
Participatory Corruption Appraisal

**a methodology for assessing
how corruption affects the urban poor**

by

The “Corruption and the Poor” Team

Based on the “Corruption and the Poor”
project implemented in Indonesia 2000-2001

by the Partnership for Governance Reform and the World Bank

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This Methodology book was written by Richard Holloway and Stefanie Teggemann It is also available in Indonesian

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Introduction

In countries where corruption is systemic and structural, corruption affects different classes of the population differently. A lot of this difference is connected to the power that they have and the power they can access. There are five underlying factors which define poor people's situation in respect of power and corruption:

- The poor lack financial resources
- The poor lack information, knowledge and formal education
- The poor lack support from the legal system and the police
- The poor lack a voice in public discourse
- The poor lack connections to those who have power

The poor, who are by definition marginalized, excluded, oppressed and exploited are at the mercy of those who have gate-keeper positions which control access to goods and services. They may also be illiterate and unaware of the formal costs of goods and services that they need to access.

In contrast, those with power over other people (and particularly over the poor) are able to extort illegal levies from them for services which, legally, should be available free or for an agreed and publicized cost. They can do this because they have control over the kinds of goods and services which are desired by others and for which extortionate costs can be charged. They can also do this because long experience has taught them that there will be no punishment and that they are virtually immune.

The poor are, therefore, mostly *suppliers* of bribes, particularly those extorted

from them, and suffer disproportionately with more power or access to power. The resources that they own are very limited, and their ability to pay extra for anything is thus equally limited. Whereas those with disposable income (albeit limited) can afford to pay illegal levies to get goods and services they need, the poor often cannot -and thus go without.

In countries which are systemically corrupt, therefore (i.e. countries in which corruption is the norm, not the exception, and where corrupt behavior permeates all government services) the poor have great difficulty in affording very basic services that they need, like health, education for their children, water, land for building, and access to particular goods from government programs targeted to them (like free or subsidized food). The poor have to make trade offs as they decide how they should spend their very limited money, and sometimes this excludes them from services, or only gives them access to services of inferior quality.

Many people in the South are intimately aware of the ways in which corruption works, on the ways that it affects poor people, and of specific corrupt practices. They have been the sufferers from them and sometimes the perpetrators of them, but the subject of corruption and how it is carried out is communicated orally. There has not been much writing (particularly in indigenous languages) or much development of analytical frameworks about how corruption systematically operates in society.

A Corruption Framework

The poor suffer basically from two kinds of corrupt practices: active corruption and passive corruption:

- **Active Corruption**

This is where richer or more powerful citizens with whom they interact in their daily lives actively practice corrupt behavior which involves them directly-they are forced to pay-or to go without. Such behavior can be *criminal*: i.e. when it breaks laws, subverts laws, or involves illegitimate services or favors-or it can be *unnecessary*: where bribes are demanded for services that the poor are entitled for free, or for an affordable (and known) cost. This is the kind of corruption described previously.

- **Passive Corruption**

This is where the poor have to live with the consequences produce by corrupt behavior of people around them without their active involvement. They are adversely affected by the corruption around them.

It can be "*state capture*"- where powerful actors bribe the government to influence policy making or budget allocation at national or local levels, conferring benefits to a few at the expense of the many. It also includes high level theft of state assets which have macro economic impact such as slowing economic growth and raising the costs of growth, thus reducing the economy's ability to reduce poverty and finance basic services to the poor.

It can be "*institutional capture*" -where specific institutions like the law courts or the water authority are corruptly managed, reducing its performance and efficiency and increasing the costs of the institution. One result of this is often that the institution can only be accessed through middlemen who take a cut.

It can also be *Individual capture* -where the poor are disadvantaged by people around them who bribe or extort. In such competitive situations the person who does not pay loses against those who do.

Research on Corruption

It is always difficult to get Information about corrupt practices because they exist in confidential and hidden behavior and are rarely publicly exposed. Anoral culture defines and decides who will pay what to whom. It is doubly difficult to get information about corruption as it affects the poor, since poor people will be unwilling to talk about their own corrupt behavior or others' corrupt behavior in case this results in some form of retribution for them.

At the same time the poor are not necessarily passive and cowed people. Our experience has shown that, given the right atmosphere, given basic elements of trust between the poor and the people with whom they are talking, it is quite possible to learn a lot about corruption and how it affects poor people's lives. To some extent this also depends on the national atmosphere - with such work easier to carry out at a time of reform or transition.

