

Youth as Agents of Change in Anti-Corruption: A Cloak for a Neo-Liberal Agenda?

- A Critical Discourse Analysis of the World Bank and Transparency International's Framing of Youth in the Anti-Corruption Discourse -



Source: Walter F. Osejo Morales, 2nd price at Nicaragua drawing contest, 2004 (TI, 2004)

Stinne Hjulmann and Stine Vejborg Andersen

Cand.Merc.Int - Business and Development Studies
Spring 2011



**Copenhagen
Business School**
HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

Taps: 225.493
Supervisor: Hans Krause Hansen

Centre for Business and Development Studies
Copenhagen Business School
Porcelænshaven 18B, 1st floor
2000 Frederiksberg
Denmark
Phone +45 3815 3210
Fax +45 3815 3840
cbds@cbs.dk
www.cbs.dk/cbds

Contents

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Research question	3
1.2	Reading guide	5
2	Literature Review	7
2.1	Corruption and anti-corruption	8
2.2	Actors in anti-corruption	12
2.2.1	International organisations	13
2.2.2	Government	14
2.2.3	Anti-corruption agencies	15
2.2.4	Non-governmental organisations	15
2.2.5	The private sector	16
2.2.6	The media	17
2.2.7	Professions - accountants	17
2.2.8	Gender	18
3	Methodology	21
3.1	Philosophy of science	21
3.2	Research strategy	22
3.3	Research method	24
3.3.1	Interview	25
3.3.2	E-mail interviews	26
3.4	Discourse analysis	28
3.5	Literary frame	32
3.5.1	Primary literature	33
3.5.2	Secondary literature	33
3.5.3	Official texts from TI and the WB	33
3.6	Limitations	33

4	The Case Organisations	35
4.1	The World Bank	36
4.2	Transparency International	39
5	The AC programmes targeting youth	43
5.1	Educational programmes	45
5.2	Integrity education	46
5.3	Civic education programmes	48
5.4	Communications technology and youth networks	50
5.5	Other initiatives	52
5.6	Sub-conclusion	55
6	Critical Discourse Analysis	57
6.1	Discourse practice	57
6.1.1	Annual reports	58
6.1.2	Working papers, programme papers and reports	59
6.1.3	Website text	60
6.2	Text analysis	61
6.2.1	Construction of youth	61
6.2.2	Education	72
6.2.3	Citizenship	78
6.2.4	Communications technologies	81
6.2.5	Sub-conclusion text analysis	86
6.3	Social practice	87
6.3.1	AC within a development agenda	88
6.3.2	Youth in other social processes	90
6.3.3	A critical discussion of the construction of youth in AC	93
6.3.4	Sub-conclusion social practice	108
7	Conclusion	111
	Bibliography	114
	Appendices	129
A	Executive Summary	129
B	Interview TI Secretariat	131
B.1	Interview guide	131
B.2	Transcript of interview with Georg Neumann and Samantha Grant	133

C	E-mail interviews	151
C.1	Example of an email interview, for TI national chapters	151
C.2	Transcript of e-mail interviews	152
C.2.1	Transparencia por Colombia - 16.12.2010	152
C.2.2	TI Georgia - 09.12.2010	153
C.2.3	TI India - 08.02.2011	153
C.2.4	Lebanese Transparency Association (LTA) - 12.01.2011	154
C.2.5	TI Madagascar - 23.02.2011	156
C.2.6	TI Moldova - 19.01.2011	157
C.2.7	Ocasa - 13.12.2010	159
C.2.8	TI Uganda - 07.12.2010	160
C.2.9	Transparencia Venezuela - 02.02.2011	161
D	Skype interview Transparencia Mexicana	163
D.1	Interview guide	163
D.2	Transcript of interview with Eduardo Bohórquez	164

List of Abbreviations

AC	Anti-corruption
ACAs	Anti-corruption agencies
BPI	Bribe Payers Index
CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
CSR	Corporate social responsibility
GYAC	Global Anti-Corruption Network of the World Bank
IACC	International Anti-Corruption Conference
ICAC	The Independent Commission Against Corruption
ICSID	International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes
IDA	International Development Association
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IFIs	International financial institutions
IMF	The International Monetary Fund
IOs	International organisations
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
LTA	Lebanese Transparency Association
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals

MIGA	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
NGOs	Non-governmental organisations
NIS	National Integrity System
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development
TI	Transparency International
UN	United Nations
WB	World Bank
WPAY	The World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond
WYMD	World Youth Movement for Development

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The past decades have witnessed an increase in the focus on fighting corruption and it is increasingly recognised that corruption hinders development, both economic and social (de Sousa, Larmour and Hindess, 2009). Hardly anyone will admit to favour corruption. Despite some academics writing that corruption can 'grease the wheels' by circumventing cumbersome bureaucracy, the consensus is that corruption is something that countries need to combat (Bukovansky, 2006). Corruption is especially present in developing countries, but by no means only - corruption occurs in all types of countries, but on varying levels. In developing countries, corruption occurs both at the grand level, due to the particularly weak social institutions, and also at the petty level, with teachers and health practitioners demanding payment for free public services being prime examples (Larmour, 2007). Today, the issue of corruption is viewed as one of the main problems facing transition economies and developing countries (Bukovansky, 2006).

The increased focus on corruption has birthed a wave of anti-corruption (AC) programmes by international organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) worldwide. Transparency International (TI), the leading NGO in the

area of corruption, has added to building momentum for the AC movement (de Sousa, Larmour and Hindess, 2009). Other prominent organisations that have addressed corruption and AC include the United Nations (UN), the World Bank (WB), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These supranational institutions increasingly shape the field of AC, and create and affect the general discourse on AC (Bukovansky, 2006). A number of actors are emphasised as important participants in the AC field; among these, government, the private sector, accountants, and the media. Recently, the focus in AC has moved from mainly emphasising systems and minimizing the opportunities and incentives for corruption, towards a greater focus on people and values (Larmour, 2007). It is recognised that AC programmes should move beyond enhancing transparency and accountability in state institutions, and aim at a more long-term social foundation anchored in the social empowerment of citizens (Johnston, 1998). The move towards a people-centred approach in AC is referred to as a paradigm shift by the International Anti-Corruption Conference (IACC) (IACC, 2010a). Within this development, it seems a particular focus is developing on youth as an actor in AC. This was a topic that received great focus during the 14th IACC in November 2010.

"It is widely recognized that young people are more fragile and easily influenced. Thus they are also, both directly and indirectly, more vulnerable victims of corruption. This is especially so when corruption exists in the education system.

However, young people are also those who have the most potential to initiate change. For these reasons the international anti-corruption movement is increasingly working on understanding youth integrity, and raising awareness amongst, mobilizing and empowering youth as [game-changers] in the fight against corruption" (IACC, 2010b).

This developing focus on youth in AC represents an interesting issue of growing relevance that is visible in the work of TI and the WB. Both institutions have received criticism for promoting an underlying agenda of neo-liberal reform in their work on AC; hence, we question whether the emphasis of youth as an actor in AC is a continuation of this agenda. We view this as an interesting issue in need of illumination. Consequently, in this thesis we take a critical

stance towards why youth are increasingly being emphasised as an actor of change on the AC agenda. We seek to uncover why this focus has occurred and what motivations lie behind incorporating youth in AC. The focus on youth in AC is quite novel and is an area that has yet to be researched by academics. Hence, no literature exists on this link between AC and youth. Thereby, we view this topic as important and relevant, as we examine a topic that is yet unexplored.

1.1 Research question

We take our point of departure in two international institutions: TI and the WB. We undertake a critical discourse analysis of the youth discourse within the realm of AC from these two organisations in order to discover the motivations for focusing on youth in AC. Hence, this thesis contributes to the AC field with a critical analytic understanding of the increasing focus on youth in AC.

This leads us to the following research question:

Why are youth increasingly emphasised as agents of change in the anti-corruption discourse?

To guide our research we have the following sub questions:

1. *What is the focus of the AC programmes that target youth?*

We attend to this question by outlining the AC programmes that target youth. This is of importance because the focus areas of these programmes help us develop the themes that we centre our critical discourse analysis around.

2. *How are youth framed in the AC discourse?*

This question guides the text analysis in the critical discourse analysis and helps us answer the research question, by examining how youth are constructed in the AC discourse and how youth are framed in relation to

the various themes. Furthermore, it shows what role youth is ascribed in the AC discourse.

