniary advantage by illegal means or by otherwise abusing his/her position as public servant*
- *Amassing wealth beyond known source of income".*

In this Act bribery is considered something distinct from corruption. Bribery is also discussed separately in the Bangladesh Penal Code, whereas corruption is not. According to Section 161 of the Penal code, bribery is gratification other than remuneration for doing or forbearing to do or for showing favor or disfavor to any person.

Bangladesh adopted the Disclosure of Public Interest Information (Protection) Act in 2011 to guarantee the protection of whistle-blowers (TIB 2011a, 2). Also, in 2009, the Right to Information Act was passes which gives people the opportunity to obtain documents and information from the government. It also provides scope for appeal if a request for information is refused.

In spite of the presence of laws and regulations preventing corruption, it is taking place in Bangladesh as there is no synchronization between the anti-corruption laws and no proper enforcement.

Anti-Corruption Commission: The Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) of Bangladesh was established on the basis of the ACC Act of 2004 (Chowdhury 2011, 103). It is the entity in charge of controlling corruption by conducting investigation, issuing of arrest warrants, filing cases against specific offenders including public officials and dealing with other relevant matters related to corruption. The President is the person appointing and in charge of the Commissioners to whom they also report. In crucial matters the President can take steps only after consultation with the Prime Minister (Head of the Government) (Chowdhury 2011). According to the law, the Commission is supposed to be autonomous and objective but in practice it is subjected to political influence. The ACC was very active during the mandate of the care-taker government and even filed cases against top political leaders but the number of cases initiated by it has significantly dropped since the election of the Grand Alliance government in December 2008 (Freedom House 2011).

__International Conventions:__ In February 2007, the Government of Bangladesh took a significant initiative towards working against corruption and developing good governance by becoming a signatory party to the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UN 2004)[21]. The provision for recommendation to the International Court of Justice in the absence of agreement on arbitration is however not applicable to Bangladesh (Islam 2012, 31) as the country articulated reluctance on Article 66[22]. Shortly after the concurrence, the government initiated and accomplished a gap analysis that concluded that Bangladesh's legal framework is fundamentally well-suited with the provisions of the Convention but that a number of weaknesses including enforcing anti-corruption laws and ensuring witness protection still needed to be addressed (GTZ 2008, 1). The care-taker government commenced many anti-corruption efforts in 2007-2008 but the implementation generally lacks consistency similarly to the other anti-corruption initiatives

Besides these initiatives at legal and institutional level, the GoB has also taken some other steps to address the issue of corruption, such as establishing the Office of the Comptroller and Auditor General, Anti-Money Laundering Department and Election Commission among others. However, there still remain some significant gaps and weaknesses in the country's anti-corruption structure. A very important one among them is the absence of an Ombudsman in its integrity organism. Although the Bangladeshi Constitution controls a term emphasizing the recruitment of an Office of the Ombudsman, the consecutive governments have been unsuccessful to execute it (TIB 2010c).

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[21] The United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) became effective from 2005. It consists of a set of worldwide agreed standards to reduce corruption, attending prevention, criminalization and law enforcement, international cooperation, asset resurgence, and technical assistance (UN 2004).

[22] Article 66 of UNCAC instructs "any dispute between two or more State Parties concerning the interpretation or application of UNCAC that cannot be settled through negotiation within a reasonable time at the request of one of those State Parties, be submitted to arbitration. If, [six months after the date of request for arbitration] those State Parties are unable to agree on the organization of the arbitration, any of those State Parties may refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice [by request in accordance with the Statute of the Court] (UN 2004, 54).

In the absence of reliable independent and government institutions to control corruption, the work of NGOs and civil society becomes very important. The following sections outline the role and contributions TIB makes to improve the corruption situation in Bangladesh.

4.8 Transparency International - A Vision for Corruption-free World

Transparency International (TI) is a well-known civil society organization leading the battle of fighting corruption across the globe (TI website). This Berlin based organization was founded in 1993 by a former World Bank staff member Peter Eigen to address the problem of pervasive corruption in many countries and establish accountability and transparency (Abed & Gupta 2000). Eigen's professional experience of the impact of corruption in Africa and other parts of the world influenced him to do something against it – which, at that point of time was considered to be a socially forbidden issue. Transparency International has accredited national bodies in more than 100 countries accross the world (TI website) which are called "TI chapters" for the respective countries. At the start, the national chapters used to carry out research on the issue of corruption and make people concerned. However, later on, many of the chapters established advocacy and legal aid centers that strive to reduce corruption through various supportive programs as well as help victims of corruption through legal aid.

■ - National Chapters   ■ - Advocacy & legal advice centers
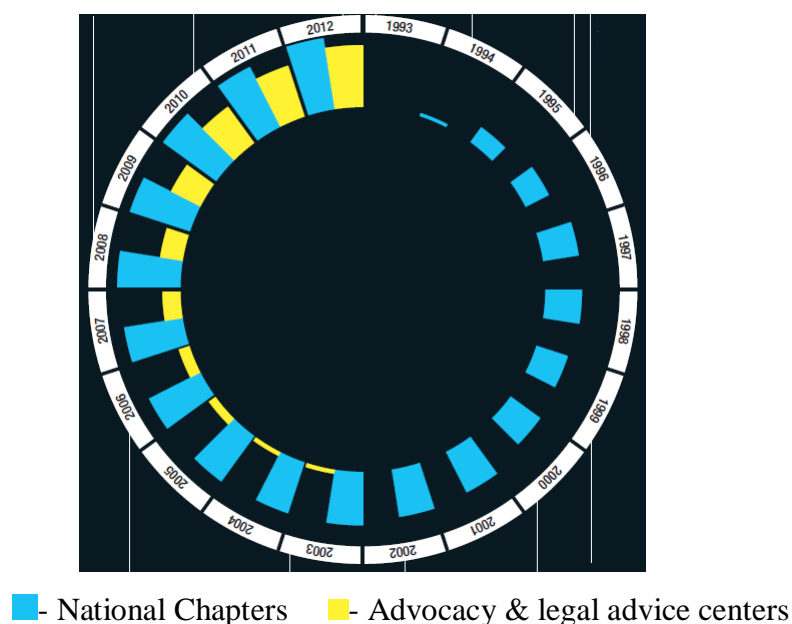
Figure 4.3: Growth of TI over 20 years (Source- TI Annual Report 2012b)

One of TI's effective initiatives to create concern about corruption is The Corruption Fighters' Tool Kit published in 2002 (Berns 2003). Besides indicating the negative social, political and economic impacts of corruption, it also highlights the prospective of civil society to fight corruption dynamically, generates methods for the inquiry and organizing of public institutions, insists and encourages accountable and responsive public administration. It creates motivation and thought provoking ideas using success stories from within and outside the TI movement.

Transparency International also encourages the widespread usage of ICT in order to promote transparency and accountability to ensure good governance. In most cases good governance is a consequence of good political will, and hence civil societies around the world are constantly creating demand and pressure on their governments for more open systems for public inspection. With a more transparent governmental system where everyone has access to information, the officials will be under the pressure and risk of being exposed. In such a condition even if the governments do not have the capacity or the will to ensure good governance by reducing the opportunities for corruption, its extent will still diminish. The organization's ICT programs have obtained considerable success in various countries, e.g. Georgia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Slovakia and Argentina (TI 2013).

Transparency International's approach to control corruption consists of four basic tools (Kuehn 2012). They are:

- To measure corruption - being able to understand the intensity of corruption in a country.
- To analyze corruption - understanding the nature of corruption and potential methods to fight it.
- To fight corruption - applying the methods analyzed in real-life situation to reduce corruption day by day.
- To monitor enforcement - making sure that the methods applied are working well and adopting follow-up programs to verify the maintaining of process.

Researchers agree that in pushing the issues of transparency and accountability up on the agenda, Transparency International does some very effective work, with the help of many serious and deeply committed people involved with the whole program (Cobham 2013). It has succeeded in maintaining an obvious operating profile and developing a sustained global effort that is directly relevant to the field of corruption. In the recent period of fighting corruption more seriously TI is being treated as a signature or 'brand' of the movement for the distinctive and unifying nature of its activities – both at central level and in the chapters of different countries (Norad 2011, 18). As a whole, it has succeeded contributing to make curbing corruption a priority while only twenty years back it was considered as a taboo. A BBC World Service survey found that the world's most talked about problem is corruption (BBC 2010).

4.9 Emergence of TIB as a Watchdog Body

Fighting corruption requires the highest level of political dedication for bold action without showing fear or favor to anyone. Where the political commitment is weak and institutions are not functioning independently and effectively creating demand is needed by informing, communicating and campaigning for a social movement (Iftekharuzzaman 2006). Watchdog bodies can serve an important purpose in this regard (Fritzen 2007). Based on this ground, Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB), the official national chapter of the Berlin-based Transparency International, began its activity as a trust in 1996. Later on in 1998, it was recognized by the Government of Bangladesh as an independent, non-partisan, not-for-profit NGO which is now a leading organization which fights against corruption in the country. In fact TIB began its social movement against corruption in 1996 with a vision of Bangladesh as a nation where government, politics, business, civil society and lives of the common citizens would be free from corruption (TIB website). To secure this vision, its mission statement postulates:

"To catalyze and strengthen a participatory social movement to promote and develop institutions, laws and practices for combating corruption in Bangladesh, and to establish an efficient and transparent system of governance, politics and business" (TIB website).

From the mission and vision of TIB it appears that its commitment is to fight, reduce and uproot corruption in a participatory way where members of society from every level and background actively take part. It also works for the further development of the existing structural and legislative frameworks to make them more effective and up-to-date. Consecutive projects according of TIB throughout which it has carried out its core activities are described below.

__Making Waves (2003-2009)__ – The aim of this self-explanatory project was to create a sense against corruption among people and give them awareness that it should not be treated as a "way of life" anymore. To enhance the demand for a corruption-free, transparent and accountable social system in consistent manner, it created a ground for participation from ordinary people. Establishing Committees of Concerned Citizens (CCC) in 9 districts at first and gradually increasing them to 36 as well as invitation for TIB membership supported by executed studies were some of the used approaches (Knox and Yasmin 2007, 6). Nevertheless, according to my own experience and observation, TIB mostly drew the attention of people by releasing TI's CPI results at the time when for five consecutive years Bangladesh was among the most corrupted countries in the world.

__Paribartan - Driving Change (April 2009-March 2014)__ – After generating an anti-corruption attitude in people this successive project of TIB looks forward to attaining positive changes in policies and practices encouraging accountable and transparent governance in Bangladesh. Strengthening the National Integrity System (NIS)[23], reducing costs of corruption and improving citizens' access to their rights are some of the core activities of this project. Specifically it works with the education, health and local government sector in CCC areas. It also targets to involve more participants in the anti-corruption drive. Increasing the number of CCCs up to 45,

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[23] The concept is developed and promoted by TI as part of its holistic approach to combating corruption that refers to prevent corruption and promote integrity. The NIS assessment offers an evaluation of the legal basis and the actual performance of institutions relevant to the overall anti-corruption system. These institutions – or 'pillars' –comprise the executive, legislature, judiciary, the public sector, the main public watchdog institutions (e.g. supreme audit institution, law enforcement agencies), as well as political parties, the media, civil society and business as the primary social forces which are active in the governance arena (Thompson 2012, 3).

forming Youth Engagement and Support (YES) groups (both at national and local level) to sustain the future of the nation and gender mainstreaming are parts of it (TIB website). The implementation and progress of these activities are tracked by internal and external monitoring and evaluation systems.

4.10 TIB's Mode of Operation

The previous chapter discussed the necessity of a social movement in order to include people from various level of society and to advocate against corruption in a peaceful and reformative way. Transparency International Bangladesh's mode of operation includes both advocacy and reformative approaches. However, before analyzing its contribution in the fight against corruption it is necessary to shed light on how TIB continues its programs and activities. It is important to point out that TIB works against corruption, not against the government of the day, nor any particular public sector department or any individual. Its work can broadly be undertaken at two levels - local and national, through the programs of Civic Engagement, Research & Policy and Outreach & Communication. In recent times two new programs related to two contemporary issues - climate change and water integrity, were added namely Climate Finance Governance Network (CFGN) and Bangladesh Water Integrity Network (BAWIN). The specifications of each program are briefly described below.

Research & Policy - Anti-corruption research is one of the basic activities implemented by TIB. The reasons behind undertaking intensive research before addressing the problem of corruption in any specific sector or overall is understanding its nature and magnitude. This also intends to establish a strong theoretical and empirical background to demand anti-corruption initiatives from the respective authority, informing common people about the fact and offering recommendations.

The following figure (4.4) shows the types of research conducted by TIB:

Figure 4.4: Research activities of TIB   (Source: TIB website)

When these well designed research reports on corruption and poor performance of the higher authorities are published, people receive a scientific base of what they are experiencing or have been assuming so far. It also acts as a medium of TIB to communicate with the citizens.

Civic Engagement - This program is the basic initiative to extend TIB's activities from local to grassroots level. As stated in the methodology chapter, TIB has established 45 Committees of Concerned Citizens (CCCs) in 45 districts of Bangladesh. Each committee consists of senior, knowledgeable, patriotic and trustworthy persons called CCC members and a Youth Engagement and Support (YES) group. This YES group is an assembly of young, enthusiastic and committed people who works under the guidance of CCC members. The CCC and YES work together to create awareness among the people of the locality and conduct various anti-corruption campaigns in selected organizations related to education, health and local government. The activities of the CCC and YES members are entirely voluntary although TIB helps with various capacity building initiatives and logistic support. The activities at CCC level can broadly be divided into two categories,

namely key sectoral interventions and advocacy tools. Their sub-categories are shown on figure 4.5.
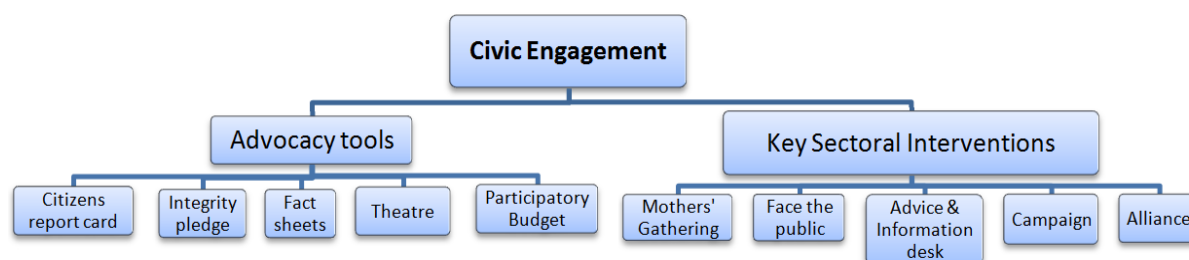
Figure 4.5: Civic engagement programs of TIB   (Source: TIB website)

The advocacy tools of civic engagement are basically information generating programs to create awareness. On the other hand, key sectoral interventions are capacity building activities for the people so that they can have concrete idea about their role and responsibilities. Together they create a positive atmosphere for demanding transparency and accountability.

Outreach and Communication - The Outreach and Communication (O&C) program, based in the Dhaka Head Office of TIB, integrates local and national advocacy campaigns with a holistic approach. Its core objective is to ensure that the CCC and YES activities receive most concern for an effective anti-corruption movement. Both innovative and well proven communication tools are originated to extend participation in anti-corruption activities and make it sustainable. The O&C program strives to catalyze policy and institutional change favorable to build a corruption-free nation. To fulfill that, it maintains liaison and lobbies with policy makers to bring about changes. It also utilizes research findings in building public opinion, informing the concerned authority and insisting for development. Figure 4.6 highlights different tools used by O&C.
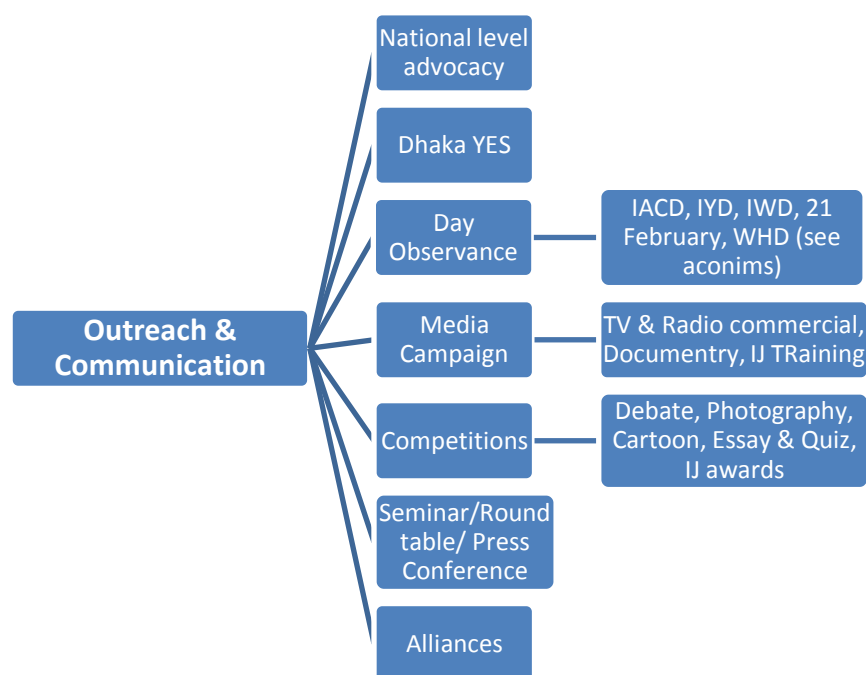
Figure 4.6: Outreach and communication programs of TIB   (Source: TIB website)

Overall, the O&C program is the medium giving the local CCC activities a holistic approach by combining them from the central level. The interactions among different operation areas become stronger through the outreach and communication initiatives.

Climate Finance Governance Network - Bangladesh is historically a natural disaster prone country which is coupled with various human made hazard to the environment in recent years. Keeping this in mind, the Bangladesh Government has taken the step to invest significant amount of funds through different projects to improve the environment (TIB website). The Climate Finance Governance Network (CFGN) of TIB is aimed at helping to ensure that this money is allocated and utilized in a transparent and accountable way so that corruption and misuse of funds cannot undermine the climate goals. The program is planned to be implemented with the participation of various level stakeholders, namely - Government, fund management authority, donors, civil society, media, NGOs etc. To ensure active contribution from the stakeholders, specially, civil society, capacity building initiatives are also included in the program.

Bangladesh Water Integrity Network - This is a multi-stakeholder network initiated by TIB with the aim to stimulate public demand for transparent and accountable policy making and implementation in the water sector. Helping related institutions and stakeholders to work in a participatory way is also a core objective of this program (TIB Website).

4.11 Conclusion

The conceptual factors for corruption, the corruption situation in Bangladesh both historically and contemporary, and the emergence of TI and TIB were the main focus points of this chapter. Analyzing the definitions of corruption given by various researchers it was argued that misuse of power, lack of accountability and personal gains have usually been the issue of interest while defining corruption. Building this a new definition of corruption was provided in this chapter where corruption is described as a moral degradation that keeps a person away from performing their duties and obligations.

There remains an argument among international organizations about whether corruption could be measured or not. Analyzing corruption measuring tools by different institutions dealing with corruption and good governance, it seems that the intensity and magnitude of corruption assessed in terms of its nature in an area, but not the corruption phenomenon itself. Various forms and types of corruption were discussed and it was argued that the system that allows the entrusted power to be misused creates corruption and ordinary service seekers become victims of it.

Once corruption takes place in a society, there are some factors that help to enhance and promote it. These individual, contextual and structural factors in essence indicate cultural heredity, favorable circumstances for involvement in corruption without the fear of being punished and lack of good governance. When corruption becomes a part and parcel of the state system, peer pressure works as a catalyst to involve in order to maintain the system. By and large, corruption leaves a negative effect on society. It creates economic inequality, challenges the political stability and develops distrust among people by abolishing peace and harmony. Moreover, just as the poor are the prime victims of corruption, it leaves more devastating effects on the underdeveloped or developing than the developed nations.

The religion-driven traditional values system of Bangladesh does not permit a corruption friendly environment and condones too much desire for money, power or luxury. On the contrary, the constant presence of hierarchy in the accountability system of the region helps promote corruption. In spite of the historical presence of corruption in Bangladesh or in the Bengal region, it appears that people in general did not have to encounter it in their daily lives until the time of the British colonial regime. During the British, Pakistan and all periods of the successive political parties there remained a class who misused the power obtained from the ruling government in providing logistic and moral support in return.

Since no government had the capacity or willingness to control this class, corruption was on a consistent increase in the area. Currently, as shown by different measuring indices, Bangladesh is in an alarmingly vulnerable state in terms of corruption despite of steady growth in GDP over the years. However, constant advocacy and capacity building initiatives at local, national and international level seem to have significant effect as a slight improvement among these indicators is observed in recent years. To achieve better results, the state governing body needs to be working more effectively and with more willingness. Sufficient legal and institutional structures to combat corruption are present in Bangladesh. Only the lack of proper synchronization among them and enforcement of law and justice are the main obstacle to establish good.

The emergence of Transparency International happened when the whole world, especially the less developed nations was seriously suffering from the evil of corruption without having sufficient initiative to address it. Over the last twenty years of its journey, TI has been contributed to a great extent with its tools and efforts to find solutions to corruption. Transparency International Bangladesh, the Bangladesh chapter of TI also leads the fight against corruption as a watchdog body in the country with its research, public engagement and communication. In the following two chapters, TIB's activities along with its approaches of dealing with corruption and their outcomes are analyzed in more detail. As a social movement against corruption its achievements and disappointments also come under discussion.

CHAPTER FIVE
TIB IN ENGAGING CITIZENS AGAINST CORRUPTION

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter showed that corruption has been, and continues to be among the major challenges confronting the political and administrative system of Bangladesh in its quest for good governance. In spite of the presence of adequate laws enacted to address corruption, and in spite of the many organized and set up anti-corruption bodies, graft and corruption at various levels continue to exist in an alarming way. Initiatives to curb corruption have failed over the years because of two main factors. **Firstly**, there remains a significant gap between the presence of laws and relevant law enforcing agencies and their proper implementation because of the lack of concern and willingness by politicians to address the issue. As a consequence, corruption has become institutionalized in the country (Quah 1999, 486). **Secondly**, the adopted strategies have been top-down and rules-based, with attention directed mainly on administrative corruption. Efforts were predominantly focused on international agreements, legislation, institution-building, such as anti-corruption commissions, improvement of national and local government capacity, and public finance management. However, these approaches are largely based on the experiences of industrialized, Western democracies (Beyerle 2010, 3) and unsuited for Bangladesh, leaving the country to accept the existence of corruption.

When strategies from the supply side (policy-makers) are inadequate, inappropriate and not properly implemented, the response is that pressure and power are exerted from the demand side (citizens). History shows that the citizens of Bangladesh are not submissive beneficiary of top-down initiatives; they have the capability of becoming drivers of accountability, reform and change. There has been a budding realization in the international anti-corruption community and among development institutions and donors, especially over the past few years that corruption cannot be challenged unless the civic realm [24], including an active citizenry, is involved

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[24] The civic realm refers to the collective non-state, bottom-up initiatives and relationships in a society. This includes: nonviolent civic campaigns and movements; civil society organizations (CSOs); nongovernmental organizations (NGOs); community-based organizations (CBOs); civic coalitions and alliances; unions; professional organizations; grass-roots networks, committees, and

(Stephan & Chenoweth 2008, 15). Mobilized people, engaged in organized non-violent action, encompass a social force that can exert pressure on the state and other sectors in society. They have the strategic advantage of civil resistance that consists of extra-institutional methods of action to push for change, when power-holders are corrupt and/or unaccountable, and institutional channels are blocked or ineffective (Schock 2008).

Within this context Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB) works to create a social movement for widening and strengthening participation of people in anti-corruption activities. Its task is to catalyze society generating a demand for effective policy reform and institutional change conducive to the reduction of corruption and generating conditions which leads to poverty reduction for the poor and vulnerable people in Bangladesh. In this chapter, TIB's initiatives to engage citizens in the movement against corruption are analyzed and evaluated on the basis of data gathered from different stakeholders of the organization. This information was obtained during in-depth interviews, key informant interviews and focused group discussions with CCC members, YES members, TIB members, TIB employees and representatives from donor and alliance organizations. My inside knowledge and previous experience in TIB as an employee as well as observation during the field visits also served as a background for the discussion. The contents of this chapter are arranged according to the following three major parts:

1. Generating consciousness with research and demand for accountability;
2. Creating a platform that people can trust to work with;
3. Using information and communication for a strong movement.

Each part concludes with key findings from this research. This arrangement is not just for convenience of discussion but these three aspects are very important in establishing and carrying out of a successful social movement. Research provides the theoretical justification of a social movement while information and communication

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collectives; local citizen groups; activists, community organizers, and last but not least, citizens (Alexandar 2006, 251).

help to popularize the ideas derived from research. They also assist in promoting the cause of the social movement. Lastly, unless a proper ground can be created, it becomes very hard to gather committed participants for a significant period of time, because people involved in a social movement want to see the ideas they believe in materialized. If they are not confident enough about the movement's potential, it's hard to keep up their motivation.

5.2 Encouraging Anti-corruption Consciousness in Bangladesh

During the in-depth interviews, the CCC members of TIB shared a wealth of clear experience which shows that general people most often don't realize the impacts of corruption on the country or on their lives in the long term. As long as they are not being affected by corruption directly, they think they should not worry about it. Also, it is a very common attitude among the public that even if they are concerned, they can bring little change to the society. According to the CCC members, TIB's activities at local level help people to understand that corruption is harmful for everyone in both direct and indirect ways and it is everyone's responsibility to take a stand against it. Box 5.1 below represents a story narrated by a CCC member about how TIB's activity created awareness through the use of theatre (see also exhibit 5.1).

Box 5.1: Road theatre encouraged people to protest

"One of TIB's most attractive activities is the "Road Theatre Shows" where a community is shown symbolically with satire how corruption takes place. These shows have two-fold impacts on the society. Firstly, the young volunteers who organize these shows have to analyze deeply the cause and consequences of corruption. As a result a feeling grows among them to be corruption-free themselves and to make their surrounding corruption-free. On the other hand an anti-corruption spirit and demand are instilled among the target audience - the public. In such a theatre it was shown that when someone protests alone it can lead to a tragic end whereas the protest becomes successful when people stand together. After some days, a young boy came to me and said that being inspired by the show, he along with some of his friends protested against the black marketing of train tickets and many people were able to obtain train tickets for the normal price

<div style="text-align: right;">Source: Interview with CCC member</div>

Exhibit 5.1: TIB street theatre show   (Source: TIB Annual report 2011b, 10)

Raising consciousness against corruption among the community is one of the top priorities for countries like Bangladesh where access to information for grassroots people is still limited (D. Net 2008, 6). The following section depicts different angles from which TIB carries out the task of awareness raising among ordinary people.

5.2.1 Fact Finding with Research

As previously explained, TIB conducts intensive research on the gravity and forms of corruption at local and national level in different sectors of Bangladesh. Such research findings create an opportunity for the public to question the parliament about the losses to society. The following box describes a TIB member's opinion about the research carried out by the watchdog body (see box 5.2).

Box 5.2: TIB's research proves existence of corruption

"It might seem what TIB is saying is already known to all - it's nothing new. However, what makes the difference is TIB's research, which is a great initiative. Through this research, TIB is proving with solid data and financial break-ups in

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[25] The biggest religious festival in Bangladesh when many people want to go to their village and there is a rush of buying train and bus tickets. For this occasion black market agents buy a lot of tickets from corrupt employees and sell them at a high price by creating a false supply deficit.

However, there is some controversy regarding TIB's research related activities. Every year, TIB releases through press conferences Corruption Perception Index (CPI) results conducted by TI. Although TIB declares explicitly that it has no relation with the CPI other than publishing the results, it is a common understanding among the people of Bangladesh that the watchdog plays an important role in conducting this research by providing processed data and technical support. Sometimes this creates concern among people that TIB might be demeaning Bangladesh exposing it as one of the most corrupt countries in the world. As a TIB employee I had to encounter such dissatisfaction with my own personal surrounding. From the KIIs with the representatives from civil society, disappointment regarding CPI and TIB's involvement with it was also sensed. The following box (5.3) narrates one of the civil society activists' expression.

Box 5.3: TIB should refuse to publish CPI

"CPI is not a very holistic approach to measure corruption. I don't think it's very transparent as well since the process is never described well. The portion of the society CPI takes into account consists of hardly 8-10% of Bangladesh people who are corrupt. It totally ignores the remaining 90% who are honest either by choice or without having any access to corruption. Although TIB is not related with the CPI research process, by publishing the result it indirectly expresses its solidarity with CPI. Being an objective organization, TIB should refuse to publish it."

Source: KII with civil society activist

Being a recognized chapter of TI, there remains a clear obligation for TIB to publish CPIs on a regular basis. To avoid the confusion regarding CPI, TIB can take a two-

way initiative from its own stand. Firstly, it can approach TI for revising the procedure for measuring CPI and secondly it can undertake a more elaborated campaign program to orient people about CPI and how it works.

There prevails a gap between the expected and actual performance of the parliament in Bangladesh because of the absence of real discussion, debate and scrutiny of the proposals put forward by the executive branch of the government (Jahan & Amundsen 2012, 1). In order to focus on the effectiveness of the parliament and create scope for accountability, TIB continues a research-based advocacy program named "Parliament Watch". Figure 5.1 below shows a graph of the parliament boycott by the opposition parties obtained from this program. It reveals that the tendency to boycott the parliament causes the country to lose large amounts of funds. For example, in the 9th parliament a total of 590 million BDT[26] was wasted due to boycott (TIB press release 2013).
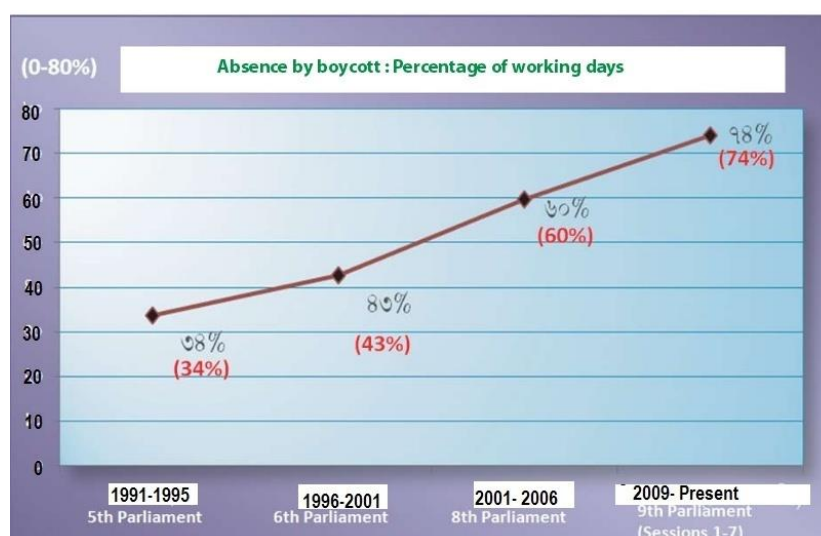
Figure 5.1: Boycott of Parliament by the opposition party

(Source: TIB annual report 2011b, 4)

Future economic and socio-political progress is driven and supported by intensive research and development initiatives (Greenstone 2011, 1). Although often the direct effect of research is difficult to be measured or realized at present because of its long-term impact, it is imperative for a country and any organization to show

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[26] US$7.5 million

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possibilities towards new directions and solving problems in effective ways (Czarl & Czarl 2007, 2).

Since its establishment, TIB's research has been triggering simultaneously positive and negative reactions. The positive reactions usually come from ordinary people, the media, civil society and other stakeholders reflecting the fact that the research depicts true situations. On the contrary, sharp negative responses are shown by large sections of the government and policy makers and they range from denial of the research findings to threats and filing of court cases against higher officials of TIB. In 2011 after the 2010 National Household Survey report was conducted and published by TIB, legal cases were filed against three of its officials in two courts by the judiciary as the report depicted it as the most corrupted sector in Bangladesh. Both cases were dismissed as no sufficient supporting counter-documents were found (Waves 2012, 9). A similar situation occurred when TIB proposed the two main political parties to come to consensus for the country's wellbeing. The watchdog organization justified its proposal by showing in a report the cost that the country pays for their vindictive attitude towards one-another. The political leaders were offended and filed a legal case against TIB's Executive Director. However, people at large showed their cohesion with the report in another survey conducted by a daily newspaper (The Daily Prothom Alo 2013) and the cases were eventually dismissed. In a similar manner, TIB could create some scope for public interactions about its research findings so that the results have more impact on society.

5.2.2 Promoting Integrity through Pledges

The Integrity Pact (IP), the generic version of Integrity Pledge, is one of the flagship tools of TI aimed at preventing corruption in public contracting (Norad 2011, 40). The concept of IP was first developed in the 1990s since when TIB is applying and widely advocating for it throughout its activities. In fact, TIB is the first to introduce it in selected institutions engaging various stakeholders in the public service delivery area (TIB website). This pact is a top-down approach that has proven to be successful in creating and enlarging the ground for participation in decision making by holding the elected representatives accountable at the local level. The following box (see box 5.4) describes the experience of a CCC area where IP has contributed to reduce

corruption in public service delivery and has motivated ordinary people to work for their social commitment.