This document describes a methodology tried in three urban locations in Indonesia in 2000-2001 as part of the project called "Corruption and the Poor" which was successful in eliciting from poor people what they thought were the most corrupt practices from which they suffered, and what they thought could be done about it. The methodology draws on the practice of PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) developing it further and adjusting it to the issue of corruption, as well as the World Bank program "Voices of the Poor" .

The methodology is based on three principles:

- The principle of participation -by which we mean that individuals in the community are invited and freely agree to participate in the sessions
- The principle of local ownership -by which we mean that all information gathered from the community is given back to the local community, and they are involved in deciding what should be done with the information
- The principle of action research -by which we mean that research is intended to lead to action that improves the situation, and such action is documented to learn more about the efficacy of such action.

The Objectives of Participatory Corruption Appraisal (PCA)

The General Objectives of PCA are

- to understand the harmful effects of corruption on the lives of poor people
- to communicate such information widely to policy makers and the general public
- to help the communities in which the PCA has taken place to plan and to act to reduce corruption

PCA leads from research to action. It takes place in two phases:

1. The Research Phase -this consists of (a) the first visit to the communities for field work, and (b) the second visit to the community which links research to action: findings are reports back to the community and a process for follow up action kicked off
2. The Action Phase -which consists of several, location-specific follow-up activities, involving local NGOs, media and the community

The Particular Objectives of the Research Phase (First Visit) are:

- To identify the various ways in which corruption affects the poor (causes and channels)

- To identify the extent to which corruption enters poor peoples lives and the damage it causes
- To identify poor people's perceptions of different forms of corruption and their levels of indignation/frustration/anger
- To identify solutions that poor people have chosen concerning corruption .To elicit case studies that document poor people's actual experiences

The Particular Objectives of the Research Phase (Second Visit) are:

- To play back to the people in the area where the field work took place what information they have compiled on their experience with corruption
- To help them identify realistic actions that they can undertake to limit corruption
- To identify other local actors who are willing to support them in these efforts

The Particular Objectives of the Action Phase are:

- To synthesize the information from the field work, analyze it, and develop lessons that could inform policy.
- To document the case studies and the analysis and make it widely available to decision makers
- To publicize the work in order to encourage new thinking about corruption and the poor, and to encourage others to carry out further research

The methodology described in this document is aimed at facilitating ***The Research Phase*** (First and Second visits) which will allow practitioners to prepare the ground for the ***Action Phase***.

Step in the Participatory Corruption Appraisal Methodolog (PCA)

Step 1: Identify an organization which has the trust of the poor in the general area in which you seek to get information. This will usually be an NGO that has an existing program in that area (e.g. savings and credit, building a cooperative, health services, education services), but it could be a local community association.

Step 2: Identify a community that you would like to engage with. This needs to be a community in which there are considerable numbers of poor people. Depending on the country and the culture, there may be slum areas that are uniformly poor, or there may be communities in poor areas of a city that are relatively homogenous, or there may be a large number of poor people within a heterogonous community. It also needs to be either a community with a clear administrative division or a community which is self-identified and in which people know each other and know who belongs. The community should also be small enough so that it is easy for members of the community to come together for meetings. Success in working with the community will only come from the willingness of people in that community (particularly community leaders) to cooperate with the NGO and you.

Step 3: Identify and train field workers -individuals from the NGO or community association who are able and willing to learn about the

methodology and carry it out the community. This involves developing skills in participatory Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and interviews

Step 4: Make the first visit to the community and over 10 days undertake 4 Focus Group Discussions and conduct 25-30 interviews.

Step 5: Write up the information that has been gathered from the people and organize it in a way that it can be presented back to the people.

Step 6: Make your second visit to the community, perhaps over 2 days. Over a half-day present the assembled information back to the community and discuss follow up actions. Then during the same visit hold a public meeting (with the agreement of the community) in which the findings from the appraisal and the action plans proposed are presented to a larger audience (local government officials, local NGOs, local traditional leaders, local journalists). Here the idea is to amplify the voice of the community, and seek others' involvement in addressing the problems caused by corruption.

One Step at a Time

Step 1. Identify an Organization

The organization would ideally be a community development organization with long-standing experience in community work, a strong presence on the ground and expertise in participatory methods. Prior work and awareness of the effects of corruption on the poor is a desirable plus.

While community development NGOs are probably the best kind of organizations for carrying out this kind of work but it could also be a research organization or advocacy NGO given the above criteria are fulfilled.

