A Proven Approach
with New Potential:

Using Social and Behavior Change to Fight Corruption

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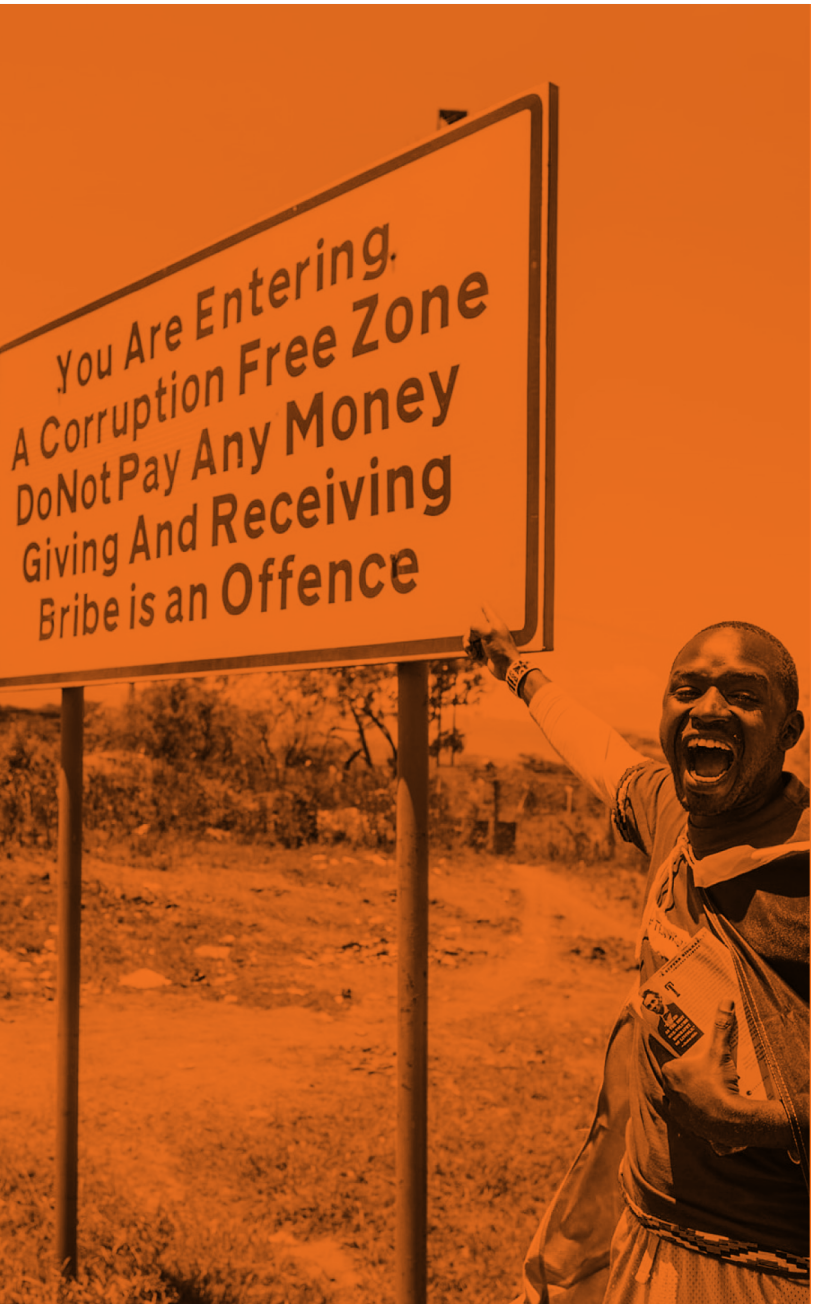

“Injustice and corruption will never be transformed by keeping them hidden, but only by bringing them out into the light ...”

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

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This paper represents a collaboration between two distinct units within FHI 360: The Social and Behavior Change technical experts and the Civil Society and Peacebuilding Department (CSPB), which designs and implements FHI 360's work in the U.S. Agency for International Development's Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance sector.

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Introduction

Systematic corruption impedes virtually every aspect of social and economic development, including good governance, service delivery, business, innovation, and professional and personal aspirations. A recent U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) publication succinctly summarizes the insidious impact of corruption on international development support and host country efforts to advance in public and private spaces:

> *Corruption undermines country competitiveness, investments, decent work opportunities, and public service delivery; drives crime, violence, and migration; fuels transnational criminal organizations; erodes the social compact; and contributes to environmental degradation, human and labor rights abuses, and democratic backsliding.*[1]

Acknowledging the increasingly globalized nature and impacts of corruption, the Biden-Harris Administration has elevated anti-corruption on its foreign policy agenda, launching the **U.S. Strategy on Countering Corruption**[2] and supporting Summits for Democracy, as well as spearheading the **Presidential Initiative for Democratic Renewal**[3] to expand and update foreign policy and foreign assistance to combat corruption, strengthen democracy and defend human rights globally.

Applying a social and behavior change (SBC) approach to social development first emerged in the technical areas of health, nutrition, HIV and AIDS. FHI 360 experts have been pioneers in this field since the 1980s and, over the decades, our SBC approaches have become more rigorous and more comprehensive. They have also been applied to myriad health and non-health areas, including youth political participation; education and school retention; water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH); animal and environment conservation; climate change; social cohesion; and conflict resolution.

Now there is growing awareness that SBC may be a game changer for addressing democracy and governance objectives. Director of USAID's Center for Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance (DRG), Rosarie Tucci, called out social and behavior change as a great example of "reinventing the DRG playbook with novel approaches and mechanisms." In addition, USAID recently developed a primer for applying social and behavior change in democracy, human rights and governance.

This paper, which begins with a thorough review of key SBC principles, is fully aligned with the SBC framework described in USAID's primer on SBC in DRG. It then takes a deep dive, focusing specifically on applying SBC strategies to anti-corruption work. It does this by examining the SBC principles and considering underlying theories on the enablers and drivers of corruption, as well as current dialogue in the sector on anti-corruption strategies. **It is not a how-to guide, but rather a practitioner's thought piece to support and inform pioneering efforts to apply SBC approaches to anti-corruption challenges.**

Advanced SBC practitioners not requiring a review of key SBC principles may choose to skip the introductory sections on SBC principles and approaches to directly glean useful information on applying these principles to anti-corruption efforts, starting on Page 14.

1) USAID. Strategic approach to combating corruption in Northern Central America [Internet]. 2022. Available from: https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/04-06-22_Interagency_Reviewed_USAID_Strategic_Approach_to_Combating_Corruption_in_Northern_Central_America.docx.pdf.

2) Office of Press Relations. USAID welcomes the release of the U.S. strategy on countering corruption. USAID. 2021 Dec 6. https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/12/06/fact-sheet-u-s-strategy-on-countering-corruption/

3) The White House. Fact sheet: announcing the presidential initiative for democratic renewal [Internet]. 2021. Available from: https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/12/09/fact-sheet-announcing-the-presidential-initiative-for-democratic-renewal/.

So, what is a social and behavior change approach?

Social and behavior change integrates principles and best practices from a range of disciplines, including social psychology, human-centered design, anthropology, behavioral economics, and marketing, to view the complex interplay among individual, interpersonal, community, societal and institutional/structural factors that affect behaviors. Central to the approach are concepts of barriers and benefits that motivate or enable people to perform behaviors (or not); these barriers and benefits, also viewed as costs and rewards, may function at a conscious or an unconscious level. SBC practitioners work to understand the underlying equation of perceived costs and benefits and create conditions that increase uptake of desired behaviors and facilitate social change.

FHI 360 uses this behavioral lens to design strategies and solutions that incorporate a holistic view of people's desires and needs, addressing the barriers and incorporating facilitators to change, taking stock of the broad context and creating an enabling environment for change.

Most donors including USAID now incorporate a theory of change into project design, procurement, and implementation. **A behavior-centered approach expands any operating theory of change to more explicitly articulate desired outcomes in behavioral terms**, using evidence to identify what will most influence desired behaviors and carefully matching the influential factors with activities best suited to address those factors.

A first step to applying an SBC approach to planning is to **define the core problem of focus, in behavioral terms**, and begin mapping the multilayered system surrounding the problem. Some examples include:

- *Core problem:* Mortality from end-stage HIV is increasing due to lack of treatment.
- *Core problem:* There is insufficient water for personal and productive uses.
- *Core problem:* Voter turnout for national elections is below 25%.
- *Core problem:* Police officers are demanding additional payments (bribes) to carry out their responsibility to protect citizens.

To help define the problem and analyze how factors interact to influence behavior, FHI 360 applies the Audience-driven Demand, Design and Delivery — or ADDED Framework — which draws on the **socio-ecological model** (SEM)[4] to illustrate the complex interplay between individual, social/community, and societal factors that affect behaviors. This facilitates using a systems approach to map what are often complex problems, with deep and broad roots and extended

SBC IS BEHAVIOR-CENTERED

Integrating SBC theories and approaches focuses on framing behavioral improvements that correspond with (often predetermined) program objectives and outcomes. This means that planning and implementation are *behavior-centered, not activity-driven*.

Features of an SBC approach

- Not a quick fix. SBC requires time, resources, and skilled professionals for best practice application.
- SBC requires time, resources and skilled professionals to apply best practices
- Allows for rigorous testing of theories of change.
- Focuses on specific and measurable outcomes directly tied to behavioral objectives.
- May lead to sustained behavior change without ongoing project inputs by improving the enabling environment, including structural and systems elements.
- Integrates the vital and cross-cutting role that social and gender norms play to create conditions for change.

SBC or SBCC? What's the difference?