Box 5.4: Integrity Pact promotes development and transparency

> *"Earlier, old and poor people used to face problems receiving VGD/VGF services[27]. Very often those who really needed it were omitted from the list and the privileged groups were included out of nepotism. Also, the poor had to bribe the service provider to obtain the entitled facility. The picture is totally different at present. The right people are getting the VGD/VGF services as both CCC and the service recipient groups are monitoring. We have also succeeded to reduce early child marriage and dowry. The allocated money for the local development purpose is utilized properly. School drop-out rate has also reduced up to 90%. With improved facilities and services, people are encouraged to pay taxes as they now have trust that they will get the benefit out of it. As a whole, an environment has been created where everyone is concerned about their own roles and responsibilities."*
>
> Source: Interview with TIB staff

The IP consists of a process that includes an agreement between a government or a government department (at federal, national or local level) and all bidders for a public contract. Signatories undertake treaties not to pay, offer, demand or accept bribes, or to collude with competitors to obtain the contract, or to engage in such abuses while carrying out the contract (TI 2009b). The IP also introduces a monitoring system that provides scope for independent oversight and accountability. Although the core vision of IP remains the same, its process and impacts vary from country to country.

In the case of Bangladesh, this refers to a voluntary tripartite legally written commitment where service providers, representatives of the service recipients and the Committee of Concerned Citizens (CCC) make pledges to promote disclosure, transparency and accountability in the agreed jurisdictions. The representative groups of service recipients are formed with TIB's initiative to include honest and active

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[27] Social safety net programs in local areas

people. The organization also provides technical and logistic support to build their capacity. So far eighteen institutions, representing health, education and the local government sector have signed the IP (TIB Annual Report 2009, 31). To create a conducive environment for the IP to take place, a series of collective efforts are conducted which build up trust in each other. Some examples are: face the public, participatory budget, meetings, seminars, workshops etc. and they are discussed later in this chapter. These eventually lead to a public commitment by all stakeholders to promote governance quality and reduce corruption; consequently a comfortable atmosphere is created to spontaneously sign the pledge. The CCCs play the role of a monitoring and evaluation cell for the integrity pledge with the help of public opinion and support.

Corruption creates a vicious circle (see figure 5.2) complemented with lack of trust and underdevelopment (Gray & Kaufmann 1998, 9) which is applicable for Bangladesh. From TIB's achievements so far it seems highly likely that if the idea of IP could be spread over the entire country at both local and national level, the issue of integrity can be ensured to a great extent. Eventually, the development projects would become more effective and successful than those hindered by the vicious circle of corruption.

Figure 5.2: Vicious circle of corruption and underdevelopment

5.2.3 Scope for Accountability

Accountability refers to one being able to take responsibility and answer for the position one is holding and the actions one is performing. During the interview TIB stakeholders expressed their deep concerns about the lack of opportunity to question the public service employees in Bangladesh which leads a way to corruption. As a watchdog, TIB has taken a number of initiatives to make the governing process more participatory and accountable in the local level. Two of its major programs are discussed below.

Citizen's Report Card (CRC) – This is a tool to measure the degree of satisfaction recipients have about the content and quality of service provided by a selected institution. This card is used in three of its core areas of concern - health, education and local government. During the focused group discussions, CCC members talked about the outcomes of CRCs carried out in various districts at different times. The discussion indicated that there were major disappointments among service seekers in Sadar[28] hospitals, government primary and high schools and government offices, such as Union Parishad (UP) offices[29], police stations etc. On the other hand the service providers claimed that they did not have sufficient resources to serve people properly. With CCC and YES acting as a mediator between them ways were found to provide maximum services within limited resources.

Institutions such as schools, hospitals and UP offices taken under CRC activities achieved significant success in reducing corruption and wastage. However, not much improvement took place in police stations, courts and land offices. The reason for this could be derived from the statements of field level employees. According to them, CCC level advocacies are done on local law enforcing bodies (e.g. police, judiciary etc.) who have higher chains of command. It is expected by the higher authorities that a monthly amount of undue money will come to them. Hence, the local level government staffs have to collect money by exploiting people to satisfy their upper level officers, even if not for their own purpose. Apparently, such hierarchies are comparatively less in the education and health sectors, so success was

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[28] Central health facility at district level in Bangladesh

[29] Union Parishod- Lowest level of administration for local government in Bangladesh

easier to achieve. Still the CCC members are hopeful that if such activities are expanded all over the country, corruption could be reduced to a large extent in all sectors.

This approach of information collection is used to mobilize local communities in a participatory way as well as to collect information on particular matters regarding areas of dissatisfaction in obtaining services. The tool also functions as an advocacy medium for improved service quality at the delivery end within given resources and capacities by building a working relationship between the service providers and recipients (Poisson 2010, 12). The findings of the CRC are released usually with the participation of the respective authority and the intention for two simultaneous opportunities, wider public information and awareness, and engagement with the authority in regards to follow-up initiatives. A citizen evaluation based on TIB report cards showed that over 96 per cent of pupils had been made to pay illicit fees to sit first term exams, and that a total amount of 20 million Takas had been paid by parents in eight Bangladeshi districts (Karim 2004, 45). When this type of information is available to all, service seekers are naturally concerned about not being charged extra money and it becomes more difficult for providers to come up with excuses to fool the people.

Face the Public (FtP) - Face the Public (FtP) is another social accountability mechanism applied by CCC-YES in promoting transparency and accountability to the people of public representatives. It is a tool to create an enabling environment for local citizens to raise their voice and place their demands to the elected representatives of local government institutions. This brings an opportunity for people to ask the public representatives questions with reference to the delivery against commitments made during election. Face the Public events also provide a platform for other matters of public concern to be raised and reflected in the priorities of the public representatives. The following box (see box 5.5) describes the convenience of FtP according to one of the CCC members.

Box 5.5: Face the Public to create public pressure on political parties

"Before election we gather all the candidates and want to know about their electoral manifestos, because people have much interest in it. Often we see that elected representatives do not fulfill their commitment to people. FtP programs enable us to ask them why this is happening. When people are with us then the pressure from them is heavier. People can also suggest and criticize the candidate in a constructive way as they have prior information through us. So I think it is a very effective initiative both ways."

Source: Interview with CCC member

Besides enabling citizens to ask questions to their elected participant, FtP is also meant to be used in the pre-election "Choose the Right Candidate Campaign" where candidates across the political parties are brought together to explain their electoral manifesto. The public commitments made by the candidates give the opportunity for voters to make an informed choice at the time of elections (TIB Annual report 2007b, 14).

As stated in earlier chapters, the selected CCC members are well-known and respected in the locality. Their status within the community gives them access to many activities and they can offer experience-based suggestions and criticisms. Although not much welcomed at all times, these criticisms of public services tend to be taken seriously by the elected public representatives. The people can also raise their demands and grievances when they have support from the CCC members. Thus the engagement program of local government and dialogue groups with the proactive participation of TIB generally becomes very much effective (Knox 2011). Consequently FtP programs lead to participatory and open budget when people are empowered and informed enough to influence and share control over priority setting, policymaking and resource allocation (TIB Annual report 2011b, 6). This public engagement activity also increases the level of transparency and accountability, improving the quality of governance (Rahman et al. 2007).

There are three main forms of government-citizen relationships in policy making and ruling the country and associated probability of corruption taking place (OECD 2001, 2). They are described in table 5.1.

Type	Relation	Chance of Corruption
Information: One way relation	Government ⇨ Citizen	High
Consultation: Two way relation	Government ⇄ Citizen	Medium
Active Participation: Partnership	Government ⟷ Citizen	Low

Table 5.1: Government - Citizen relation and corruption

In the case of Bangladesh the relationship remains information-based and one-way in most government institutions and consultation-based for the very few remaining. A relationship based on participation and partnership is very rare in the country. As a consequence there is always scope for corruption to occur. The initiatives undertaken by TIB certainly opened the door for accountability to take place. The following table (5.2) presents TIB 2007 Impact Assessment report from the donor agency (Knox and Yasmin 2007) which shows similar findings with the interviews, FGDs and secondary data discussed above.

Services before CCC intervention	Current status – CCC intervention	Impacts
Pre and Post Intervention in Health		
• High level of dissatisfaction over services in public hospitals • Corruption by doctors in terms of time spent outside hospitals on private work, irregular office hours, referring patients to their own private practice or specialized diagnostic centers • Money charged for free services and extra money taken for different health services by doctors, nurses	• Doctors are coming to work in hospitals on time and their availability has increased • Information on ticket fees, service charges, fees for diagnostic tests, free services etc. is published on notice boards • Extra money from fees for tickets is either deposited to welfare	• There has been a general degree of co-operation following the release of the report card and ongoing engagement with the CCC • Key health personnel such as the Civil Surgeon, superintendent, senior medical staff and ancillary staff participated in the

and ancillary ward staff • Inadequate medical facilities such as medicines, beds, operating theatres, trolleys and ambulances • Bribes demanded to issue medical certificates • Medical representatives in doctors' offices during clinic hours[30] • Lack of cleanliness and hygienic environment	funds or returned to patients[31] • Cleanliness improved • Health officials (surgeons and doctors) are now more helpful both in terms of information transparency and gradual improvements in health facilities • Updated list of medicines, and doctors & nurses roster are now on display	report card press release and answered questions from journalists • The report card findings received extensive publicity in the media • Volunteers of the CCC regularly visit hospitals to monitor services and ensure patients receive the necessary support

Pre and Post Intervention in Education

• Extra money collected under the guise of various fees and lack of transparency in collecting money • Anomalies in distributing stipends among poor students • Teachers reluctant to take classes on time and to teach	• Education authorities are aware of the anomalies which exist and have sought to address them • Teachers' performance has improved including their time-keeping and	• School management committees are more active and willing to work with CCC to improve the quality of education services. • Through events like satellite AI-desks and

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[30] Medical representatives should not approach personally doctors for promoting any medicine or life saving drugs. It should come through and approved by a proper authority. However, in reality it depends mostly on the mutual benefit of doctors and medical representatives.

[31] Suppose the price of a service is BTD 8.00. Usually the service seeker (SS) would give a ten taka note and the service provider (SP) would not give back the 2 taka saying he has no change. The SS would not bother for such a small amount of money. However, it becomes a significant amount when all the money let go off by the SS is added. Previously, this amount used to be absorbed by the SPs

allocated class times • School management committee inactive • Absence of (or inactive) Parents-Teachers Associations.	maintaining class discipline	Mothers' Gatherings[32] people have become more aware of their rights
Pre and Post Intervention in Local Government		
• Low quality of services provided by local government • Misappropriation of money allocated for development of the locality along with low level of monitoring, supervision and quality control • Staff shortages to properly provide local government services • Corruption in the tendering and procurement process • Extreme suffering experienced by vulnerable people	• Municipality/UP Chairs are more co-operative to civil society groups • Staff numbers increased • Financial corruption appears to be reducing • Complaint boxes have been installed • Elected Chairs' interaction with citizens has increased • Elected politicians and officials acknowledge the problems identified in research reports and commit to working with CCC and TIB	• Integrity Pledge has been signed in different places with UP officials • Widespread print and electronic media coverage which impacts on people's awareness • People are demanding their rights from local government.

Table 5.2: Impact of TIB activities   (Source: Knox and Yasmin 2007)

From the discussion above, it seems that TIB is trying hard to create awareness among people against corruption by research, engagement and participation. Although it is very difficult to measure and certify how much it has succeeded in its

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[32] Satellite AI desk and Mothers' Gathering will be explained later on in this chapter and the following chapter respectively.

goal, it can certainly be said that TIB has instilled the idea that "corruption is a grave problem and it should be addressed by everyone" among a significant number of people in the society.

5.2.4 Key Findings

- For a social movement, research results are more influential when people can connect with that and give their own opinions.
- Integrity may not always necessarily and naturally be part of the authority; very often the power holders need to be brought under pressure and formal practice installed to ensure good governance.
- When a government body fails to interact with people in an accountable way, the presence of a third party helps to improve the situation.
- Governance is proven to be better if based on public participation.
- Public participation is not only needed to monitor the authority, it also helps the citizens to be aware of their own roles and responsibilities towards the society.

5.3 A Platform to Protest and to Trust

Focused Group Discussions with the YES and CCC members revealed that most of them are involved in TIB's anti-corruption social movement for very similar reasons. Firstly, they all have a negative attitude towards corruption and want a corruption-free Bangladesh. They realized that their anti-corruption thoughts and initiatives would be more effective if they were combined with those of other like-minded people. Secondly, they joined TIB because it has been able to establish itself as a non-partisan and non-political organization. According to them, they did not want to be part of any political campaign since many of them have lost trust in political parties as well as in their willingness to fight corruption. The box below (see box 5.6) depicts how a CCC member became part of TIB.

Box 5.6: Motivation to work with TIB

> *"I have hated corruption all my life and have always tried to keep away from it. When I got the opportunity to work with a reliable organization like TIB I thought I must avail it, because alone I will not be able to do anything against corruption since the corrupt people are powerful and dangerous. However if we are all*

> *together on the same platform they won't dare attack us, and even if they do, we will be able to defend that."*
>
> <div align="right">Source: CCC member during FGD</div>

In essence the same argument was found while interviewing TIB members. Their motivation for working with TIB has been their wholehearted desire to contribute towards curbing corruption in Bangladesh and thereby make the country livable for its poor, helpless and powerless citizens. They were under the impression that organizing people at the grassroots and raising awareness about the ill effects of corruption would provide a strong countervailing force against wrong practices. The following box (see box 5.7) expresses the motivation of a TIB member for joining TIB.

Box 5.7: TIB is trustworthy

> *"I have been associated with TIB since January 1998. I came to know about TIB activities after Peter Eigen visited Bangladesh in 1995-96 and announced the floatation of a TI chapter in Bangladesh. Before that, my article published in the Far Eastern Economic Review (7 April 1994) titled 'Fifth Column: Bureaucrats Out!' was used as an editorial input in the first issue of TI Newsletter (Berlin, 1994, Editor: Jeremy Pope). When I realized that TIB is working as objectively and credibly as TI, I decided to become a member here."*
>
> <div align="right">Source: Interview with TIB member</div>

The same level of reliance on the organization was heard from a high official of one of TIB's donor organizations which is stated below (see box 5.8).

Box 5.8: No question about TIB's credibility

> *"Our organization aims to donate on such projects that will bring some positive change in the society and I can assure you TIB is one of the most credible development organizations in the country at this moment. We never had a chance to question TIB's integrity both from program and management level."*
>
> <div align="right">Source: Representative from donor organization</div>

The following discussion analyzes TIB's mode of action through which it has created this trustworthy and reliable image among its stakeholders.

5.3.1 Building Ownership

Richards's (2006) research for TI Australia found that communities' response to CCC has been overwhelmingly positive and their impact on local corruption problems has also been successful. My previous experience and the findings from FGDs are also compatible with the conclusion of Richards. The issues and organizations TIB deals with at local level are based entirely on the suggestions and consultations with local CCC and YES members who encounter corruption in their respective areas on a daily basis. Also the solution initiatives offer a direct way for people to voice complaints, raise concerns, make suggestions and get active in anti-corruption campaigns. As a result, the volunteers develop a feeling that they are working along with TIB to solve their own problems, therefore a sense of responsibility grows among them. Their pride of being part of a social movement like this was vivid through the expressions used. The box below (see box 5.9) states a YES member's feeling about the ownership building strategy of TIB:

Box 5.9: Inclusion in decision making promotes ownership

> *"I have joined TIB on a totally voluntary basis, not to gain some personal benefit, rather because I hate corruption. Even if TIB were not here I would have been doing my part for the society to fight corruption although I realize that would not have been much effective. TIB has unified our strength and has increased our capacity. Although I work through TIB, I always have a feeling that I am working to solve my own problem, maybe I have not faced it already but it will make me suffer one day if it is not uprooted now. This feeling becomes stronger as we are always considered as an integral part of the decision-making process and are always given the chance to express the way we are looking at a problem."*
>
> Source: Interview with YES member

A lack of ownership has been found among TIB members through the IDIs with staff and TIB members themselves. A common claim from the members is that, unlike the CCC members, TIB is not engaging them in its movement, although there are some who deny it. On the other hand TIB staff claim that all possible initiatives are taken

to make the members active but the response rate is very poor. The following box (5.10) shows different views from TIB members and staff on this point.

Box 5.10: Do members lack ownership

> *"We only come to know about any activity when the major decision has been taken and it is going to be implemented. We are never part of the decision making process. At a local level the activities are always decided upon consultation with CCC members"*
>
> Source: TIB member
>
> *"There are basically two types of members in TIB. One type joined TIB mainly to satisfy their own ego, but the other type seeks genuine improvements in the corruption scenario of Bangladesh. TIB should involve only those members who can provide positive inputs to specific processes for visible outputs and outcomes"*
>
> Source: TIB member
>
> *"I think we need to communicate with the members more frequently. At the same time members should also voluntarily contribute to TIB activities if they really want to bring about positive changes in the integrity situation of the country"*
>
> Source: TIB staff

Although TIB works both at a local and national level, according to my observation there is lack of collaboration between the stakeholders (including staff) of these two levels. Stakeholders from both levels seem to be very spontaneous about the activities in their own territory but not quite aware or interested about what is happening on the other side.

One of the key elements in promoting an anti-corruption strategy is to develop ownership among the stakeholders which needs to be achieved from the very initial stage of the program. This ownership means that the stakeholders themselves identify corruption as a significant issue, feel the responsibility for doing something about it and ensure that they are willing to give their best efforts necessary to fight it (Smithers 2011, 13). It would be an unrealistic idea to think that some catalysts can solve a country's or community's corruption problems even when community

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members are not part of it. Corruption takes numerous forms, and the internal dynamics vary deviously but distinctively from place to place. Utilizing the experience and expertise of the local community is the most effective way to know and understand its particular problems, the network of participants, and the best possible solutions (Langseth 1999). It also helps to avoid the recurrent problem of needing to build commitment and synchronizing the activities to address corruption (Meagher 1997). The data indicates that TIB maintains a strong grassroots focus, aiming to catalyze and strengthen anti-corruption participatory social movements from local platforms, although it seems there is still scope to improve at a national level.

5.3.2 Scope to Raise Voice

According to many of the respondents of IDIs and FGDs, people are afraid to protest against corruption because the most corrupt persons are the most powerful in the country and they won't hesitate to abuse their power against the people. In such a case the protester would not be offered protection from anywhere. On the contrary, some other respondents think that the corrupt people have gained their power day by day since no one has ever disputed their activities.

During the conversations with the staff and volunteers, it was visible that they all were eager to prevent corruption within their own scope and area. Before joining TIB they were not this much confident as they were not sure that the traditional law-enforcing agency would protect them were they in trouble. They all agreed that they feel much stronger after joining TIB. The YES members shared that they have learnt few basic strategies to prevent corruption which they believe are very important and effective. Those are given below:

- Have an idea of your limit and try to work within that
- Prepare yourself for broader action
- The more honest you are, the stronger voice you have
- Creating public opinion is an imperative way to establish demand.

The following box (5.11) describes how TIB helped a YES member when he was in danger because of protesting against corruption.

Box 5.11: Protecting a stakeholder in a peril situation

"Being politically powerful and rich, the local touts in our area capture most of the profit of salt cultivation and pay a very minimal portion to the helpless cultivators. I led a campaign against them and they tried to harass me physically, legally and in every other possible way. However, they were not successful as TIB protected me in every way it could. The area manager, the CCC members were great support for me. Even those powerful people were hesitant to attack me as I am part of TIB. However, it's a pity that I could not do much against them as not many cultivators were willing to give statements in the court against the touts. They were very scared of being harassed and the local law-enforcing agency was not very cooperative. Still I believe I will be able to gather enough people against them one day if I get the support from TIB."

Source: Interview with YES member

The respondents of IDIs and FGDs were helpful to establish a both cause and effect way of how corruption takes a pervasive form in Bangladesh. The cause of corruption to some is treated as the impact of corruption to others and vice versa. Merging these two types of thought, the following relationship could be established (see figure 5.3).
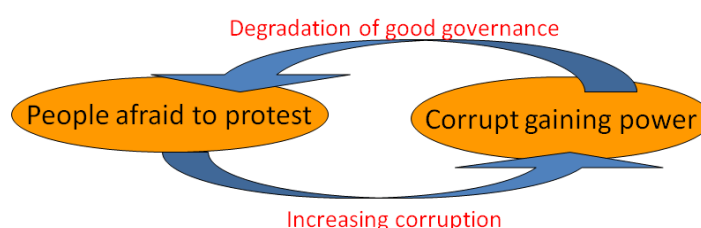
Figure 5.3: Both-way cause and effect of corruption

It is understandable that in order to break this loop of corruption, proceeding from people's side would be more effective than from the corrupt. The effective role of watchdog agencies and public awareness of their existence are two very important

aspects that help people to become active against corruption (McCusker 2006). Watchdog bodies catalyse a conducive environment to ensure good governance by curbing corruption, which includes NGOs, media, civil society, anti-corruption organizations, law and order enforcing agencies etc. Civil society participation and NGOs as the watchdog body are integral to reduce corruption in Bangladesh and TIB is playing the leading role in this context (Hasan 2000). It is creating a reliable ground for the people where they can engage and raise their voice.

As a watchdog organization, TIB gathers people, teaches them to raise their voice and protects them from getting into trouble. This creates a lot of confidence among the stakeholders and more people are inspired to work against corruption. Thus if a broader environment could be produced to ensure the safety of the whistle-blowers, the loop of corruption would be broken as people would no longer be afraid. Consequently, the corrupt will lose their power, corruption will reduce and good governance will be ensured.

5.3.3 Building an Internal Network

It is evident that corruption became pervasive in Bangladesh because of a powerful network, so a counter-network, equally powerful is required to uproot this menace (Dzhumashev et al. 2010). Being the leading anti-corruption organization in the country TIB has significant roles and responsibilities in establishing a wide network against corruption. It has already built up an internal network within itself through the CCCs in 45 districts and the central office in the capital. To make this internal network informative TIB publishes quarterly newsletters at a national and local level named "Waves" and "Nagarik Prattay (Citizen's Spirit)" respectively. Also, quarterly staff and yearly volunteer conventions take place in order to exchange views and information. Stakeholders also use the TIB blog to share their experience and knowledge. However, YES members urged that the frequency of ICT based knowledge sharing should be increased and encouraged. It will help the stakeholders to interact among themselves more frequently. Box 5.12 reveals the feelings of stakeholders about the internal network of TIB expressed during FGDs.

Box 5.12: Feelings of stakeholders about the internal network of TIB

> *"Sometimes dissatisfaction and anomalies occur among staff regarding the way of work at central and local level. Staff conventions and other integrating events give us the opportunity to know each other better and this eventually makes us respect the other part's work. This is how we have managed to work as a big 'TIB family' for such a long time."*
>
> Source: TIB staff
>
> *"Corruption is and always has been a very sensitive issue to deal with and it is very natural to be scared to work against it. The same applies for me and the other volunteers. However, we get off this with a feeling that we are not alone; there are thousands like us who will be there if we are in danger. TIB has been able to give us this feeling, which I believe is TIB's greatest success."*
>
> Source: CCC member
>
> *"We feel privileged to be YES members and work with such a great platform. However it would have been even better if we had a wider scope to interact among ourselves. We have been waiting so long for a YES page in TIB website which has not been functional yet. This page would have served as a bridge between Dhaka YES and CCC YES."*
>
> Source: YES member.

This internal network strengthens the anti-corruption activities of the organization by creating a sense of support for one another. The communication of success of one CCC or YES group encourages the others to work accordingly while the constraints faced in one place could be solved by suggestions from other places.

In addition to this internal network TIB has a wide range of external networks that consist of alliances with like-minded organizations, creating forum through activities, such as Investigative Journalism (IJ) training, Right to Information (RTI), United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC), exchange programs with other TI chapters and coalition with international organizations for broader support and funding. These external networks help TIB's social movement in the following ways (Wollenberg et al. 2005):

- Generating funds and other logistic support

- Acquiring knowledge of broader policy frameworks

- Creating scope for independent assessments and critique

- Assisting with wider range of strategies and ability to increase capacities

- Increasing contacts for exchanges, media and campaigns

- Larger broadcasting of local stories

- Confidence building.

On the other hand, this external network of TIB benefits the alliance organizations as well, as described by a representative from one of them (see box 5.13).

Box 5.13: Fighting corruption to promote development

> *"The development sector of Bangladesh is really working hard to address various problems of the society and achieving good success rate. Even though we cannot confirm that corruption does not prevail within ourselves, either as a threat or a companion. This is a matter of concern as no development initiative will be long lasting if we, the key players of these projects are not transparent or strong enough to oppose corruption. In this particular case TIB helps the alliance bodies with its expertise to deal with corruption and overcome the threat."*
>
> Source: Representative from alliance organization

There always remains a both-way conflict of interest in regards of TIB networking with other organizations. Many organizations are not enthusiastic about partnership with TIB as its recognition by the government is low because it often cannot accept positively the watchdog's constructive criticism. On the other hand, the partnership policy of the organization is very restricted. It allies only with people or institutions that are compatible with the core values of TIB (Chowdhury & Hovland 2007, 14).

Every social movement requires an environment where individuals and organizations are working towards a common purpose. It is essential that the movement assembles a network where information could be shared, programme approaches and outcomes of activities could be discussed and mutual support provided at different levels could be strengthened (Pant 2009). Networking helps a great deal in getting more

stakeholders involved and enhancing the interaction between and among individuals and organizations from different spheres of governance. It also serves as an avenue for the establishment of linkages with international alliances on good governance which is even more important for social movements with donor support (OECD, 2013).

5.3.4 Unbiased Stand

The FGDs and the IDIs with the volunteers made it clear that they trust TIB to be an honest and non-partisan organization that fights against corruption without showing fear or favor to anyone. The following box (5.14) presents thoughts of a CCC member regarding the objectivity of TIB.

Box 5.14: TIB's unbiased attitude towards political parties

> *"There is a very interesting trend of the politicians' take on TIB. When a party is in power it is against TIB for they campaign against public sector corruption that includes the government. At that time the opposition claims TIB is a just organization. They even claim TIB's involvement in various investigations and policy making for fairness. In the next election when the ruling party becomes opposition and vice versa, they radically change their mindset towards TIB because it is still talking against corruption and both parties are engaged in same type of activities rotationally. If TIB was partisan then at least one party would always praise it, but that never happens. What else could be a better proof of TIB's justness?"*
>
> Source: CCC member during FGD

The tendency of welcoming constructive criticism has not yet been developed among political parties. This is why they treat TIB's advocacy campaign as a threat rather than a scope for them to improve and react radically (Hasan 2012). One of TIB staff expresses his view on why TIB has to be strategic sometimes, in spite of being neutral (see box 5.15).

Box 5.15: Strategic move of TIB with research findings

"There is no doubt that in terms of vision, mission and activities TIB thrives to be absolutely fair. However, in a country like Bangladesh, it is not always possible to express totally what you know. For example, TIB used to publish a corruption database[33] every year and consequently it created much debate among the policy makers and pressure on itself. Sometimes it even hampered TIB's normal activities for long. TIB still conducts this research but does not publish it anymore. Rather with the information obtained from this we run the advocacy programs on an area- or sector- specific way."

<div align="right">Source: TIB staff during FGD</div>

During the IDIs, there were some dissatisfaction among the respondents in terms of recruiting questionable trustee board members and CCC members regarding their political involvement. On that note one high official of TIB gave the following clarification (see box 5.16).

Box 5.16: TIB's stand on political beliefs

"As long as someone's political belief does not harm the core values of TIB, it could not be taken under consideration for not including him/her in TIB's movement. Also, being involved in politics does not mean involvement in corruption. TIB takes highest precaution in recruiting non-partisan and honest stakeholders."

<div align="right">Source: TIB high official</div>

The positive perception of TIB that prevails also among the public is a sign that it has managed to establish an impartial stand over the past years' work, and its existence has clearly achieved a positive public awareness (Knox & Yasmin 2007). It is operating in a very challenging political context and its research and campaign have occasionally led to dramatic clashes between the organization and government.

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[33] A continuous round-the-year research to obtain knowledge on the nature, magnitude, form, depth, spread and implications of corruption in Bangladesh. Reports on corruption in leading national and regional daily newspapers are the source of information for the database (TIB website).

Table 5.3 shows the political parties and government's reaction on TIB's research-based claims related to a range of issues:

Issue	Reaction by Political Parties	Party - Position	Source
Money embezzlement by ministers	Threat of legal charge if claim not withdrawn	Bangladesh National Party (BNP) - Government	The Daily Star, 25 July, 2006
	Government should take responsibility rather than attacking TIB	Awami League (AL) - Main opposition	The Daily Sangbad, 27 July 2006
Political parties are among the most corrupt	Based on real scenario	BNP - Main opposition	The Financial Express, 12 July, 2011
	Totally based on false information to obstruct the constitution	AL - Government	The Daily Jugantar, 11 July, 2011
MPs' involved in negative activities	Undermining the dignity of parliament, TIB should be banned	MPs from all parties including the Speaker	The Daily Prothom Alo, 20 November 2012.
Police and judiciary among the most corrupt	TIB does not have any patriotism, so they are undermining the country	AL - Government	The Daily Kaler Kantha, 11 July 2013

Table 5.3: TIB's claims and respective reactions

The pattern of reactions in table 5.3 shows clearly that TIB has been under pressure from political parties, especially the government whenever a claim has gone against them. On the contrary, the opposition parties usually agree with the findings of TIB as the presence of corruption at large in a country indicates the failure of its government.

The above discussions imply that TIB's objective stand, intensive way of working on the sole issue of corruption and being a constant support for the stakeholders and public have established it as a trustworthy and effective organization in the country. It is very important to maintain this strategy up in a persistent way as otherwise all these efforts will be condemned in failure. Also, TIB needs to be more careful in selecting the stakeholders including the Board of Trustees. Nevertheless, there should always be a scope for open discussion on these issues to avoid misunderstanding and distrust.

5.3.5 Key Findings

- Using local experience and suggestions on corruption helps building ownership among TIB stakeholders.

- Local level and young volunteers own TIB activities while there remains a clear lack of ownership among the national level volunteers.

- It is easier for people to engage in social movements to show their stand against corruption than to protest by themselves.

- Stakeholders have faith in TIB in terms of organizational ethic and protection of the whistleblowers which keeps the social movement strong.

- TIB has managed to establish an unbiased approach among civil society through its constructive criticism of each political party.

- Although TIB's internal network is strong, there remains a gap between the local and national level stakeholders in terms of knowledge, expertise and ownership.

5.4 Awareness Raising with Information and Communication

Information is power. If democracy is to function for good governance it is required for citizens to have access to public information including information concerning the governance of the state. This allows individuals to exercise their political and civil rights in election processes; challenge or influence public policies; monitor the quality of public spending; and demand accountability (Grönlund 2010, 9).

Lack of access to information results in a non-participatory society in which political decision-making is not democratic and always leaves space for corruption to take place. Corruption flourishes in darkness and so any progress towards opening

governments and intergovernmental organizations to public scrutiny is likely to advance anti-corruption efforts (TI 2006, 5). Access to information and transparency are thus prerequisites for democracy as well as a key tool in the fight against corruption (Sturges 2007, 186).

On the other hand, information is made accessible to people through different ways of communication. Anti-corruption communication is the practice of imparting or conveying information to stakeholders, primarily the public, about issues and initiatives forming part of the campaign, in a clear, sustained and informative manner (ICAC 2010). An effective communication campaign raises awareness among citizens about corruption-related issues and shapes people's attitudes towards this social evil. It helps defining the problem and explains different types of corrupt acts in order to help the citizenry identify actions beyond bribery, the most recognized form of corruption, that have a negative impact on society. It also aims to inform people about their rights and the laws protecting them (Fuente 2008).

In Bangladesh, the most difficult challenge facing democratic and accountable governance is secrecy. It leads to concentration of power and widening of discretion which are ingredients of poor and unaccountable governance. Most governments, and indeed also often the non-government organizations are accustomed to doing things in a secretive fashion (Iftekharuzzaman 2010). Lack of accountability and proper human resources that can help people efficiently makes the access to information even harder. Inadequate and improper ways of communication materials also hinder the free flow of information (Ali 2003). In this environment, TIB has taken significant steps to ensure objective and free stream of information through proper communicating media. These steps include (Iftekharuzzaman 2006):

- Wide dissemination of information regarding corruption and good governance
- Using information in building public opinion, informing the concerned authority and lobbying for policy reform and institutional change
- Directly engaging the government
- Creating conditions for public demand for influencing the government in establishing good governance, transparency and accountability

- Establishing links between the organization and the public, policy makers and the media.