With regard to their structural characteristics grassroot NGO's are often (as defined in the John Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector project):

- organized i.e. they possess some institutional reality
- private, i.e. institutionally separate from government

- non-profit-distributing, i.e. not returning any profits generated to their owners or directors
- self-governing, i.e. equipped to control their own activities
- voluntary, at least in part, i.e. they involve some meaningful degree of voluntary participation, either in the actual conduct of the agency's activities, or in the management of their affairs.

Beyond that, however, the organization has to be one which does not insist on imposing their solutions on what they consider to be the people's problems. It must not be an organization which has a limited repertoire of responses that it is prepared to offer -be they savings or credit, or adult education, specific religious behavior, or specific political action.

It has to be an organization, which is prepared to listen to the people in the area in which it is working without necessarily knowing where the conversation will be heading. It has to be an organization that is interested to probe the felt needs of the community without an external construct of what these felt needs may be.

It also has to be an organization that is willing and capable of working with the community beyond its involvement in this research. If the organization has been involved in that community over a long period of time it will most likely stay involved in helping the people with action that arises from their understanding of corruption. There is also the important point that the workers of the organization will be accountable to the people in that community.

It is very advantageous if you can discover an organization that has had experience in listening systematically to the knowledge, experience and wisdom of the poor. There are various disciplines or methodologies that would give this experience -PRA (Participatory Rural/Urban Appraisal) or its sequel PLA (Participatory Learning and Action); the DELTA method; Training for Transformation and others. You may also be able to find organizations or individuals who have been involved in the World Bank's "Voices of the Poor" project.

Lastly the organization, as well as having local knowledge of the community, sensitivity to the situation of the poor, and an absence of a pre-formed agenda, needs to have organizational competence in planning, implementing, reporting, and simple financial management of the resources that will be needed in this program.

Step 2. Identify a Community

To some extent the community to be chosen for this work may be identified by the organization that you have chosen to work with -you will need to go where the organization has local presence, local trust, and local knowledge-and there may not be that much choice. Where possible it is valuable to choose places which are varied and different-in order to get a good overview of the kinds of problems poor people face with corruption. It is also pragmatically useful to choose places where data on inhabitants, occupations etc. , is already available from the organization.

If there is choice, however, the following factors are important:

- The community contains substantial numbers of poor people. The definition of "poor" will be part of the exercise subsequently, but at the start it will be sufficient to be clear that we are dealing with a slum in which the poor clearly outnumber the non-poor. Depending on the culture in which you are working, poverty may be homogenous i.e. all people of a particular area are, by definition, poor:or it may be a heterogeneous community where poor people live alongside the non-poor. People in the community are likely to have a developed sense of class or income gradations. What we are looking at is a community of the "ordinary poor", rather than the "poorest of the poor"
- The community has recognized leadership. It is important to get agreement from the leadership to carry out the program in the community, and important to try and persuade the leadership of the importance of the work that you aim to do, so that he/she becomes involved in it. Leaders may be formal functionaries appointed by the government, or locally identified people whose leadership is based on family, reputation, education, or religious qualification (or a combination of all these features).

Sometimes the leaders may be unsympathetic to what you are trying to do because they are important actors in corruption which affects the poor, and will not want to lose that power. It is, important, however, to get the community leadership to understand the effects of corruption on the poor, and, where possible, get their commitment to helping with the problem.

- The community thinks of itself as a community: this may be from being an

administrative district, from being a particular language or ethnic group, from occupying a particular geographic feature. This means that the community recognizes its boundaries and accepts who is in and who is outside that community. Such an understanding and identification of themselves as a community helps in moving beyond problems that affect individuals to problems that affect many people -and which may be thought of as the community's problems. For pragmatic reasons it is useful to choose a community spread over a small geographical area to make sure all participants can come to the meeting location in the community without travelling long distances.

Before the field work starts the local field workers gather poverty data on the community to get a better understanding on the local socio-economic strata.

Step 3. Identify and Train Field Workers

The field workers will be of three types:

- Facilitators -who facilitate the focus group discussions and the report back meetings
- Interviewers -who carry out the interviews
- Scribes -who take notes during the research activities

Depending on the quality and experience of staff, field workers can assume all three roles.

It is also helpful to have, as part of the team, writers/journalists and cartoonists who can identify the essence of the stories they hear, and communicate them.

The organizers of the program should make every effort to build a Team from the different actors a team which is clear about its purpose and has a team spirit.