Development practitioners sometimes hear "social and behavior change" and automatically think "communication" or "promotion." Communication is one of the many tactics to achieve behavior change outcomes, but social and behavior change is an *approach* to analyze, strategize and strategically act to influence behavioral outcomes for broad development impact in ways that affect individual, social and structural determinants of change.

This distinguishes SBC from social and behavior change *communication*, or SBCC, with SBC encompassing the comprehensive behavior-centered approach and SBCC referring specifically to communication activities designed to influence improvements in behaviors. Non-communication tactics contributing to anti-corruption SBC may include policy change, incentives, skills-building and influential positive "deviants" modeling social norm change. *See the outer ring of the ADDED Framework (Figure 1), which illustrates that communication is one of many tactics for social and behavior change.*

branches, to visualize the interconnected layers of a problem and begin to identify target audiences, behaviors, behavioral determinants (or factors) and corresponding activities at the individual, social and structural/institutional levels. Using ADDED helps to understand:

- Who is being affected by and influencing the problem
- The environment or context in which the problem exists
- Barriers and enabling factors influencing the problem.

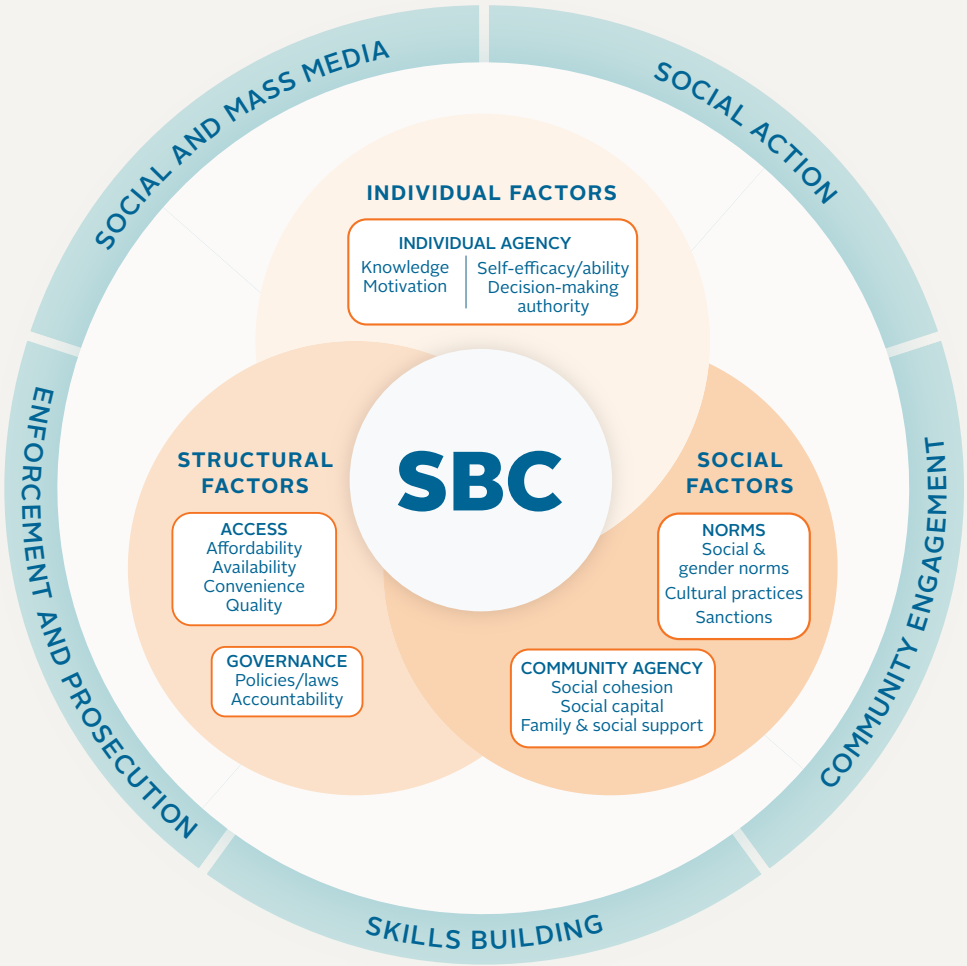
With the core problem defined, change makers can then begin to concretely plan how best to address it.

FHI 360 uses four key decisions to guide a behavior-centered approach

SBC best practice first defines development challenges in behavioral terms and continues using evidence to define four strategic elements:

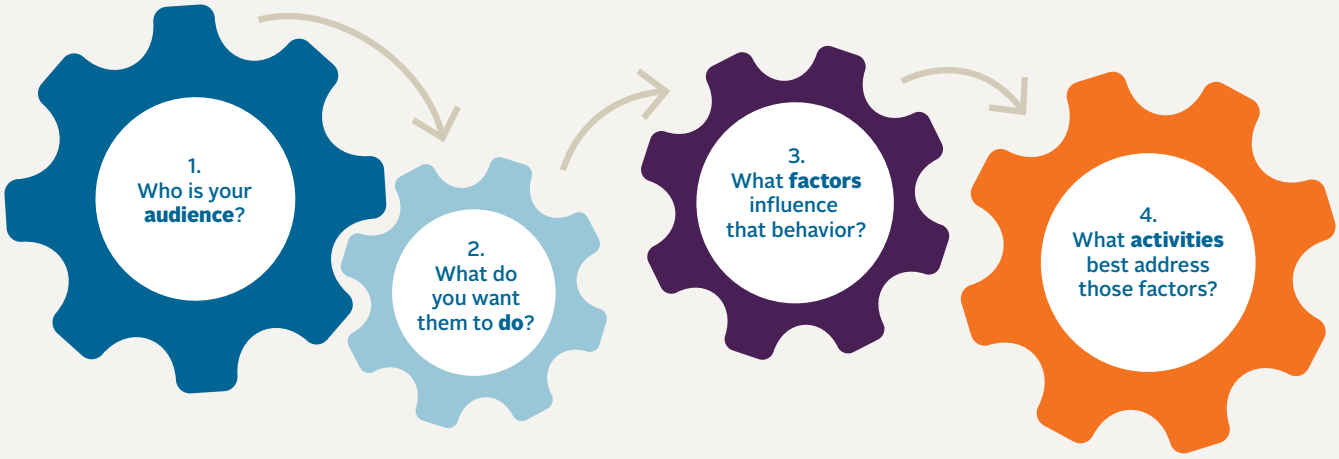
1. Who is the target audience or the priority populations?
2. What do you want them to do (or stop doing)?
3. Which factors or "behavioral determinants" are **most influential** in the performance or non-performance of the behavior *for that audience (for example, barriers and facilitators)*?
4. What activities **best** address those factors?

Figure 1: FHI 360's Audience-driven Demand, Design and Delivery (ADDED) Framework



4) Bronfenbrenner U. The ecology of human development. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press; 1979..

Figure 2: Four decisions guide strategic behavior change planning, after defining the core problem



The first two decisions are often formulated as a set, answering the question: *Who is your audience and what do you want them to do?*

Explicitly addressing these four decisions will further define the theory of change and guide program planning and implementation. Below we will look briefly at each of these four key decisions to be made in designing a new SBC approach and then apply them to anti-corruption and transparency.

Decision #1: Who is your audience?[5]

This decision identifies the focus of change efforts and can also be thought of as a priority **population segment**, perhaps identified by profession or demographics like geography, ethnicity, or gender, for example, (male) police officers, merchants, or electric company customers. Audiences can also be defined using what are called *psychographic* characteristics, such as values, interests or lifestyle choices. For programmatic and sustainability considerations, it is sometimes best to define a key audience as broadly as possible because, pragmatically, programs often cannot address myriad audiences with highly focused programs, and many change tactics reach beyond narrowly defined sectors. Sometimes, however, a narrowly defined audience is appropriate if its improved behavior will have broad impact — for example, district health officers in X, Y and Z districts — or if more narrowly defined audiences are at high risk or cannot be reached through broader audience/behavior definition.

Are there vital "secondary audiences" or supporting actors to include?

We are social beings functioning in contexts, so most often SBC practitioners need to analyze and identify secondary audiences that have a strong influence on the primary target audience. In health, for instance, SBC initiatives often target husbands and/or mothers-in-law of women caregivers (mothers) when focusing on health or nutrition behaviors, because those secondary audiences have an influence on the behavior of the target audience of mothers. In this example, the secondary audience influences through power dynamics, controlling how resources are spent and exerting intense social-normative pressure on the primary audience's (mothers') choices and actions. This is not always the case, as peers and constituents, community and civil society organizations, media, and influencers *may* play a vital role as instrumental secondary audiences without an explicit power differential.

5) As our field advances and processes become more participatory, social and behavior change professionals struggle with appropriate terminology for this decision point. The terms "audience" or "target audience" connote communication tactics, with the audience serving as listeners or spectators rather than participants. SBC practitioners have facilitated countless sessions to find words that connote more interactive processes that are not communication-based. **"Priority segment"** is one alternative, drawing from marketing lexicon; but it is not a meaningful concept to many.

In SBC applications to anti-corruption work, we often focus on citizens at large or independent media as a secondary audience because evidence guides a theory of change that influencing *their* actions will impact a key audience, such as corrupt officials. Based on evidence, we might expand those secondary audiences further as we identify what influences a particular target audience, for example, perhaps mothers are a key target audience to influence corrupt sons (or perhaps not) taking police or health service bribes. Other relevant secondary audiences might include politically engaged/concerned youth with mobile phones. Under FHI 360's ComunicAcción Ciudadana activity in Honduras, for example, awarding groups of youth prizes to develop new mobile phone applications to report on the quality of local government service provision was successful.[6]

The vital role of secondary audiences when defining target audiences for anti-corruption initiatives

One critical element emerges when applying an SBC lens to FHI 360 anti-corruption work. When conducting a comprehensive analysis of a corrupt environment, and zeroing in on *who is the primary audience and what is the desired behavior*, often priority targets for change include (corrupt) government actors, formal and informal private sector entities, and other powerful actors with deep and expansive interests in maintaining the status quo. However, many "demand-side" anti-corruption initiatives engage with civil society actors or independent media to catalyze change, because there are prohibitions on working directly with government and/or these secondary audiences are in a good position to advocate for change in government actors and systems. **In these cases, we focus more on secondary audiences to bring about changes in the primary audience and behavior**. As part of the analysis and planning process, project implementers might also shape audience/behavior couplets that focus on civil society organizations or citizens as the primary audience.