- Involving media in disseminating fair and research-based information regarding corruption

- Capacity building of the stakeholders to ensure they are equipped with the knowledge, skills and qualifications on information and communication they will need to fight corruption.

The following section describes some of the major information and communication related initiatives of TIB.

5.4.1 Right to Information Act and Advice and Information Desks

Among the organizations that had been demanding for the Right to Information (RTI) act from the very beginning, TIB is one of the most prominent (TIB Annual report 2006, 11). Even after the law was passed TIB is advocating actively for its proper implementation (TIB press release 2011a). Through an alliance with the RTI forum (RTI forum website)[34] TIB is organizing seminars, workshops and other activities for awareness raising and capacity building among people and the personnel of the Information Commission[35] at different branches across the country (Tatthyakonika 2012, 2). Further information was obtained through IDI with staff about TIB's activity on the RTI act (see box 5.17). During KII, a high official from the information commission of Bangladesh described TIB's enthusiasm regarding the RTI act (see box 5.18).

Box 5.17: Proper implementation of Right to Information

"TIB is concerned about the RTI act on two basic grounds. The first one is to make people know about the existence of the act and build up their capacity to properly

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[34] Established in 2008, the Right to Information Forum (RTI-Forum) is a coalition of institutions and individuals who have joined hands to ensure effective implementation and promotion of the right to information of the people of Bangladesh (RTI-Forum website).

[35] After the commencement of RTI Act, an independent government body has been established for carrying out the purposes of this Act and in accordance with its provisions, known as the Information commission.

use it. On this ground we are taking initiatives for the capacity building of the CCC and YES members so that they are able to get the information they require using the RTI act. We are also open to provide training to other organizations that need help with this. The second ground consists of monitoring the level of implementation of the act. For that, we are performing as an observer at the hearings of the Information Commission. With a motive of evaluation, we are planning to conduct research on the implementation status of the RTI act."

<div align="right">Source: Interview with TIB staff</div>

Box 5.18: TIB's encouragement of Right to Information

"I must admit that TIB has worked as a dynamic agent in passing the RTI act. It is also one of the active most designated NGOs to give information to people on behalf of the Information Commission. According to the website of the Commission, as of today 3067 applications seeking information were submitted to TIB and it has answered then all promptly and properly."

<div align="right">Source: High official of information commission</div>

The 2003 United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) entered into force in 2005 and its 140 signatory countries have committed to adopting access to information regimes, as well as to implementing other transparency measures in the conduct of state business (Justice Initiative 2006). As a signing partner of UNCAC, the Right to Information (RTI) Act 2009 was adopted in Bangladesh in the first session of the Ninth Parliament on March 29, 2009. This was a consequence of continuous efforts and effective lobbying and advocacy of many civil society organizations, academia, media, researchers, legal experts, etc. (Anam 2012, 14). This law has created a lot of expectation among the people of Bangladesh since according to the constitution of the country citizens (GoB 1998, Article 39) are the most powerful element and the right to information empowers them to realize the fruits of democracy. However, merely enacting a law is not adequate to change the present secretive and conservative way of governance. In order to bring real change the law must be effectively implemented. There are some good success stories about grassroots people using the RTI Act and benefiting including the following (CHRI 2012):

- RTI Act helped a village lady to obtain a Vulnerable Group Development (VGD) card
- Woman uses the RTI Act to help vulnerable women to access government programs in her village
- Information is used to increase the beneficiaries from a government program
- Information helped to bring transparency in the distribution of grains
- RTI Act helps in implementing minimum wage in the shrimp processing industry
- RTI is used for environmental advocacy against illegal building
- RTI Act is used to ensure that online complaints of migrant workers are heard
- Information Commission helps a person to access information on agricultural issues
- By using the RTI Act, poor women receive access to maternal health vouchers
- Landless comunities use the RTI Act to gain access to land records
- RTI Act helps improve the lives of fishermen
- By using the RTI Act, a man gets access to the Agriculture Input Assistance Card
- RTI helps to place names on a list of beneficiaries in a government program
- A community utilizes RTI for receiving Old Age Pension in Saidpur, Nilphamari
- RTI Act enables a person to obtain information from a youth development officer.

These examples are indication of how much people are going to benefit if the RTI Act is implemented on a broader scale. The greatest challenge to achieve this is not the unwillingness to cooperate from the authorities; rather it is people's unawareness about the law and their incapability to use it properly (Iqbal & Dey 2012). The reasonable access fee also makes it easier for poor people to seek information. In particular, if the information is already available to the officers it should be free of any charge. However, if it takes any extra effort to collect the information, a reasonable fee may be applicable, prescribed by the officer-in-charge (Bangladesh Gadget 2009). The following figure (5.4) shows the results of a survey among 1019 people regarding their awareness of and dealing with the RTI Act. Almost half of the respondents are not aware of the law and only half of the aware people have sought information through it. However, when people have applied properly for information, the success rate was very high.
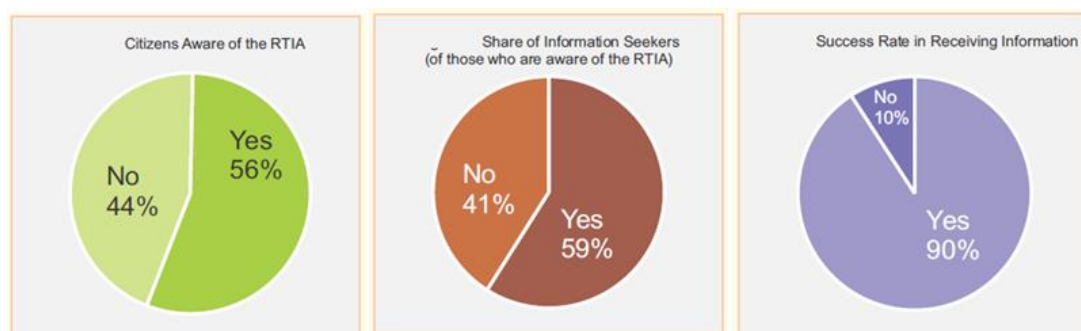
Figure 5.4: Awareness and usage of RTI act   (Source: Iqbal & Dey 2012, 19, 21)

In order to take the information on rights and entitlements of citizens to their doorsteps, TIB operates one of its flagship activities – the Satellite Advice and Information (AI) Desks on a regular basis (TIB annual report 2009, 8). This arrangement carried out by the YES members operates in all 45 CCCs and in the Capital at various service providing institutions, such as hospitals, schools, land offices etc. The rewarding experience of a YES member from AI desk is described below (see box 5.19).

Box 5.19: Saving people from corruption

> *"Among all activities AI desk is different in a sense that by this we can immediately save people from being victims of corruption. One day when the AI desk was set up in the Sadar hospital, an old man came to us asking from where he could get an X-ray done at a cheaper rate. We informed him that he should be able to do that from the hospital for free. The poor man replied that the hospital staff was asking money for this. Then we talked to the hospital staff showing the booklet we prepared with the help of the hospital authority where X-ray was indicated to be free and it worked! After the job was done without any charge, the old man blessed us from his heart. We have so many good memories like this which motivate us to work against corruption more actively."*
>
> Source: Interview with YES member

Exhibit 5.2: Satellite Advice and Information desk providing information

(Source: SDC website)

Lack of availability or access to information is one of the main reasons for corruption and public harassment in Bangladesh, especially at the local level. In this regard, AI desks work as a source of information and guidance to local people about receiving services with particular reference from the main authority so that they do not become victims of corruption by dishonest providers. The Satellite AI-Desks have been a very effective and popular activity in disseminating information to those who are not in a position to be updated through modern technology, especially poor, illiterate and marginalized people. At the same time, it has been able to bring significant positive changes in selected areas of service delivery. For example, the price lists for different services are now displayed in many institutions, such as, hospitals, land offices etc.

5.4.2 Investigative Journalism Training and Award

In order to enhance professional excellence in corruption-related investigative journalism (IJ) in Bangladesh, encourage media workers to prepare investigative reports on corruption and raise their efficiency, TIB has been providing IJ training to local level and early career journalists since 2001 (Waves 2009, 11). So far 120 journalists working in both print and electronic media have participated in the training (Rolt 2012, 15). Staff associated with IJ training informed that these journalists have expressed their willingness and motivation in establishing good governance through increased transparency and accountability by intensive and honest investigative reports.

Even prior to that, TIB has been awarding an IJ Prize since 1999 for encouraging and flourishing professional excellence in investigative journalism on corruption in

Bangladesh. Every year three journalists (print, electronic and regional) are awarded the prize for investigative reports that reveal ongoing corruption in a sector or organization (Waves 2008, 11). The award winners are decided on the basis of fully blind scoring from externals judges. Box 5.20 gives information about the achievement of TIB's IJ program as stated by one of the staff.

Box 5.20: Promoting investigative journalism

> *"The IJ training program gives the local level journalists who barely have any educational or training background chances to learn about journalism broadly. It also serves as a base for the early career journalists who are still to decide the way they want to go. The trainees are always very impressed with the resource persons TIB hires for the training purpose because usually they are celebrity journalists of the country or well-known academics.*
>
> *Also the IJ award has been treated as a very prestigious recognition by the journalists of our country. They say that it gives them motivation to go for investigative reports even after various sorts of threat. A very memorable incidence in this regard is one of our trainees from 2010 achieving the IJ award in 2011 in the regional category for revealing the corruption in the health sector. He thanked TIB for both the award and training for conducting investigative journalism."*
>
> Source: Interview with TIB staff

There are some basic catalysts to ensure good governance and consequently reducing corruption. One of them is the media. Brunetti and Weder (2001) established a clear negative relationship between free media and corruption using data from a large cross-section of countries. The media also promotes the anti-corruption efforts of civil groups as well as action by official bodies in charge of investigating or prosecuting corrupt acts such as the Judiciary and the Inspectorate of Government (Nogara 2009). One of the key characteristics for the emergence of an independent, watchdog news media refers to the presence of investigative journalism (Forbes 2005). By definition IJ is a type of reporting in which reporters deeply investigates a topic of interest, often involving crime, political corruption, or some other scandal (Weinberg 1996). Unlike the daily reports it usually takes a significant period of time to collect information and conduct research on an investigative report. In the

developing and democratizing world, their contributions include fostering accountability and transparency, battling corruption, exposing organized crime, strengthening civil society, fuelling reform, and calling for justice (Kaplan 2007, 8). It is also evident that civil society can perform effectively in reducing corruption only in the presence of efficient, unbiased and free media (Themudo 2013).

The Bangladeshi Constitution recognizes "the right of every citizen to freedom of speech and expression, and freedom of the press" (GoB 1998, Article 39). However, the journalists are often under political pressure and both government and opposition parties show signs of intolerance against the media which include harassment, physical torture and even assassination (WPFI 2012). In spite of such constraints the Bangladeshi media (both print and electronic) have been growing fast in number and coverage and are generally free, vibrant and diverse (Wassener 2012).

The IJ programs of TIB encourage the media of Bangladesh for more honest, intensive and research based reports that will help shaking the established corruption in the country. They also help generate wide and strong networks of TIB with the media which is very important for a social movement. Once the journalists receive training or an award from TIB they realize the importance of the organization's activities

5.4.3 Competitions and Exhibitions

Nowadays cartoon is a very popular medium of communication in Bangladesh. Besides being used as a material for child education, it has become a very strong tool to focus on the various mismanagements. Like many countries in the world cartoons have been playing an important role in Bangladesh as a useful anti-corruption tool. Since 2006 TIB has been organizing anti-corruption cartoon competitions followed by exhibitions with the best cartoons (TIB 2011c). Through this TIB has also created the ground for forming the Bangladesh Cartoonists Association (TIB Annual report 2009, 41). Staff reported that in the CCCs there is a huge demand for these cartoon exhibitions. People very easily familiarize themselves with many types of corruption happening in the country through such cartoons. Myself, I also have a memory of cartoon exhibition in a CCC. There was a picture that showed a police officer

claiming money for a General Diary (GD)[36] although it should be done free of charge. A man expresses his grief that he does not know this is a free service as he is not literate enough and does not have access to TV or other medium of communication. Such exhibitions help to a great extent in drawing public attention and raising awareness about corruption. The explanation of a TIB staff on how cartoon helps fighting corruption is given in box 5.21.

Box 5.21: Cartoon against corruption

> *"We seek cartoons from people aged between 13 and 35. At such age, people are either supposed to have fun or remain busy with office work. However, they spear their hours trying to understand and make others realize the ills of corruption. Automatically an anti-corruption drive is generated among them which they want to value althrough their lives. Also during the exhibitions we can get the immediate response of the audience against corruption and they give their valuable opinion on how we should proceed. These cartoons are used in various publications, billboards and TV Commercials (TVC) as awareness raising tools."*
>
> Source: Interview with TIB staff

Two of the prize winning cartoons are represented below and they show the impact of corruption and way to prevent it respectively (see exhibit 5.3). The first one symbolically shows how the funds allocated for the development of the poor are embezzled at different levels and at the end there is nothing left. The second optimistically illustrates the power of united people to uproot corruption from society.

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[36] A police register to record 24 hours incidents that are happening or likely to happen, within the jurisdiction of the police station on a daily basis. If any incident has taken place or likely to take place then any person can file an application for GD entry. For example, if someone has lost any important document, s/he can file a GD to be on a safe ground in case of any undue advantage through that document.
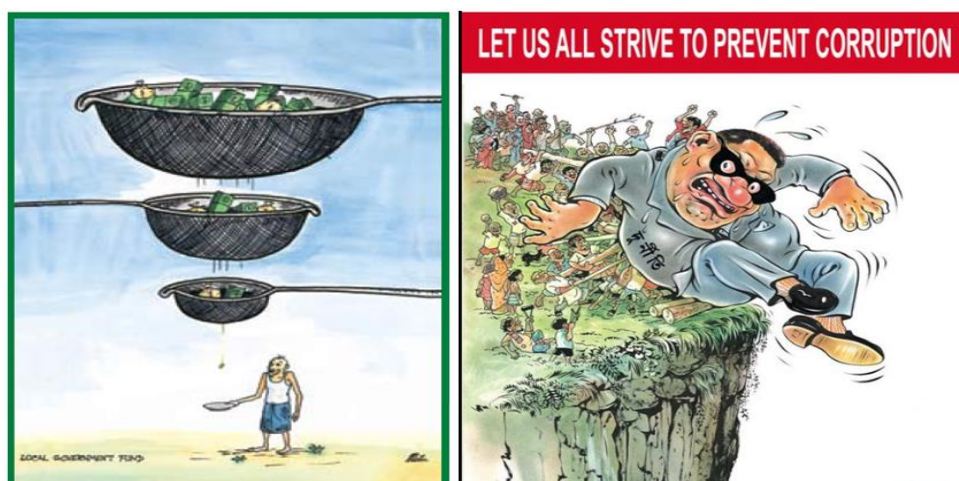
Exhibit 5.3: Prize winning cartoons of TIB   (source: Waves Dec 09 & Dec 06)

It is a very common saying that "a picture is worth a thousand words". Cartoon is a popular pictorial way to convey important information in a very few words or sometimes even without a word. The emotions behind the cartoons are genuine and although harsh, are taken with a sense of humor (Lawate 2012). It is a widespread way to communicate with people for awareness through books, newspapers, website, exhibition etc. However, cartoons are a great tool for sensitization, creating awareness and developing a sense of responsibility and commitment through easy and satirical presentation of facts, events and stories (The Carbon Trust 2010). Transparency International Bangladesh is the first among all TI-chapters to organize cartoon competitions (TIB Press release 2012a); recently TI-Sri Lanka also initiated this being inspired by TIB (TI-SL website).

In a similar way TIB arranges Parliamentary style debate[37] competitions, essay and quiz competitions etc. focusing on the evil of corruption and making the young generation conscious about it. Parliamentary debate, in addition to taking place in a parliamentary setting, attempts to transform the detailed discussion that occurs into a format that teaches the principles of reasoning, research and argument. These competitions motivate the youth to find the deep roots of corruption in the country and sustainable solutions for the improvement of the situation.

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[37] The two groups are named as Government and Opposition depending on the topic of the debate (Filliter 2004).

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5.4.4 Key Findings

- People of Bangladesh are yet not used to utilize information to overcome the corruption hassle. However, when they are familiar with the procedures, they tend to use them quite successfully and efficiently.

- Training and competitions create avenues for a strong external network that helps expanding social movements.

- They also help people to think about the cause, effect and solutions for corruption even if they are not actively involved in a movement.

- The more TIB interacts with the media, the more people get to know about its fight against corruption.

5.5 TIB as a Social Movement: Achievement and Barriers

In the previous discussion it was shown how TIB has directly contributed in promoting integrity, accountability and transparency through public participation. A trend of using information to avoid misuse of power has started in Bangladesh and TIB is one of the pioneer organizations to uphold this advantage. Other than these local achievements, the social movement of TIB against corruption has established itself as an effective model among the anti-corruption initiatives around the globe. Therefore, many of the Asian chapters of TI are intending to follow TIB's approach to address the corruption problem. A TIB high official describes it as follows (see box 5.22).

Box 5.22: TIB model implemented in other TI chapters

"Our organization is recognized as one of the most active and effective TI chapters. Thus TI recommended some of the Asian chapters, i.e. TI-Sri Lanka, TI-Maldives, TI-Nepal etc. to implement TIB social movement model as the trends of corruption are similar in the Asian region. Also, in order to share expertise and strategies, exchange programs take place between different TI chapters. The contribution of TIB in these exchange programs in anti-corruption tools and techniques has always been highly recognized by the complementary chapters."

Source: High official of TIB

Not only in other chapters, TIB's effectiveness has made a prominent position in TI as well. Since 2008 its executive director is part of the TI-advisory board and secretariat which consist of the very few most active TI chapter members. A former chair person of TIB trustee board is included in the TI advisory council. These are simple indications of TIB's international acceptance and role.

Ninety four per cent of Bangladeshis agree that ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption (TI 2011). For that they need to be unified, empowered and capable and TIB strives to achieve this. However, TIB has been working for only a couple of decades while corruption has been prevailing in the country even before its birth. In the quest of fighting corruption across the globe, TI plays a vital role in gathering a global coalition (O' Leary 2006) and TIB is a successful chapter of this international movement. The current situation points out TIB's capability to contribute a lot in reducing corruption nationally and eventually globally.

The progress of TIB would have been even better if it did not have to deal with some challenges, raised from both internal and external sources. They were identified through the IDIs and FGDs with different stakeholders and are described below:

- The first challenge encountered is from government. Since the culture of accepting criticism for improvement is not yet popular in Bangladesh politics, any information and statement that goes against government is taken as a serious offence. Very often, TIB is threatened by higher authorities at national and local level for finding out their unethical practices that hamper its activities.
- Resource is a basic constraint for this social movement. Its motto is to reach as many people as possible and include them actively. In a populous country like Bangladesh it needs large human resources and logistic support to do that. Being a donor funded movement this is always a burning challenge.
- The TIB 'brand' sometimes works as an issue of concern to some persons and organizations and they do not want to cooperate. They think either they would also be under the rage of government or their own history of corruption might become public.

- Many of the activities that TIB is initiating are new to the people and respective organizations. So there remains the usual challenge to orient people on these themes and then get the advantage out of them.
- The initial fear of people in getting involved in an anti-corruption program is an issue that TIB has to confront every now and then.

All these challenges are vital but as time goes by the society will be ready to accept TIB's activities more openly. A proper way of campaigning and continuous dialogues with the particular authorities will also help to overcome the challenges that hinder the organization's movement today.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the strategies TIB has adopted to engage people in its primary objective of creating a social movement against corruption. The first step in that was to create consciousness through research and public feedback. This strategy was found to be helpful for the citizens to exercise their civil rights on the elected representatives. However there remains some controversy regarding TIB's role in conducting CPI research. Secondly, in building a platform for the participants, TIB has undoubtedly managed to win people's trust through its impartial approach among the stakeholders and civil society. The third approach of mainstreaming the usage of ICT to help people get rid of day to day corruption is still in a preliminary stage but definitely has made a good start.

This social movement has achieved some result-oriented successes as well as some international recognition which has put it into the leading fight against corruption worldwide. However, TIB is still dealing with some internal and external barriers for which time and campaigning with proper strategies would be the best solution.

CHAPTER SIX
TOWARDS A SUSTAINABLE SOCIETY

6.1 Introduction

Corruption is a long prevailing problem for many countries around the globe and it needs both short-term and long-term solutions. The former deal with the problems that are already hampering present lives and the latter are to make sure these problems do not become massive again. The earlier chapter focused on what TIB is doing to address the existing corruption situation in Bangladesh. Issues related to future resilience for the Bangladeshi society and TIB are discussed in this chapter. How corruption hampers achieving sustainable development is the context of this discussion. Later on TIB's contribution in resource mobilization and capacity building among communities are covered. The last part of the chapter deals with TIB's accomplishments at a national level and the issues that might threat for the organization to remain durable and progressive.

6.2 Corruption - A Threat to Sustainable Development

The term, sustainable development (SD), was popularized in Our Common Future, the report published by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in 1987 (Drexhage & Murphy 2012, 2). It also generated the most common and accepted definition of SD as "development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Hopwood, Mellor & O'Brien 2005, 38). In attaining sustainable development it is very crucial to create a balance between the present and future. Otherwise, the tendency of careless growth without concern about others is likely to ruin the liveability of the world. Although social, environmental and economic aspects of development are considered to be the three basic pillars of SD, their features may vary. The Thematic Indicators of SD suggested by the Commission of Sustainable Development (CSD) are as follows (see table 6.1).

Social	Environmental	Economic
• Poverty	• Natural hazards	• Economic development
• Governance	• Atmosphere	• Global economic

• Health	• Land	partnership
• Education	• Ocean, seas and coasts	• Consumption and
• Demographics	• Fresh water	production patterns
	• Biodiversity	

Table 6.1: Indicators of SD   (Source: United Nations 2007, 9)

As for many other development initiatives, corruption is a hindrance to attain SD as well. Many of the indicators are not being achieved because of corruption. It deters good governance (Morss, no date), hinders economic progress and increases income inequality (Gray & Kaufmann 1998). Corruption deprives individuals from having access to appropriate water resources and sanitation (Asís et al. 2009). The challenges of climate change can be aggravated due to the presence of corruption (Iftekharuzzaman 2011). How corruption affects many of the above indicators of SD in Bangladesh is briefly discussed below.

Poverty - Corruption continues to deny the poor, the marginalized, and the least educated members of every society their rights. The social, economic and political benefits that should be generating for all citizens in a usual manner are treated as luxury for a selected few (Ahmmed 2013). The proportion of people below the poverty line in Bangladesh has fallen sharply from close to 60% in 1990 to 40% in 2005 (Kotikula, Narayan & Zaman 2010, 20) and 33% in 2010 (IFAD 2012, 1). This noticeable achievement in poverty reduction over the last two decades is the discussion topic of the think-tanks around the world. However this achievement could have been much better if the problem of corruption could be tackled in a systematic manner (McLeod 2007).

Governance - Eight major parameters of good governance as identified by Nath (2004) are enlisted and described below (see also figure 6.1).

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Figure 6.1: Major parameters of good governance

Rule of Law refers to a state where the law of the country is enforced in such a way that each individual and institute are given equal priority and also are equally responsible to abide by it.

Accountable means that the public has the right to question the government agencies about their activities and the organizations are expected to provide reasonable justification.

Transparent governance is a quality when information regarding all the major policies, strategies and activities of the government and its associated departments is available to the public.

Responsive specifies the governance system as ready and willing to reflect on and give importance to popular public opinions (Saltzstein 1992).

Equitable and Inclusive governance is a situation when the governing body provides its stakeholders with the entire prospect to continue, enhance and generally develop their well-being from their own position (IBIS 2013).

Effective and Efficient way of governance implies producing favourable results that meet the needs of its stakeholders, while making the best use of resources.

__Participatory__ governance ensures the direct or indirect involvement by all members of society while they are organized, well informed and have the freedom of expression.

__Consensus Oriented__ governance seeks consultation to understand the different interests of stakeholders and also to achieve the development targets in a sustainable and prudent manner.

Governance constitutes a major challenge for Bangladesh nowadays. Its under-performance is evident in many areas of national life. The well-known characteristics of governance are either the product of rampant corruption or are conducive for development of corruption (Miazi & Islam 2012, 74). The governance issues affected by corruption across various sectors are outlined below:

- Lack of free and fair election
- Ineffectiveness of Parliament
- Lack of accountability and transparency
- Absence of the rule of law
- Absence of real independence of the judiciary
- Inefficient bureaucracy and public administration
- Biased press and media.

__Health & Education__ - The following diagram explains the issues in the health sector affected by corruption and their outcomes in Bangladesh (see figure 6.2). The diagram indicates that the presence of corruption simultaneously increases the cost of healthcare service and decreases its quality.
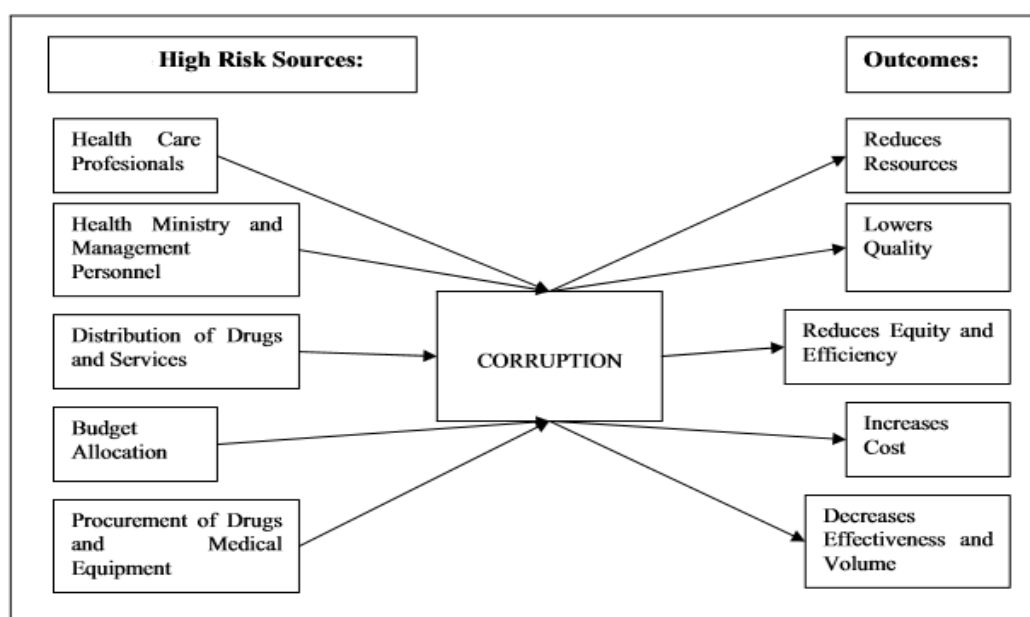
Figure 6.2: Corruption in the health sector of Bangladesh   (Source: CMI 2008, 6)

Transparency International identified some basic consequences of corruption in the education sector that hampers development (Kurpe, Olive & Reeves 2011):

- Waste of financial resources
- Children are denied access to schooling
- Misallocation of talent
- Growing of acceptance of manipulation and favoritism as a way of life
- Distorted values of young people
- Blurring the line between right and wrong, legal and elicit, good and evil.

According to NHHS of TIB (2012, 21), 40.1% people face corruption in the education sector for a range of different purposes that includes student admission, examination fees, receiving free books, obtaining stipends and becoming enlisted, examination registration and performing different programs of educational institutes. Education plays the role of a backbone for a country. The impact is rather deep when this sector becomes affected by the evil of corruption.

Land and Water - Research affirms that the Bangladeshi water sector is plagued with corruption which manifests itself mainly in the form of negligence of duty, assets tripping, abuse of power and bribery (WB & UNDP 2002). According to the

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Bangladeshi Anti-Corruption Commission, estimates of the cost of corruption between 2001 and 2006, in the project led by the Ministry of Water Resources reached the amount of US$1.5 billion (TI 2008, 185).

A study in Bangladesh of 3000 households shows that 97% of those that bought land had to pay bribes for its registration, 85% of those who mutated their land ownership had to pay bribes for it, 85% of those who collected land related documents had to pay bribes, 83% of those had to pay bribes for land survey, and 40% of those who received land had to pay bribes (Molen & Tuladhar 2007, 4). Many studies report that a high number of members of parliament are engaged in various criminal activities and corruption, including the offense of taking illegal possession of government lands and water bodies (HH Survey, 2005, 21).

Economic Development - In the last few decades in Bangladesh, a culture of plundering has developed whose characteristic are black money, terrorism, muscle power, bribery, corruption, ill governance, suppression, criminalization of politics, non-productive and sterile capital development. This trend has been creating yearly TK 75,000 cores (US$ 100 billion) as black money, which is about one–third of the country's GDP (WB 2007, 86). Eighty three and a half percent of the black money usually are created through tax evasion and the rest comes from bribery, toll collection, black marketing etc. without which the per capita income would be doubled, i.e. from $530 to $1060 (TIB 2008, 4).

Global Economic Partnership - Due to its immense possibility, hardworking and cheap labour force Bangladesh is a place of interest for foreign investors. However, the lack of financial transparency coupled with administrative and bureaucratic corruption always creates hindrances in the way of such partnerships (EKN 2011, 62).

The above discussion makes it evident that corruption is a huge barrier to attain sustainable development in Bangladesh. Although it cannot act on all, TIB is committed to address many of these indicators as it takes the initiative to reduce corruption in the country. Being a social movement organization, social issues are at the forefront with the environmental and economic sectors easily blending with

them. This chapter looks in particular at resource development, capacity building and some other areas of concern.

6.3 Development through Resources

The population of Bangladesh could have been a massive resource and contributor to SD. However, due to various social gaps and mindsets, large sections of the population remain unutilized; women and youth are two such groups. The scopes and possibilities to utilize natural resources are also hindered due to corruption. In this section, initiatives taken by TIB to mainstream these resources are discussed.

6.3.1 A New Corruption-free Generation

Analysing the vision statement of TIB, it can be seen that the organization looks forward towards a better future for Bangladesh free from corruption. To secure this upcoming prospect it works to build a strong base within society. That is why young people; i.e. the new generation, is a vital target group and one of the most active stakeholders of TIB. As previously explained, TIB has established 60 YES (Youth Engagement & Support) groups around the country. On the basis of their formation criteria, these YES groups can be classified into the following two patterns.

CCC YES - These YES groups are formed based on the CCCs in their respective areas. College and university level boys and girls from the locality join the group under the supervision of the CCC members. Word of mouth from friends and family is the main source of information to gather the youth in forming a new YES group. In the 45 YES groups at CCC level, there are 1958 YES members in total, 555 of whom are female and 1403 male (TIB 2013).

Dhaka YES - Dhaka, being the capital of the country with most facilities and opportunities, is naturally a blend of people from different backgrounds. This also applies for the young people making it rather tough to organize and operate a single Dhaka-based YES group. Instead, Dhaka YES groups are created based on university level educational institutes where students first acquire information about the formation of a group from their teachers or coordinators. Altogether 317 male and 204 female YES members are active in 15 Dhaka YES groups (TIB 2013).

During my employment at TIB, I had to frequently work with the YES groups, especially with those in Dhaka. My experience with them was very rewarding as I had the privilege to witness a true patriotic zeal among many of these young volunteers. During my interviews with them for the purpose of this research, almost all participants mentioned their love for the country or commitment to the Bangladeshi society as their prime reason to get involved with TIB. Box 6.1 gives the expression of a YES member in her own words.

Box 6.1: Primary difficulty in joining TIB

"I heard about TIB from my friend and wanted to join it out of my dedication to do something for my country. However, my parents did not let me join for the first two years as they were concerned about my security and the reliability of TIB. Later on when they saw that TIB is addressing many of the corruption issues and more and more people are joining TIB, they permitted me. Now they encourage me to remain active in TIB programs."   Source: Interview with YES member

The YES force of TIB is regarded as a unique strength by the other stakeholders, namely employees, CCC members, TIB members and alliance groups. Many of them mentioned the transformation that takes place in the young volunteers over time in terms of increased integrity, activeness and confidence. Discussions during interviews and FGDs with stakeholders brought out both long-term and short-term outcomes of engaging the youth into the anti-corruption social movement (see table 6.2).

Short-Term Outcomes	Long-Term Outcomes
• The youth will come to know about the perils of corruption and they will become careful. • Young people usually become easily motivated by their peers. So gathering some of them will work as "fission reaction" to encourage others.	• Youth represents the largest portion of the population. Making them responsible citizens will definitely ensure a better population in the future. • When the present young generation is well aware of the issues of patriotism,

• In general, youth plays the most vital role in social movements. When they become the group creating pressure on the authority, the possibility for success is higher. • Very often, youth in Bangladesh are frustrated and derailed due to lack of motivation and activities. A movement against corruption will help them stay focused and dynamic. • Active participation in an organized and well established movement will upgrade the inner qualities, such as- responsibility, team work, leadership, partnership, respecting others' opinions etc. among the youth.	sincerity and accountability, it can be expected that in the future they will take a strong stand against corruption. • Their experience in the anti-corruption movement will help them flourish and bring out leadership among them. Thus, the existing problem of leadership (especially in politics) will be overcome.