The field workers need to be clearly oriented to the objectives of the program so that they all know their role in it. They also need orientation to the general subject of corruption as a system. To this end they will be asked to develop a corruption map, a matrix that covers all the corruption cases per institution of which the field workers themselves are aware of in the specific community. This will help the team to start thinking about corruption in that community.

As stated before, the organization will be chosen because amongst other factors) it has staff acquainted with participatory methodologies. Hopefully therefore not all the skills listed below will require specific training-in some cases staff will already have these skills. The organizers are well advised, however, to ascertain carefully the nature of the organizations past experience (the word "participation" is capable of wide interpretation). The fieldworkers (of the different kinds) need to have or be trained in and develop the following participatory skills:

Facilitators

Running a focus group discussion	Meeting facilitation
Wealth Classification	Community mapping
Institution mapping	Problem presentation and ranking
Flow diagrams for causes/effects	Brainstorming
Interviewing	

Interviewers

Semi-structured Interviewing

Scribes

Choosing key points to record	Selecting key quotes
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(NB Case Study Writing is best carried out subsequently by journalists)

Plenty of time needs to be given for staff training and orientation - particularly using role plays and pilot field testing. It is a good idea to get an experienced PRA trainer involved in the training to familiarize fieldworkers with the concept of PRA and also to give them feedback on their performance in the role plays. A useful teaching tool is to show participants a film or video of a PRA exercise.

This is an example of a schedule for a six-day training workshop modeled after our experience in Indonesia:

Day	Topic
One	Introduction and Planning <i>Participants introduced to the project and to each other. Based on their prior experience of the area the people, fieldworkers are asked to suggest a "corruption map" of the area illustrating what cases structures they know about.</i>
Two and Three	Training <i>Introduction of the basic principles of participatory research Ovelview of participatory techniques to be used Practical exercises for each technique</i>
Four and Five	Field Testing <i>Each participant should have the oppurtinity topractice the teknighues in sequence</i>
Six	Feedback and finalization of methodology

Step 4. First Visit to the Community

This first visit lasts 10 days and during that period the Team holds 1 Introductory Meeting, and then different members of the Team hold 3 Focus Group Discussions and conduct 25-30 interviews. It is important in the field work that the language used is easily understandable by the community members. If necessary, FGDs can be conducted in local languages

The organizers should have preliminary meetings with community leaders to acquaint them with the project, get some basic statistics about the community, and gain the community leader's buy-in to the process.

It is very important that, as well as training for the fieldworkers, the project organizers hold regular meetings of the Team to assess progress, discuss challenges, and refine objectives -best done each night during the field work.

Introductory Meeting with the Community

The objectives of this meeting are:

- To introduce the research team and the project to the community
- To learn about poverty from the community
- To identify the poor in the community so that they can be invited to FGDs and interviews

This meeting should be for about 30 people from the community and will include both poor and non-poor and formal and informal leaders. The organization will have already, through its local fieldworkers, identified who these people should be, and have invited them to a place and at a time that fits the local community. There will be a minimum of two facilitators and two scribes to allow for two participatory exercises. Each sub-group will have a facilitator and a scribe. At certain times, participants themselves will be asked to write or draw on the topics identified

The steps in this meeting are:

(a) Introduction of the research team and the purpose of the project

(b) Ice-breaking game

This can be any game that will set an open and engaging tone. If possible develop an ice-breaker related to corruption. One possibility is for instance to ask each person to tell of one instance of corruption that they have experienced in the last six months

(c) Wealth Classification

The participants are asked to give categories in their own words for poor, medium and rich (or however wealth divisions are conceptualized in the community). Once words have been agreed, they are then asked to draw pictures to illustrate these categories and finally to agree 7 characteristics of people in each of their categories. The facilitator gives a color to each category.

(d) Community Mapping

On a large (very large -4 sheets of flipchart paper joined) participants are asked to draw a map of their community. Eager individuals may take up the pen, but facilitators should try and make sure that nothing is drawn definitively until there is consensus amongst the participants. The map

of the community should be drawn in roughly this order :

- 1) **border of the community, rivers**
- 2) **streets**
- 3) **administrative sub-divisions if they exist**
- 4) **public facilities, institutions**
- 5) **houses of formal village leaders**

Then participants are asked to draw the houses of the poor, medium, and rich in different colors or using different colored stickers.