Decision #2: What do you want your audience to do? [Setting your behavioral objective(s)]

This process begins with examining the program goals and objectives and identifying a complete list of behaviors that can contribute to achieving the goals. In many cases, there may be a range of desired behaviors that could contribute to project goals; however, winnowing it down to a small list of priority behaviors allows for a more focused and effective SBC intervention. The selection of priority behaviors is especially important within multi-sectoral, integrated projects where there may be many behaviors that could contribute to the desired project outcomes. Before discussing how best to craft behavioral objectives, however, we first clarify *what is a behavior.*

What is a behavior?

A behavior is an action that is (at least conceptually if not practically) visible and measurable. Examples include:

- Voting in biannual elections.
- Showing up daily for work.
- Reporting a corrupt act.
- Following standards of practice.
- Hiring an underqualified relative.
- Offering a bribe.
- Demanding a sexual favor.
- Eating vegetables daily.
- Switching to modern contraceptive methods.
- Using water conservation techniques for household crops.

6) Under FHI 360's ComunicAcción Ciudadana activity in Honduras (2018–2020), two mobile ICT (information and communication technology) applications (apps) were developed as social auditing tools to monitor the actions of members of the national congress and the provision of public services in the municipality of Siguatepeque, respectively. Under the umbrella of the Honduras Digital Challenge (HDC), ComunicAcción Ciudadana created a new category for app developers to propose ideas focused on using technology to promote transparency; this represented the first time that the HDC included a category focused explicitly on social issues. The competitors received expert mentorship to develop their apps, including presentations from Transparencia Fiscal's and ComunicAcción Ciudadana's technical specialists on transparency and accountability mechanisms and approaches. Two competitors were awarded first and second place prizes in the HDC transparency category, and their apps were fully funded: Observatorio del Poder and Alza tu Voz. The team members received equipment, attended trainings and participated in the AbreLATAM regional transparency app forum in Ecuador to showcase their app ideas

FHI 360's hallmark **Small Doable Action (SDA)** approach has resonated with country counterparts and international partners alike. SDAs are behaviors that key audiences deem feasible to perform in the current context that also yield measurable improvements in project outcomes. The SDA approach emphasizes the importance of involving stakeholders / audiences in program planning, identifying a small set of behavioral options to test with wider "target groups," and refining and narrowing those behaviors based on stakeholder feedback and the plausibility of achieving project outcomes. These behaviors are likely not ideal practices but are on the continuum *toward* the ideal and show promise of impact on targeted outcomes. Of course, for some behavioral objectives, SDAs are not an option because they do not offer any impact if not the ideal, or perhaps they are illegal or contrary to official codified procedures

A **behavioral objective** often adds a context and time element.

- Urban Kigali consumers will pay their electric bills monthly.
- District hospital health personnel will provide government health services to all eligible clients according to a posted pay scale.

A challenge with applying a behavior-centered approach to anti-corruption and transparency is that many behaviors are "non-behaviors," or *not* doing something.

- Do not demand bribes or favors for services.
- Do not hire employees without transparency and due process.
- Do not divert international hurricane relief aid to your private bank account.

Some anti-corruption behaviors can be framed as positive actions or behaviors. Looking at the examples above, a revised framing might be: *Follow official protocol and procedures.*

However, by doing so, it is possible to lose the required specificity and contextual factors driving the corrupt behavior. In this instance, it may be best to conduct analysis and planning on the "non-behavior" and then consider how to reshape the environment and incentives (the costs and benefits) of performing the alternative, improved, anti-corruption behaviors.

Applying a behavioral lens to define your focus audience and behavior: Supply-side and demand-side considerations

It is an iterative process to home in on audience and behavior; this process also requires a decision to focus on "supply"- and/or "demand"-side considerations. As the reader reviews the basic principles and tools of an SBC approach to fighting corruption, it becomes apparent that there are options and sometimes necessities to address both the supply side (government agencies) and demand side (civil society, independent media, the private sector).

Changes to the supply side can shift the incentives driving corruption and lower the costs while increasing the benefits of performing "non-corrupt," transparent behaviors.

Improving the transparency of government services and directly targeting the behavior of government actors (say, with values-based training, improving codes of conduct, enforcing standards of practice), often referred to as supply-side interventions, can be fundamental elements of behavior-centered anti-corruption strategies.

- Lowering traffic fines, say, from $100 to $10 may disincentivize bribing an officer to avoid the official fine—as would facilitating the payment of these fines through a streamlined, transparent process (for example, electronic payments).

- Simplifying and "regularizing" the payment of fines or fees for health services through electronic payment via an instant mobile money application (app) are supply-side behavior-centered approaches that may reduce barriers to practicing anti-corrupt behaviors.

Many DRG and anti-corruption initiatives focus on the demand side, working through civil society organizations and independent media, for example; but supply-side interventions that shift the barriers/benefits of corrupt/anti-corrupt practices are also powerful tools at the heart of a behavior-centered approach.

If viewing corruption as a rational response, environmentally driven and perpetuated by dysfunctional systems, then a comprehensive supply-side SBC approach shifts incentives and changes the costs and benefits to participating in corrupt or ethical and transparent behaviors.

Decision #3:
What factors are most influential for your audience to perform the behavior?

What influences behaviors?
Behavioral science identifies an expansive set of factors shown to influence behaviors. Different factors are likely have more or less influence on different behaviors of different population or stakeholder groups.

Historically, many assumed that knowledge was the most significant factor influencing behavior and designed programs to increase knowledge and awareness as the base of their theory of change. But this assumption has been repeatedly disproven. We have found that high levels of awareness and knowledge, including substantial *increases in knowledge through education-based initiatives*, do not necessarily influence behavior.[7] **This is what has become to be known as the knowledge-practice or KAP GAP**, the lack of correspondence and causality between Knowledge (K) and Practice (P). We will discuss later in this paper the relationship of awareness and knowledge to anti-corruption behaviors. Behavioral science demonstrates that **knowledge may be necessary but not sufficient to change behaviors** and that other factors, often working in tandem with each other, influence the performance or non-performance of behaviors.

The following can be categorized generally as individual, societal, and structural (or institutional) factors, corresponding with levels of the ADDED Framework (see Page 4).

Notably, the *U.S. Strategy on Countering Corruption* frames its five pillars in (more or less) behavioral terms, although still quite high-level behaviors that do not meet the SMART criteria of being specific, measurable, achievable, relevant and timebound:

- Modernizing, coordinating, and resourcing U.S. government efforts to fight corruption.
- Curbing illicit finance.
- Holding corrupt actors accountable.
- Preserving and strengthening the multilateral anti-corruption architecture.
- Improving diplomatic engagement and leveraging foreign assistance resources to advance policy goals.

It would be a useful exercise to further develop the pillars as behavioral objectives toward which to work.

A keyword search of the strategy, however, reveals little focus on SBC. There is an important mention of understanding the enablers and drivers of corrupt behavior, a key to engaging SBC approaches to anti-corruption efforts. There is no other substantive discussion of behaviors or even use of the term SBC. Mentions of "communication" all refer to the importance of strategic communication; growing collaboration and communication with a number of civil society, private sector and media partners to prevent corruption and push for accountability; and U.S. interagency communication.

7) Initial efforts to change behaviors related to health assumed that raising awareness of the potential benefits was sufficient for change, commonly referred to as the Information, Education, and Communication (IEC) approach. However, evidence from many sectors has shown that health promotion alone does not result in sustained behavior change. Stott NCH, Kinnersley P, Rollnick S. The limits to health promotion. BMJ Clin Res. 1994;309(6960):971-2.

INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL FACTORS

- Knowledge.
- Skills.
- Perception of risk (one's own subjective judgement about the nature and severity of a risk, that is, will it affect me and how bad will it be?)
- Perceived outcomes (the subjective assessment of what will happen, what benefits and/or consequences performing a behavior (or not) will yield.)
- Self-efficacy or perceived efficacy (one's own estimation of their ability to behave a certain way or not.)

SOCIAL OR COMMUNITY-LEVEL FACTORS

- Social norms (the unwritten rules of "how to behave," how one thinks people important to them expect them to behave in specific contexts.)
- Gender norms (unwritten rules governing behaviors, specific to how men and women "should" behave.)
- Cultural practices.
- Community agency (the capability of acting when needed (and achieving change, often linked to empowerment).)
- Social cohesion (the extent of connectedness and solidarity, shared values, and respect among groups in society). Some definitions include integration and inclusion; others stop short of respect for differences.

STRUCTURAL OR INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

- Sanctions.
- Access to key supplies and services (affordability, availability, convenience, quality.)
- Laws and policies.

These factors must be identified based on evidence, either through original research (known as formative research given that it contributes to *form*ing a theory of change) or through previous documentation (in the "gray" unpublished and peer reviewed literature). Often several determinants or factors work in tandem to influence behaviors, and factors influencing the same behavior may vary by audience, e.g., women may be influenced by a different set of factors than men to vote or follow procedures. *Specific guidance on how to identify behavioral determinants for audience/behavior couplets in context can be found in Annex A.*

After reviewing the last of the four decisions, we will return to discuss what is known about a few of these determinants of anti-corruption behaviors.