Table 6.2: Expected outcomes of YES

Also, YES members were very excited to express their gratitude towards TIB. Following are some of their experiences (see box 6.2).

Box 6.2: YES and TIB

"Although my parents have taught me about right and wrong, I must say being involved with TIB gave me the most options to practice those lessons". *"Not only corruption, now I actively take part to solve any problem in my community and when people hear that I am with TIB they listen to me more carefully".* *"TIB has given me the strength to be honest".*   YES members during FGD

It was discussed in the previous chapters that the activities of TIB do not always run very smoothly due to the restrictions and intrusion from the government. The TIB staff reported that these hindrances usually fail to torment the YES spirit. The young volunteers are ready to go ahead even in adverse situations.

It is apparent that YES members play an important role in the overall TIB campaign. Nevertheless, the situation does not always remain the same and the box 6.3 gives some examples.

Box 6.3: Disappointments regarding YES

"YES means youth and youth means boundless. May be that is the reason sometimes it becomes hard to control the YES groups. They don't want to be under the supervision of CCC which they should be by legislation; rather they try to do TIB activities on their own. A sense of tension among CCC members and YES members is created in such times"

<div align="right">Source: Interview with CCC member</div>

"Not all the YES members are equally sincere, this is also not possible. However, some of them only join as YES members to use the brand of TIB so that they are well treated in their future professional career. They do not own the spirit of TIB in their heart."

<div align="right">Source: TIB staff during FGD</div>

On a counter point, some YES members claimed that sometimes they feel as not having the independence to express and execute their own ideas, which might hinder their creativity. They think that more frequent meetings with CCC members in the presence of TIB officials may help to overcome such problems. Again, the FGD with employees brought out that, in order to be firm about integrity and commitment, young volunteers are not taken as YES members directly. First they join as "YES Friends" (volunteers who are not yet formally associated with TIB) and their activities are monitored for a significant period of time (from six months to one year). After that only, when successful performance is demonstrated they achieve the status of YES members.

From my point of view, these are only small bits and pieces that do not represent the whole picture. The YES groups are a wonderful initiative that has a lot of potential to contribute to the Bangladeshi society. Proper communication and regular follow-up would help to address any undesired issues.

According to UNESCO, the best way to increase future focus and achieve tangible results is to reinforce the holistic response to youth issues by consolidating in a strategic and efficient manner (UNESCO 2012, 1). The definition of sustainability itself highlights the importance of the role of young people towards development as they are the common denominator between the past and the future. Agenda 21 clearly conveys the message that the long-term success of sustainable development is dependent on the involvement of young people (Lucca 2004, 2).
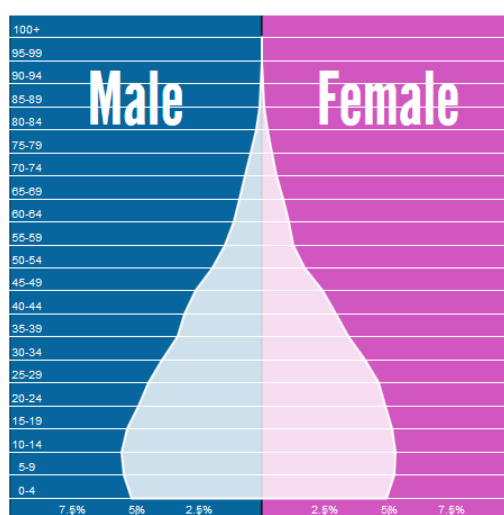
Figure 6.3: Population pyramid of Bangladesh as of 2010
(Source: populationpyramid.net/Bangladesh)

Figure 6.3 shows the youth dominated population of Bangladesh where around 60% people are at or under 24 years. It is easy to imagine the opportunity for the prosperity of the country if these young people are brought up as good citizens. In this case TIB has taken an important initiative to engage the youth against corruption to make the movement strong, effective and long-lasting.

6.3.2 Attaining Gender Equity

Gender sensitivity is a newly emerging issue in Bangladesh. It is being practiced in a very concise area of society - the civil society sphere. The participating YES members were cohesive in their opinion during the FGD that women are being deprived of their potential in Bangladesh because they are considered weak and less powerful and not many initiatives exist to empower them. Box 6.4 gives the summary of the discussion on female deprivation as explained by a YES member.

Box 6.4: How corruption oppresses women

> *"People with evil intentions dare to deprive and torture women because they know very well that they are able to escape punishment since the law enforcement agencies are not working with integrity. As a result many noble initiatives at national level are not proving to be fruitful. For example, the government has organized free education for girls up to secondary level and has made child marriage illegal to promote women's education but are there enough conducive environments to avail these facilities or abide these laws? We live in a society where crimes like eve teasing[38], child abuse, rape etc. are going unpunished because the powerful criminals are patronized by corrupt law enforcing personnel. Naturally parents are not willing to send their daughters to school or keep them unmarried up to the age of 18 considering the issue of their security. Clearly, corruption leaves a deep impact in hindering women's advancement in Bangladesh."*
>
> Source: YES member during FGD

It appears that offering opportunity or imposing laws will not reduce the socio-economic discrimination among males and females if positive surroundings are not created to avail them. On that note one of TIB's gender experts pointed out how TIB

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[38] Eve teasing stands for a kind of sexual harassment of a young woman. At present it has become a big problem in Bangladesh; 91.3% women are victim of eve-teasing that includes vulgar comments, unnecessary touching, pushing and shoving in the streets, public transports and at workplaces (Hoque 2013, 2).

is contributing to bring upon a gender balance in its movement against corruption and in society (see box 6.5).

Box 6.5: TIB in mainstreaming women

"TIB believes that females can be just as efficient and productive as males but due to social and cultural barriers that have been prevailing for long, they need some extra boost up that will enable them to walk with males side by side. To ensure that TIB maintains some 'positive discrimination' policies, those are as follows:

- *In selecting employees and volunteers, if a male candidate and a female candidate show equal level of quality, the female candidate is selected.*
- *Full support is provided so that female employees can keep their children with them in the office day care centre or with an assistant during field visits.*
- *TIB encourages and promotes female leadership and equitable distribution of labor and also makes sure that their security or other social responsibilities are not hampered while doing so.*

Thus employees and volunteers of TIB are much open in expressing their opinions and confident in facing challenges."

Source: TIB staff during FGD

Some female YES members also demonstrated their satisfaction and gratitude towards TIB as they believe their experience with this organization will enable them to work as empowered and courageous women in the future. Also, several female employees who have been with TIB for a long time claimed that they needed the extra boost at the very early stage. After that the capacity to handle any challenge without any additional favor is automatically grown.

In Bangladesh women are looked upon in two extreme ways. The first one is *absolute inequality* – which implies that women are inferior and less productive than men so they should be treated with less opportunity, power and respect. Many women accept this attitude and live with that, but some refuse to do so and are determined to establish themselves at a better level. The second way can be termed as *absolute equality* when organizations do not provide a woman any additional facility, such as childcare arrangements, flexible hours and training opportunities

while she tries to upgrade herself. In such a situation the woman has to work twice as much than a man as she has to perform her duties properly and struggle against the hindrances prevailing in society.

Both of these situations used to prevail in the organization that I worked at before joining TIB. Female employees there are rarely given any chance to perform challenging and creative tasks. Even if someone managed to avail some of such tasks, the woman is never given any additional facility for being female and be responsible for most of the household duties. On the contrary, my professional experience in TIB makes me realize that this organization tries to create an environment somewhere in between these two extreme views. The interviews and FGDs with its employees and volunteers made it clear that through the "positive discrimination" process the organization is committed to encouraging and motivating women to move forward both in operational and management levels.

Corruption provokes gender discrimination in terms of decision making, protection and control over resources in various underdeveloped and developing societies including Bangladesh (TI 2007). There has been a massive change in every professional sector with the increased female participation day by day. However, it is still a prevailing idea that women should only be engaged in less challenging and less time consuming professions since they need to invest more time and effort in the household activities than men. Although the country has had women Prime Ministers in the last twenty years, female leadership is still not encouraged and appreciated by people (both men and women) who are not comfortable with this concept.

It is evident that, in a society that is in a transition stage, a woman has to work harder to reach a certain stage than a man, so positive discrimination towards females is not injustice to males (Hultberg 2008, 31). Rather this motivation is to allow other women to move forward. Until women actively start to take part in the development process, sustainability would be difficult to achieve. They represent half a society and ignoring the contribution and consent of such a significant section is very much likely to be transient (UN Women 2012, 32). At the same time where social institutions deprive women of the freedom to participate in social life, neither political reforms towards democracy nor their representation in political and

economic positions might be enough to reduce corruption (Branisa & Ziegler 2011, 14). So, active female participation is needed in Bangladesh in order to achieve sustainability and reduce corruption. Transparency International Bangladesh is trying to support this issue with the help of proper orientation, right monitoring, advocacy tools and adequate access to information and community empowerment (NORAD 2011, 51).

6.3.3 Concern about Nature

To ensure integrity in the proper utilization of natural resources, TIB is engaged in two programs with the Government as a partner namely - Climate Finance Governance Network (CFGN) and Bangladesh Water Integrity Network (BAWIN).

Transparency International Bangladesh started working on the water sector in 2007 when it conducted a research on the lack of integrity and capacity in the Dhaka Water and Sewerage Authority (WASA) (Haq 2012). The interview with a TIB official revealed that the findings were appreciated by the TI- secretariat and it decided to work further on corruption in the water sector of Bangladesh. Thus the BAWIN was established in 2012 as a branch project of TIB. At present it is mainly working on Dhaka WASA and the water degradation in the coastal areas of the country.

Further on, based on the global corruption report 2010 of climate finance all over the world, the CFGN global network was established in 2011 among the TI chapters in different countries named (Khan, Haque & Rouf 2013, 2). The staff informed that at its first phase the target of this CFGN in Bangladesh was to generate evidence of embezzlement from funds received from home and aboard in relation to climate change mitigation and adaptation.

Transparency International Bangladesh claimed that this was the first ever effort to collect information on climate financing about which even the fund managers such as WB were not aware. Now the fund managers are taking actions accordingly so that the allocated money is utilized in an efficient way. The network is also working to ensure that there are local participants in various environment-related projects as they are these people main victims of climate change and disasters.

According to TIB staff, it is too early to expect any drastic outcomes from the above two programs. Yet, the outcomes so far look promising to the TI-secretariat and the donors of TIB in terms of the scope of work. So rather than keeping them as wing programs it was decided that an integrated mainstream program on the environment would be included in TIB's next project, namely 'Building Integrity for Effective Change' (BIEC).Yet there remains concern among the staff as these initiatives will only become successful if the government and its associated organizations show actual willingness to bring some change. They informed that some high officials of WASA and the Ministry of Climate have shown their commitment to assist TIB but the negative attitude of the government body in general towards the watchdog organization is still a barrier to overcome.

The objectives of the two programs - CFGN and BAWIN are summerized as follows (TIB Press release 2012b) & (BAWIN 2013):

- Making the participation of civil society, affected and local people mandatory in project planning and implementing
- Ensuring the affected people's participation in all steps of project implementation by changing the public procurement law
- Establishing transparent and accountable behavior policy and ensuring that the respective stakeholders abide by it
- Monitoring whether the funding bodies are properly sending funds as they are supposed to
- Ensuring transparency and accountability in fund and project management
- Making open information on agreement, work plan and other issues
- Ensuring proper punishment for those who are corrupt
- Increasing the efficiency of the service providers.

The situation in Bangladesh of the water and climate finance sectors is alarming and the above objectives are crucial to achieve. Corruption in these sectors of basic needs affects lives and livelihoods, slowing development and poverty reduction efforts and increases deprivation and frustration in society.

Bangladesh faces an economic loss of US$ 670 million every year due to the poor capacity of Dhaka WASA to manage water supply for the city people (ADB 2009, 67). About 700 thousand people in Bangladesh become affected each year by various water borne diseases due to lack of safe drinking water and 110000 die from such diseases (WSP 2009, 63). Also, misappropriation of funds allocated for the development in the water sector is one of the major reasons for the scarcity of drinking water all over the country (Olaya 2010). Water is a very vital element for a healthy and well-functioning ecosystem. It is extremely important to address the issues of corruption that are contaminating the water sector.

The Bangladesh Climate Change Trust Fund (BCCTF) and Bangladesh Climate Change Resilience Fund (BCCRF) are major actors to channel climate funds in Bangladesh. While BCCTF was created under the revenue budget, BCCRF was established in 2010, with the financial assistance of development partners (Haque, Rouf & Khan 2012, 9). The CFGN found out the following alarming information about climate financing in Bangladesh in the last three fiscal years (see fig 6.4).
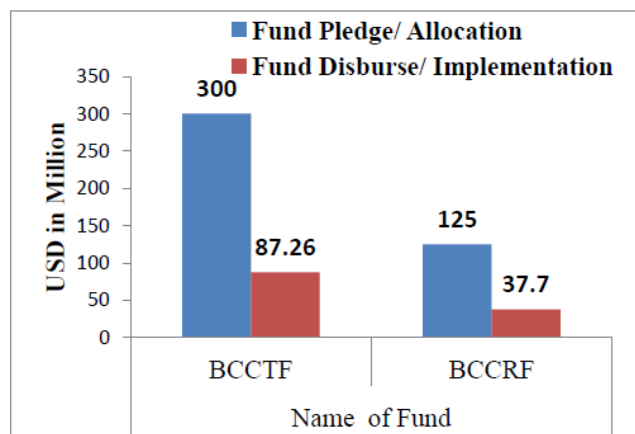
Fig. 6.4: Climate financing in Bangladesh   (Haque et al. 2012, 8)

Not even one-third of the allocated funds are implemented despite the fact that Bangladesh is a country under the severe threat of climate change. Human-made pollutions coupled with natural calamities are destroying the normal lifestyle of thousands of people in the coastal and hilly areas (Gray & Mueller 2012). The large amount of unutilized money (mostly due to corruption) would have contributed for a lot of people to reduce the distresses they are facing. Interview with TIB staff

revealed that an investigation has been made to measure the exact impact of corruption on these improperly utilized funds but the report has not been published yet.

6.3.4 Key Findings on Utilization of Resources

- Population is a resource when people are actively engaged in the development process.

- When the tasks are rewarding, the youth are not concerned about payment, they even carry out voluntary works enthusiastically.

- There remains a tension between the young and mature volunteers of TIB regarding being controlled and controlling respectively.

- The corrupt not being subjected to the full power of the law remains one of the causes for female deprivation in Bangladesh.

- Positive discrimination is a requirement for women's empowerment only at this very early stage of development, once their position within society is mainstreamed, it would no longer be required.

- Positive change can be brought in managing natural resources if corruption is tackled.

- There is lack of awareness among the stakeholders of resource development programs about the existence and scale of corruption.

6.4 Capacity Building and Enhancing

Over the past several years it has become clear that capacity building is central to the quest for sustainable development (Apina 2009). If society is to achieve a balance between past, present and future, the ability of indigenous people, national governments and civil society to address the major disputes related to sustainable development must be increased. Instead of being regarded as merely an element or by-product of development programmes and products, capacity building should be treated as a foremost and unambiguous precedence of all SD activities. The main features of capacity building as identified by UN systems are as follows (UNEP 2002, 11):

- The ability of a country to follow a SD trail is resolute to a large extent by the capacity of its people and its institutions as well as by its ecological and geographical conditions.

- It encompasses the country's human, scientific, technological, organisational, institutional and resource capabilities.

- A fundamental goal of capacity building is to enhance the ability to evaluate and address the crucial questions related to policy choices and modes of implementation among development options. It also needs to be based on an understanding of social, environmental and economic potentials and limits and of needs as perceived by the people of the country concerned.

Capacity building or development is the process by which individuals, groups, organizations, institutions and societies increase their abilities to (UNESCO 2005):

(a) Perform core functions, solve problems, define and achieve objectives; and
(b) Understand and deal with their development needs in a broad context and in a sustainable manner.

If the above two effects of capacity building are compared with TIB activities then it is clear that the organization does many things to create a strong, united group of people for fighting against corruption. That includes training, protecting, providing information and a trustworthy platform, awareness rising etc, to address the problem that already exists. The following section shows that the organization is also dealing with the society and stakeholders in such a way that they are capable of resisting corruption by not engaging in it and not allowing it to happen.

6.4.1 Sense of Empowerment

Stakeholders are the key driving force for TIB's activities in Bangladesh to reach the place where it is today. I wanted to ascertain whether TIB has been able to bring any change in these stakeholders. Following are some of the statements they made showing their internal or external transformations while working with TIB (see box 6.6).

Box 6.6: Empowerment through TIB

> *"My father was a do-gooder and from him I have learnt to stand up for anything that is positive for the society. So I would not say that TIB has empowered me because I was empowered already. However, I must say that my social status has increased after joining TIB. People give me more importance now"*
>
> Source: Interview with CCC member
>
> *"Although professionally I was always honest for personal reasons I used to conform to corruption just to avoid the hassle. After I joined TIB, I never adjust to anything that is undue. At least I am that much empowered now"*
>
> Source: Interview with TIB staff
>
> *"When I see any improvement in the corruption situation catalysed by TIB I feel very powerful myself and wish to do more for the society."*
>
> Source: Interview with YES member

The FGD with CCC members revealed that other than increasing social acceptability, the involvement with TIB did not bring any additional sense of empowerment for them. On the other hand employees were quite united in their opinion that the brand of TIB always encourages them to resist everyday corruption. The most dramatic empowerment occurs within the YES members. According to them, the fact that they are trusted with some responsibility makes them feel important and empowered. This is very natural as the mature people already have some point of views while the young are yet to learn and decide the philosophy of their lives. Hence, a movement in which they are involved is likely to make deeper influence on young people.

The concept of empowerment is difficult to define and even more difficult to measure. In a development context, it refers both to "internal" change within an individual's sense of self and autonomy, and "external" change in social status and basic power relationships in society (Dunford 2013). Empowerment is a recognition that makes someone feel proud of what s/he is doing. A social movement, usually takes long to gain some success, so a personal level of empowerment is necessary to maintain motivation.

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6.4.2 Lesson for Values

During the interviews and FGDs, the topics of values and ethics as the pre-cursor for corruption were discussed quite a few times. In the FGD, CCC members opined that all campaigns carried out by TIB would not be effective in the long term unless there is a sense of appropriate values among people. If people do not have a proper education on values they would not realize the problem of corruption until it takes place and hampers their lives. It becomes very difficult to deal with anything that is already established. There was a suggestion that TIB should work through public figures who have deep influence on people's lives. Religious leaders could be the best for this as their area of expertise is supposed to be practicing and preaching of values. Also, in a country like Bangladesh where religion means a lot to most people, religious leaders are treated with much respect (Anzar 2006). However, with a very few exceptions, religious leaders in the Asian region trend to exploit religion to keep them in a superior position within society (Ahmad 2004).

Although not directly, TIB has taken some initiative to sow the seed of values among the children and adolescents of the country. Firstly, it does anti-corruption consultation at school and college levels. Its employees and volunteers approach different educational institutions and teach children the importance of honesty, patriotism and other virtues (TIB Annual Report 2009, 19). To draw attention, various information, education and communication (IEC) materials are distributed such as anti-corruption stickers, games etc. Secondly, in order to ensure parents are concerned about the right upbringing of their children, TIB arranges regularly parents'/mothers' gathering in different schools. This flagship program is very popular among the poor and less educated parents (TIB annual report 2009, 8). The experience of a CCC member is pointed out below in this regard (see box 6.7).

Box 6.7: Experience of mothers' gathering

"In a mothers' gathering, one lady burst out into tears as she realized she was not performing properly her duties towards her children. She used to think that since she is illiterate, she does not have any ability to teach anything to her school-attending sons. In the gathering she learnt that in spite of being illiterate, she can teach them the basic human values which will help her sons to be better persons

Exhibit 6.1: School consultancy and mothers' gathering

(Source: TIB Annual Report 2009, 7, 8)

Values are the principles and fundamental convictions that act as general guides to behaviour, the standards by which particular actions are judged as good or desirable (Australian Government 2005). They shape our relationships, our behaviours, our choices and our sense of who we are. The more positive our values, the more positive our actions are. As the social aspects of sustainable development are being more and more prominent over time (along with the economic and environmental), involvement of values education in efforts to mitigate war, poverty, hunger and disease is on increase (UNESCO 2012, 1). Many studies have made it evident that if we want development to be sustainable, it needs to be values-based (Leo 2012, 84). Hence people need to possess values such as honesty, accountability, patriotism etc. if the resistance against corruption is to be effective and long lasting.

6.4.3 Collaboration in Professional and Personal Life

Individuals of the stakeholder groups of TIB have to take an anti-corruption oath (see appendix 6) while joining TIB. According to this oath they are to abide by the laws of the country and fight against corruption. Stakeholders at professional level (i.e. employees, YES members, CCC members etc.) are bound to follow the oath and I have observed the highest level of integrity among them during my TIB days. However, I had a keen interest to find out how much they carry on the spirit of this promise in their personal day-to-day lives. On that note, I had conversations with the

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stakeholders about what they do when they become aware of corruption taking place. The replies received from them are classified in the following three categories.

Direct Protest – This usually happens when the stakeholders themselves are victims of the corruption, e.g. someone claiming undue money or delaying a service. Most of the respondents confirmed that they never entertain this type of activities and always demand explanation for such irregularities. The others try to look for another close option to avoid the act of corruption. They admitted that the identity from TIB always helps in such situations; whenever any service providers understand that the person is involved with TIB, they become careful and do not ask for any inappropriate favours. For example, it is a very common custom to give some money to the case officer during identity check while obtaining a passport. When these public servants become aware of TIB employees, they don't ask for any money, neither do they take it even if they are offered some. Employees in particular experience such attitudes more often. Some CCC members also added that as they have some influence in the community, victims of corruption often come to them for solution and they try to help with all means.

Consensus Creation - YES members from different areas shared that if they know about existing corruption in their locality then they first try to address that through TIB activities. If it is not within TIB's specified area then they try to find the group of people who are being the victim of the corruption and build up a consensus among them. People are usually afraid to protest alone, but when like-minded people are beside them, they feel brave to do so. The following box (6.8) describes such an experience by a YES member.

Box 6.8: Success of combined effort

> *"Once we friends came to know that drugs are being brought and sold in a grocery shop in our locality and the police was not doing anything about it as they were already bribed. We went to parents with young children and made them understand that this drug dealing might affect their children as well. Most of the parents understood the threat and we all went to the owner of the shop. We told him that we would stop buying stuff from his store and socially boycott him if he did not stop*

this harmful business. After a few months trying he quit the drug dealing and apologised to everyone. This was a memorable achievement for us."

Informing Authorities and Others – There were similarities in TIB members' responses about protesting against corruption. When it happens at local level usually they take various measures to put a stop to it which includes complaints to the authority, demanding action from the local law enforcing body, consultation etc. However, fighting corruption at a broader level might turn dangerous if its syndicates mobilise to respond. In such cases TIB stakeholders discuss and share these problems with influential people including journalists, so that some form of pressure is ultimately applied for curbing corruption.

It seems that individuals directly involved with TIB mostly try to prevent corruption as much as possible from their own stand - both personally and professionally. Their first and foremost strategy is to be honest themselves. Many of them experience difficulties in life because of that, but they do not give up hope for a corruption-free society. One of the TIB members expressed his self-satisfaction and pride to be honest (see box 6.9).

Box 6.9: Pride in being honest

"I have always tried to resist corruption both through direct and indirect means. However, my first priority has been to keep my own yards clean and uphold my own honesty at all places. I served in the government, including four times in the office of the country's head of government and once at the President's Office. I believe that God will ultimately judge us on the basis of our deeds (honest/dishonest) and I therefore have no regrets that I am still a landless man."

Transparency International Bangladesh has been successful in creating a common ground for such sincere persons and instilling a will force to hate corruption among the people around. The number of such people however is very small in comparison to the vast population of Bangladesh but not every social movement starts with a large group of supporting people (Dobson 2001). Nowadays ordinary citizens,

including many young people, are increasingly showing their willingness to fight corruption in their communities and governments (UNDOC 2012).To motivate and unite them, nothing can be a better strategy than to have a committed group of team members who actually believe in what they are doing not merely performing their duties for professional excellence (ComSol 2008, 13).

6.4.4 Key Findings on Capacity Building and Enhancing

- A social movement can bring more positive changes in young participants than those for the elder ones.
- Parents need motivation and guidance to educate their children with basic values even when they are illiterate.
- When the participants of a social movement own the theme and are empowered by it, they practice the spirit of the movement also in their personal lives.

6.5 Success Stories at National Level Campaign

Transparency International Bangladesh has some flagship achievements at the national level that have made it a distinguished organization among both policy makers and general citizens. These successes will help establish the future sustainability of the country both, in domestic and international fields. Some of them are discussed below.

6.5.1 Textbooks

A lot of importance is given by TIB to appropriate publication, distribution and utilization of school level textbooks and the organization has been working actively and incessantly on it (ITAD 2012, 21). The most recent achievement in this area is presented below in box 6.10 as explained by a TIB high official.

Box 6.10: Corruption chapter in a textbook

> *"It was our long-term campaign program with the National Board of Curriculum to include lessons on corruption in the national textbooks. The reason for this is to develop the basic idea about corruption among the students of the school. After quite a few years of advocacy, a chapter on corruption has been included in the textbooks for years nine and ten which will be published in 2014. It is our pride and*

The textbook initiative will allow many poor students in rural areas who do not have any other access to information to learn about the threat of corruption. Additionally TIB has also been following up the corruption in distribution of textbooks as the organization identified this problem together with negligence in the accuracy and timely publication of school materials (TIB 2001). In 2002-04 more than 20% of the primary school parents made an informal payment for textbooks despite the fact that they are supposed to be free (Norad 2011, 43). The continuous campaign and follow-up by TIB became successful in 2009 when the textbooks were distributed in a more timely and systematical way (Norad 2011, 46). Further on, correction of errors and inappropriate information in textbooks is currently gaining importance. If it continues, ensuring flawless textbooks would be soon possible (BSS 2013).

Lastly, TIB recently published a rhyme book named “Bornomalay Neetikotha” (Morals through Alphabet) for children (Yasmin 2013). This initiative will help to instil the very basic sense of ethics while primary school pupils learn the Bengali alphabet.

School textbooks are crucial tools in the process of constructing legitimate ideologies and beliefs among children and are a reflection of the history, knowledge and values considered important in a society (Moraová & Novotná 2010, 3). Research proves that the contents of textbooks have influence in creating interest for specific disciplines among the students in their future lives (Horsley, Knight, Huntly 2010, 44). In Bangladesh where access to electronic and other media is still limited, textbooks continue to be the main tool for teaching and learning in most schools (UNICEF 2009, 25). They act as a child’s first medium of formal knowledge. Hence the level of importance needed for content selection and ensuring its accuracy is extremely high.

6.5.2 ACC and ACC Act

All TIB stakeholders, specially the staff take much pride in the fact that the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) of Bangladesh is the brain child of this organization. The ACC is the top most body in the country to address corruption. The former Bureau of Anti-Corruption was replaced by ACC in 2004 on the basis of the recommendations made by TIB which argued that the previous body was not up to the mark in terms of efficiency, integrity and independence (Waves 2005, 2). From then on, TIB has been working as a partner and watchdog body with ACC. A former ACC Chairperson explains the situation (see box 6.11).

Box 6.11: TIB and Anti-Corruption Commission

"ACC has been getting all kinds of assistance and a recommendation from TIB even before it was established. The Government cannot solve all problems alone, it needs support from other organizations. In that regard they (TIB) are doing great work."

Source: KII with former ACC Chairperson

In 2010 the ACC Act 2004 was amended to include a cause that ACC should take prior permission from the government in case of taking action against corruption by public officials. Transparency International Bangladesh was concerned that this would severely hamper the independence of ACC and tried hard to stop this bill to be passed by gathering public consensus through survey, mobile SMS, human chains, round table conferences etc. (Waves 2011, 3). Although the bill was originally passed, on the basis of TIB's continuous campaign, it was re-amended in 2011 to exclude this clause (TIB press release 2011b).

Exhibit 6.2: TIB arranged human chain to re-amend Anti-Corruption Commission act 2004 (Source: Waves 2005, 3)

It is clearly necessary to have a legal body in the country to monitor any corruption issues but to guarantee its effectiveness is equally important. Therefore, TIB is doing its best to ensure ACC's accountability and transparency from its part. However, explained in the previous chapters, other than during the period of caretaker government in 2007-2008, ACC has failed to show any meaningful achievement in controlling corruption.

6.5.3 UNCAC

The UN Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) is the first legally recognized international instrument to put anti-corruption measures within a framework of regulatory agreements and laws (Mostafa 2011). The convention became effective from 2005 but the Bangladesh government was not ready to be part of it instantly (Hechler et. al 2011). According to the Executive Director of TIB, the organization singlehandedly carried out campaigns all over the country to convince the government to sign the convention which happened in 2007. It was at a seminar arranged by TIB where the then law minister promised to take steps about UNCAC (Waves 2004, 1). The more detailed activities taken by TIB are described by a CCC member (see box 6.12).

Box 6.12: TIB initiatives in favour of UN Convention against Corruption

"From 2004 to 2007, TIB had been persuading the government about the need for joining the UN convention. We, the CCCs undertook several programs during this period and they include debates, cartoons, road shows etc. On a national level,

The following are basic features of UNCAC (Hechler 2010):

- Return of smuggled assets to the country of origin

- Regulatory and supervisory frameworks for preventing money laundering

- Access to information

- Addressing public and private sector corruption

- Freedom of press

- Investigating political funding.

Being a part of the UNCAC is a good thing for Bangladesh itself in terms of international image as it manifests its firm determination to curb corruption. This would also help to obtain international assistance in investigating grand corruption. Moreover, the friendly cooperation between Bangladesh and the other signatory countries will increase. Lastly, Bangladesh's scope of participation in international anti-corruption activities will be widened.

6.6 Areas of Concern

All stakeholders of TIB are very positive about the activities the organization conducts. However, they have pin-pointed some concerns that need to be addressed in due time, or else the long-term goal achievement of the TIB campaign might be hampered.

6.6.1 Sustainability of Volunteer Groups

According to one of the TIB employees who have close interactions with the volunteers, the durability of the volunteer groups is an issue TIB should start thinking about. His statement is given below (see box 6.13).

Box 6.13: Are volunteers self-sufficient

"At its first phase, TIB used to support the volunteer groups by all means, i.e. logistically, intellectually etc. It was expected that CCC and YES members would be

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able to come up with their own ideas and activities over time which has not been achieved yet. So far TIB has been "spoon feeding" the volunteers. I think it's about time we let the volunteer groups operate independently even if they are not prepared for it, or volunteers are never going to learn what to do if TIB is not there."

Source: Interview with TIB staff

By contrast, another staff argued that TIB cannot just let the volunteers do something on their own as they are part of the organization. By sacrificing their time and energy to TIB for no financial benefits the volunteers have already proven their commitment to society and they would be able to know what to do even if TIB no longer exists.

There are some other types of tension regarding YES members which hampers the smooth operation of these groups and the anti-corruption spirit as explained by the stakeholders in box 6.14.

Box 6.14: When YES faces de-motivation

"Often very active and intelligent YES members leave the group as they are admitted at universities in other places. This creates a vacuum and lack of direction in the group. The member who left also feels depressed as s/he might not get to work for YES in the new place"

Source: CCC member during FGD

"The Former YES leader of our group is now working in an organization where corruption takes place every now and then and he has to be part of it even though he hates corruption. When we hear about such incidences we tend to lose hope in everything we are now doing to prevent corruption"

Source: YES member during FGD

My point of view about the first problem is that it occurs due to improper distribution of responsibilities. A common situation within YES groups is that the most active members are always busy with campaigning and advocacy. The coordinators also often do not utilize those who are less engaged thinking that they might not be able to carry out duties properly. Thus the group becomes dependant on a few active

members and when they leave for further education or professional reasons, it faces problems. Also, in Dhaka, there is a special YES group called 'Dhaka YES One' which consists of CCC YES members who have migrated to Dhaka and wish to continue their journey with TIB.

The second issue seems to be a serious problem but for TIB employees this is only a short-term problem as the young professionals today will be well-established at different organizations in the future. They will have the power to control corruption at least in their respective workplace. So, in the long term they are likely to face such problems in a much lesser extent. Still to address the problems of former YES members in the professional field, TIB has been planning to establish a platform for the young professionals. At the end of 2012 the network named "Young Professional against Corruption" (YPAC) was launched (TIB press release 2012c). Its participants are initially drawn from the former members of Youth Engagement and Support (YES) groups who have entered into their professional careers. This will enable them to discuss their own problems at the workplace with others and find possible solutions. It is expected the network to also attract other young well-educated people.