Finally the group ends up with a map of their community that illustrates, amongst other things, the locations of the poor in the community according to their own definition of poverty. Once this has been achieved the participants are asked to write a list of the poor people in the community (name, age, occupation).

The Team emphasizes that this map belongs to the community and will remain with them when the project is over.

Following the meeting, the Team identifies 30 people from the poor households using a mix of the following criteria:

- gender balance 50/50
- a variety of occupations
- coming from all geographical sides of the community
- a range of ages

These 30 people are the basis for the following 3 focus group discussions. They need to be invited personally to attend (if necessary with a formal invitation from the community leader) and to have the purpose of the exercise explained to them. This is most conveniently done in the form of an transect walk where field workers personally visit each participant's house in order to invite them to the FGD. This will allow the field workers at the same time to verify that the selected participant really belongs to the poor group of the community.

The organizers need to copy the map of the community for the next day's meeting (one each for men's and women's groups).

Drawing of the Community Mapping Exercise Yogyakarta, 2001



The man says: "That's t that shabby house close to the house of the village chief

First Focus Group Discussion

The Ideal is a group which is homogenously poor, but this is not always realizable. Some non-poor people want to attend too (e.g. because they are interested, because they are community leaders, or to accompany their relatives). One way to deal with this is to, then and there, hold separate meetings of the non-poor, and a field worker has to be ready to take on that job, if needed. Such meetings have a value also, as they give insights into how the non-poor's perceptions differ from the poor's and they might give additional information that the poor are not aware of are.

The Objectives of this meeting are:

- to introduce the research team to the poor community members
- to introduce the project to the poor community members
- to understand the causes/channels of corruption, its prevalence, and participants' perception of damage/cost or benefit of corruption.

As mentioned before this group should be approximately 30 equally divided into men and women.

The steps in this meeting are:

(a) Introduction of Team members to participants

(b) Explanation of the project to participants

(c) Ice-breaker game

Possibly a role play on a well-known corrupt practice

For the following participatory exercises, divide the group into men's and women's groups each with its own facilitator and scribe

(d) Institution Mapping (public services)

The participants are asked to review the map made in the previous exercise and add more data directly onto the map if they want to particularly about public institutions.

(e) Bribe Paying

The facilitator introduces the idea of "unofficial payments" and asks peoples experiences (e.g. "if you want to place your child in school, much do have to pay?"). The facilitator asks for a number of experi-

ences verbally, then gives the participants cards and asks them to write down the amount of money the paid over the last year at each institution, each time, and place that card on the institution where it is drawn on the map. If they made unofficial payments more than once, they should write a new card and a new amount for each time.

The facilitator has to gauge the participants and decide how directive and how non-directive to be. It is important to stay with people's concrete experiences and not talk about "corruption" in the abstract which might elicit defensive reactions (e.g. "not in our community!") The facilitator may ask participants to respond to one institution at a time, for instance, or all at once.

The Facilitator should then take stock of what has been revealed by looking at which institutions have received cards for what amounts of money, and how many times. Once this information is revealed to the participants there may well be a lot of discussion

The facilitator should have the following chart ready and, with the help of the scribe and the participants, fill it in, and then discuss the pattern that it shows.

Note that there may be more than one kind of bribe at each institution

Institution	Intance of corruption	Average amount of bribe	Frequency of bribe	No of people who paid
e.g				
Police	Traffic ticket	10,000	1	3
	Community fight	350,000	1	1

The interviewers in the Team will take note of particular people and cases which suggests rich interviews, and arrange to start interviewing people.

(f) Perceptions

The facilitator will draw a line or lay a rope on the floor and put a happy face sign at one end, a sad face sign at the other and a neutral one in the middle. The words that will be used to interpret the "Happy Face" and the "Sad Face" may vary -some communities may well prefer an "Angry Face". Participants are then asked, for each instance of corruption in each institution, to go and stand somewhere along that line to express the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction they feel about the bribes that they have to pay.

The Facilitator sets up a matrix which copies the participants "vote with their feet" onto a chart, and keeps a score of their feelings by marking an 'X' for each choice.

Institution	Instance	Unhappy	Indifferent	Happy
etc				

Finally the facilitator will total up the number of "x"s in each section on the paper and ask the participants to reflect on the results. He/she will also ask the participants why they placed their "x" at such a place-why were they unhappy, indifferent or happy? What were the issues which gave these perceptions - these issues can be written down on flipcharts.

The participants are assured that all these sheets of paper will be returned to the community after the exercise is over.