Decision #4: What activities best address the factors?

Activities are our tools to address behavioral determinants or key factors influencing behaviors. As planners, we need to choose the right tool for the job. A hammer is the best tool to put a nail in the wall. You could use a hard-soled shoe or a rock, but it's not effective to use a tortilla or a cotton ball.

There is an expansive range of behavior change tools or tactics available to address the many levels influencing behaviors: structural, organizational, societal and individual. When planning behavior-centered approaches, there must be direct correspondence between the small set of behavioral determinants or factors and the activities designed to address them. Behavior change tools and approaches range from policy change, advocacy, system strengthening, quality, and service improvement (for example, changing the way fees are paid or keeping election polls open late to accommodate work schedules), increasing accessibility (to products through expanded distribution channels, to officials through electronic or other fora), new or improved technologies and products, capacity strengthening and skills building, community mobilization, public forums, interpersonal communication, mass media, and social media.

Communication is just *one strategy* to address key factors for particular audiences and behaviors. Often, communication tactics are *part* of a set of activities or tools to try to improve behaviors and bring about desired results. Too often, planners "rush to tactics" and use communication to increase knowledge and awareness. But circling back to the key decisions framing our theory of change, it is vital to have a correspondence between the activities and key factors influencing behavioral outcomes.

Communication tactics have a role in most comprehensive anti-corruption strategies. But these activities do not define the strategy; rather, they are tools to achieve behavioral changes based on evidence and analysis. Communication can help build demand, to reinforce positive social norms through dramatizations and role models, or to neutralize disinformation. It can facilitate increased access to information on government budgets and on citizens' ability to report on government services, corrupt incidents, and more. Use of social media can spur accountability by mobilizing vast numbers of individuals to speak out and ask for transparency.

USAID conducted a literature review[8] examining the use of SBCC to improve development outcomes, specifically applying a governance lens. The paper examined governance weaknesses that impact SBCC efforts, in particular distrust and dissatisfaction with government services and government workers, as well as the failure to include key stakeholders — all of which work to discredit and/or diminish the impact of SBCC. The analysis addresses how particular attributes of communication can strengthen state-society relations and build trust in government systems and system actors: *"Trust in system actors is critical to achieving behavior change and lack of trust in these actors thwarts SBCC efforts."* The paper then outlines SBCC practices that "hold the potential" of working to restore and/or sustain trust in government institutions, systems, and actors. System actors might be elected or appointed officials, but the analysis also includes community actors such as agricultural extension workers or government teachers when linking trust with the effectiveness of behavior change initiatives. These communication efforts are not explicitly aimed at building social cohesion or trust; rather, the paper suggests that if government actors and/or international development partners engage in participatory, respectful and community-informed communication activities, they will support perceptions of transparent, fair and good governance. *These best practices can be found in Annex B.*

But again, communication is only one of many SBC tools, strategically incorporated into an evidence-driven and systematic, behavior-centered design process.

BEHAVIORAL INSIGHTS (BI) draw from behavioral economics and the behavioral sciences. While there have been a range of applications, BI are widely used to help understand why people behave as they do. The field received focused attention when the U.K. government formed its Behavioral Insights Team; not long after, former President Barack Obama's administration followed suit, signaling a public sector commitment to invest in behavioral science to improve citizen-participation and compliance with government functions. Methodologies use research, often drawing from economics and behavioral economics, to gain insights into what motivates behavior, going beyond a simple "cost-benefit" profile to incorporate subconscious influences such as incentives, nudging and norms, and to explain why people sometimes make decisions that are on the surface not rational or in their best interest and not congruent with their knowledge and espoused values. BI are then applied and systematically tested for policy and personal behavioral improvement, from paying taxes to weight loss.

8) Pirio G. Improving development outcomes through social and behavior change communication: applying a governance lens [Internet]. USAID. Available from: https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PAOOTG2X.pdf.

What do we know about how particular determinants and approaches influence behaviors around corruption and transparency?

In the previous subsections, Decision #3 reviewed the range of behavioral determinants or factors influencing behaviors at the individual/societal/structural levels, and Decision #4 reviewed the activities or tactics that best address particular determinants. **In the section below we review what little is documented about determinants and activities as they relate to anti-corruption.**

Social norms support corrupt behavior

We can likely harness social norms to support anti-corruption behaviors as well.

While academics have built their careers on nuanced definitions and categories of social norms, for the purpose of examining the role of social norms in corruption and anti-corruption related behaviors, we will define social norms as an unwritten "code of conduct" for a particular group: the shared expectations held by members of a group about how one is "supposed" to behave or act in a given situation. This expectation will likely vary across different groups (even within a single country or community) and within particular contexts and behaviors.

Social norms are perhaps the most influential determinant of corrupt behaviors, although until recently they have been neglected or completely ignored in corruption analysis and anti-corruption design. Policy researchers posit that social norms can undermine anti-corruption reforms.[9] What is *less* understood is how best to harness social norms to influence positive anti-corruption behaviors or how to change pervasive norms that allow corruption to flourish.

In societies where corruption is pervasive, even egregious practices that break formal laws or violate shared values are accepted without objection and sometimes without notice. Blatantly and publicly asking for payment for free government services or practicing nepotism are examples of such practices. Social norms engage peer pressure to sustain the corrupt practice, building on innate drivers to "fit in" and be accepted by one's referent group. Belonging and connectedness are key to building social capital,[10] which then provides the benefits and protections that come with association with that network.

Therefore, if someone from the group does *not* adhere to the predominant norm (for example, chooses to not engage in corrupt practices), they often suffer negative consequences, such as exclusion and suspicion, and more generally are unable to draw on the benefits and protections of the network (social capital). Social norms often trump personal beliefs and attitudes, which is why so many individuals may engage in or tolerate corrupt behaviors that are seemingly in contradiction with their personal values.

Positive deviance: Social norms that encourage people do the right thing.

There is currently a lack of evidence of how to influence social norms for more

9) Scharbatke-Church C, Chigas D. Understanding social norms: a reference guide for policy and practice [Internet]. The Henry J. Leir Institute of Human Security. The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University;2019. Available from: https://www.kpsrl.org/publication/understanding-social-norms-a-reference-guide-for-policy-and-practice.

10) Social capital theory (SCT) was first defined by Bourdieu (1985) as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition". Bourdieu P. The forms of capital. In: Richardson J, editor. Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education. Westport (CT): Greenwood;1986.p. 241-58.

Adler and Kwon (2002) articulated the underlying clockwork behind social capital: Whereas market relationships are characterized by economic exchanges in which individuals trade goods or services for money, interpersonal relationships are characterized by social exchanges in which individuals exchange favors. Any time an individual grants a favor to another individual, that individual will receive a "credit" or goodwill that can be used as a resource to facilitate the attainment of personal outcomes in the future. Social capital theory suggests that interpersonal relations create value for individuals as they provide resources that can be used for the achieving desired outcomes. Adler PS, Kwon SW. Social capital: prospects for a new concept. Acad Manageme Rev. 2002;27:17-40.

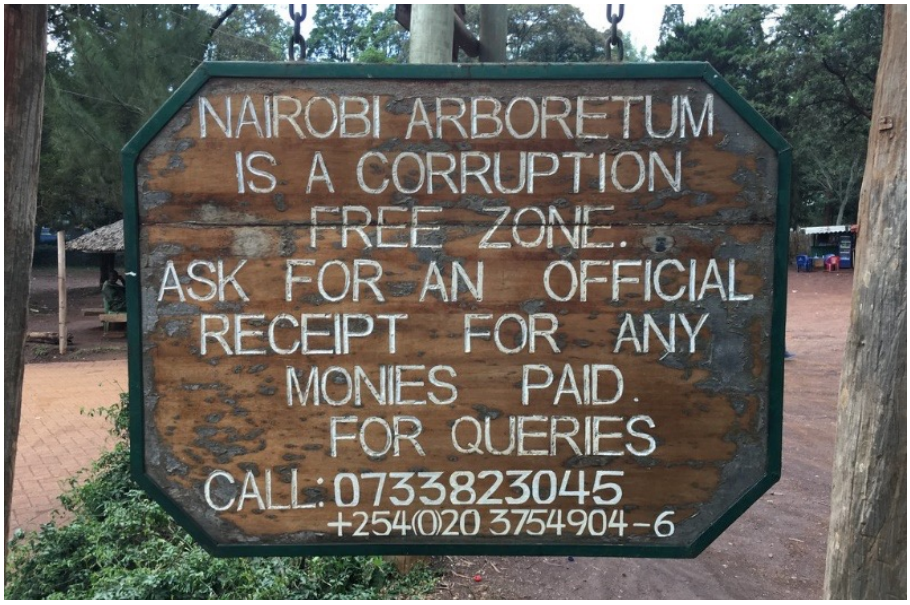


Photo credit: Christine and Hagen Graf

positive, anti-corruption behaviors (that is, how to influence society to do the right thing). Our experience in applying SBC approaches in other technical areas tells us that studying "positive deviants"[11] can teach us how certain pioneers can thrive while not adhering to undesirable social norms. (The term "deviant" is derived from statistics and refers to "outliers" from expected patterns, rather than to deviant or aberrant behavior. See more in footnote 11.).

How do a few district officials survive and thrive while standing up to corrupt practices and refusing to participate? Identifying and leveraging positive deviants — influential individuals refusing to act corruptly — learning their strategies for resisting or rejecting the norms and incorporating those strategies into SBC anti-corruption approaches may begin to shift detrimental social norms and facilitate the growth of new norms. The timeframe for this kind of shift in norms is unknown, but recent experience with COVID-19 prevention demonstrates how swiftly norms guiding handshaking or kissing in greetings can change. Caution must be taken, however, when identifying positive deviants, to not expose them or shed undue attention to their behaviors without their consent or participation, as they could suffer unwanted consequences. The key is to learn how they still thrive without participating in the dominant corrupt behaviors and incorporate those elements into SBC approaches.