A former chairperson of the TIB trustee board highly emphasised the importance of such a follow-up program for the young volunteers when they enter the professional field. How they deal with corruption when they are employed is a true indicator of TIB's success in encouraging the youth to be corruption-free. Creating a ground for the young professionals would also pave the way to achieve this.

6.6.2 Donor Dependency

It was previously discussed that TIB is a donor-based organization. Civil society representatives identified this as a major threat to its growth and viability. Although donor organizations have made a great contribution in the expansion of TIB as it is today, the respondents think this has also limited its work within a pre-defined frame. The fortitude with which the organization works has the ability to have an impact beyond its present performance. They also raise the question as to whether TIB has considered the situation were donors to decide to stop its funding. Were TIB to be shut down for the lack of funding this would indicate the organization had no plan for its own future while trying to change the country. Were it to decide to go on, is

there a plan for that? A TIB high official provided some responses to these queries in box 6.15.

Box 6.15: Donors do not hamper TIB's ethic

> *"I would be very happy if TIB is closed down because of no more corruption in the country but certainly not because it does not have any funding. Every organization has its limitations and may be that donor dependency is one of them for TIB. As it is an advocacy program, not profit generating, it is very hard to organize the self-finance at this stage, so we need to depend on the donors. However, TIB has never compromised its ethics just to obtain funds. It works under donors' guidance but not avoiding its own motto. Our present donors are happy with the way we are working and I am sure TIB's works will not be stopped in want for donors."*
>
> Source: Interview with TIB staff

In Bangladesh, NGOs have contributed to a great extent in the socio-economic development of the country, especially in rural areas for poverty reduction, gender mainstreaming, population control etc. (Zohir 2004, 4110). Most Bangladeshi NGOs are totally dependent on foreign funds. The high levels of donor funding have had two major consequences (ActionAid 2011). First, NGOs have become donor-dependent, not merely in terms of the funding that is essential to their existence, but also in terms of seeking donor assistance to legitimise their activities. Second, upward accountability to donors has skewed NGO activities towards donor-driven agendas for development rather than to indigenous priorities. Both these outcomes distance them from the state. The discussion with TIB high officials made it clear that their organization's donor dependency is slightly but significantly different than the usual scenario. Even though it should try to get out of dependence on foreign donor guidance and imply more indigenous ways of action. Existing research results indicate that high levels of aid delivered over long periods of time may affect growth and development, through their impact on the quality of institutions and governance (Bräutigam 2000). When aid intensity continues over long periods of time, it may create dependence, with its associated attitudinal, behavioural and political challenges.

6.6.3 TIB and Good Governance in Bangladesh

A major concern from donor agency and alliance group representatives was how lasting and influential TIB's work is across Bangladesh. None of them questioned or objected against the quality of TIB activities but they worried about the fact that TIB has become the equivalent name for 'Good Governance' in Bangladesh. People have lost faith in government - although it changes every five years, the mismanagement remains the same. Whenever corruption takes place, it is taken for granted that TIB will take action to prevent it. There is some anxiety that after all TIB is only one organization with its own resource limitations. It cannot perform as a parallel government that might solve all corruption related problems.

On the contrary, the organization's uniqueness can become a threat to its operational theme and motto. As highlighted earlier there is no other organization in the country that works against corruption as intensely and as effectively as TIB. If this situation remains, there is a potential risk that without TIB, the continuation of the movement against corruption would be at stake. One of the alliance group representatives explains the problem very convincingly (see box 6.16).

Box 6.16: TIB needs to go beyond itself

> *"Undoubtedly it is a great achievement for TIB as an organization that it is being treated as the only recognisable icon to prevent corruption in Bangladesh. However, can TIB claim the same credit as a social movement when there is no alternative to TIB? Doesn't it mean that if for some reason TIB is closed down today, the demand for corruption-free governance would be stopped as well? I think TIB should consider this matter because as a social movement they should not be carrying out only pre-documented tasks. Rather they should thrive to create such an environment in the country so that this movement would go on no matter whatever happens. At the end of the day people like to see TIB as a movement, not an ordinary task-dependent organization."*
>
> Source: KII with alliance representative

The failure of the government to properly perform its duties is the key reason for such a dependency of people on TIB. This is the perception of many employees (see the statement by one in box 6.17).

Box 6.17: Over-expectation from TIB

> *"People expect so many outcomes from TIB, mostly because they trust it. Moreover, as the government has become a total failure in controlling corruption, people count on TIB as their last resort. However, we always try to remind them through our media releases, round table meetings, conferences etc. that we appreciate their positive feeling for TIB but we do have our limitations and we actually cannot do all the tasks the government is supposed to do. We can only create anti-corruption demand by pressurizing the government".*
>
> Source: TIB staff during FGD

Involving like-minded organizations more actively in the TIB programs could be a possible solution for this problem. Then people will not see TIB as the only organization fighting corruption as there will be more options to rely on.

6.6.4 Demand for Legal Support

A very common disappointment shared in FGDs and interviews with TIB members, CCC members and YES members was about the lack of legal support. It was a common statement that in order for the fight against corruption to be more successful and widespread, TIB needs to expand its activities involving the law in favour of the movement. Participants also expressed their anxiety that without this TIB's plan of action might get stuck and people might start losing faith - not in a way that the organization is not a trustworthy, but that not much can be done in the country. Some CCC members informed that sometimes they feel frustrated when in spite of various campaigns and advocacy, corruption continues in a particular organization and they cannot take any further steps. This leaves even deeper impact on the YES members as they are young, and can become de-motivated when success is not attained and nothing more can be done. The following box 6.18 expresses one of the TIB member's concerns about direct legislative action:

Box 6.18: People might find it worthless

> *"I know TIB has some limitations. According to their mandate they cannot take any legal action against an act of corruption. They can only highlight it and carry on advocacy programs to raise concern among people and authorities. So far it has*

> *worked well, but I believe TIB should take initiative to move forward. A long-term demand from the volunteers is that it should start some kind of a service desk where victims of corruption could complain and TIB could fight for them through legal processes like many other human rights organizations. In this way more people will get involved with TIB because they will know TIB would help them. Otherwise, after a certain stage, it would be tough to engage people as they would start thinking 'what is my benefit from joining TIB'. The organization should re-think its mandate."*
>
> Source: Interview with TIB member

According to the participants from CCC and TIB members having the alternative of legal actions would certainly minimize the level of political harassment that TIB stakeholders, especially high officials, have to endure after the release of research reports. Thus they would be able to legally attack instead of just trying to avoid aggravation. The TIB management also acknowledges this demand and a representative from its senior team expressed their intention to address the problem (see box 6.19). This also shows that TIB has increased its area and intensity of work in a manageable way over time.

Box 6.19: Proceeding step by step

> *"We understand that it would create a lot of enthusiasm if we could include legislative actions in our advocacy program. Nonetheless, we have to keep in mind that TIB is a project-based and donor-based program and all of a sudden we cannot start something that we won't be able to manage. We have adopted new strategies in this project analysing the success of previous projects. In the same way, we hope that what we achieve in this project might create opportunity for us to do something more including taking legal actions".*
>
> Source: Interview with TIB staff

Providing legal support from outside has been treated as one of the most important role playing issues for fighting corruption in Asian countries (Herbert Smith LLC 2012) because of the following reasons:

- Non or poor performance of the national law-enforcing agency
- Lack of protection for the whistleblowers
- Lack of legal know-how among people

When the state-body does not provide citizens with proper authorized support, humanitarian organizations should come forward. Usually beneficiaries of legal aid are victims of corruption, witnesses of corruption, whistleblowers and general people who are not in a position to protect themselves. Through such support, citizens become empowered to provide information and report corruption as well as receive guidance on how they can participate in governance processes (Rooke 2008, 73). When legal aid is available through proper structures, its application enables citizens to engage in the war against corruption.

There has been always a complicated relationship between social movements and legal aids (Spade 2010, 111) but when the issue is corruption, it becomes difficult to reach a winning situation without legislative actions. Based on the demand from its stakeholders, TIB may consider taking legislative actions against corruption and providing legal aid to victims as this would re-fuel the social movement with new hope.

6.6.5 Other Issues

In addition to the above topics, the matter of following-up was brought up by the volunteers. They claim that TIB conducts research or campaigns, but most of the time no follow-up programs are undertaken to review the progress of the work. There was an opinion expressed by a representative from the central office staff that TIB maintains a conventional way of working. New methods are not very appreciated, although it is very important to cope with changing ideas and information. Another frustration from the staff was that they find themselves doing the same types of tasks over the years. Not much rearrangement of work takes place as many of the other staffs dislike this. Some staffs think that their creativity and capacity are being confined within a limited space and with time their pro-activity and enthusiasm would decrease.

A participant staff informed that TIB has a required and pre-determined course of action that is approved by the trustee board and donors. The follow-up programs may not always be possible to carry out beyond the plan. However, they should be given more emphasis and in fact planned at the initial stage. According to my observations, the other two issues are the result of a gap between junior and senior staff. Senior staffs want to protect the programs by being in a pre-tested method while juniors want to do them in a more speedy way. My experience shows that TIB keeps sufficient scope for dialogues among its stakeholders which is the most suitable solution for such complexities.

6.6.6 Key Findings on Areas of Concern

- There is need for TIB to create space for the volunteer groups to be more self-sufficient.
- More real life oriented follow-up programs are required to evaluate the achievements of TIB activities.
- Although TIB is a donor-dependent organization, its main objectives are not hampered by demands from donors. With this flexibility, the organization should experiment more with its policies and procedures.
- There is a big pressure from TIB stakeholders to develop action-based programs, particularly providing legal support for the victims and taking legal action against corrupt institutes.
- People are looking at TIB as an alternative solution for all government failures to address corruption.

6.7 Conclusion

The main finding of this chapter is that no development initiative would be successful until its agents are willing to and capable of contributing to it. To achieve this, TIB tries to equip people across society with the pre-requisites to deal with corruption. **Firstly**, it works to mainstream the potentials of two under-utilized population groups - youth and women, by creating opportunities and associated surroundings to avail them. The key purpose of this is to bring a balance of power and equity among all members of the society. Such balance is necessary for a strong and continued development process. **Secondly**, it identifies large amounts of money

in environmental resource management that are misused due to corruption and inefficiency and then establishes a system to protect the environment in an efficient way. This strategy emphasises on ensuring transparency and accountability of fund allocation and encouraging indigenous expertise to restore harmony in environmental resources. **Thirdly**, TIB builds capacity among the people and stakeholders in such a way that their fight against corruption does not become only a responsibility for them; rather it converts into a way of life. This approach is significantly important as corruption nowadays has become detrimental to every angle of the social, economic and political sector. So, unless anti-corruption measures are adopted with equal magnitude, the possibility of reaching target is a far cry.

The success of TIB's policy level campaign indicates that it has attained ability to impact on the government in various ways, even though the relationship between both parties may not go very smoothly all the time. Initiating law and international treaties in the country along with effort to make the new generation aware about corruption are some of the mentionable success stories of TIB. In spite of its excellent way of work, TIB still needs to resolve some issues which might threat its constant accomplishments in the future. Synchronization among volunteers and expanding the scope of work to include legal support are the most important among them. Over-dependency of people upon TIB and the organization's reliance on donor agencies are also significant issues of concern.

The aim of TIB is to reach people and capacitates them to fight corruption. This chapter and the previous one discussed the organization's many-fold activities in that regard. In the following chapter general people's insights and opinions about TIB and the overall corruption scenario of Bangladesh are discussed on the basis of data generated through the public survey conducted for this thesis.

CHAPTER SEVEN
PEOPLE'S PERCEPTION: CORRUPTION AND TIB

7.1 Introduction

In the previous two chapters there were discussions on how Transparency International Bangladesh as an organization attempts to involve people in its thriving to fight corruption. It was also explained that the target of achieving sustainability in society can be fulfilled in a large extent only by defeating this social peril. According to TIB, people are the source of all its activities and this immense power could be utilized to overcome any evil existing in society including corruption (TIB annual report 2006, 10). Since TIB is a significantly people oriented organization, a study on it will not be fulfilled without canvassing their views. Hence, a public opinion survey was conducted in 2012 in the localities where TIB operates. Through this survey, I attempted to obtain direct responses from the community regarding what is people's stand on corruption, how they are affected by it and what could be the best possible solution to prevent it. Being citizens of the country, their responsibilities and intentions to prevent corruption were also sought. Lastly, the respondents' take on TIB and its activities was investigated. Discussing the findings from the survey is the main focus of this chapter. As explained in the research methodology chapter, the survey respondents were chosen from areas adjacent to TIB operations which exist in Dhaka and 45 districts outside the capital. For the purpose of data analysis, interpretation and discussion, the respondents from the capital and district levels are identified as "Urban" and "Rural" respondents respectively. For the convenience of data analysis and discussion the males and females of urban and rural areas are indicated as UM, UF, RM and RF respectively. Altogether 600 respondents with different educational background were covered in this survey. The respondent categorization, sampling technique and survey questionnaire were described in chapter two.

7.2 Corruption Scenario in Bangladesh

Corruption has been a long prevailing problem in Bangladesh. From the existing literature and research papers, various issues can be identified as its reasons. Despite the existing evidence, corruption continues and TIB is the main organization that is trying to change the status quo in the country. Its work impacts on ordinary people

and my intension was to see how they interpret corruption. The surveyed people's overall opinion about the corruption situation in Bangladesh is presented in figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1: Overall corruption situation in Bangladesh

0

6.5

19.34

74.16

■ Very bad ■ Bad ■ Medium ■ Good
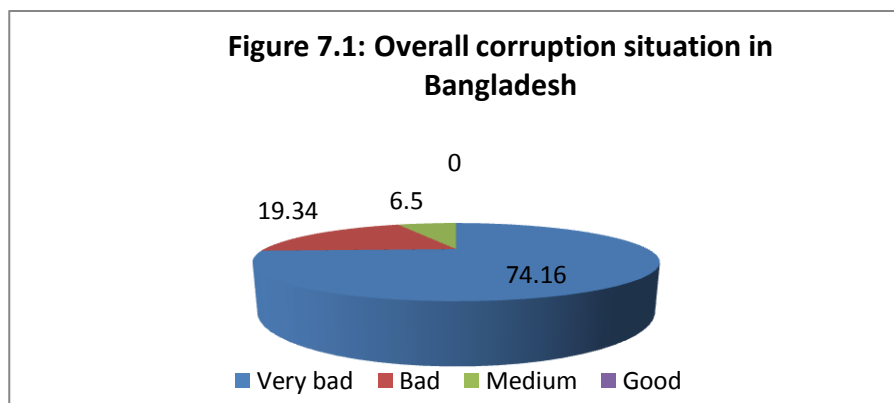
(Source: Survey)

A large portion of the respondents (overall 74.16%) thinks that a very bad level of corruption reigns in Bangladesh whereas none thinks that the situation there is good. This finding is supported by the statement of a senior trustee board member of TIB given during the interview (see box 7.1).

Box 7.1: Existence of serious corruption in Bangladesh

"Corruption is on an increase in Bangladesh, as it has proven to be a very means to become rich and powerful overnight. Also, more and more people intend to be involved in corruption because sufficient exemplary punishment for the corrupt is rare in this country. This sense of security that there will be no punishment for corruption degrades human values."

Source: Interview with TIB trustee board member

If the data is analysed according to the gender and residing area of the respondents, then the male- female and urban-rural contrasts take shape as shown on figure 7.2.
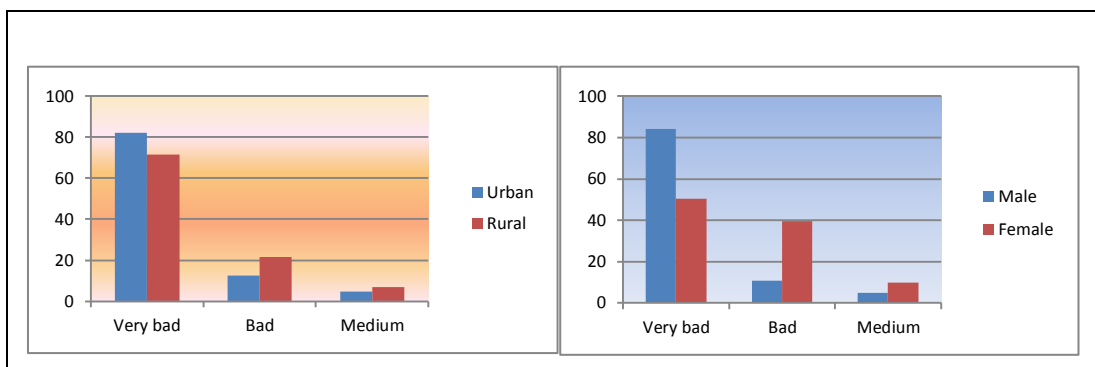
Figure 7.2: Area and gender specific consent about corruption situation

(Source: Survey)

A significantly large percentage of respondents (82%) from the urban area think that a very bad level of corruption exists in Bangladesh which is higher than their rural counterparts (71.56%). The numbers of respondent in both areas is much lower for the option "bad" but here the respondents are more in the countryside (21.56%) than metropolitans (12.67%). There remain noteworthy differences in the male-female responses for very bad (84.29% & 50.56% respectively) and bad (10.71% & 39.44% respectively) level of corruption. Overall, the response rate for medium level of corruption is low and the difference in urban- rural (4.67%- 6.89%) and male – female (5%- 10%) are also minimal.

As discussed in the methodology chapter, education plays an important role in people's life in Bangladesh in terms of forming their perspectives, access to knowledge, information and empowerment. That is why while choosing the respondents, besides gender and residence their level of education was also considered. The three different groups based on education for this public survey are: illiterate or primary pass, secondary pass and undergrad or higher. Based on that, a more detailed education, gender and area specific analysis of the survey data is depicted on figure 7.3.
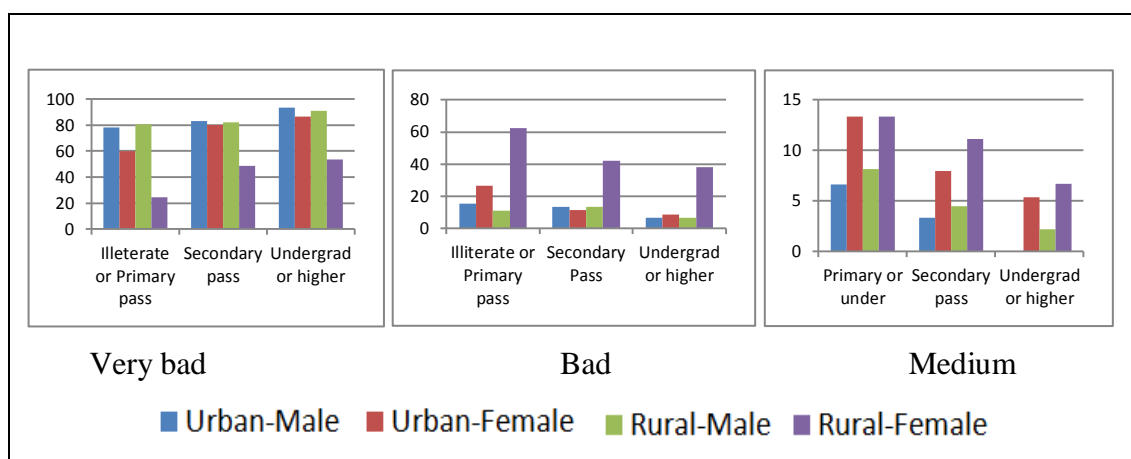
Figure 7.3: Corruption perception in Bangladesh according to education

(Source- Survey)

Figure 7.3 shows that there remains a clear relation between education level and gender and the perception about the overall corruption situation in Bangladesh. The few respondents who think that Bangladesh has a medium level of corruption are mostly female with less education, irrespective as to whether they are city (13.34%, 7.98% & 5.34%)[39] or rural (13.33%, 11.11% & 6.67%) residents. Also, the majority of people who think the situation is bad (but not very bad) are female and most of them are from rural areas (62.22%, 42% & 38%). There exists a similarity in the respondents' opining who think that the situation with corruption is very bad in all other three groups except for rural women irrespective of their education level. No male from an unbar area thinks that Bangladesh's corruption is at a medium level. Most male residing in metropolitans think that it's very bad (83%, 83.33% & 93.33%); the remaining few see it as bad (15.33%, 13.35% & 6.67%). A major portion (80.74%, 82.22% & 91.11%) of the countryside males think that Bangladesh is suffering severe corruption and the response rate for bad level of corruption (11.12%, 13.13% & 6.67%) is higher than for medium (8.14%, 4.45% & 2.22%).

Why less educated women's responses differ from the others can be explained with the existing literature on the status of women in Bangladesh. Previous research highlights that women have a limited role in the household decision-making, restricted access and control over resources, low level of individual assets, heavy

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[39] According to the order of illiterate or primary pass, secondary pass and undergrad or higher. This will be the sequence for the entire discussion in this chapter.

domestic workloads, constrained mobility and inadequate knowledge and skills (Sebstad & Cohen 2000, 44). Due to their vulnerable position in the society they are not likely to have a proper idea about what is happening in the country. They are so busy carrying out their daily duties that they have hardly any chance to look or think about outside the home. All access they usually have is by mingling with other women of the same socio-economic status which does not allow them in most of the cases to expand their horizon. Consequently, the general corruption scenario continues to be unknown to them.

Irrespective as to what is the degree of corruption identified by different respondents; it is most informative that none of them considers the corruption situation in Bangladesh to be acceptable.

7.2.1 Reasons for Corruption

The respondents of the survey were asked about the prime reasons for corruption in Bangladesh. From the qualitative interview data and existing literature the most relevant ones are described to be misuse of power, lack of consciousness, greed, unhealthy politics and poverty. These very issues were given as multiple options in the survey questionnaire. Following is the overall response from the survey participants.

Figure 7.4: Reasons for corruption in Bangladesh
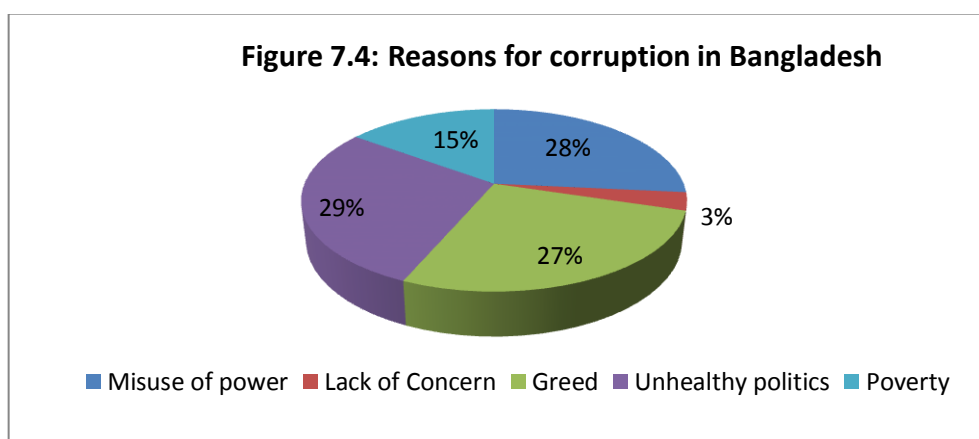
(Source- Survey)

The data in figure 7.4 shows that according to the largest portion of the respondents, unhealthy politics (29%) is the key reason for corruption while lack of concern gets

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the least emphasis (3%). The two other reasons greed (27%) and misuse of power (26%) obtained a slightly similar response rate to unhealthy politics. In reality, each of these first three factors helps others to grow. According to 15% of the respondents poverty is the main reason for corruption. A more descriptive sector-wise data analysis is given below with graphical representation in figure 7.5.
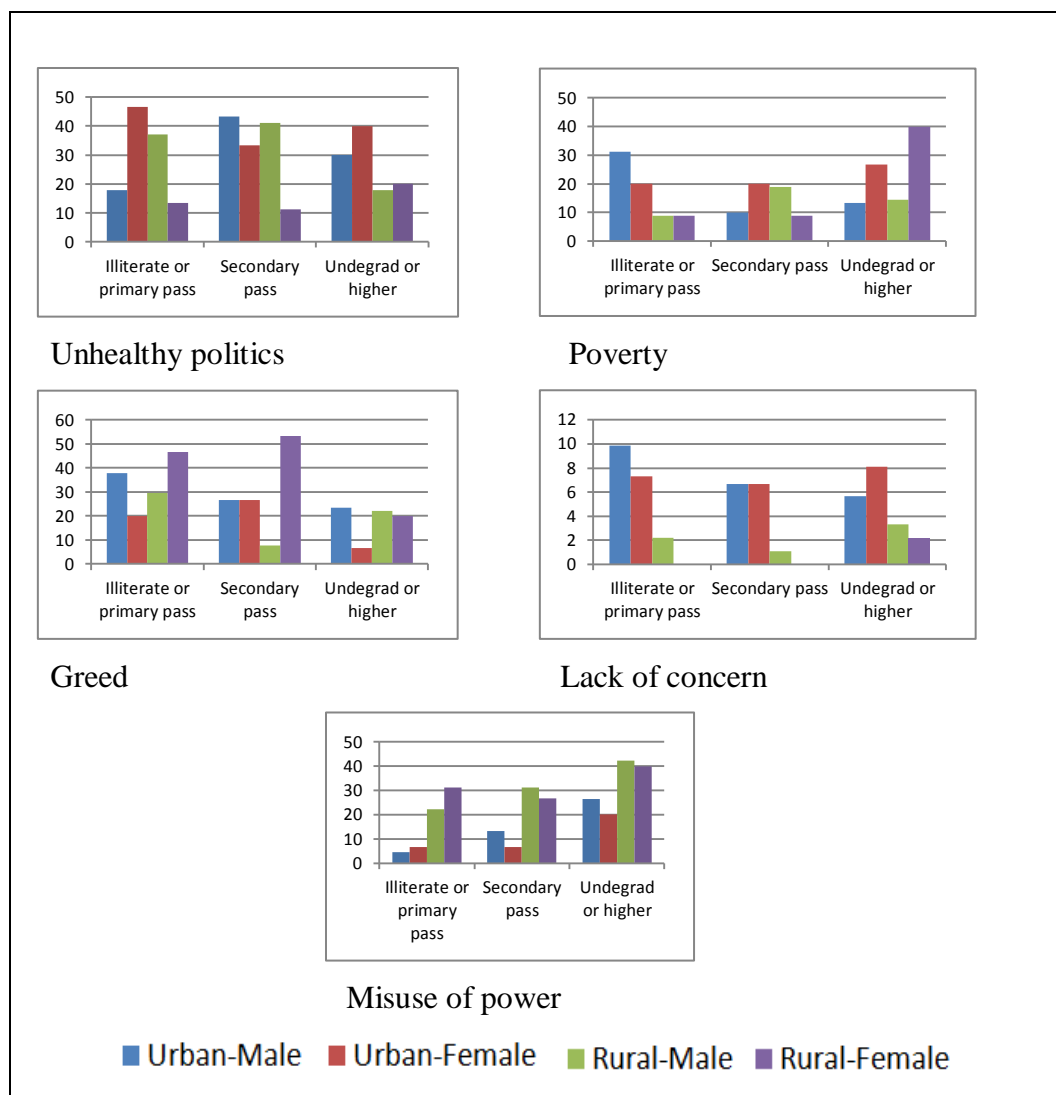
Figure 7.5: Reasons for corruption according to sex-education-area (Source-Survey)

Unhealthy Politics - Overall, the highest number of respondents identified this as the key reason for corruption in Bangladesh. Irrespective of education level there remains completely opposite views among female respondents from urban and rural areas. Urban females seem to give the most emphasis (46.66%, 33.35% and 40%) on this issue while emphases from rural females are least (13.33%, 11.11% & 20%) in this case.

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As previously described, the people of Bangladesh do not trust the politicians. Unethical politics, embezzlement of fund, making inappropriate favours and peddling power for raising campaign funds have been endemic problems with most governments in the country (Shams 2007). The nexus between the money earned through corruption and party funding was highlighted by the accelerated entry of criminals into politics (Siddiqui 1996). When a political party wins the elections, they want to get back the money invested in supporting campaigns with interest through bribery, embezzlement, fraud and extortion (Singh 2003). Consequently, the politics of the country continue to tolerate and encourage corruption, as described by a representative from an alliance organization of TIB in the KII (see box 7.2).

Box 7.2: Urgent need for alternative leadership

> *"The total number of politicians of the country happens to be very minimal in consideration to the total population. Even though, this small amount of people is causing the country so many problems by the power that has been given to them to serve people. And there is no exception between the leading political parties. Unless Bangladesh finds any alternative way of doing politics, we cannot hope for any improvement."*
>
> Source: KII with alliance representative

Greed – This is the second major cause of corruption according to the survey results, especially for the illiterate or primary pass respondents (UM-37.7%, UF-20%, RM-29.6%, RF-46.6%). Although the higher educated participants do not think it to be as a significant reason (UM-23.33%, UF-6.66%, RM-22.22%, RF-19.99%), greed driven corruption is largely discussed in previous research. According to Myint (2000, 47) this is a type of corruption that people perform by choice, only to fulfil their luxury desire. Consumerism and its consequent demonstration effect play a significant role in promoting greed-based corruption (Khan 2008, 17). 'Demonstration effect' is a term used in economics which means the urge and tendency of keeping up with others in terms of products (Schor 2002, 15). A real life example of the demonstration effect of consumerism was given by a high official from the Information Commission during the key informant interview, as presented in box 7.3.

Box 7.3: Demonstration effect of corruption

> *"Once I caught one of my Peons (low grade staff doing petty administrative job)*
> *red handed during taking a bribe for the setting of an appointment for people with*
> *me. When I challenged him, he burst out into tears and said that his next-door*
> *neighbour bought a colour television the other day. That peon's income was not*
> *enough to buy the same but his wife and children would not listen to him. They*
> *were pressurizing him for a colour TV, although they already had a black and*
> *white TV. Finding no other alternatives, he decided to take bribes."*
>
> Source: KII with Information Commission personnel

Misuse of Power – Both male (22.22%, 31.11% & 42.22%) and female (31.12%, 26.66% & 40.02%) respondents from rural areas find misuse of power as a cause of corruption more frequently than those from urban areas (4.46%, 13.13% & 26.55% for males and 6.66%, 6.66% & 20% for females). Again, the higher educated people realize this more than those with less education. One of the reasons may be that in rural Bangladesh, the flow of information and opportunities are less than in urban areas and rural people have no other option but to seek the help of the local power-holders (Keya et al. 2013, 18). In most cases these officials are corrupt and take full opportunity of the helplessness of others by charging money or asking other types of favour. Similar cases occur in urban areas but there people have more options to seek and receive services than in the countryside. For example, in urban areas people do not have to rely on government-owned banks which have lengthy and often corrupt procedures. They have access to private and multi-national banks which ensure proper customer care in order to survive in the competition. By contrast, these opportunities are not that much available in rural areas as these privatized organizations and MNCs are urban-based, and more specifically, capital-based. The government banks often misuse the power of monopoly which they enjoy outside the metropolitan areas. The level of desire to hold power and misuse it is indicated by one of TIB members (see box 7.4).

Box 7.4: Corruption by choice

> *"I know many professionals who have chosen to be government employees despite*
> *knowing that the salary level is not sufficient to lead a decent life. To them, the*

Poverty *-* Poverty is treated as a much less important cause for corruption. A country where at least 45 million people or almost one third of the Bangladeshi population, live below the poverty line (IFAD 2012, 1), need-based corruption is very likely to occur. However, in spite of the huge poverty, ordinary people in Bangladesh usually refrain from corruption. The Chair Person of the TIB Trustee Board thinks that, it happens not necessarily because they all are honest, rather most of them do not have any access or opportunity to get involved with corruption. On the contrary, a representative from civil society argued that poverty is, undoubtedly an important catalyst for people to be corrupted. He gives an example of government employees whose payments are very low in comparison to those of private sector employees (see box 7.5).

Box 7.5: When need drives people to conduct corruption

"There is a huge difference in salary between public and private sector employees in our country. When a significant portion of the society is well-off, then naturally it contributes towards a price hike. This is the moment when people with low income get into trouble - when they have to pay the same price but their income is less. As country provided social security is almost non-existent and the unemployment rate is so high that you cannot think to have more than one job, people find doing corruption the only way to survive. A police constable once told me: 'Sir I like the way you always speak against corruption, but I would request you to make me a monthly budget to lead my life. My monthly salary is seven thousands (less than one hundred dollars) and I need to take care of my wife, two children and my old parents. Now you tell me how I can manage my family with such a limited income'. I really had no answers for him that day."

Source: KII with civil society activist

Lack of Consciousness – The smallest portion of the respondents found this issue as the key factor for corruption. The larger parts of them are respondents from urban areas (9.88%, 6.66% & 5.66% for males and 7.32%, 16.66% & 8.11% for females). It is a rather new concept in Bangladesh that lack of consciousness may turn a person into a victim of corruption (Norad 2011, 55). Hence people, particularly rural people hardly have any idea how consciousness grown through information and awareness could be used as a tool to fight corruption. The cause and effect of unconsciousness was mentioned by representative of donor agency and is noted in box 7.6.