In preparation for the 2nd Focus Group Discussion, the facilitators prepare a very big (four times flip chart paper size) matrix of the institutions and cases of corruption.

Second Focus Group Discussion

(a) Problem Presentation and Ranking

The facilitators work to fill in the first part of the following table of the institutions, and the main instances in corruption:

	Intitution 1	Institution 2	Institution 3	Institution 4
Symbol or drawing				
Intance Corruption 1				
Intance Corruption 2				
etc				
Voting space				
Total vote				

The facilitator presents these findings to the participants-now back in plenary-and encourages participants to give any comments additions/ questions they might have. If there are any additional corrupt institutions or cases that have been missed out, they should be added. Participants are then asked to vote on the three most pressing, most burdensome, most important corruption problems for them. Men are given three blue stickers, women are given three red stickers, and they are asked to come up to the chart at one time and use up their three stickers in the appropriate place on the chart. They can put all their stickers on one place, or divide them up. With everyone doing the exercise at the same time, there is less likelihood of people paying attention to where their colleagues are placing their stickers and being influenced by them. More confidentiality is also achieved.

The facilitators count up the stickers and put the totals on the chart underlining the three that have the highest number of votes. From this exercise, the community has identified the three most pressing problems.

The facilitator then writes the top three corrupt institutions on cards and places them in the middle of an empty chart, and readies blank cards for the next exercise.

(b) Flow Diagram on Causes and Effects

The participants are divided into three groups and each group is given one of the pressing problems from the previous exercise. The purpose of the exercise is to try and establish from the participants the causes and effects at the particular institution.

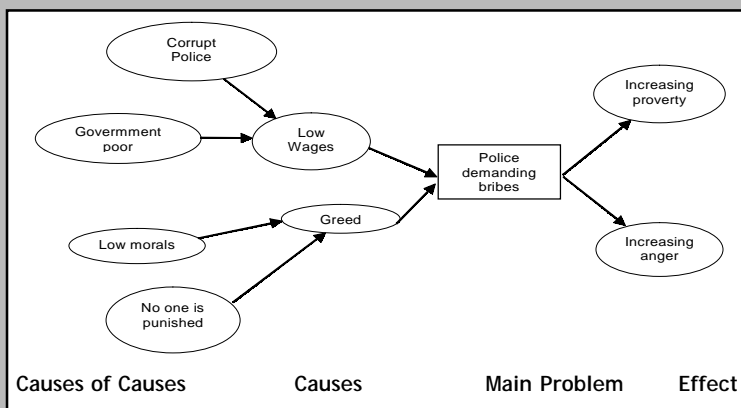
In order to help participants with this process, the facilitator does a "dummy run" or practice. He takes the issue which has the 4th most votes from the previous exercise and demonstrates with that. Suppose the instance is "policemen demanding bribes": The facilitator writes a card saying that and places it in the center of a sheet. The facilitator role plays a policeman demanding a bribe and then says to the participants "why do you think he/she is doing this?". Answers may come from the participants like "because he needs money" or "because he is greedy". The facilitator writes cards saying "Low wages" and "Greed" on them and puts them to the left of the main card.

The facilitator then asks for "causes or causes" e.g. reasons for greed or reasons for low wages. The answers will be added on cards to complete the left side of the flow diagram. Often the "causes of causes" hint at the environment or the systemic causes behind corruption and reveal how much of this is perceived by the poor. The "causes of causes" are vital for getting at the passive effects of poverty.

In a second step, the facilitator then asks how the causes are related and what causes what. Based on the answers, causes are linked with arrows.

When the facilitator and the participants are satisfied with the causes and their causal relationships, he/she then asks "*What is the effect on you or on others of this bribe?*", and answers may come like "*makes me poorer*" or "*makes me angry with policemen*". Cards saying "increasing poverty" and "increasing anger" are then placed to the right of the main card, then joined by lines to illustrate the flow.

Participants are asked to think through these ideas, refine their comments, until they are satisfied that they have written down what they think are the real causes and effects of these three important corruption problems that they are faced with.



In preparation for the 3rd Focus Group Discussion, the facilitators should prepare a chart for the "solutions brainstorming", and the interviewers should have conducted some interviews and be able to join in with some real life anecdotes.

Cartoonist's View of the Flow Diagram Process



The purpose of the Third Focus Group Discussion is to display the consolidated findings to the whole group (men and women), and brainstorm about possible triggers for change.