Focusing on knowledge and awareness of corrupt behavior may have null or negative impact

Earlier, we illustrated what is known as the KAP gap, meaning that increases in knowledge and awareness do not necessarily translate into more positive actions and that knowledge may be necessary but not sufficient to trigger such actions. Awareness messaging is a recommended component of many anti-corruption strategies, building on a theory of change that if officials or other key actors act on incentive structures that are focused on self-interest, then using awareness messaging will build a strong community upswell that rejects corruption and demands transparency and strong leadership. The assumption continues that this citizen movement will push from below while meeting pressure from above and from "horizontal" anti-corruption activities. The logic continues that mass media messaging about the pervasiveness of corruption will change public opinion and spur citizens to take action and demand changes, thus creating an electoral incentive for reform.[12]

But a growing evidence base suggests that strong anti-corruption messaging may have null or even negative effects. A team of researchers recently conducted a systematic evaluation of the impact of anti-corruption messaging on attitudes and behaviors around corruption, in addition to conducting two controlled experiments on their own.[13] They report that five studies (of varied and mixed quality) looked at civil society attitudes pre- and post-anti-corruption awareness raising messaging, which is a central

11) The term comes from statistics, where the positive deviants are those falling to the rightmost area of the normal distribution illustrated in a bell curve. Those cases or observations lie outside of the overall pattern of distribution.

12) Cheeseman N, Peiffer C. The curse of good intentions: Why anticorruption messaging can encourage bribery. Am Polit Sci Rev. 2022;116(3):1081-95.

Misinformation and disinformation can erode trust and create or exacerbate social divides that fuel corruption and erode the social contract.

Accidental misinformation and intentional disinformation can fuel conflict, undermine democracy, radicalize youth and/or erode trust that is essential for anti-corruption efforts. SBC can also counter disinformation and work to build cohesion and trust. FHI 360 has analyzed how misinformation and disinformation can be countered through a strategic approach:

- Support fact-checking and debunking (reactive but necessary).
- Promote digital media literacy (through schools, civil society and media).
  - Interrogate content — *Ask: What is the source? What is the reason behind a post?*
  - Inoculate against digital threats through SBCC.
- Foster a systems-based approach involving technology companies, governments and civil society.
  - Advocate for better data-sharing and self-regulation by tech companies.
- Develop a communication strategy for digital threats like disinformation, misinformation and rumors..

and recommended component of anti-corruption strategies (the authors of this analysis specifically mention this recommended component within the UNCAC/United Nations Convention against Corruption document). They found that such awareness messaging may inadvertently nudge audiences to conclude that, given that corruption is so pervasive, they might as well "go with the flow" and *not* take action against corruption. Cheeseman and Peiffer's controlled experiment tested the effect of various messages on attitudes and subsequent participation in a bribery scenario that was part of their study. They found that exposure to messages failed to discourage the decision to bribe and found that individuals most pessimistic about pervasive corruption were more willing to pay a bribe in hopes of "winning" the game.

The authors conclude that more evidence is needed, but existing evidence suggests there is a danger in telling people that corruption is pervasive, in that it encourages people to be corrupt. They suggest in their discussion that these negative effects might also discourage other positive citizen behaviors that are part of what they refer to as "the social contract," such as voting and paying taxes.

Instead, they recommend creating positive messaging that emphasizes that peers are already speaking out against corruption and invites people to join them. Because Cheeseman and Peiffer found that the effect of anti-corruption messaging is "conditioned by an individual's pre-existing perceptions regarding the prevalence of corruption," they also recommend against the use of indiscriminate mass media messaging if/when discussing the pervasiveness of the problem. Instead, they recommend looking for ways to reach those with less pessimistic attitudes toward anti-corruption and transparency, to effectively nudge that particular audience segment to speak out and take action.[12]

And, at least for young people, FHI 360 suggests that making anti-corruption messaging a game or a competition can facilitate the behavior and make "positive deviants" less vulnerable to negative consequences (that is, safety in numbers).

When perceived efficacy to act is stronger than fear/cynicism/doubt, the individual is likely to take the desired actions

Highlighting the pervasiveness of a problem and creating negativity and fear are likely not effective strategies and may have unintended consequences. A common (but *not* recommended) tactic to spur behavior change is to highlight the severity of a problem, using fear to motivate action. This tactic is too commonly used by health and communication professionals. But lessons learned from the health sector show that using these tactics alone without a close link to a concrete action and a high sense of efficacy[13] to perform the action is ineffective.[14] Inciting fear (or increasing risk perception) without a link to action motivates the audience to distance themselves from the risk or resort to fatalism (they may feel like they can't do anything, that the problem is too big to solve, that the problem is in God's hands or that whatever will be, will be). Lessons from health behavior change demonstrate that raising perception of risk, when closely linked to an immediate positive and *feasible* behavior, spurs the audience to take action. When fear is high, but efficacy is low, the individual will manage the fear — by minimizing the risk or ignoring the messaging — rather than managing the risk by taking protective action. **When perceived efficacy to act is stronger than fear, the individual will take the desired preventive actions.**

13) Self-efficacy is defined as one's self-assessment of having the confidence, skills, social support and/or supplies to perform the behavior.

14) For more on studies on the use of fear, efficacy and action, see link here.

"Corruption tends to foster more corruption, perpetuating and entrenching social injustice in daily life. Such an environment weakens societal values of fairness, honesty, integrity, and common citizenship, as the impunity of dishonest practices and abuses of power or position steadily erode citizens' sense of moral responsibility to follow the rules in the interests of wider society."

"Executive Summary and Recommendations" *Collective Action on Corruption in Nigeria: A Social Norms Approach to Connecting Society and Institutions.* (Chatham House)

This resonates with recommendations from the awareness studies reviewed earlier, which positions corruption through more positive messaging, focusing on highlighting a groundswell of citizens *like them* [the target of messages] already taking feasible actions against corruption and inviting people to join them.

Collective action against corruption

Any discussion of application of SBC principles and approaches to anti-corruption work would be incomplete without mentioning a debate within the anti-corruption community and literature, stemming from underlying assumptions about the nature of corruption. As summarized directly by Marquette and Peiffer,[15] the three schools of thought are as follows:

- **Corruption as a principal-agent problem:**[16] The principal-agent theory highlights the role of individuals' calculations about whether or not to engage in or oppose corruption; the influence of transparency, monitoring and sanctions on those calculations; and the technical challenges of monitoring and sanctioning corrupt behavior.

- **Corruption as a collective action problem:** Collective action theory highlights the relevance to individuals' decisions of group dynamics, including trust in others and the (actual or perceived) behavior of others. When corruption is seen as "normal," people may be less willing to abstain from corruption or to take the first step in implementing sanctions or reforms. This theory highlights the challenges of coordinated anti-corruption efforts.

- **Corruption as problem-solving:** Corruption is seen by some as a way of dealing with deeply rooted social, structural, economic and political problems. According to this school of thought, anti-corruption interventions need to better understand the functions that corruption may serve, particularly in weak institutional environments, and find alternative ways to solve the real problems that people face if anti-corruption work is to be successful.

The authors suggest each perspective — corruption as a principal-agent problem, corruption as a collective action problem, and corruption as problem-solving — adds to our understanding of the challenges that anti-corruption efforts face. Marquette and Peiffer argue that neither principal-agent theory nor collective action theory are complete, as they fail to acknowledge that to many, corruption is a solution rather than a problem. They suggest that insights from all three perspectives are essential. They further diffuse the debate by suggesting that anti-corruption initiatives should be driven more by context than by theory.

Another academic makes a distinction between "need" and "greed" corruption and, through analyzing data from the Global Corruption Barometer 2013,[17] found that citizens are more likely to mobilize against "need corruption" to gain (personal) access to fair treatment, particularly if they perceive that fellow citizens are also willing to mobilize, than to mobilize against "greed corruption" for individual illicit advantages or gains.

Higher perceptions of pervasive corruption dissuade citizen action. In another analysis of the same 2013 dataset, authors Peiffer and Alvarez[18] found that perceptions of widespread corruption discourage anti-corruption civic action, while perceived government effectiveness tends to encourage civic action. They also found that there is interaction among these perceptions. When confidence in a government grows, willingness to act against corruption also grows, even among those previously perceiving widespread corruption.

15) Marquette H, Peiffer C. Corruption and collective action [Internet]. Developmental Leadership Program;2015. Available from: https://www.dlprog.org/publications/research-papers/corruption-and-collective-action.

16) "The term "principal-agent problem" comes from the economics (business and legal) literature/disciplines and refers to a conflict in priorities between a person or group (in this case citizens or community organizations) and the representative authorized to act on their behalf. Conflict arises when that agent acts in ways that do not represent the best interests of the agent's constituency."

17) Bauhr M. Need or greed? Conditions for collective action against corruption. Governance. 2016 Aug 5;30(4).

18) Peiffer C, Alvarez L. Who will be the "principled-principals"? Perceptions of corruption and willingness to engage in anticorruption activism. Governance. 2015 Oct 1;29(3):351-69.

Photo Credit: Erlend Asland

Building social cohesion and trust as a foundation of anti-corruption work

Going beyond the debate of the theoretical roots of corruption outlined above, there is general consensus that pervasive corruption erodes social cohesion, has a detrimental effect on trust between citizens and government as well as between citizen groups, and generally diminishes citizen motivation and obligation to fulfill what is referred to as "the social contract".[20]

Basic levels of social cohesion and trust are essential to engaging multiple actors and multiple sectors, to changing current norms perpetuating corruption and to shifting citizens from inaction to action against corruption.