Box 7.6: How to keep people helpless

> *"Lack of education and other privileges for ordinary people is an intentional system in our country by the powerful because it helps keep them unconscious and weak. As people don't know the extent of their rights, whatever little they receive from the authority - they think it to be a huge favour while they are supposed to obtain way more than that. That's how the power holders tend to maintain a bright image among people."*
>
> Source: KII with donor agency representative

Although five different reasons for corruption are discussed here, they are closely related with each other. If any one of the problems could be resolved, it will certainly make a significant effect in reducing others and vice versa.

7.2.2 Corruption in Daily Life and Suggested Remedies

Developing an understanding about people's day-to-day encounters with corruption and what they think may assist to deal with this problem was one of the targets of the survey (see figure 7.6). The respondents were asked through the questionnaire about the most corrupt sector that they come across in their daily life. The multiple options that were set in advance based on the interviews and TIB research papers are: education, professional sector, services and daily social activities. These options do not mean that corruption takes place only in the listed sectors, rather people more often encounter it in them. Receiving service appears to be the sector where general people face corruption the most (40%). With a significant difference from the first one, education and professional sector (21.5% each) are opined by the survey respondents to be second most corruption-prone sectors. Least number of people face

corruption in daily social activities (16.66%). A more detailed discussion along with graphical gender-based break-down is also given later on (see figure 7.7).

Figure 7.6: Sectors affected by corruption
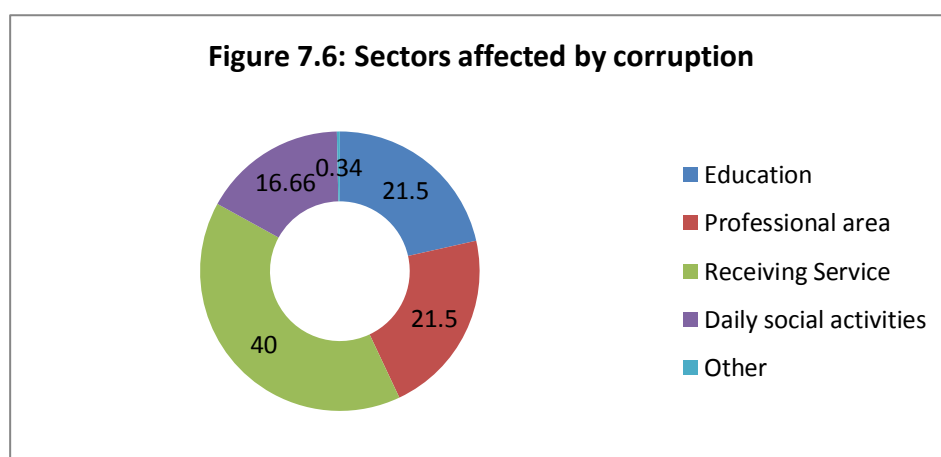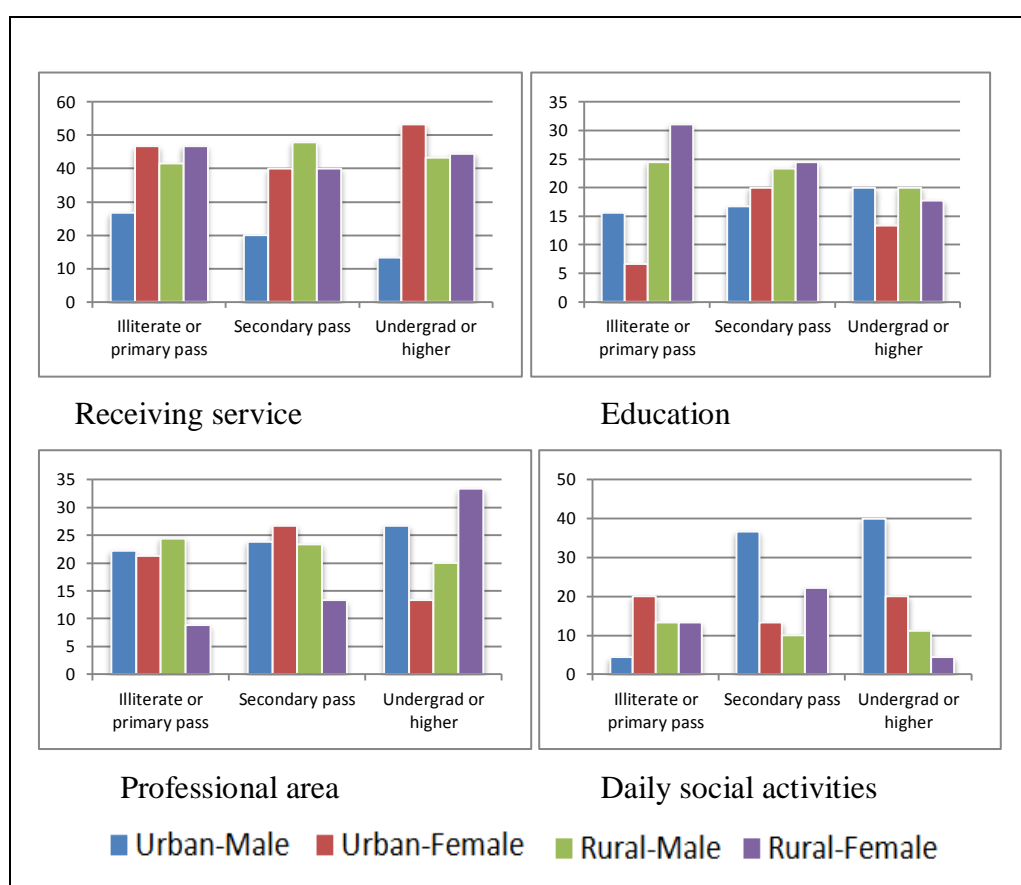
Figure 7.7: People of different area-sex-education being affected by corruption

Receiving Service - It seems that males from all educational backgrounds in urban settings face the least (26.67%, 20% & 13.34%) corruption in receiving services

while higher educated women (53.32%) in the same areas face the most corruption. The level of harassment caused by corruption remains more or less similar for the other educational and area-based groups. The status of the Bangladeshi civil service has eroded and bright graduates are now less likely to pursue public servant positions than in the past (Jahan 2006). Faulty recruitment procedures and a degree of politicization have created an avenue for corrupt officials to ruin the smooth process of service provision. These corrupt ways for staff recruitment also apply for the private sector but as the level of accountability is higher there, staff have to accomplish the duties designated for them (Joshi 2010). As a consequence the quality of public service remains inadequate, ineffective, corrupt and out-of-tune with the present reality and requirements. How people become victims of corruption while receiving service is described by a YES member during FGD (see box 7.7).

Box 7.7: Helping in corruption for one's own convenience

"The peace loving and fuss avoiding nature of general people often creates path for the corrupt service providers to take advantage of them. When we go for a BDT 1000 worth service and they ask for ten bucks more it is very natural for us to give it straight away because we don't want to make a scene about it. As long as our job is done we don't even think that if they can take same advantage from 20 people a day then they will earn BDT 200 illegally. Either we don't realize or don't want to realize how we are contributing in the growth of corruption."

Source: YES member during FGD

Education - Women in rural areas (31.11%, 24.45% & 17.78%) face more corruption in the education sector than their urban counterparts (6.67%, 20% & 13.35%) irrespective of the level of obtained education. The same situation applies for men, except for those with higher education where men from both areas have the same experience (15.56%, 16.67% & 20% in urban areas and 24.44%, 23.33% & 20% in rural areas). A field-level employee of TIB shared during an IDI that many people in the country become victims of corruption in the education sector without even knowing it. His statement is given in box 7.8.

Box 7.8: Being victim of corruption without realizing

"When we were carrying out our advocacy program for school teachers not to do private tutoring and take care of the students in the class properly, many parents were quite surprised. They could not find any problem with private tutoring. We explained to them that teachers are supposed to teach the students in the classroom in such a way, that no private tuition is needed. Moreover, it gives a teacher a scope to discriminate among the students and render undue services (e.g. giving away exam questions in advance, marking higher more generously) to the students who come for private tuition. Then the parents realized and appreciated our initiative."

Source: Interview with TIB staff

Professional Area - Unlike the education sector, female respondents living in urban area are more oppressed in the professional field due to corruption except for those with higher degrees. Exactly the opposite scenario is seen for men as the less educated are the primary victim of corruption in the professional field in rural areas. However, women with higher degrees residing in rural areas are the most exploited through corruption among all groups. Rural women being less exposed to corruption in the professional area is because the rate of female employment is higher in the urban areas. The lack of job opportunity in rural areas only allows higher educated women to work in schools colleges, hospitals etc. (Murayama 2006). How corruption in the professional sector can be initiated is narrated by a TIB member in box 7.9.

Box 7.9: Referring turned into corruption

"There was a time when referring someone to a workplace was only meant to certify that the referred person would be a valuable human resource for the organization. Slowly this turned into nepotism when influential people would refer their friends or family without considering their expertise. This also initiated bribing the employer to get a job."

Source: Interview with TIB member

Daily Social Activities - Figure 7.7 shows that the men in urban areas with secondary and higher degrees (36.66% & 40% respectively) suffer the most due to corruption in daily social activities. In Bangladeshi culture, the person with the highest education level was supposed to obtain the highest level of respect from others. However, the

concept is changed now. The ones with the most money and power receive the most attention (if not respect) in the society. A CCC member's own experience is presented in box 7.10.

Box 7.10: When fear and favour make the corrupt popular

> *"I am really shocked to see that the most corrupt person in our locality is invited as the chief guest in every program. When he comes, everyone is treating him with the most importance although it is an open secret that he is a very bad person. People are scared that if he is not treated well he might close the program with his power or stop the donation that he gives from his black money."*
>
> Source: CCC member during FGD

As a complementing question when respondents were asked about the factors that might help them to overcome the daily hardship of corruption (see figure 7.8), almost half of them (47.5%) suggested the proper implementation of the law. The options of a ground to protest, availability of information and objective media received 21.5%, 15.67% and 15.33% of all responses respectively. As stated in the methodology chapter, these options were selected on the basis of the interviews, FGDs and my desk research. A breakdown of data according to gender and residence is presented in figure 7.9.

Figure 7.8: Options to reduce the effect of corruption
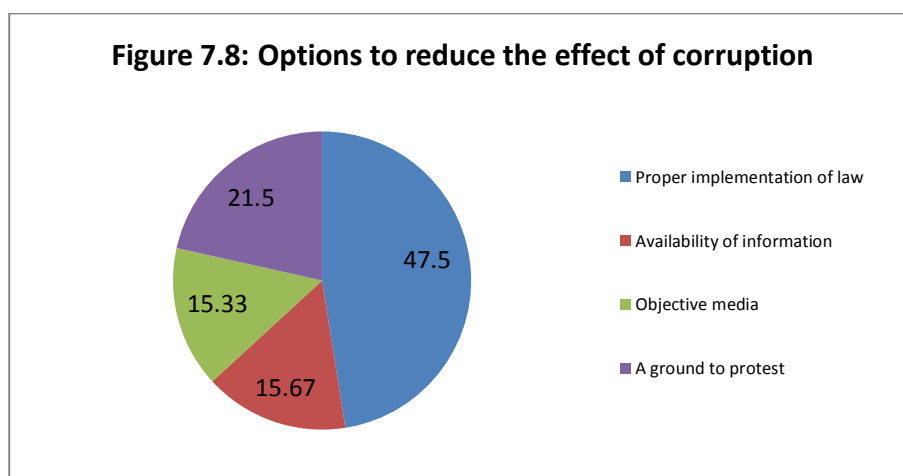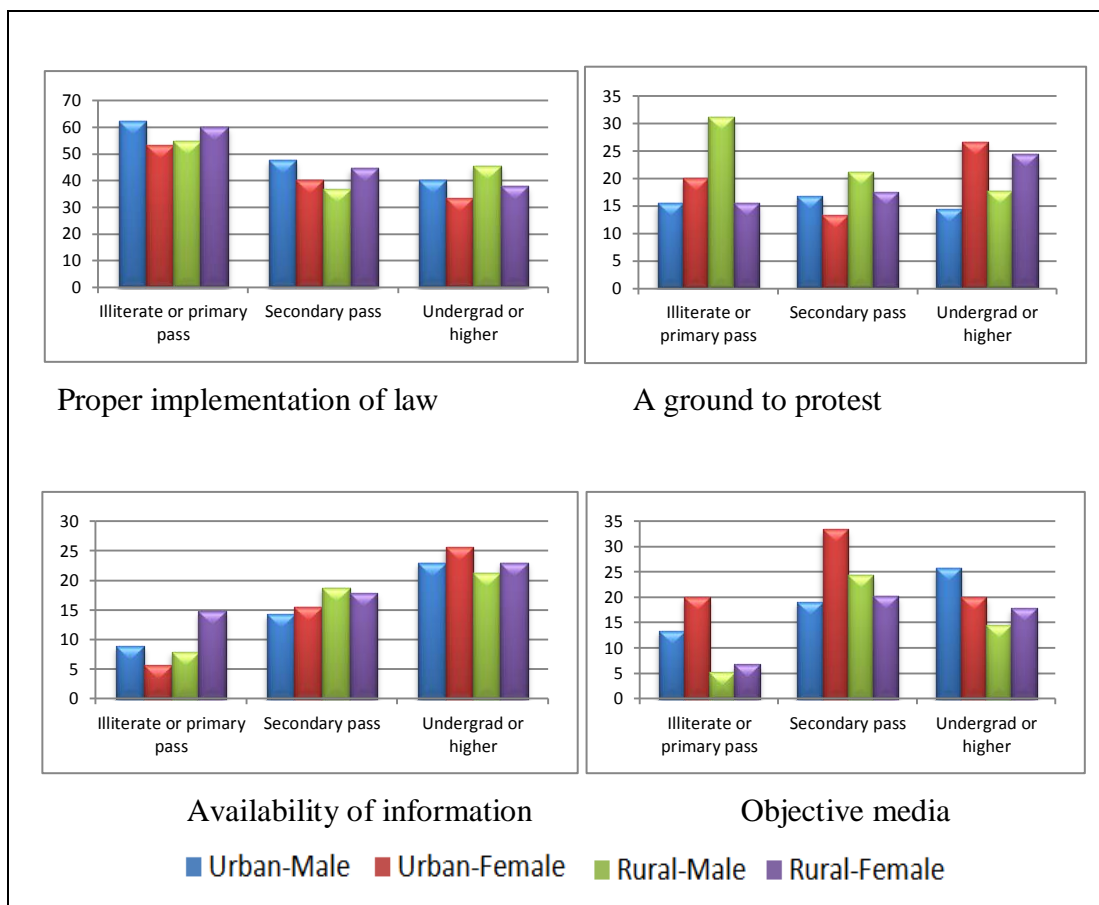
(Source: Survey)

Figure 7.9: Ways to reduce the hassle of corruption by different respondent groups

(Source: Survey)

Proper Implementation of the Law - Analysing the responses of the survey it seems that the illiterate or primary pass respondents (UM-62.22%, UF-53.33%, RM-54.81% & RF-60%) urged more for laws to be implemented properly while this demand was less prominent among the higher educated people (UM-40%, UF-33.33%, RM-45.56% & RF-37.78%). Although very challenging to implement, appropriate execution of the law is seen as one of the most effective ways to reduce corruption worldwide (Davidsen et al. 2009, 12). A person would take steps to commit corruption as long as the benefits from it outweigh the losses from a possible punishment. The recent approach in fighting corruption is to create such an environment where its occurrence is prohibited, rather than solving the problems after it takes place (Ferreira & Morosini 2013). The State has to play a key role in this process, creating disincentives for corrupt practices and making sure that a corrupt act would not go unpunished. From the FGDs it was also found that a proper implementation of the law does not only mean imposing the legal provisions on the

people by the authority, rather them having respect for the law and a tendency to abide by it. As stated by one of the YES members, the proper implementation of the law will increase the public participation in reducing corruption (see box 7.11).

Box 7.11: Rule of law to boost whistle blowers

> *"Even if corruption takes place in broad daylight, we remain silent as we know our initiatives will not work. They will not be taken under any judicial process rather we will get into trouble. If there was an environment when law and order enforcing agencies were doing their duties properly, people would be more than happy to cooperate with them."*
>
> Source: YES member during FGD

<u>A Ground to Protest</u> – Figure 7.9 shows that altogether people in rural areas (31.11%, 21.11% & 17.78% for males and 15.56%, 17.56% & 24.44% for females) are more optimistic that an organised ground to make objection would help them get rid of corruption than urban residents (15.56%, 16.66% & 14.33% for males and 20%, 13.33% & 26.66% for females). A mass protest is a proper way to show to the corrupt system the power that ordinary people have. Mass protests have contributed as a strong tool to oppose corruption in many countries around the globe, e.g. Cambodia (Indochina Research 2007), India (BBC 2011), Singapore (Nair 2013) and Thailand (Tangsupvattana 2011) among others. The major problem to initiate such an activity remains in organization and motivation (Mehta 2011). Studies show that leadership, media exposure and in recent time online connectivity create strong grounds for people to unite and protest (Boekkooi 2012). However, the more people hear success stories about such collective efforts against corruption, the more they would be motivated to come forward. All they need is a call and place to share their feelings that help them to gather and speak against corruption (Vogl 2012, 21). A CCC member explains the role of an organized platform to dispute in box 7.12.

Box 7.12: A place of trust

> *"It gives people high level of confidence, motivation and guidance in contributing something for the society when they know they have a place to gather."*
>
> Source: Interview with CCC member

Availability of Information - There remains a significant disparity in the intensity of demand for easy access to information among people from the three education backgrounds and figure 7.9 shows it increases with higher educational level obtained. The percentages of respondents in favour of information are 8.89, 14.33 & 23 for males and 5.67, 15.44 & 25.67 for females in urban areas. In rural localities the percentages are 7.89, 18.78 & 21.22 for males and 14.78, 17.78 & 23 for females. A YES member's words provide some explanation in box 7.13.

Box 7.13: ICT for empowerment

> *"I feel myself very lucky to be able to access most of the opportunities of modern ICTs which give me the privilege to be updated and well-informed. Before doing anything that I did not do before I always get information through the internet. Thus, I know what to do and on whose door to knock and it's not very easy to take advantage of me. I am sure not everybody in my country has the education and facilities like I do and they have to face lots of problems every day."*
>
> Source: Interview with YES member

Free flow of information helps to bridge the imbalance between what the state does and what citizens know, and hence makes a government more open and accountable to its people. However, information can be a powerful tool to fight corruption only when people have the ability and the know-how to use it properly. In a country like Bangladesh where around 40% of people are illiterate (BBS 2013) and only 1.3% of them have internet accessibility (Islam & Hoq 2010, 110), it is very hard for a large section of people to be up-to-date. Often they don't even realize that they are being deprived day after day.

Objective Media - The survey shows that in most cases women (even illiterate or with primary pass) think that fair media are able to help in eliminating the daily burden of corruption (20%, 33.33% & 20% in metropolitan and 6.67%, 20.22% & 17.78% in countryside). The highest level of response in this regard is obtained from secondary level pass females. Although the option of using objective media has obtained the least number of responses, their role in preventing corruption has been acknowledged as indisputable around the world. Ideally, the media in a democratic society should function as a neutral and impartial watchdog body (Utriainen 1997).

For that, the media sector of a country has to be proficient, independent and fair. To attain such a situation is tough in the Asian countries as there remains a relation of mutual advantage between the media and the power elite (Bhattacharyya & Hodler 2012, 4). Also, a lack of efficiency and professionalism exists among the journalists of Bangladesh, especially in the rural areas, due to scarcity of proper training and guidance (IPI 2009, 8). One of the representatives from the alliance organization explained how the Bangladeshi media can provide a fair representation (see box 7.14).

Box 7.14: Competitive environment for responsible media

"It is a very good sign that so many news channels and newspapers are available in Bangladesh now. It simultaneously oppresses media monopoly and enables people to get different views. You have to publish authentic and quality news if you want to survive in this competition. The stream of alternative media (internet blogging) that has been initiated in our country is another revolution. Now you don't need a publisher to publish your research-based findings on corruption. You can publish it in your own blog and thousands of people will be able to know the truth. All we need is more involvement of concerned citizens with the media".

Source: Interview with alliance organization representative

7.2.3 Ways to Reduce Corruption

Discussions during IDI, KIIs and FGDs pointed out a number of approaches as suggestions to reduce corruption in Bangladesh. Among them the most discussed issues were: combined protest, proper education, e-governance and positive change in leadership. The survey intended to show what people thought about these options. The overall and sector-wise response is presented in figure 7.10 and 7.11 respectively.

Figure 7.10: Ways to reduce corruption

(Source: Survey)

Positive change in leadership   Combined protest

Proper education   E-governance
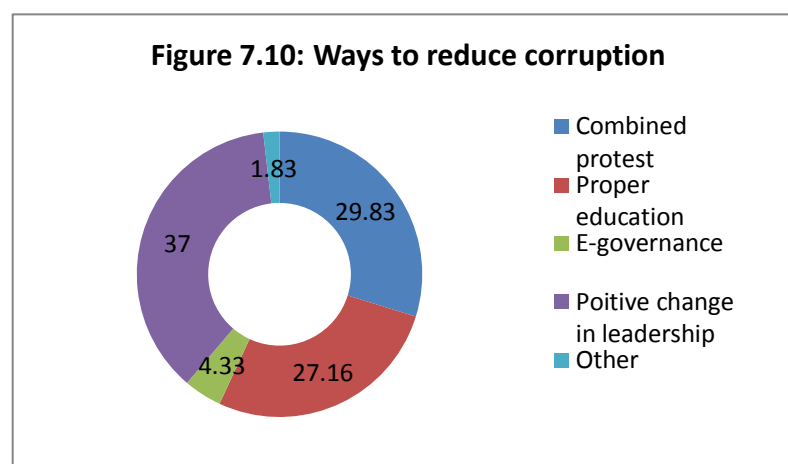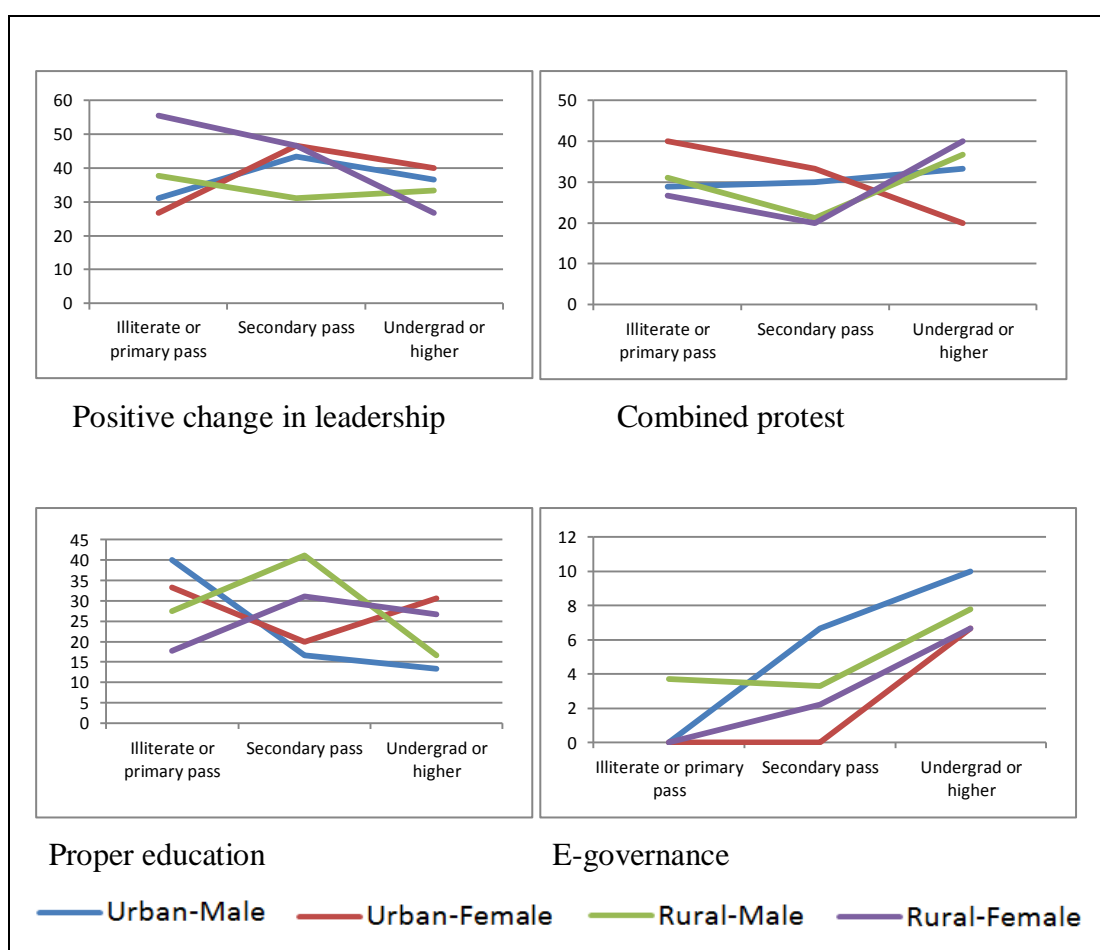
Figure 7.11: Remedies for corruption according to respondent types (Source: Survey)

Positive Change in Leadership – The highest percentage (37%) of demand for a change in leadership results from disenchantment with the poor performance of the current leaders (specifically political) of the country. People are concerned about the

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sectors and persons responsible for corruption in the country and they want to change this ineffective system. In urban areas, secondary pass males and females want political change more than the other two education groups (31.11%, 43.33% & 36.67% males and 26.67%, 46.67% & 40% females). Exactly the opposite picture is seen for rural males where the percentages are 37.78, 31.11 and 33.33. Lastly, in rural areas the more educated women are, the less they see the political change as a way for reducing corruption (55.55%, 46.66% & 26.68%). A high official of TIB stated the influence of good leadership as presented in the following box 7.15.

Box 7.15: A leader can make a change

> *"I strongly believe that one good person in the leading role can bring a massive change in the society. In fact top-down approach is the most effective way to reduce corruption in a country like ours. However, unfortunately we are in scarcity of good leaders."*
>
> Source: Interview with TIB high official

The intolerance and aggressive nature of political and power pursuits by major and petty political leaders as well as the lack of democratic culture could be blamed for the dysfunctional situation in political competition (Alamgir, Mahmood & Iftekharuzzaman 2006). The public sector in Bangladesh has failed to perform to acceptable standards in initiatives to tackle the corruption of political leaders (Ali 2004). Civil society offers a new window of opportunity for the community to monitor and persuade the political parties to follow participative and responsive politics (Asaduzzaman 2004). If this succeeds, there is hope for a better, corruption-free political sector with honest leaders.

Combined Protest - The second highest response (29.83%) for ways to reduce corruption is for collective dispute. In urban areas, this demand reduces with higher education for females (40%, 33.33% & 20%) while it increases for males (27.24%, 31.11% & 33.33%). In rural areas, respondents with the highest level of education mostly find this to be an effective measure (36.67% males & 42% females). This group is closely followed by illiterate or primary pass respondents (32.33% males & 26.67% females). One of the interviewed CCC members expressed his feeling about mass protest in Bangladesh as presented in box 7.16.

Box 7.16: The power of people

> *"It is the mass of Bangladesh that has gathered together and shaded their blood in '47, '52, '71, '87 and '07 and brought something good to the country. When people are united, no evil can stop them because they love their country more than their lives."*
>
> Source: Interview with CCC member

With some limitations, combined protest from people has been very effective in Asia, Latin America and Africa for the establishment of social accountability mechanisms at the local level and strong institutions at the national level to control corruption (Jha 2012, 5). History proves the same in the case of Bangladesh

Proper Education - This issue received third position with 27.16% responses in favour of it. Interestingly enough, the highest level of education degree holders do not find proper education as a useful means to reduce corruption in both urban (13.33% male & 30.67% female) and rural areas (16.67% male & 26.66% female). In urban areas, the demand for education is lead by the illiterate or primary pass people (40% male & 33.33% female) while in rural areas secondary pass people (41.11% male & 31.11% female) acknowledge most the necessity for education. The importance of education mentioned by a civil society member is presented in box 7.17.

Box 7.17: Education for proficiency

> *"Education makes people conscious about society and the threats it is facing. It also enables them to use the available tools to solve the problems."*
>
> Source: KII with civil society activist

Education for people of all ages and backgrounds has been accepted as a key component to corruption prevention over the world (Marquette 2007, 240). On the other hand, corruption jeopardises the poor and uneducated the most (Eicher, García-Peñalosa & Ypersele 2006, 209). In Bangladesh education has a direct positive relation with income level and it can be assumed that among the respondents, the least educated are the poorest. A possible reason for the difference in various education levels may be personal experiences. As the educated are already privileged

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by being relatively less threatened by corruption, they don't realize the role education can play to fight corruption.

E-governance [40] - Only a very few respondents (4.33%) saw e-governance as a solution and they were mostly highly educated - 10% & 7.77% males of urban and rural areas respectively responded in favour of it while female response was 6.66% in both areas. The FGDs with different stakeholders focused on the importance of e-governance in overcoming the lengthy bureaucratic systems that tolerate and facilitate corruption. However, some pessimistic views were also brought in the discussion. One comment from a CCC member during FGD is given below in box 7.18

Box 7.18: E-governance requires good intention

> *"No matter how much technology we use to make the system transparent, at the end of the day we, the humans will have to operate them. If we have evil intention to break the rules no system can stop us. Technology based e-governance can only make the ways harder for people to carry out the corrupt acts, but cannot stop them"*
>
> Source: CCC member during FGD

The main reason for the low preference for this option is the lack of information about e-governance and how it works. The term e-governance refers to the effective and efficient use of modern information and communication technologies to improve the activities of public sector organizations with a view to establish good and transparent governance and to promote democracy for any country. The final objective of e-governance is to create good governance (Irani, Al-Sebie & Elliman 2006, 82). This way of governing is very recently initiated in Bangladesh and is yet

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[40] E-government involves using information technology, and especially the Internet, to ensure the delivery of government services to citizens, businesses, and other government agencies in an improved and transparent way. E-government enables citizens to interact and receive services from the federal, state or local governments twenty four hours a day, seven days a week. (Palvia & Sharma 2007, 3)

to be implemented properly and widely. With a weak platform, the Bangladesh civil service shows a low level of ICT aptitude and its use of ICT is often locked up with Microsoft elementary applications (Hoque & Zaman 2010, 2). Using it to ensure a better public service is still shaping in terms of infrastructure, willingness and expertise (Alam 2012). As a result, such a useful tool proven to be effective in increasing "corruption decrease" (Mistry & Jalal 2012, 162) still remains unknown to the majority of people.

7.3 Citizens versus Corruption

Another important objective of the public survey was to ascertain what people think about their role as responsible citizens in curbing corruption and what they actually do. From the KIIs with different experts the most prominent options for citizen role against corruption are: honestly abide by the law, teach children to be responsible and get involved in the anti-corruption movement. Following is the overall and sector-wise data representation of the survey results (overall in 7.12, gender and area specific in 7.13).