One representative from each group (1 woman and 1 man from each group) presents the findings in the form of the flow chart on the identified problem, and asks those in his/her sub-group to add to his/her comments. There should be opportunity for people to comment on the different perceptions from men and women.

If, by this time, the interviewers have done some interviews which illustrate any of these problems, then they should tell the story they have heard -but without naming names.

Brainstroming on solutions

Again the facilitator uses the example of the problem with the 4th largest number of votes-in this example "policemen demanding bribes". he/she stays with the *causes* side of the flow chart and asks the big group:

1. What are the five key causes that explain why the policeman behaves like that?
2. What can we do to change this behavior?
3. What can others do to change that behavior?

Focusing on the five most prominent causes, the participants are encouraged to write their ideas on cards and put them on the following table

PROBLEM :			
Cause	What can be done to reduce this cause?	How ?	
		Local community action	Action by outsiders
etc			

The facilitator must at this point encourage participants to be pragmatic and realistic, and not make over fanciful suggestions for what outsiders can do. Nothing should be written up until it is extensively discussed.

Facilitators should note the suggested actions and be ready to feed these ideas into the subsequent Second Visit to the Community (see No 6) in which local NGOs and media are encouraged to be present.

Interviews

The purpose of the interviews is to amplify the voices of the poor so that what is a particular experience of a particular individual or group of individuals and which is only known in a very local setting is made available more widely. It also serves

to educate people outside that community about details and mechanics of corruption in poor communities. The interviews complement the Focus Group Discussions and provide the for people to write case studies

Out of 30 proposed interviews it is likely that there will be roughly a third which reflect community wide problems and two-thirds which reflect individual problems.

The interviewees should be people that have been identified in the Focus Group Discussions, or people suggested to the interviewers by those in the FGDs. The interviewers have to find a time and a place convenient for the interviewees. The interviewer will not ask from a prepared questionnaire, but will use some standard questions, and then elicit information at the judgement of the interviewer. Once the particular problem is identified, the eight guiding questions are:

What?	Where?	When?
Who?	How much?	How?
Impact?	Why?	

Individual case studies: here we need a detailed description of the persons and his/her families life in which corruption comes either as a regular occurrence and is a harmful but regular component of their life or as a one-time event that causes a deterioration in the quality of the life of that family or person.

Community wide cases: here we need to capture the persons interest, perspective, motivation and the role that they played in the case. The circumstances in which they acted needs to be captured as well as the effect on the overall community. Several interviews can be put together into one case study from different individuals perspectives.

**Corruption in JPS rice allocation
Yogyakarta 2001**



Community Members were being over-charged for subsidized rice ("Beras JPS")

Step 5. Preparing the Information Gathered

The Team will have spent 10 days in a community intensively gathering their views and their knowledge. From the start they will have been saying to the community that the community owns whatever information comes out, and the Team will give it back to them.

The first way of doing this is to present the raw materials of the flip charts, maps, diagrams etc. to the community. The second way is to systematize this information in the form of a report to the community on their experiences of and views on corruption. Although the Team will be presenting a report to them -in the sense that they write up the findings in a systematic and printed fashion -it must always be emphasized that this is their information and their knowledge and experience -it has simply been collected, collated and presented by the Team.

Like wise the case studies should be collected, refined, written up in a journalistic form and presented to them for their own use with outsiders in the future. Before the information is given out the Team should make sure the names of the participants, especially the interviewees, are disguised to protect the informants from potential backlash.

Before the Second Visit to the Community the Team should get ready a clear and easy to read report of the community findings, and collection of case studies, and present this to the community through whatever channel seems appropriate in the local circumstances. If any video images were taken, copies of these should also be given back to the community.

Step 6. The Second Visit to the Community

The objectives of this visit are:

- To play back the results of the first visit to both the original participants and a larger group of stakeholders in order to alert stakeholders to the burden that corruption places on the poor
- To identify interested local organizations who will pick up the momentum of the interest engendered in the community and help it further. The idea is to win support for potential solutions and necessary changes.

In the period before the Second Visit (which may be approximately three weeks after the first visit) the organizers will have been in contact with the local organization arranging with them the range of stakeholders who will be invited to:

This will involve the original participants in the Focus Group Discussions, plus other local leaders from the community who are outside the identified poor.

and

The Stakeholders Meeting

This is an information session in the city where research had been carried out (but not necessarily in the community). It will involve local NGOs and citizens associations as well as local media -and may include representatives of the service agencies that interact with the community.