Therefore, any interventions geared to build social cohesion may contribute to anti-corruption objectives, even if indirectly.

SCALE+: Facilitating collective action

FHI 360 developed a powerful systems-level tool to strengthen social cohesion, fortify bonds within sectors and build bridges across diverse sectors, uniting disparate stakeholder groups around a common action agenda. Whether that common action agenda focuses specifically on anti-corruption activities or builds cohesion through working together on almost any development challenge, SCALE+ is a systems approach that can contribute to uprooting the drivers of corruption and reviving trust across and within sectors. More information on SCALE+ can be found in Annex A.

In February 2020, FHI 360 used SCALE+ under its *ComunicAcción Ciudadana* activity in Honduras to strengthen the culture of collaboration, learning and adaptability in Honduras to better combat corruption. Forty-two stakeholders representing eight distinct sectors attended the three-day SCALE+ workshop: 10 civil society representatives, seven media representatives, seven opinion leaders, 14 representatives of public institutions, six private sector representatives, four individuals from the development community and nine representatives from youth and vulnerable groups. The participants designed eight separate multi-sector action plans that consisted of 46 short- and medium-term collective actions to promote accountability and transparency in Honduras.

As a final thought on collective action, Frank Brown (director of the DC-based Anti-Corruption and Governance Center[21]) argued at the USAID DRG Center's 2022 annual conference that collective action and non-selective inclusion may be misguided and that selective coalition-building is key, particularly to better target the incentive structure supporting or opposing corrupt behavior. *When the people you are engaging can't deliver, it breeds cynicism,* he posited, having the opposite effect than desired. At the same meeting, Paula Perez, with the Open Government Partnership,[21] underscored that corruption does not affect everyone equally and that partnerships must be built with women, young people and historically underrepresented groups who are disproportionately affected by the consequences of corruption. While building the case for using SBC

19) The social contract refers to the implicit or explicit agreement among the members of a society (be it a workplace, a culture, a nation, a marriage or a social media site) to cooperate for social benefits, for example by sacrificing some individual freedom for group protection and provision. The theory grew out of the Enlightenment among theorists such as John Locke, Thomas Hobbes and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, to explain the origins of government and the obligations of its members."

20) acgc.cipe.org [Internet]. Anti-Corruption and Governance Center. Available from: https://acgc.cipe.org/

21) Open Government Partnership [Internet]. Mission and strategy. Available from: https://www.opengovpartnership.org/mission-and-strategy/.

Next steps

as a powerful tool in anti-corruption efforts, the evidence of *what SBC tools and tactics work best* is not (yet) clear. We invite readers to use and apply what is known to pilot interventions that shape positive norms, build social cohesion and shift the incentives and the environment to better support transparent and just actors and actions among in the public and private sectors.

To further best practice requires clearly articulating theories of change, conducting formative research to better understand what motivates key actors and rigorously measuring what works and where interventions break down.

- Did activities successfully reach the target audience but not move the determinants as intended?
- Were determinants addressed and modified as planned, but behaviors and key actions were not taken?
- Were actions taken but by not enough of the audience to make a difference?

We suggest risk-taking to share failures as well as successes and participating in Collaborating, Learning and Adapting processes and communities of practice to test theories and tools that will contribute to best practices.

Local design and applicability are essential, alternatives must be driven by context, and approaches must involve diverse local actors, including the bold "positive deviants" who have found benefit in more positive alternatives. As Marquette and Peiffer suggest, understanding the function of corruption and its incentives and developing alternatives will be key. These alternatives include clearing the path through administrative reforms, simplifying procedures so that it is less costly and time efficient to abide by the law or to follow standard operating procedures than not, removing opportunities to exert leverage and providing options to participate. We need to examine then shift the costs and benefits of engaging (or not engaging) in corruption, of reporting (or not reporting) misdeeds or of engaging (or not engaging) in coalitions. Some evidence suggests that starting with a segment of the population less distrustful about the pervasiveness of corruption may provide a key entry point to shift norms and spur action against corruption. Creating positive messaging that emphasizes that some individuals are already speaking out against corruption and invites others to join them can also help to shift norms and nudge actions such as reporting corruption and demanding accountability.

Conclusion

We hope this paper contributes to the development of evidence- and theory-based, comprehensive SBC approaches to bring individual, normative, organizational and transformational changes that undermine systemic corruption and support more accountable, transparent, and responsive governments and institutions.

Going forward, these SBC approaches must be documented and evaluated for shared learning and refinement of strategies. To that end, we see this as a living document that will evolve and expand over time, spurring dialogue and culminating in more streamlined guidance as we learn more and extract best practices in this emerging area.

FHI 360 examples

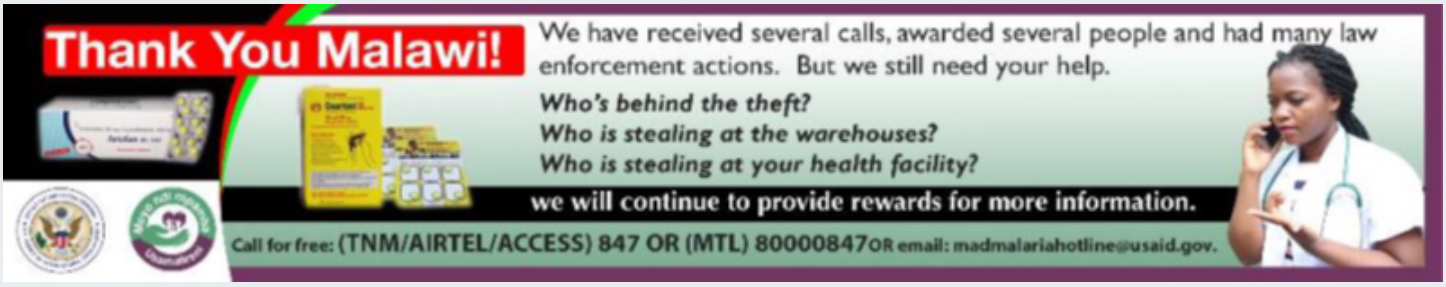
We include examples of FHI 360 efforts before we applied a full SBC approach to anti-corruption, many of which are SBCC/communication-focused rather than comprehensive SBC approaches.

The USAID/Malawi Health Communication for Life (HC4L) project, implemented by FHI 360 and partners, worked with the Health Education Section of Malawi's Ministry of Health and implementing partners to design and implement evidence-based and innovative SBCC activities focused in eight health and development areas.

As part of the project's mandate, HC4L worked to increase awareness of the human cost of misused and stolen public-sector health resources, or "zaboma zilibe mwini," and improve citizens' trust in and understanding of available channels through which to demand accountability. To inform the development of evidence-based SBCC interventions and measure their impact, HC4L conducted a formative-research KAP (Knowledge, Attitudes and Practies) study on misuse of public-sector health resources and existing reporting mechanisms for social accountability. The study found that, while most respondents identified corruption as a problem in Malawi, people did not know about or had limited confidence in available channels to report misuse of government health resources.

To address these identified issues, HC4L implemented various SBCC interventions nationally and more intensely within the 16 project districts. In collaboration with the U.S. Government's Office of the Inspector General and the Malawi Anti-Corruption Bureau, HC4L supported the development and implementation of the Make a Difference (MAD) campaign to motivate people to report cases of misuse of government resources in their communities by calling an anonymous, confidential, toll-free hotline. HC4L developed and published 25 newspaper strips in major Malawian newspapers. These materials disseminated and promoted the hotline and encouraged citizens to report cases of misuse of government resources. In addition, HC4L integrated messages on misuse of public-sector health resources and accountability mechanisms into community mobilization and interpersonal communication activities, as well as through social media engagement, discussions and placement of messages and reminders on the Moyo ndi Mpamba Facebook page about using the toll-free phone number to report cases of corruption or misused public-sector health resources.

Of the 91% of respondents who reported discussing, recommending or adopting a behavior promoted in Moyo ndi Mpamba messages (N=609), 9.4% reported discussing reporting and 7.4% reported reporting the misuse of government resources in the health sector (for example, drugs and mosquito nets).



One of 25 newspaper strips published in Malawian newspapers, promoting citizens to take action and report misuse of government resources. The messaging was carefully crafted and tested to emphasize that 'others' were already reporting corruption, which was leading to enforcement as well as personal reward.

USAID Strengthening Civil Society (SCS), Azerbaijan

Empowering Civil Society Organizations for Transparency (ECSOFT), 2018–24

ECSOFT supports civil society organizations (CSOs) and government of Azerbaijan (GoAz) agencies, enabling GoAz agencies to further improve their transparency and accountability by engaging with CSOs, using public councils as a forum for CSO, government and citizen engagement.