Figure 7.12: Citizens' role in reducing corruption

- Honestly abide by the law: 44.5
- Teach children to be responsible: 29.66
- Get involved in anti-corruption movement: 25.83
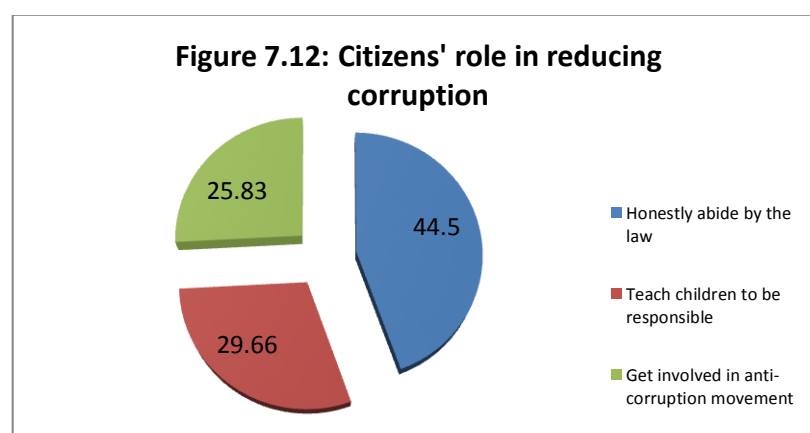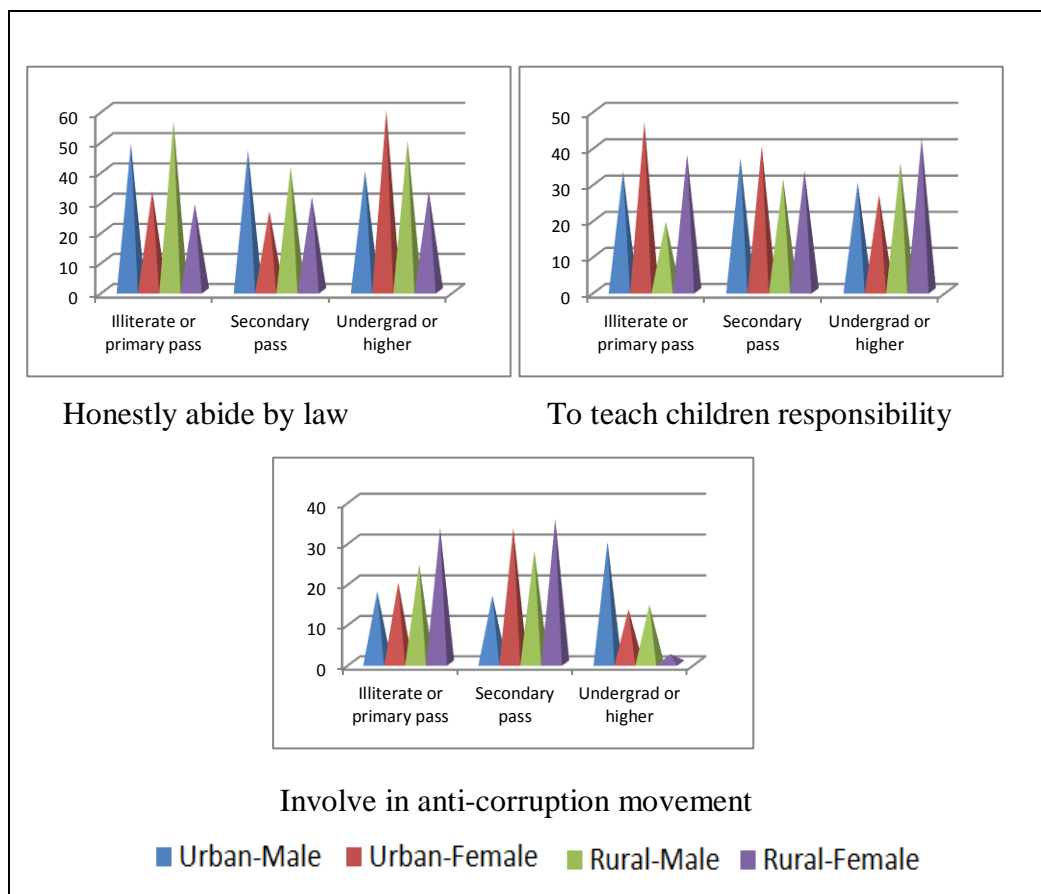
(Source: Survey)

Figure 7.13: Different people's perceptions about their duty to fight corruption

(Source: Survey)

Honestly Abide by the Law - A significantly large amount of people (44.5%) think that their main duty in reducing corruption is to be honest and follow the legal rules and regulations of the country. The figure shows that irrespective of area and education male respondents give more emphasis than female on this issue, except for higher educated people in urban areas. The male response rates are 48.89%, 46.47%, 40% and 56.29%, 41.11%, 50% in urban and rural regions respectively whereas the rates are 33.33%, 26.67%, 60% and 28.89%, 31.33%, 33.33% for females in the same sequence. This is indeed an important issue as if most are being honest this would make a difference. However, the interviews show that although people of Bangladesh in general are honest and try to respect the laws, often they become part of corruption out of pressure. Otherwise, they would become a victim of it. One of the TIB members described the situation in the following way (see box 7.19).

Box 7.19: Corruption under pressure

> *"Sometimes, people cannot remain honest even if they want to. They can cope up even with poverty but when their superior officers pressurise them to do corruption; they do not have any other option. Because, otherwise, either they will be fired from job or will be killed. It is very natural that simple persons will not have the strength and courage to go against the whole corrupt system and harm themselves and their families. Of course some are still fighting but the number is very low."*
>
> <div align="right">Source: Interview with TIB member</div>

Teach Children to be responsible - Among the people with higher degrees in urban areas, men emphasised teaching children about ethics more than women. However, for all other educational levels in both areas, female responders (46.67%, 40%, 26.67% urban and 37.78%, 33.33% & 42.22% rural) were more concerned about this than males (34.45%, 36.67%, 30% urban and 19.26%, 31.11% & 35.56% rural). Overall, a significant amount of respondents (29.66%) have realized the importance of moral education for children and this is one of the most sustainable ways to secure an honest society in future (Lewis, Mansfield & Baudains 2008, 141). The work of Edward Banfield (1975) shows a relationship between corruption and strong family orientation. When children learn in a family environment from a young age that being dishonest is a peril for society, they tend to follow the values been taught. Moreover the education that children receive from their parents (especially their mother), mostly determines their personality in future (Damon 1995, 13). In this regard, the Chairperson of the TIB trustee board shared a story from her own life (see box 7.20).

Box 7.20: Lesson from family to be responsible

> *"Thirty of my sharees[41] were stolen once and naturally, I was very upset. When my father heard about it, he said: 'in a country where women in villages can't even afford to have more than one sharee, you were committing a crime by being the owner of so many clothes. So, whoever has taken those has done it right, now the resources will be redistributed'. From that day on, I am very careful about what I have and what I actually need. I wish all parents taught their children how to act as*

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[41] Traditional Bangladeshi dress for women.

a socially responsible person. This would certainly help people to come out of the artificial demands that consumerism has created."

<div align="right">Source: Interview with trustee board member</div>

Another story was shared by a civil society member about a corrupt officer (see box 7.21). It seems that the family's moral education is a very effective and crucial weapon to free future society from corruption.

Box 7.21: Even though he was corrupt.....

"A very corrupt government officer once told me that he had done various sorts of illegal things in his life. However it was his earnest wish that his son would be an honest man. That's why he always taught good virtues to his son so that the young man does not inherit the bad part of his father. I think from his end he is doing a praise-worthy job. At least he is trying to keep his next generation corruption free."

<div align="right">Source: KII with civil society activist</div>

Get Involved in the Anti-corruption Movement - This issue obtained the lowest amount of response (25.83%). People with a secondary level of education mostly think that it is the citizen's duty to be involved in the anti-corruption movement (UM-16.67%, UF-33.33%, RM-27.78% & RF-35.56%). Except for the urban males, the portion of the respondents in favour of this issue is very low among the highly educated people (UM-30%, UF-13.33%, RM-14.44% & RF-2.22%). People become involved in a social movement because of a range of reasons. According to Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2007), there are four groups of motives - instrumental, identity, anger and ideology (see figure 7.14).

Instrumental motives	Identity motives	Group-based anger motives	Ideology motives
Rational consideration for a positive change in society	Discovering of like-minded people involved in an activity	Realizing that people are being deprived	Wanting to express and establish particular views
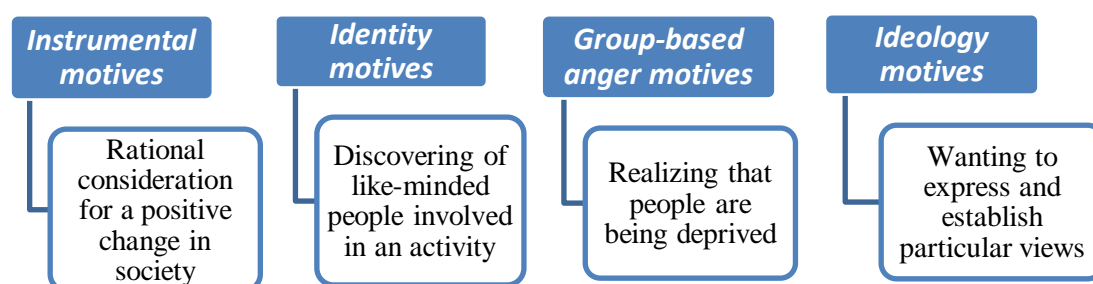
Figure 7.14: Motivation to be involved in social movements

<div align="right">(Source: Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans 2007)</div>

In the case of corruption, the dominant motivation for people would be group-based anger. However to help organize the movement, identity motives would be working as a preliminary platform. The movements organized by the civil society in Bangladesh could be pointed out as the inspiration for people in this case. They also fit well with the Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) of anti-corruption initiatives which explains the ability of groups to organize based on the resources available to them (Beuchler 1993). During FGD, a TIB staff narrates the prime hindrance for people to be involved in movements (see box 7.22).

Box 7.22: Opportunist nature of human beings

"It is a basic human nature to want the benefit with least amount of effort. So, when a movement goes on, a large part of the society wishes to obtain the positive impacts of the movements but wants others to go through the struggle. They do not actively take part in it until some situation forces them to do so."

Source: TIB staff during FGD

The next step of the survey was to seek people's immediate response to occurring corruption that might not hamper them but is harmful for society. The overall outcomes are presented in figure 7.15, whereas figure 7.16 represents data according to gender and area of residence.

Figure 7.15: Responses to corruption

Value	Category
11.83	
8.67	
0.5	
30.17	
48.67	Do nothing
	Protest alone
	Protest unitedly
	Report to authority
	Other

(Source: Survey)

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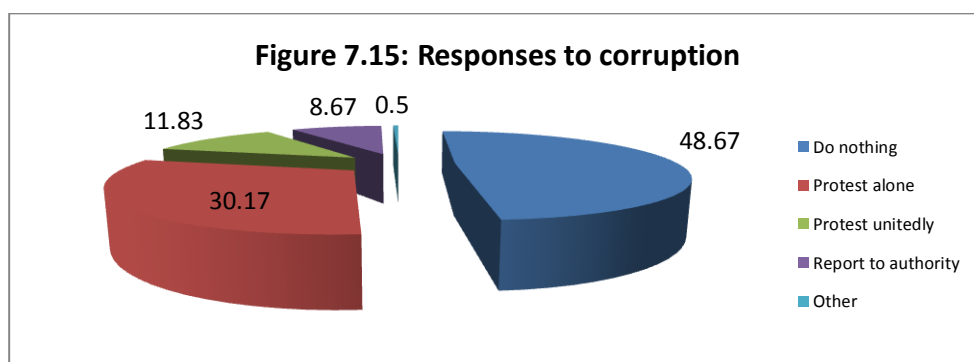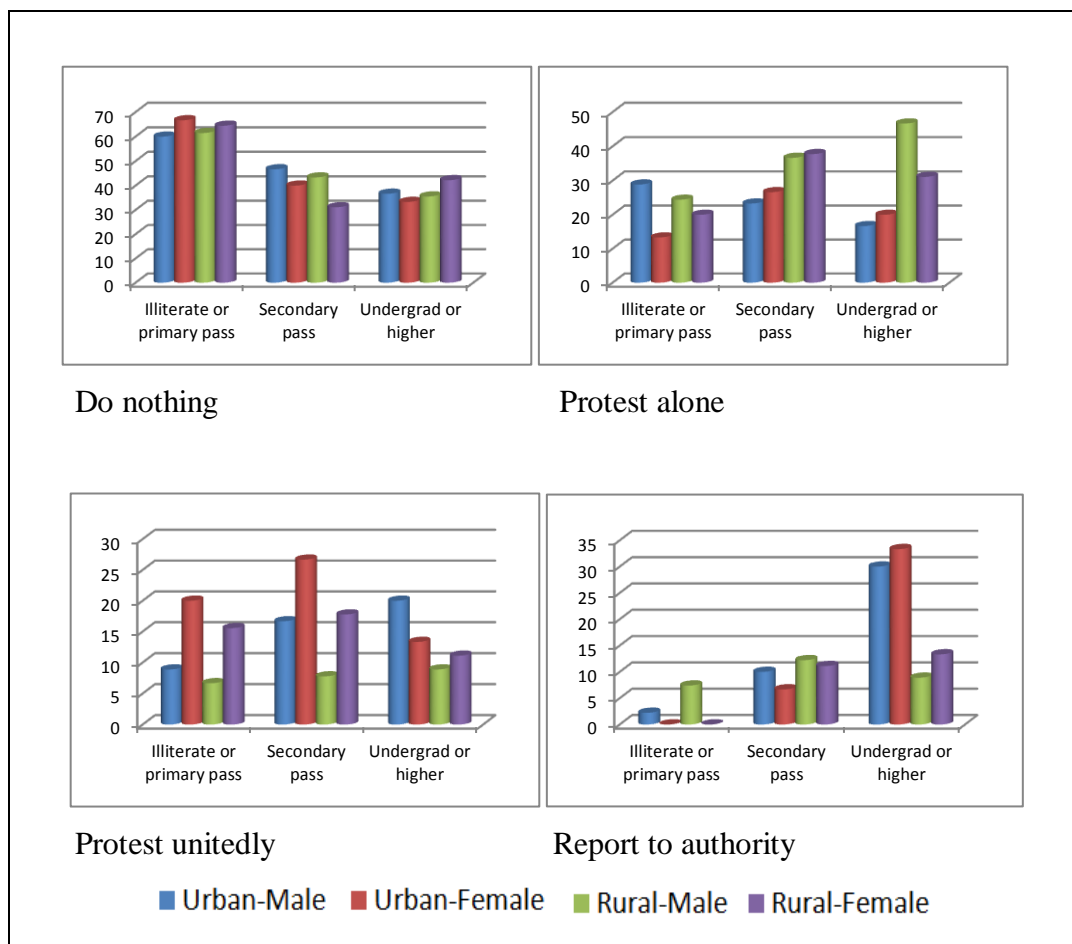
Figure 7.16: Group specific responses to corruption   (Source: Survey)

Do Nothing - Respondents were asked about their action when aware corruption is taking place. Almost half of them (48.67%) replied that they do nothing about it. The majority of these people are illiterate or with primary pass education (UM-60%, UF-66.67%, RM-61.48% & RF-64.44%) and higher educated people are the minority (UM-36.67%, UF-33.33%, RM-35.56% & RF-42.22%). The reasons for people not doing anything were discussed during the interviews and FGDs. Firstly, people are afraid of the corrupt persons who are very powerful and have the ability to do harm if anyone speaks against them. The law-enforcing agencies do not function properly and sometimes are part of corruption. Secondly, people are not convinced that their protest will make any difference.

Protest Alone – A large number of people (30.17%) indicated that they try to protest alone against corruption. The secondary pass respondents, especially females, seem to be prominent in this case (UM-23.33%, UF-26.67%, RM-36.67% & RF-37.77%). While responding, many stated that although they don't believe they would be able

to achieve anything by protesting, they still do so, because of the social responsibility they feel.

Protest Unitedly - The female respondents seem to be more interested in united protests. Their rates are 20%, 26.67% & 13.33% in urban regions and 15.56%, 17.77% & 11.11% in rural regions. One of the reasons for this may be that they are afraid to protest alone due to security concerns.

Report to Authority - Although respondents from urban areas with higher education (15.56% males and 33.33% females) were more interested, overall a very few respondents (8.67%) showed preference for reporting about corruption to the respective authority. A possible cause is that the respondents may think that the authority is also involved in corruption and that there is hardly any chance for a remedy.

7.4 Perception about TIB

Transparency International Bangladesh aims to reach ordinary people and include them in the journey of fight against corruption. One of the major objectives of this thesis is to find out how much TIB has succeeded to create a positive image among them. The second section of the survey questionnaire consists of questions seeking the respondents' knowledge about TIB, its features and their opinion about it. The detailed findings are described below.

7.4.1 What is TIB

Respondents were asked if they had any idea about Transparency International Bangladesh and more than half of them (51.17%) replied that they didn't know what it is. Considering the fact that respondents were chosen from adjacent areas of TIB operation, this is a rather large section. The rest of the respondents who claimed that they were familiar with this name were then asked what type of organization TIB is. Out of 293 respondents, 267 (or 91%) answers totally or mostly matched TIB's activities. The most frequent response without any specification was 'it is an organization that works against corruption'. Many other respondents replied that TIB is a research organization that publishes reports about the corruption situation in Bangladesh. Another popular response was that TIB is a civil society organization

that fights against corruption. Some replied that it is an organization that tries to include grassroots people in fighting corruption. None of these answers are wrong although not exactly correct in a narrow way. The interview with a senior Trustee Board Member of TIB gave an insight about the organisation's evolution of activities which is presented on figure 7.17.

Conducting research on corruption and sharing with or dissaminating the results among civil society (1996- 2002)

Letting people know about the evil of corruption all over the country (2003- 2009)

Involving people to actively fight against corruption through social movement (2010- 2014)
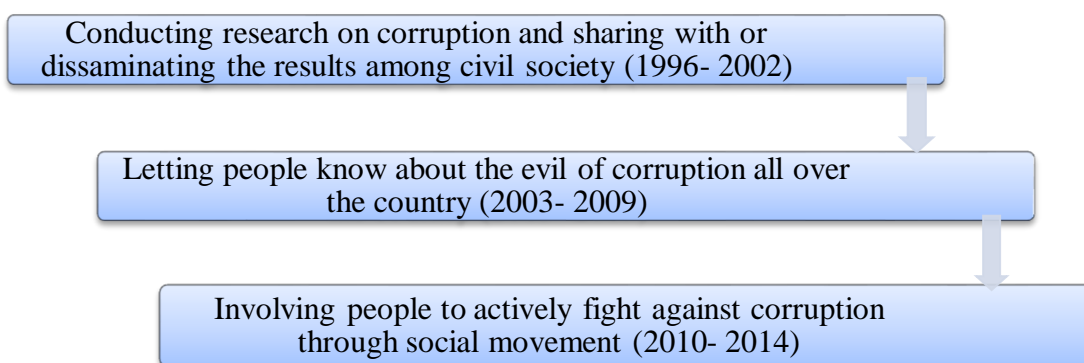
Figure 7.17: Expansion of TIB activities over time   (Source: Trustee board member)

If these TIB's activities are compared with the responses received from the survey then it seems that its preliminary strategies are more vivid in people's minds than its current mode of action. It still is an organization that conducts research on corruption and makes people aware of it, but the fact that it has opened an avenue for the masses to get involved is still largely unknown. The gender and area specific survey results on knowledge about TIB are represented below in figure 7.18.
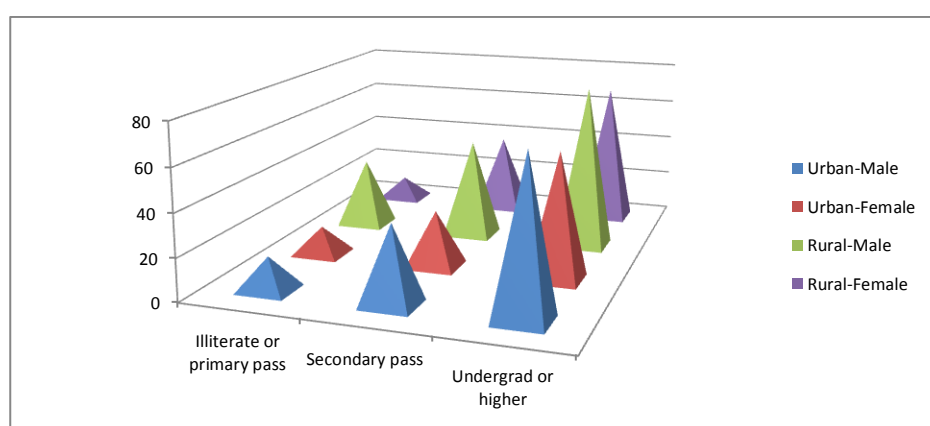
Figure 7.18: People with the right knowledge about TIB   (Source: Survey)

The survey data show that there is a direct correlation between education and knowledge about TIB. In the case of males and females in urban and rural areas, the higher degree holders know the most about TIB (UM-73.33%, UF-60%, RM-78.89% & RF-68.89%). In countries like Bangladesh education opens opportunities and the concern among people, having information about TIB indicates this issue once again. Literate people have more access to information outside their own world and thus they know what is happening in their country to address the issue of corruption. One unexpected pattern of the data is the difference of knowledge in urban and rural areas. In spite of having more ICT access in urban areas, rural people tend to know more about TIB than their urban counterparts. The first and foremost reason for this is the busy lifestyle of residents in urban areas. Also, the options to be involved are broader within urban areas than in the countryside. Rural people are aware of most events happening in their locality. Male respondents are found to be better aware about TIB than females, as the education rate and involvement with outside is higher among males.

7.4.2 Sources of Knowledge about TIB

This discussion can be extended by analysing the ways through which the respondents have come to know about TIB. The pictorial version of the data is presented on figure 7.19.
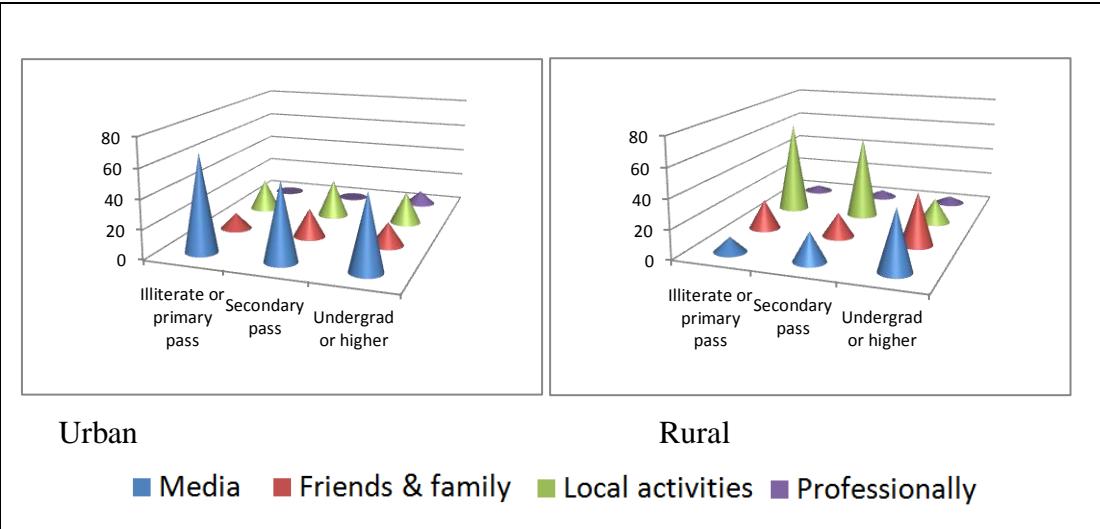
Figure 7.19: Sources of information about TIB   (Source: Survey)

In the urban areas the media is the most prominent way to learn about TIB (66.67%, 53.33% & 51.61%) while in rural areas, local activities are the leading source (65.31%, 58.33% & 17.64%). Discussion with friends and family is also more frequent in rural areas as people there have fewer topics to engage with. The response rates on this issue are 20.4%, 16.67% & 36.27% from rural residents and 11.11%, 20% & 16.12% from urban residents. The activities of TIB in urban areas are largely based on policy level advocacy that attracts more media attention. On the other hand at the local level, TIB works directly on organizational corruption, the results of which are rapidly viewed or experienced by community members. In particular, these activities seem to be more popular among people with no or less education who are often victims of corruption.

7.4.3 Willingness to Join TIB

Respondents were very positive towards TIB's strategy to include the general mass in their anti-corruption movement. Out of 600 respondents, 533 (or 89%) said that it is an appreciable initiative as people have much to contribute against corruption. The following issues were stated as reasons for supporting TIB: unless significant pressure is created on the political leaders, they won't start working for the country and the more people are engaged, the stronger the pressure will be. Thus, the pressure for an accountable government would be widespread for ensuring people's rights. On the other hand, people will become aware of the hidden ills of corruption and how it takes advantage of the poor and powerless. Then it will not be easy to oppress them since they would be together and better informed. According to few this helps restraining the values system which is causing the corruption to increase. Also, it was mentioned several times that TIB is working selflessly and impartially for the country. Being involved with TIB would be a convenient way to participate in the development process of their motherland. Constructive suggestions were also received in this regard. It is the view of some respondents that as an organization, it would be impossible for TIB to reach everyone in society, so they must start working at a family and school level. This way their activities can influence more people.

The few respondents who were uncertain about this strategy stated that it might be risky because whoever protests against corruption, gets killed or threatened. Also, some have doubt about the objective stand and productivity of TIB itself. Lastly,

they opposed public engagement because true willingness of government and politicians for reducing corruption are more important to them.

In a complementary question, respondents were asked about their willingness to join TIB's or any other movement against corruption. Altogether 412 survey participants out of 600 (or 69%) expressed their enthusiasm to actively participate in the fight against this social evil. This number is significantly less than that in the earlier question and includes the share of people who do not know about TIB. It is clearly seen that not all people who blame the government and system for all irregularities in the society are equally responsible. Many of them would not take any initiative even if they are given the opportunity to do so. The sex-education-area based distribution of data is shown in figure 7.20.
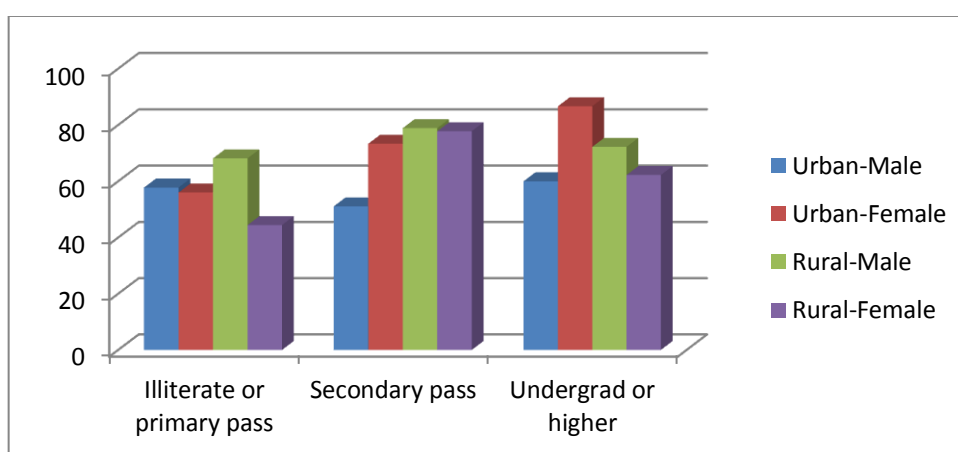
Figure 7.20: Willingness to join TIB   (Source: Survey)

The enthusiasm to be involved is more pronounced among rural people (57.77%, 51.11% & 60% for males and 56%, 73.33% & 86.67% for females) in contrast to urban dwellers (55.77%, 51.11% & 60% for males and 56%, 73.33% & 86.67%). Possible reasons again can include different opportunities available for urban people to be involved in, such as places for entertainment, organizations for creative work, agencies for professional development etc. The activities that they are engaged with usually help them grow in career or social networking (Islam, Mia 2007). Doing good to the nation by joining TIB might be one of a very few opportunities for the rural people through which they can socialite and develop professional background.

However the importance of getting more urban people participate in TIB's activities was indicated by a TIB Trustee Board member (see box 7.23).

Box 7.23: TIB should emphasize on members

> *"It is good that TIB has expanded its scope of action but unfortunately it has shifted and somehow lost its primary focus. Accumulating CCC membership is receiving more importance than members at national level which is not good. At national level TIB advocates for policy reform which is indeed a top down approach. However, in relation to corruption, this top down approach is more effective than bottom up approaches. So, getting more members and making sure they are pro-active should be a prime concern of TIB to strengthen pressure creation on the authority."*
>
> Source: Interview with trustee board member

Most of the respondents expressed consent and keenness to contribute in some way for the socio-political and economic improvement in the country and they think corruption is a large barrier in the development process. Many of them think that TIB is doing praiseworthy tasks and is a trustworthy organization. Hence it is worth to get involved with TIB and strengthen their ground as concerned citizens. Several respondents also expressed their personal grief of being victims of corruption and they want to put an end to such sufferings. Some also think that this might be a positive solution in the context of alternatives in the political field.

The smaller portion of respondents who are not interested in getting active with TIB or any kind of anti-corruption movement explained this because of time constraints. Some of them are very poor and hardly have the opportunity for this as they have to remain busy to earn their livelihood. Again, some of them lack confidence in TIB and fear about getting hurt by the corrupt people. Specifically women-respondents were concerned about their security and limited mobility.

7.4.4 Organization with a Unique Goal

The uniqueness of TIB's working strategy was recognised by the respondents of the survey and during the interviews. Out of the 600 survey respondents, 507 (or 85%) pointed out that they have never heard of any organization in Bangladesh that works

according to the same mandate as TIB. Most of the interviewed people expressed similar opinion. Other organizations mentioned by some of the participants are as follows (according to frequency of statement).

- Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC)
- Shushashoner Jonno Nagorik (Shujon) (Citizens for Good Governance)
- Human Rights Watch (HRW)
- Bangladesh Mohila Parishad (BMP), (Women's Council)
- Ain O Shalish Kendra (ASK)
- Durnity Protirodh Committee (Duprok), (Committee for Corruption Prevention)
- Shushashoner jonno Procharabhijaan (Shupro), (Campaign for Good Governance)
- Building Resource Accross Community (BRAC) etc.

The focus points for the other organizations mentioned above are as follows: Shujon and Supro - good governance (Shujon website), (SUPRO website), HRW - human rights (HRW website), BMP - women's human right (BMP website), ASK - legal aid (ASK website), BRAC - poverty reduction (BRAC website). The main target areas of the other organizations are not corruption although they are related to development. To achieve their respective goals, addressing corruption is a must. Hence, they are linked to corruption reduction but not in the way TIB aims to solely do it. There was another organization named PROGATI mentioned by one or two interviewees but not the survey respondents which were solely aimed to address corruption with the active participation of citizens. However, this USAID funded program lasted only five years (2007- 2012) (Progati website). The findings from the literature review, interviews and survey show that TIB is the only effective organization in Bangladesh that is actively trying to reduce corruption to a tolerant level. This uniqueness makes it a place of trust and dependence for ordinary people.

Although being a Government organization, ACC is the only one whose mandate of activities matches highly with that of TIB. It was established in 2004 with the aim to ensure appropriate treatment of corrupt people, by objectively guiding and advising the Government. It has seven regional offices and 22 combined district offices which

are called Duprok. Its volunteers are honest and influential persons needed for a community to address corruption issues (ACC website). Although, during the Care-taker Government[42] period of 2007-2008 ACC gave people hope by taking initiatives against the most corrupt persons, it failed to maintain its independent, unbiased and active approach under the elected government (CGS 2006, 13). Similar opinions about ACC were obtained in the interviews and from the comments of the survey respondents. The following statement of a CCC member illustrates them (see box 7.24).

Box 7.24: Questionable effectiveness of Anti-Corruption Commission

> *"ACC used to be one of our prides since TIB advocated for long for the establishment of an autonomous, independent and effective Anti-Corruption Commission and we all hoped for a corruption free country when ACC was imprisoning corrupt persons. Unfortunately, the situation is all the same now and ACC has turned into a paw less tiger again."*
>
> Source: CCC member during FGD

According to the survey, TIB is most successful in creating anti-corruption demand within society (46.98%). This corresponds to the preliminary idea about TIB that describes its activities during the early days. The organization's other initiatives, such as involving citizen against corruption (18.07%), contributing to reducing corruption (13.25%) and creating young leaders (10.64%) are still not widely known to people.

New technologies in different forms have entered the Bangladeshi society used in spreading information and communication with others. Even so, still print and electronic media are the most popular way to educate people on what is happenings and raising concerns about it (Koehlmoos et al. 2009, 8). The respondents echoed the same when they were asked about options for improving TIB's strategy of involving people in its movement. Almost half of them (45.37%) replied that involving the media more would be an effective way for this. The other options i.e. rendering legal

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[42] More detail about Care-taker Government is in methodology chapter

aid, expanding working area, increasing follow-up activities received 21.08%, 16.87% and 15.06% responses of all respectively.

A mentionable response which could be an issue of concern is that a few respondents cited about YES and CCC as similar organization to TIB while in reality they are complementing volunteer groups of TIB. In urban areas, it happened for YES while in rural areas, CCCs were mentioned. It even happened for respondents who said they have no idea about TIB. This certainly indicates that they are aware of TIB's activities but not about the organization itself. I believe there remains some lack of acknowledgement of TIB when programs are held. That is why people tend to think that TIB, YES and CCC are three different organizations. Providing people with adequate knowledge about TIB is crucial for its effectiveness, because only then would individuals be able and interested to join the activities the organisation operates. With the goal to mitigate corruption by igniting social movement, TIB certainly needs large public participation to succeed in its objective.

7.5 Conclusion

The purpose of the public survey was to obtain a picture about the corruption situation in Bangladesh through people's views. How much they know about TIB and their stand about its activities were also sought through this research. I must mention gratefully that the respondents were very spontaneous while participating in the survey and honest in sharing their opinion. There was scope for the respondents to mention any other issues but almost all preferred to stick with the given options. Like the questionnaire itself, the findings of the survey can be divided into two parts. They are described below:

Findings about Corruption Perception

- The existence of corruption is largely recognized by the people of Bangladesh as they are the prime victim of it.
- Although poverty can play a major role in stimulating corruption, that is not the prime case in Bangladesh. Rather a handful of dishonest politicians along with greed driven by consumerism people let corruption prevail in the country.
- Alternative leadership is required to overcome the existing unhealthy political situation in Bangladesh.