The Community Meeting

Basically this is a recapitulation in a more systematic manner of the key points of the First Visit. The Organizers will display on the walls the original materials and maps and keep the presentation short to allow time for comments, thoughts, ideas for follow-up and questions. The presentation will focus on:

- The purpose of the research
- A summary of the various corruption cases and perceptions together with their problem ranking
- A summary of the causes and effects
- A summary of possible solutions and provide information from
- The interviews

The first and most important thing is to make sure that the community accepts that the findings which the organizers provide tallies with their own memory and understanding of the sessions. If this is the case, then the documentation should be handed back to the community for their use. If there are concerns, these need to be addressed and the organizers must be prepared to finalize the report on the sessions in a way that is acceptable to the community.

Because the meeting will include people who were not part of the original sessions, it should respond to whatever questions and comments come up from people who were not part of the original group. Wherever possible the local community should own their findings, and when questions come up they should be the ones to respond to them, explaining why they spoke as they did, how they reached the conclusions they did.

The meeting should spend considerable time on solutions -this time checking the suggested solutions with a larger and more diverse group and getting their opinions on whether these suggested solutions can work, and how they could be implemented.

We encourage the organizers to inform everyone of the second meeting which is to take place and invite all to join it if they want.. It is important to have some representatives of the original FGD participants at the second meeting.

The Stakeholder Meeting

The second meeting is addressed to those who the organizers and the community think will be sympathetic to their situation and interested in doing something about it. These are basically of two groups -local NGOs and citizens associations; and local media (print, radio, TV) - but they could also include representatives of local government officials from institutions that are responsible for some of the corruption if the organizers feel that there is a reformist element in such institutions who might be prepared to engender change.

In this meeting, similarly to the first meeting, the organizers repeat:

- The purpose of the research
- A summary of the various corruption cases and perceptions together with their problem ranking
- A summary of the causes and effects
- A summary of the possible solutions and provide information from
- The interviews

Ideas for possible follow up action are then presented such as radio talk shows, civic education campaigns, advocacy on specific issues.

Then the conversation will be directed to identifying local organizations which are interested in carrying this work further. This can be done in three ways:

1. working with the community to take up some of the solutions they have identified for themselves. Examples might include facilitation of community meetings, civic education, providing legal advice.
2. helping the community to lobby policy and decision makers about the need for changed policies and practice, or the need to implement existing policies which are not practiced
3. publicizing the results of the research exercise so that the voices of the poor are amplified and the real situation of the poor in respect of corruption is widely known.

It makes sense to focus the follow-up action by organizing it along sectors (e.g. school, police, electricity company). This should reflect:

- the top three priorities of the community
- the expertise of the NGO offering to help .

Well-focused action is better than thinly spread activism.

The three different ways of following up with action can all be done together as part of an integrated plan, or they can be done separately at different levels - some with the community and some with the local parliament, for instance.

If some local NGOs decide to follow up on concrete cases in the community, then the field work NGO can play a facilitating role and link these NGOs with the community.

The local NGOs and the media should be urged to work together sensitively with the local community to make sure that they do not endanger them by managing the information in an insensitive way and causing repercussions.

Local NGOs which do not have ongoing programs into which this fits, or who do not have resources to take on this work, should be informed of potentially sympathetic funding organizations who may be supportive of proposals along these lines.

Summary

This methodology allows outsiders, working with insiders, to understand and systematize information concerning corruption in poor communities, and its impact on the poor. It also allows insiders to think through, with outside assistance, what they might do to improve their situation, and introduces them to some people who might help them to do this.

This methodology has been tried in the limited context of 3 urban slum areas in three towns of Indonesia (Yogyakarta, Jakarta, and Makassar). It has not yet been tried in rural areas. It seems to the organizers that the ideas in this methodology have promise of wider application and asks people to try them out, modify them, and test the hypotheses. The practical experience of the methodology lies with Yayasan Bina Swadaya.

Further reading about the project is available:

“The Poor Speak Up”

a publication featuring the key findings from the research plus the 17 case studies

Synthesis Report of the Field Work

written by Bina Swadaya (this is only available in English) .

It is still work in process. If you can provide feedback, please do so to :

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Illustrations of the Process



Photo of community mapping Yogyakarta

Makassar flow diagram of social safety net rice distribution in makassar



Makassar photo of brainstorming on solutions

Flow diagram of social Safety Net Rice Distribution in Makassar