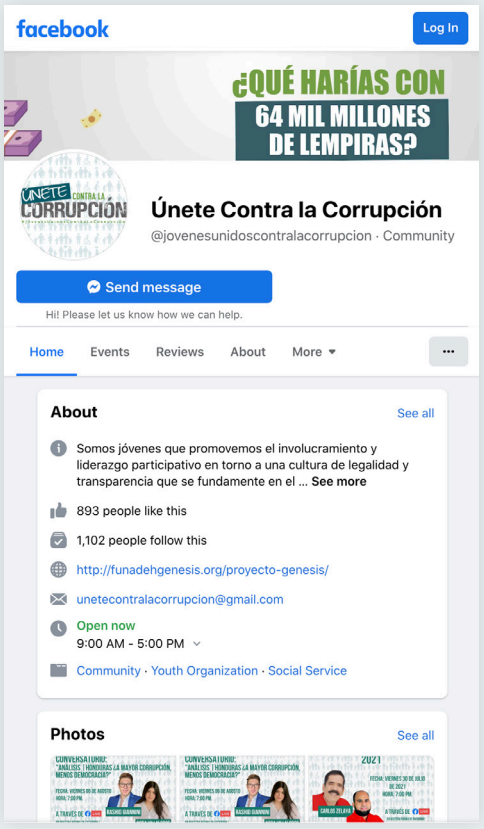
Anti-Corruption Information Campaign competition

In May 2021, ECSOFT announced a competition for concepts of posters and video clips with an anti-corruption message to be displayed on the streets of Baku and other regions of Azerbaijan, to raise public awareness of the importance of transparency and accountability of state bodies. The campaign was supported by the Anti-Corruption Commission of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Open Government Platform, and the Azerbaijani National Advertising Agency (SAA). Active young people, young journalists and nongovernmental organizations were invited to submit their ideas and win four awards of 1,000 manat (approximately US$588) each, in addition to their ideas being implemented in the public posters and video clips. The *call* had more than 3,694 views. The 26 entries were voted on by a panel of judges through a transparent online process. Four ideas were selected and subsequently produced by professional designers and film makers and shared via posters and video clips in Baku and regions of Azerbaijan by the SAA. Nine posters and videos were approved by USAID and the Anti-Corruption Commission and sent to print on June 30 of the same year. They were aired for one week in July, except for posters in northern regions, which were aired for the whole month. The SAA placed the posters in big advertising panels (3 m by 6 m) on the main roads to eight cities.

In addition, ECSOFT established an e-platform to allow citizens to report issues with public services; FHI 360 and its in-country partner, MG Consultant, worked with the government to address the complaints. The platform is focused on receiving information from citizens — including videos and photos — on issues of public concern, such as roads, infrastructure, or landscaping and facilitating government agencies to address those concerns.
In cases involving pipe leakage, non-transportation of household waste, road surface damage, fallen trees, open hatches and other problems, citizens reported issues to the e-oversight team via WhatsApp or through the website (www.enezaret.az), and the Youth Fund added the e-oversight platform to the GencApp mobile app for young people in Azerbaijan.

As a result of these activities, during the first three months of its operation, the e-oversight platform received 447 appeals from citizens, of which 180 related to the issues covered by the platform. Nearly half of these issues (55%) were communicated by WhatsApp (in comparison to 40%, which came directly from the webpage). Based on received appeals, ECSOFT sent more than 200 letters to state bodies. Thirteen government agencies emerged as exceedingly responsive in dealing with citizens' appeals, for which they received awards.

Civil Society and Media Activity



Unite Against Corruption! What would YOU do with 64 Million Lempira? ComunicAcción Ciudadana actively used social media like their Facebook platform to mobilize action.

(CSM) /ComunicAcción Ciudadana (Honduras) 2018–20

ComunicAcción Ciudadana promoted transparency and supported the fight against corruption through a range of activities—citizen mobilization and participation, the Honduras Digital Challenge, e-governance initiatives, institutional reforms and instruments, and capacity building—to investigate corruption-related topics and disseminate the results of those investigations. Efforts included developing trusting relationships among grantees from both civil society and alternative media sectors and, where possible, catalyzing collaboration and collective action. Despite nascent efforts by civil society and government institutions to reduce corruption,

including participation in the Plan of the Alliance for Prosperity of the Northern Triangle (A4P) and Open Government Partnership, significant barriers remained, especially in light of the 2017 election and its aftermath.

Among the main challenges identified were the following:

- Social fragmentation and political polarization.
- Distrust and suspicion that affect collective action efforts
- Few and inefficient spaces for citizen dialogue.
- Threats to the security of activists and human rights defenders.
- Exclusion and violence, including gender-based violence, against marginalized groups.

In Honduras, FHI 360's ComunicAcción Ciudadana team developed a communications campaign promoting necessary precautions (for example, the use of gloves and masks) and the transparency of the Honduran government's COVID-19 related expenditures. The campaign is known as "Manos limpias" or "Clean hands" (a clever double meaning in this context).

These challenges highlighted the need to address citizen apathy, especially among young people, and to increase citizens' interest in being informed and taking a proactive stance toward corruption.

The Manos Limpias campaign was launched in April 2020 via Facebook and Twitter to respond to the public health crisis caused by COVID-19 in Honduras, with a focus on transparency and accountability. Grantees and other organizations within *ComunicAcción Ciudadana's* network were also involved in diffusing the messages and posts from the ManosLimpias campaign.

The social media campaign consisted of two major objectives: to inform Honduran citizens about the allocation of emergency funds to effectively address the COVID-19 pandemic and to generate citizen interest in holding the government accountable and demanding that the allocated funds were used transparently.

The Manos Limpias campaign (see graphic at lower left) was very well received on Facebook and Twitter and was successful because it was circulating new and current information related to the COVID-19 pandemic with a fresh and straight forward design that was appealing to users of all ages. Nine infographics were developed for the campaign, which allowed the team to interact directly with users and followers across the country and the diaspora located around the world. There was a 55% level of interaction between users and the posts in April 2020, and that number climbed to 152% by May 2020. (Level of interaction reflects the percent of those who accessed the posts and who then performed some type of interaction: like/share/comment. Over the course of a month (April 30–May 27), the activity's posts reached 1,946 users, which represented a 262% increase, and were shared and liked 420 times.

The Únete Contra la Corrupción youth campaign launched in June 2020 was the result of a successful co-creation process between two activities funded by USAID-, ComunicAcción Ciudadana and GENESIS, and in consultation with local youth groups. The objective of the campaign was to engage Honduran youth in creating a culture of legality and transparency in the country. It involved a series of weekly social media posts presenting hashtags, infographics, calls to action and Facebook Live conversations with popular youth influencers that were highly involved in advocating for social change and anti-corruption work. Honduran youth were engaged in the strategic design, messaging and promotion of the campaign from start to finish to ensure that they felt ownership over the content.

The collaborative design process proved to be a significant success: initially, both ComunicAcción Ciudadana and GENESIS expected to reach a total of 10,000 youth with the campaign messaging and virtual activities, but they ultimately reached 58,897 users in one month with the active participation of the youth. A Facebook page created for the purpose of disseminating campaign messages was initially administered by CSM and GENESIS; later, the page was transferred to the youth group Una Sola Voz por Honduras, which continues to maintain the site with over 5,900 followers. **www.facebook.com/jovenesunido**

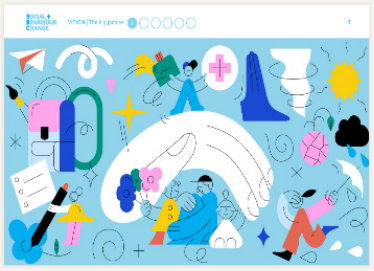
ANNEX A

Social and behavior change resources

General social and behavior change guidance, some through a governance lens

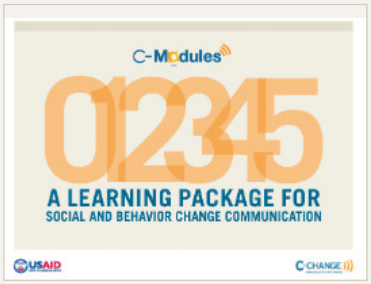
Social and Behavior Change in Democracy, Human Rights and Governance: A USAID Primer
This primer from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) on SBC approaches integrating findings from the SBC literature in public health and international development, for readily accessible, systematic use by DRG professionals. *Includes links to conducting formative research and identifying behavioral determinants.*

Improving Development Outcomes Through Social and Behavior Change Communication Applying a Government Lens
This analytical study in social and behavior change communication (SBCC) responds to the USAID Africa Bureau's interest in identifying and examining best practices in SBCC efforts by African governments.



New and extensive programming guidance on social and behavior change developed by UNICEF, "as an interconnected web of resources, including framing documents, guidance notes, tools and how-tos," organized under four categories: Vision, Understand, Create and Do. Includes links to conducting formative research and identifying behavioral determinants, among others. Available through a website and downloadable as a pdf.

Everybody Wants to Belong, a practical guide to tackling and leveraging social norms in behavior change programming, developed by UNICEF.



"C-Modules: A Learning Package for Social and Behavior Change Communication | FHI 360", a six-module learning package for facilitated, face-to-face workshops on SBCC. Designed for communication practitioners in small- and medium-sized development organizations, the C-Modules contain downloadable documents, including a practitioner's handbook for each module, a facilitator's guide for each module, an overall facilitator's preparation guide, and additional resources. 1) Practitioner's Handbook for each module, 2) Facilitator's Guide for each module along with an overall Facilitator's Preparation, and 3) Additional Resources.

The Compass is a curated collection of SBC resources. The collection offers the highest quality how-to tools and packages of materials from SBC projects. The collection offers the highest quality "how-to" tools and packages of materials from SBC projects. Each item in the Compass is vetted to ensure it was developed via a strategic process and had documented success in the field.

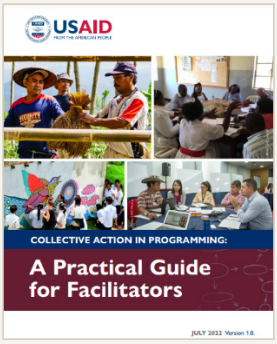
Think BIG-Behavior Integration Guidance, developed by the Manoff Group, helps organizations integrate behaviors into their programming to make the best use of available resources and achieve rapid results. Think BIG is a behavior-centered process for reaching development goals.