- In order to realize, protest and find solutions to combat corruption, education and free flow of information are a must. The more people are educated and well informed, the less they would be victims of corruption.

- Services are limited in rural areas, so in order to receive them people there are harassed more.

- Lack of education and access to the outside world along with anxiety about security keep the womenfolk unaware and less active in corruption issues, especially in the rural areas.

- In spite of having more opportunities for communication and information, higher educated people in urban areas are not significantly concerned about anti-corruption initiatives and being involved in them.

- In general, people are not interested to take any anti-corruption initiative by themselves. However, if a proper trustworthy ground could be created, through which they can contribute in reducing corruption, they would happily get involved.

Findings on TIB

- In terms of conveying their message to the people, TIB still has a long way to go since for now it has been able to reach mainly the highly educated strata of the society. People with lower education level still do not find engaging with TIB more important than earning their livelihood.

- Among those who already know about TIB, the majority have a high impression about the organization.

- However, TIB's actual modes of actions are not properly known to people, even to those who are aware of it as an anti-corruption organization.

- Local activities of TIB seem to be more popular among people than its national achievements covered by the media as people experience immediately the results from them.

- The number of people who actually want to be involved with TIB activities is far less than that of people who appreciate TIB's activities.

- TIB has a unique goal but needs to expand its working area and involve the media to a greater extent in order to enhance the demand for anti-corruption environment.

- During CCC and YES activities TIB's name needs to be mentioned more - specifically so that people have a clear idea how these three entities function.

The general people of Bangladesh are still not largely well-oriented about the concept of social movement against corruption. Despite knowing the fact that the government agencies are not willing much to change the situation, people still hope the proper rule of law is the key to solving the problem of corruption in the society. They do not realize that in order to apply the rule of law, a strong pressure should be created on the authority by them. As a social movement TIB is doing praiseworthy work but it influences only a relatively small number of people who are related with it. For a massive and dramatic change in people's view extension of TIB's operation and inclusion of more programs should be initiated in the country.

CHAPTER EIGHT
INTEGRATING THE FINDINGS AND FURTHER IMPLICATIONS

8.1 Introduction

The key driving force of this study is the shift of focus from largely ineffective government agencies to development organizations in order to mitigate the issue of corruption in developing nations. The initiatives of TIB, the most prominent organization in this field, establish and develop social awareness about and participation in activities against corruption in Bangladesh and they were examined in this thesis. They represent part of a social movement. The findings from this study have multiple implications for both a better governance system and more corruption resistant responsible citizens. Understanding and learning about the experience of the stakeholders of this movement can also help to shed light on the capacity of community members to address other problems, such as poverty alleviation, employment generation, population control, resource management and attaining gender equity. Thus, this study contributes to widen the path towards sustainable development of social, economic and environmental aspects.

The research focused on social responsiveness and involvement against corruption in Bangladesh and applied a combination of descriptive and evaluation methods in order to answer the driving question of this query which is:

"What is the contribution of TIB in creating a social movement against corruption in Bangladesh?"

A specific set of objectives have been established to attain the answer of the research question in a broader aspect. Those are:

- Describing the views of different stakeholders about the concept of corruption in Bangladesh and TIB's role as a movement in this context;
- Analyzing TIB's mode of operation in reaching people in the community to fight corruption;
- Identifying the outcomes of TIB's social awareness creating activities, both at the local and national level;

- Recommending a further policy framework for addressing the problem of corruption in Bangladesh.

To be specific in answering the research question, it can be firmly stated that TIB is the pioneer in indenting the thought in Bangladeshi people's mind that corruption could and should be fought against. In this journey, TIB has been able to secure a trustworthy place among its stakeholders and general people who know about it. However, the organization still needs to set strategies to reach the larger part of the country's population who are unaware about it, by addressing the potential long-term and short-term threats.

In order to answer the research question and achieve the outlined set of objectives for this thesis, a particular theoretical framework was developed. In the existing academic literature, theories about social participation and corruption eradication from a Bangladesh perspective so far have not been sufficiently connected **(Chapter 1)**. The methodology of this study implemented an interpretive research philosophy. This framework provides a better understanding about real-life corruption circumstances in the country and the selective but significant attempts of TIB to put an end to them by engaging the country's citizens. An approach combining research methods as repeated in this study was applied to ensure equal representativeness of the various stakeholders and to increase the objectivity of the study **(Chapter 2)**.

The emergence and development of the field of social movement as a major theoretical and methodological tool for public participation in terms of dissatisfaction and oppression were discussed. It was emphasised that a social movement against corruption needs to be initiated in Bangladesh without delay **(Chapter 3)**. The following section of the research demonstrated the exploitative nature of corruption and put forward a definition that focuses on the moral degradation due to these acts widely known as misuse of power. The interpretation of the alarming corruption situation through different indices shows that the lack of proper government initiatives along with the absence of sufficient pressure on the government is abstaining Bangladesh from achieving a deserved and desirable development **(Chapter 4)**.

The theoretical framework and methodological approach allowed the empirical part around the role of TIB to be linked with the outlined concepts of public engagement for preventing corruption, a sustainable future and public perceptions about corruption. Firstly, it was shown how TIB increases public participation in its movement through research, objective stand against corruption and helping people with information and communication. It is recognized worldwide as a social movement and the existing internal and external barriers were also pointed out based on qualitative data **(Chapter 5)**. Later on, the organization's strategy to properly manage environmental assets as well as capacity building and opportunity creation for the human resource of the country was identified along with potential threats in the long term **(Chapter 6)**. Lastly, this thesis examined the level of ordinary people's knowledge and perception about corruption in Bangladesh and the role of TIB as a catalyst in bringing it to public attention **(Chapter 7)**.

This final chapter summarises and comments on the conclusions drawn from the whole study. Firstly, section 8.2 represents the theories evolved through linking the empirical data and theoretical background. Section 8.3 presents a brief synopsis of the main findings of the research while section 8.4 examines the implications of the research findings in accordance with some recommendations. Suggestions for further research are provided in section 8.5.

8.2 Theoretical Concept of the Thesis

Synchronizing the data obtained through the case study on TIB and the existing research on social movement and corruption this thesis extends existing contemporary theory. An alternative approach towards the stages of a social movement is developed where it is argued that even when people realize the existence of a problem in society, the situation may remain unchanged without a particular initiative to act as a catalyst. Explaining the roles of potential institutions as catalysts for social movement, the thesis then describes the circumstances that occur in the case of an effective social movement aimed at eradicating corruption.

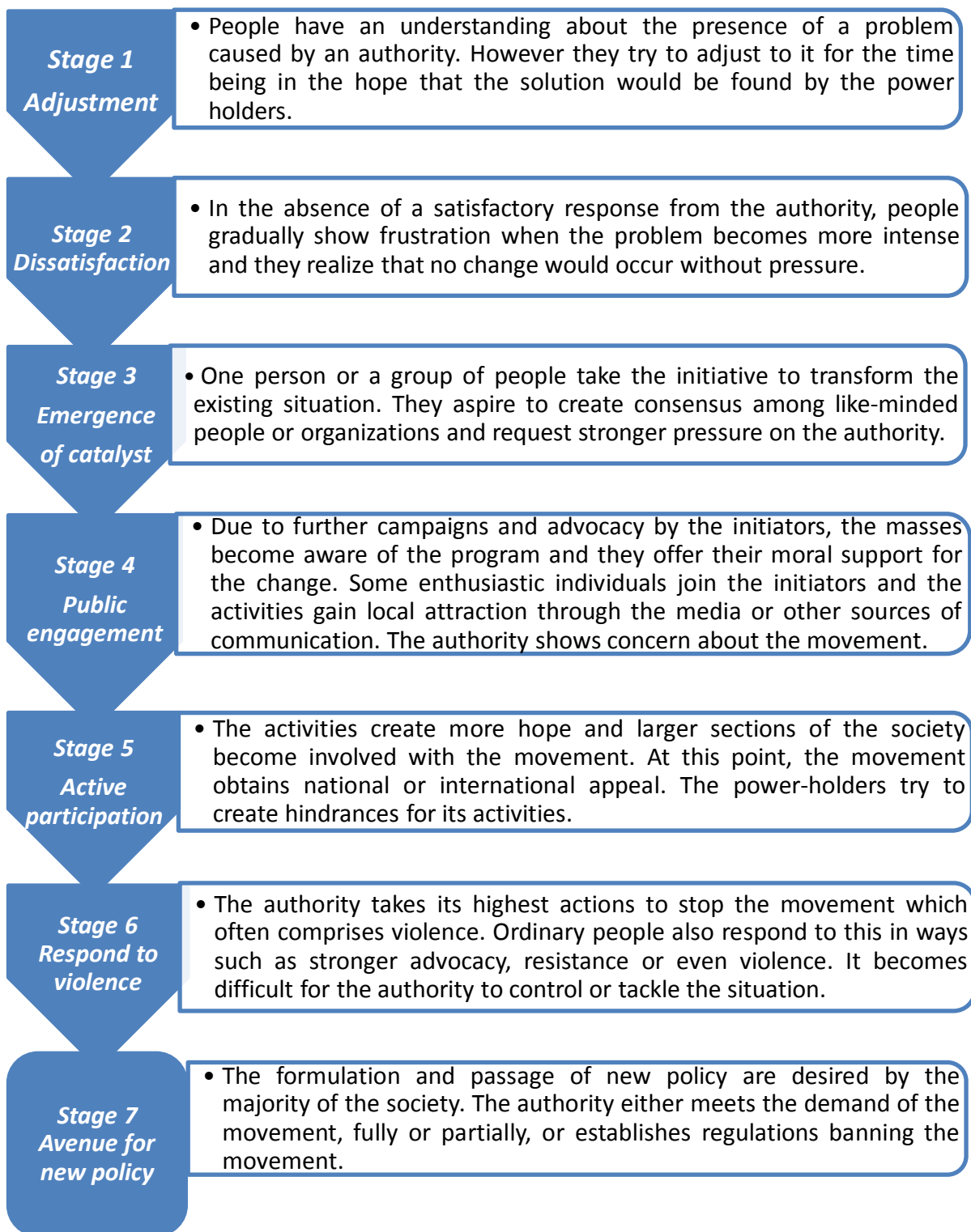| **Stage 1 Adjustment**	• People have an understanding about the presence of a problem caused by an authority. However they try to adjust to it for the time being in the hope that the solution would be found by the power holders.
Stage 2 Dissatisfaction	• In the absence of a satisfactory response from the authority, people gradually show frustration when the problem becomes more intense and they realize that no change would occur without pressure.
Stage 3 Emergence of catalyst	• One person or a group of people take the initiative to transform the existing situation. They aspire to create consensus among like-minded people or organizations and request stronger pressure on the authority.
Stage 4 Public engagement	• Due to further campaigns and advocacy by the initiators, the masses become aware of the program and they offer their moral support for the change. Some enthusiastic individuals join the initiators and the activities gain local attraction through the media or other sources of communication. The authority shows concern about the movement.
Stage 5 Active participation	• The activities create more hope and larger sections of the society become involved with the movement. At this point, the movement obtains national or international appeal. The power-holders try to create hindrances for its activities.
Stage 6 Respond to violence	• The authority takes its highest actions to stop the movement which often comprises violence. Ordinary people also respond to this in ways such as stronger advocacy, resistance or even violence. It becomes difficult for the authority to control or tackle the situation.
Stage 7 Avenue for new policy	• The formulation and passage of new policy are desired by the majority of the society. The authority either meets the demand of the movement, fully or partially, or establishes regulations banning the movement.

Figure 8.1: Alternative approach to stages of social movement

The stages indicate that the emergence of a catalyst is very important for a social movement to take place in any country and particularly in developing nations such as Bangladesh. The catalyst can create the common ground for ordinary people to gather and raise voice. In the absence of a strong political will to address corruption

in the country, there could be three possible catalysts to motivate people in a community for creating pressure on the government to clean their act, namely opposition parties, donor agencies and watchdog bodies. The flow-chart on figure 8.2 depicts the summary of general process of preventing corruption in a developing country setting.
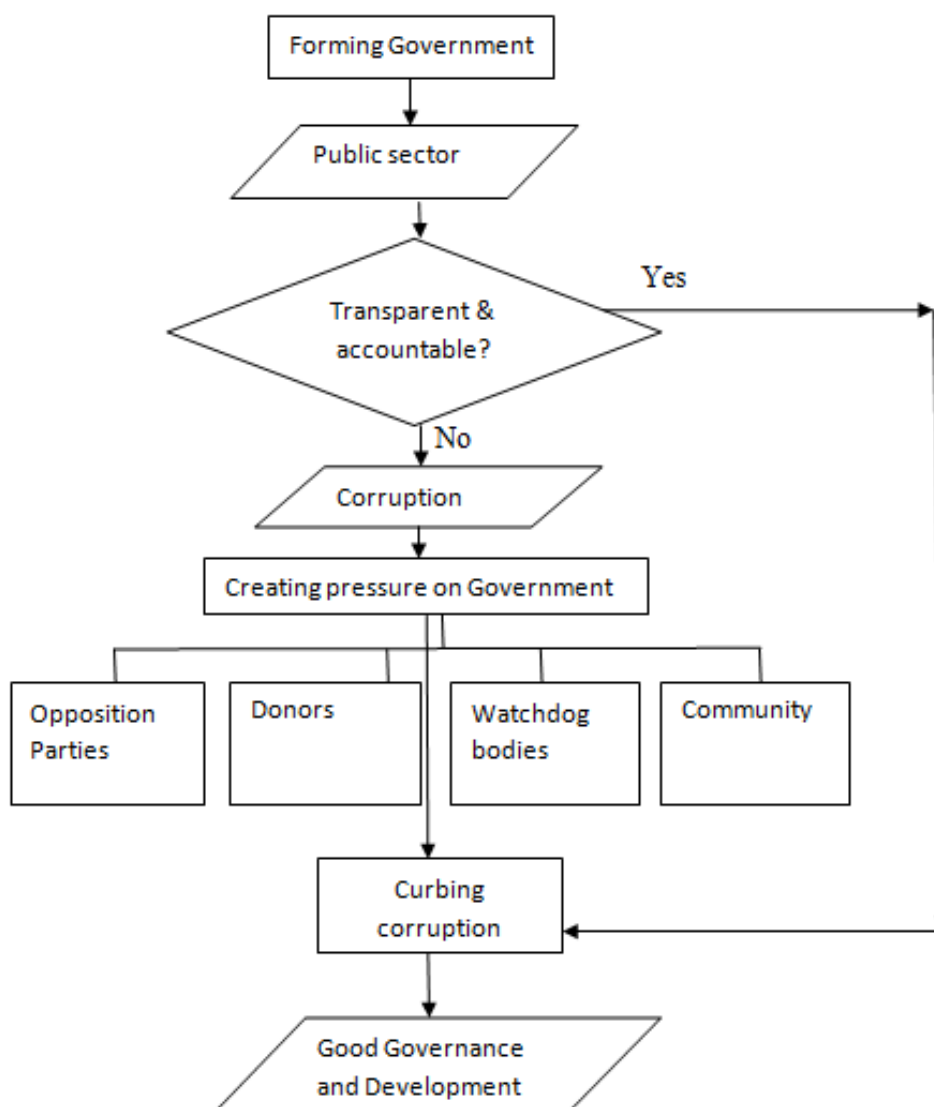
Figure 8.2: Flowchart for curbing corruption

In unstable democratic situations where the opposition parties are not trusted by the ordinary people and the intrusion of donor agencies should not be encouraged to maintain the sovereignty of the country, watchdog bodies, such as development organizations, civil society, media etc. turn out to be much more effective in motivating people. Once a social movement against corruption is developed by a

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watchdog body which the masses can trust and depend on, a number of favourable situations arise that pave the way to a corruption-free society. Those resultant situations can be classified under the three broad criteria conferred in chapter three, namely democratisation, leadership and resource protection (see figure 8.3).

Democratization
- Integrity and accountability in government agencies
- Free flow of information
- More responsible and interactive citizens
- Partnership between citizens and government
- Free and responsible media

Leadership
- Creating trust among people
- A medium between leaders and followers
- Creating the quality of leadership among the young generation
- An option for alternative leadership

Resource protection
- Effective and efficient mainstreaming of overlooked human resources
- Proper protection and utilization of natural resources
- Values education

Figure 8.3: Benefits of a social movement against corruption

The role of catalysts and the broadening of the process of democratisation, leadership and resource protection are clearly demonstrated in the case of TIB although its social movement against corruption has not reached the final stage of bringing corruption down to a tolerable level. To be specific, its current status coincides with stage five whereas it is obtaining attention and appreciation of more and more people while its constructive criticisms are not well perceived by the power holders.

8.3 Key Findings of the Thesis

The campaign programs that TIB operates are basically intended to make the existing rules and laws of the country work properly in order to redeem good governance through reducing corruption. The organization strictly maintains a nonviolence promotional approach in its activities. Hence, according to the classifications (refer to table 3.3 and 3.4), TIB's anti-corruption social movement can be categorized as an advocacy based reformative social movement since its target is the whole society. The bulk of previous research argues that TIB is an advocacy organization which only deals with civil society but the new evidence from this study shows that the organization's role goes beyond this. It not only informs ordinary people about corruption through research, but also engages them and builds their capacity to resist corruption.

The aim of this study was to evaluate the contribution of TIB in creating a social movement against corruption. On that note, views from different stakeholders, ordinary people and the existing literature were sought. The generated findings regarding this are arranged under the following different yet interrelated topics:

- Supporting communities with more empowered individuals
- Creating pressure on government agencies
- Acting as strong support for stakeholders
- Existing and potential threats to be encountered
- People's experience with corruption and TIB.

The findings according to each specific topic are briefly discussed in the following section.

8.3.1 Supporting Communities with More Empowered Individuals

- Due to TIB's constant advocacy and information dissemination, the people of Bangladesh have a better understanding about the corruption situation in the country.

- Local level activities, such as Face the Public, Citizens' Report Card and Participatory Budget allow and give power to the local people to question and comment on the elected representatives' activities.

- Various information generating initiatives through entertainment orient people to take necessary and effective measures to confront corruption in real life.

- The media play a very important role in reducing corruption. Training provided to and collaboration with the media certainly have increased the capability and attention towards corruption, specifically at the local levels.

8.3.2 Creating Pressure on Government Agencies

- Despite generating much controversy among government agencies, TIB's research reports are widely accepted among civil society and the masses. Hence it certainly represents an influencing power for the respective persons in the governance system to act responsibly.

- The local elected representatives are now expected to answer the community members through TIB's programs. Thus the possibility of transparency and accountability has increased in sectors, such as social safety net programs, budget allocation and implementation and maintaining electoral promises.

- The delivery of service at district level hospitals, primary schools, police stations, land offices and other institutions has become significantly better. The factors promoting corruption are identified and means for solutions are suggested by the advocacy programs of TIB.

- Policy level advocacy by the organization has succeeded to enact laws and sign treaties that will help bring an anti-corruption environment in the country.

8.3.3 Acting as Strong Support for Stakeholders

- Transparency International Bangladesh gives prospect to people who have true intention to raise their voice against corruption. It serves as a platform for all of them to congregate and work together.

- The organization's acceptance by the majority of people for its strong stand makes the stakeholders confident in their efforts and encourages them to move forward.

- Mainstreaming two underutilised but immensely potential population groups – women and the youth, against corruption can be seen as TIB's flagship mission in

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Bangladesh. Capacity building and providing initial support are the two basic pillars for the organization's success.

- Reaction against corruption is stronger among TIB stakeholders than those who are not involved with fighting or preventing its existence.

8.3.4 Existing and Potential Threats

- There remains a lack of ownership and initiative in relation to TIB's activities among a significant part of its stakeholders which may potentially hamper the fight against corruption in the absence of TIB.

- Implementing a more action-oriented work strategy is a widespread demand from stakeholders and people who have a proper understanding of TIB. Failure to do so might result in lack of motivation.

- Unless TIB is able to spread its motto in the society beyond its pre-defined organizational structure, it is likely that it would confine to being an ordinary development initiative rather than a social movement.

8.3.5 People's Experience with Corruption and TIB

- The less people are educated and deprived of information, the more they become victims of corruption.

- People are afraid to protest against corruption individually; however, they are willing to proceed through a well-organized and trustworthy movement.

- Educated and concerned people have a high appreciation of TIB but many of them do not have a proper understanding of its activities.

8.4 Policy Implications

This study makes it clear that TIB works to ensure the five prerequisites to avoid corruption, namely: integrity as a way of life, leadership and political will, transparency for accountability and trust, good governance and active and capable citizens' participation. Although the intension and effort of the organization and its stakeholders are unquestionable, there remain some issues that are holding it back from establishing a more successful social movement to eradicate corruption. These issues were identified through the existing literature but were further reinforced through the findings from the discussions and public views canvassed by this study.

The unique perspective on corruption offered by the case study of TIB allows for important insights to be generated. The research findings can be used to draw policy recommendations for the anti-corruption social movement of TIB with a stronger base, wider operation and more sustainable approach. In addition, these suggestions can broaden the passage to initiate similar public engagements against corruption in the country that would complement the struggle of TIB. The recommendations are presented according to sub-sections, namely partnership, coordination among stakeholders, more interaction with the public and expanding the scope of work.

Partnership

- More emphasis should be given on making partnerships with government organizations on different projects related to good governance. This will simultaneously facilitate reducing the government's opposition and resentment towards TIB due to its criticisms and increase the integrity and transparency of governmental procedures. The study shows that the stakeholders of TIB and people in general have the least trust in government irrespective of which political parties are in power. Partnerships with TIB would help regain public support.

- Partnerships with other NGOs and development organizations should also be explored. Mainstreaming the issue of corruption reduction is not possible by any other single organization, be it as experienced as TIB. It requires an all-out initiative. Hence the organizations that have influence in the communities and are operating successfully should be actively included in TIB's activities.

- YES is a commendable initiative to promote youth and alternative leadership and motivate the young generation against corruption. However, it has its logistic limitations. A YES group cannot include all young people within a community but certainly can work in collaboration with other local youth associations established around various causes. The most effective way to motivate young people is the example of peers. When a significant number of young people in an area learn to say "no" to corruption, the others are also likely to be motivated and follow.

Coordination among Stakeholders

- Even though not very large, there remains a gap between the CCC and YES members regarding their work strategy and control of the volunteer groups. Steps should be taken to minimize this gap. Regular consultation among both groups in the presence of a TIB authority is a possible way to improve any sensitive situation.

- Staffs working locally lack knowledge, ownership and recognition for the national level activities and vice versa. To overcome this, more blending of employees from different divisions is required. Exchange of staff among divisions and rotational redistribution of tasks among employees are some of the possible measures for that.

- New ways of work are usually not encouraged in TIB. However, in order to cope with the changing world, emerging strategies need to be explored. For that the stakeholders should be oriented with a modern approach to work through proper training and practice.

- Stakeholders, especially TIB members whose involvement with TIB is not very active should be targeted. Rather than approaching them through generalised invitations for all tasks, these could be distributed among the members according to their interest and expertise.

More Interaction with the Public

- Activities in which people have an opportunity to be involved with TIB need to be arranged more often. This will strengthen public support for the organization and widen its social movement in the communities.

- Still there remains a significant section of the population who has no idea about TIB, its motto and commitment. The organization needs to spread the message about its objective and mode of operation more widely among people so that its existence and activities are recognised by more and more individuals. This is of crucial importance for the social movement. Proper information about TIB will also help to avoid misconceptions about the organization.

- It is a common incidence that community members know about CCC or YES but not about TIB. To many, CCC itself is an organization. This happens because TIB and its movement are not sufficiently emphasised in programs. Announcing

information about TIB including its success stories during programs, such as concerts, road shows and exhibitions would draw public interest and would be an effective way to reach people.

Expanding the Scope of Work

- Stakeholder involvement in national level policy advocacy should be increased. More active participation of TIB members is required; most members are established and influential in their own fields. Their dynamic contribution would certainly widen the passage for more policy level advocacy.

- In order to cope with the magnitude of corruption across the country, CCCs could be expanded from district to smaller administrative areas, such as sub-districts.

- Introducing action-oriented activities is a long-term demand of stakeholders in order to obtain more direct outcomes. Providing legal aid to victims of corruption is the most popular among them. Such activities do not currently belong to the TIB's mandate. Yet, TIB can initiate such programs through partnership with legal aid providing organizations. This will help the watchdog body to draw more public attention. Also, it will encourage further TIB's social movement.

- Among the worldwide anti-corruption initiatives, TIB has obtained a prominent position. It is suggested that this international recognition should be utilized for TIB to establish itself as a standard organization in the country through effective and sufficient communication methods. This strategy will help TIB to avoid the animosity and the negligence from government agencies. Also, it will draw attention of the funding organizations across the world and facilitate expansion in operation areas as well as allow for more logistic support.

8.5 Directions for Further Research

This study examined the contribution of TIB in creating social awareness about corruption and changing people's mind-set about accepting it as a way of life. The organization has certainly started and established a process that is efficient and trustworthy although it has a long way to go to reach more people and put an end to corruption. However, besides answering the research question of the thesis, this study has raised other concerns which require further research. Some of those issues are presented below.

- The findings of how social movement can contribute in fighting corruption are presented in this thesis through a single case study, the Bangladesh chapter of Transparency International. A comparative study among different chapters, specially the South Asian ones, will result in further methods and ideas to tackle corruption through social participation.

- Strong political will is the most effective top-down approach to eradicate corruption. The absence of it necessitates pressure-creating bottom-up approaches for ensuring good governance. However, there is scarcity of empirical and theoretical research that paves the way of making the governing body of the state act responsibly. This area requires further investigation.

- Youth engagement is one of the key driving forces of TIB in the process of raising voice by citizens against corruption. It is worth exploring the potential of youth in other social movements and development initiatives for the long-term sustainable development of the country.

- A further area of research comes from the theoretical contribution of this thesis in understanding the stages of social development in Bangladesh. It would be interesting to examine the characteristics of each stage and how applicable they are in other national settings.

- It would be interesting to examine the correlation of the social awareness and capacity building programs of TIB and the changes in magnitude of corruption in Bangladesh.

- Finally, a theory based on the empirical evidences of successful social movements against corruption and the associated outcomes would benefit the existing and upcoming movements to effectively identify the resources and constraints to achieve their targets.

Considering the complex nature and extent of corruption presently in Bangladesh, it is complicated to claim a single approach to be distinctly effective for the improvement of the situation. Accordingly, analysing TIB's mode of operation, this thesis only developed a strong ground as to what approach a social movement should adopt to fight corruption. This is the start of research on the role of catalyst watchdog organizations and it revealed some important insights but there is a long way to go in

exploring various other aspects – most importantly in preventing corruption in Bangladesh.

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APPENDICES

Appendix - 1

December 5, 2011

Tanha Mahjabeen
PhD Candidate
Curtin University
Western Australia

Subject: Letter of Consent

Dear Ms. Mahjabeen,

With reference to your letter of November 13, I am pleased to confirm that Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB) welcomes with enthusiasm your proposed PhD research on "Creating Social Movement against Corruption: Evaluating TIB's Contribution" to be carried out in Curtin University.

In this connection TIB will be happy to offer you all necessary support and assistance including access to information, publications, and other materials available in our resource centre and beyond that you may need.

We wish you every siccess in your endeavours.

Yours sincerely,

Iftekhar Zaman, PhD
Executive Director

Appendix - 2

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

My name is Tanha Mahjabeen, I am currently carrying out a research study for my Doctor of Philosophy degree at Curtin University. The title of my research is *Social movement against corruption: Evaluating Transparency International Bangladesh's (TIB) contribution.*

The focus of my research is the people closely related to TIB both inside and outside TIB. Also, general people of various socio-economic backgrounds in the areas where TIB has its direct operation will be studied. If this applies to you, then you are one of the people that I am interested in interviewing.

Dora Marinova
Curtin University Sustainability Policy
Institute (CUSP)
Phone: +61 8 9266 9033
Fax: +61 8 9266 9031
D.Marinova@curtin.edu.au
www.sustainability.edu.au
Postal address: GPO Box U1987
Perth, Western Australia 6845
AUSTRALIA

CRICOS Provider Code 053959M

Participation. Participation in this study involves you volunteering about 1hours/ 15 minutes to be interviewed at a location most convenient to yourself and where we will not be interrupted. I would like to know about your experiences and opinion about TIB and contemporary corruption situation in Bangladesh as a concerned citizen.

I may need to contact you again after the interview with any queries or for clarification. You will, however, receive a typed copy of the interview to check for accuracy or to edit out anything which you do not want on record. Also, as your participation is voluntary, you can withdraw from the research at any time, without having to give a reason.

Consent. If you agree to participate could you please sign the attached consent form to say that you understand what the research is about, agree to being interviewed and give me permission to use the information you have provided in this research study.

Confidentiality. I and my supervisor will be the only persons with access to your personal details which will be kept in a locked cabinet at the university. Your name and any identifying features will be removed from audiotapes and transcripts and after a period of 5 years these tapes and transcripts will be destroyed.

I hope you will find your participation in this research interesting and rewarding. If you have any further questions or concerns relating to the research please call or email me (Tanha Mahjabeen) on 0433561703 or tanha.mahjabeen@student.curtin.edu.au or my Supervisor (Prof Dora Marinova) on D.Marinova@curtin.edu.au. Should you have any complaints or concerns on ethical grounds you may contact the Human Research Ethics Committee whose details are below.

HR146/2011. The Committee is comprised of members of the public, academics, lawyers, doctors and pastoral carers. Its main role is to protect participants. If needed, verification of approval can be obtained either by writing to the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee, c/- Office of Research and Development, Curtin University, GPO Box U1987, Perth, 6845 or by telephoning 9266 2784 or by emailing hrec@curtin.edu.au.

Appendix - 3

Curtin University
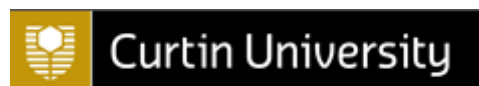
CONCENT FORM

I (name) of (address) agree to participate in this research study.

I have read and understood the participant information sheet about the research and my role as interviewee.

I understand that my contribution is voluntary and that I can withdraw at any time without giving any reason for doing so.

I understand that my personal details such as name, address will be kept confidential and no identifying information will be given out unless specifically requested by myself and that tapes and transcripts of the interviews will be securely stored for 5 years before being destroyed.

I understand that the information which I provide will be the property of the researcher for use in this research.

Signature   Date

Witness   Date

Appendix - 4

SELECTION CRITERIA FOR DATA COLLECTORS

A Youth Engagement and Support (YES) member could be selected as a data collector if s/he fulfils the following criteria:

- At least bachelor passed or continuing
- Involved as a YES member for at least three years
- Have the experience of data collection for TIB or any other organization
- Capable to tackle any kind of negative situation
- Able to collect and send the data within 20th January 2013

N.B.- It is requested that after selecting the data collector, his or her name, phone number and e-mail address are sent to onlytanha_18@yahoo.com or 01912988808. Instructions for data collection will be sent to each of the surveyor. Also, everyone of them will be instructed in detail over telephone.

Appendix - 5

INSTRUCTION FOR DATA COLLECTION

1. Respondent must not be known to the surveyor.
2. Age of the respondent must be 18 or above.
3. Before starting, respondents should be provided with the participation information document and their signatures should be collected in the consent forms.
4. Respondents may fill out the questionnaires by themselves or the surveyor may help them as requested by the respondents.
5. If needed, surveyor should assist the respondents to understand the questions of the survey and associated answer options.
6. Data should be collected according to following category:

Sex Education	Male	Female	Total
No/ Primary	3	1	4
Secondary	2	1	3
Tertiary	2	1	3
Total	7	3	10

7. Only one person can be selected as respondents in case of selecting from a group of people.
8. Data collection should be completed and sent to the following address within 20th January 2013:
   Building-6, Flat-13, Kallyanpur Housing Estate, Dhaka- 1207
9. Each data collector will receive BDT1000/- as remuneration and other associated cost. The breakdowns are as follows:
   - ➢ 10 questionnaires – 600/-
   - ➢ Transport - 300/-
   - ➢ Stationery & Postage – 100/-
10. Data collectors are requested to contact with Tanha Mahjabeen through onlytanha_18@yahoo.com or 01912988808 for all type of help and information.

ANTI-CORRUPTION OATH OF TIB

I, hereby respectfully take the oath as the successor of the great liberation war of Bangladesh that,

I will bear highest level of esteem towards the independence, sovereignty, culture and values of my dear motherland. I will try my best to perform my duties and responsibilities for my country.

I hate corruption.
I am determined to keep myself away from all types of corruption.
In every sector of my educational and professional life, I will restrain from accepting any unfair means and will perform my duties with honesty and integrity.
I will be highly respectful towards the law and human rights and try to prevent inequality among and domination of people.

I will try to actively participate in every initiative aimed to create social movement against corruption in Bangladesh.

I take this oath willingly and sincerely.

(Translated from Bengali)