Collective action and social cohesion resources

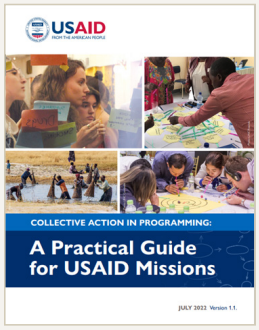
SCALE+ is a systems methodology to accelerate broad stakeholder engagement in sustained collaborative action to address myriad, complex development issues. SCALE+ offers a process for approaching development challenges from multidisciplinary perspectives and with stakeholders from multiple sectors, helping build social cohesion and social capital, specifically by strengthening bonds within sectors and linkages across sectors to develop and act on a common action agenda.

USAID Dekleptification Guide: Seizing Windows of Opportunity to Dismantle Kleptocracy This guidance is a resource for USAID staff working in countries trapped in severe

corruption. It also aims to set the agenda for the broader community of donors, implementing partners, scholars and other experts focused on countering kleptocracy and strategic corruption. This is one component of a suite of policy and programmatic **products** that the U.S. Government Anti-Corruption Task Force is developing to elevate anti-corruption at USAID and advance the implementation of the U.S. Strategy on Countering Corruption.

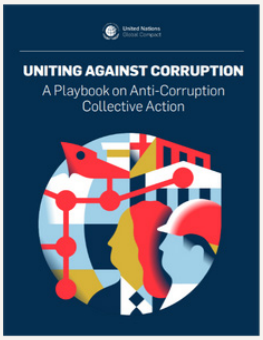


USAID's Learning Lab webpage on collective action in USAID programming- has links to multiple resources, including Collective Action in Programming: A Practical Guide for Facilitators, designed for host-country implementing partner organizations that play a role in planning, supporting and implementing collective action efforts funded by USAID, as well as international implementing partners (IPs) who participate in or provide support to collective impact efforts with local IPs. The guide is divided into 10 modules and includes practical guidance, tips, recommendations and examples to assist with effective planning, implementing and managing collective action.



In addition, ***USAID's practical guide for missions*** provides guidance for USAID mission-based project and activity design teams and USAID/Washington staff who support them on collective action in USAID programming."

A Practical Guide for Collective Action Against Corruption. This 2015 guide includes modules that cover theoretical concepts, practical recommendations for undertaking collective action (CA) initiatives and multiple in-depth case studies of CA projects around the world."



Uniting Against Corruption: A Playbook on Anti-Corruption Collective Action. This 2021 guide provides a six-step approach on how to develop, implement and sustain a CA, designed for users to incorporate their local corruption landscape and potential stakeholders."

Collective Action on Corruption in Nigeria: A Social Norms Approach to Connecting Society and Institutions. This 2017 case study examines the influence of social norms on corrupt behavior in Nigeria and proposes policy approaches to overcome such effects.

Behavioral insights

The ***Behavioral Insights Toolkit,*** developed by the U.S. Internal Revenue Service (IRS), describes the field of Behavioral Insights (BI), its potential benefits, and specifically how BI can be practically applied to serve taxpayers and help the IRS achieve its mission. It highlights examples of opportunity areas where BI have been applied both internally at the IRS and around the world."

Tools and Ethics for Applied Behavioural Insights: The BASIC Toolkit BI are lessons derived from the behavioral and social sciences, including decision-making, psychology, cognitive science, neuroscience, and organizational and group behavior. Public bodies around the world are increasingly using BI to design and implement better public policies based on evidence of the actual behavior and biases of citizens and businesses. This 2019 toolkit provides practitioners and policymakers with a step-by-step process for analyzing a policy problem, building strategies and developing behaviorally informed interventions."

ANNEX B

Recommendations for SBCC approaches that foster trust in government

This summary is copied directly from the USAID Improving Development Outcomes Through Social and Behavior Change Communication: Applying a Government Lens1 document, which highlights SBCC "best practices" that hold the potential of helping to **restore trust and/or reinforce trust between system actors and improve and sustain social and behavior change outcomes.** (The list is copied directly from the citation below but was reordered and edited for length and emphasis.)

Cultivating Local Leadership through Community-based Planning: Community participation in planning and exercising leadership promotes self-efficacy and the confidence to adopt new behaviors. Key to this planning is the provision of "crystal-clear" direction. If someone is involved in planning the steps, e.g., a local community leader, the direction tends to be clearer. It is vital that SBCC activities focus on working with these community leaders, their social networks, and larger communities in identifying the steps that will lead to the desired results.

Building upon Existing Values and Social Norms: When a message that advocates for broad SBC draws upon existing social norms and values in communities, it is easier for communities and individuals to trust the message and the messenger and then to adopt new behaviors and practices.

Learning from the Community through Formative Research: The community participation principle also applies to the formative research carried in the form of a dialogue to help design SBCC interventions. The researcher listens to community members to identify and build on existing positive behaviors. The next step is to identify existing values, beliefs, and social norms that can often be used to advance the adoption of desired behaviors, and to encourage communities to identify barriers to change and ways to overcome them.

Promoting Community Participation in SBCC Intervention and Service Delivery: When system actors—elected officials, appointed officials, service providers, etc.—work collaboratively or achieve shared leadership with a community, this can lead to better SBCC results and cost-effective, sustained transformations.

Capitalizing on Existing Networks: SBCC studies caution against viewing behavior as essentially individual, or within households analyzed as discrete units (intra-household). That is because this may unduly constrain one's ability to understand behavior as collective and shaped through inter-household influence at the community or local level. Influencing behavior change within existing social networks often means having insiders within these social networks—people who are trusted—buy into a proposed behavior as well as promote and model it. Such insiders may be early adopters of the proposed behaviors, faith leaders, and/or positive deviants who have spontaneously practiced the desired behaviors.

Branding the Messages: In creating a national brand for a SBCC intervention, campaign designers seek to foster a nationwide identification with the effort to achieve behavior change goals. A branding exercise helps to reinforce the essential SBCC activities undertaken at the community level and keeps communication partners and other advocates of behavior change "on message."

Assuring Visibility of Government's Role in SBCC Campaigns with an International Dimension: If SBCC efforts are part of an international campaign, it is important that the role of local government be visible. It cannot be assumed that communities will either diligently espouse global goals or necessarily oppose them; as a result it is important to ensure that the development of trust in an intervention resonates at all levels of the intervention. This includes visible buy-ins by system actors as well as local communities.

Using Community Monitoring of Public Service Provision: A community participatory approach to monitoring has led to significant behavioral changes that improve educational and health outcomes,

1) Pirio G. Improving development outcomes through social and behavior change communication: applying a governance lens [Internet]. USAID. Available from: https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PAOOTG2X.pdf.

and active community monitoring/oversight improves the quality of service delivery. Further, it can also create conditions for improving citizen trust in government and enhancing the legitimacy of the state and its actors.

Deploying Culturally Appropriate Communication Formats: The use of culturally appropriate motifs and methods can enhance the effectiveness of government-led SBCC efforts. In African countries, culturally centered communication approaches often include storytelling, puppetry, proverbs, visual art, drama, role play, concerts, gong beating, dirges, songs, drumming, and dancing, many of which have been effectively deployed in HIV/AIDS SBCC interventions.

Extending Culturally Effective Formats to the Broadcast Media: The use of traditional mass media (radio and TV) for the scale-up of behavior change in Africa has been ubiquitous. The literature shows that the general principles of community participation (using interactive formats such as call-in shows, interviews, and panel discussions) may have greater impact than unidirectional messaging, in part because of the cultural resonance of these interactive formats. When system actors participate in interactive media formats, this creates an opportunity for the listening public to hold these actors accountable for performances. Further, the use of dialogue in communication establishes a relationship capable of enhancing trust, particularly if the on-air personalities listen and express empathy and concern.

Optimizing the Use of Community-Based Media: Local radio stations, whether community, religious, or commercial, typically have a strong impact on audiences because community members normally perceive a local station as their own, thus increasing trust and giving credibility to the messages.

Leveraging the Power of Praise: Praising individuals and communities for adopting new behaviors and practices that lead to positive results can increase overall impact. This can be seen, for instance, in clinic workers praising mothers for the nutritional practices that lead to infant growth and weight increases. Community members themselves can acknowledge their accomplishments and praise each other, for example, for having adopted new farming methods that have led to greater nutritional yields.

Promoting Empathetic/Effective Interpersonal Communication: Top-down, unilateral messaging from system actors—public officials, health officials, etc.—are often ineffective, and in crisis this type of communication can easily backfire. When system actors express empathy, concern, and compassion, the effectiveness of their communication is improved.

Engaging the Private Sector: Public health SBCC campaigns have at times mobilized the private sector to obtain support for activities. Companies are often motivated to promote SBCC activities in communities where they have investments, but they can also be encouraged to promote these activities on a national scale. Both small and large businesses have been important contributors to the fight against infectious disease, irrespective of whether they work independently or partner with international organizations, national governments, or non-governmental organizations.

Deploying Schools as Vehicles for SBCC: Schools are proven potent vehicles for SBCC among students and with the community at large. Numerous health interventions attest to this, including Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene (WASH); HIV/AIDS; and malaria prevention. School systems can also be harnessed for conflict prevention and resolution as well as peacebuilding. Investments in school-based SBCC interventions may hold some potential for countering violent extremism and recruitment by armed groups.

Promoting Community Empowerment in Post-Conflict Settings: Community capacity building in post-conflict settings is critical to improving SBCC interventions and outcomes, helping to restore trust in system actors. The weakness of these community-based participatory systems can be viewed as part of the unfinished business of the post-conflict reconstruction effort.

Promoting a Sense of Self-Efficacy: Change comes about when people feel that they can accomplish and sustain it. Placing them at the center of the planning, implementation, and evaluation of new practices contributes to the development of a sense of collective and self-efficacy. From a sense of personal and collective empowerment, a relationship of trust can more easily be established with system actors.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