3. *How are youth framed in other social processes?*

By outlining and discussing the youth emphasis in other social processes, we examine whether the emphasis on youth in the AC discourse parallels how youth are viewed in these other social processes. This aids us in uncovering the underlying agenda of how youth are constructed in the AC discourse.

1.2 Reading guide

Chapter 1 Introduction gave an introduction to the topic under study and explained why it is a topic of relevance and interest. The chapter also presented the research question and the sub-questions.

Chapter 2 Literature Review provides an overview of the literature that is already published on the topics of corruption and AC. It outlines the current actors in the AC field and illustrates how the study of youth in AC is still an unexplored topic in the academic world.

Chapter 3 Methodology outlines the methodological considerations that establish the foundations of the research. It explains and argues for the choice of philosophy of science, the research strategy, the methods utilized for data collection and the critical discourse analysis model.

Chapter 4 The Case Organisations introduces the cases we examine in this thesis. We give a historical overview of the development of the two organisations and outline some of the main notions and approaches fundamental to the work of the two organisations. Also, issues of controversy and criticism of the two organisations are presented.

Chapter 5 The AC Programmes Targeting Youth provides a presentation of the AC programmes of the World Bank and Transparency International that focus on youth. We do this to map out the focus on youth in the two organisations and to examine what the programmes entail. In this chapter we reach the themes around which we base our discourse analysis.

Chapter 6 Critical Discourse Analysis is where we carry out the critical discourse analysis. We examine the discourse through a text analysis and draw on various theories to discuss the findings in relation to the social practice of the discourse.

Chapter 7 Conclusion concludes upon the findings of this study, and answers the research question.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

In this literature review we make an account of what has already been published on the topic of AC by other researchers. We draw on some of this literature in the analysis of this thesis. Throughout the literature review, we examine the existing literature and identify disagreement in the literature, and at the same time we look for gaps in order to justify why our research is of importance. Essentially, we seek to document that our research question is still a topic to be explored in this academic field. First, we explore how scholars define and describe corruption and subsequently AC, and we outline how there is still some controversy as to whether corruption is harmful or whether it can also have a positive effect in society. Next, we investigate what actors the AC literature has focused on. We do this because much of the literature on AC that we have consulted is built around a certain actor and its role in AC, examples being NGOs and the private sector. This reveals that youth as actors in the AC literature is still an unexplored topic in the academic world.

2.1 Corruption and anti-corruption

Corruption is a social problem that has affected countries for centuries. Larmour (2007) proposes that corruption can be seen as bad in at least two ways: as a violation of official rules and public responsibility, and as detrimental in its consequences. According to Sara Bracking (2007: ix) *"there is now unanimity that corruption is detrimental to the interests of society in general, and the poor in particular, and its eradication has become the *cris de Coeur* of a number of multinational and intergovernmental organizations."* However, it is only 20 years ago that bribing of foreign officials was considered perfectly acceptable - and in many states tax deductible! (Bukovansky, 2006). This gave birth to the US Foreign Corrupt Practices Act of 1977 that prohibited US companies from bribing foreign public officials (ibid.). Today, the consensus seems to be that corruption is an obvious evil and a hindrance to development. AC efforts are viewed as committed to fighting an obvious evil, as de Sousa, Larmour and Hindess (2009: xix) write: *"being against corruption is a bit like favouring sunshine over rain."*

Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan declared that corruption has an array of corrosive effects on societies: *"it [corruption] undermines democracy and the rule of law, leads to violations of human rights, distorts markets, erodes the quality of life and allows organized crime, terrorism and other threats to human security to flourish"* (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2004: iii). Kofi Annan further asserts that corruption hurts the poor disproportionately, and is a major obstacle to poverty alleviation and development. In line with this, Bukovansky (2006: 1) argues that *"the corruption issue has catapulted from the margins of academic and policy discourse to a position as one of the central problems facing transition economies and the developing world today."*

The global AC focus was fostered by the signing of various international conventions, the emergence of a number of transnational actors (de Sousa, Larmour and Hindess, 2009), as well as the leak of corruption in many countries, resulting in an increased awareness of the phenomenon (Leiken 1996-97 in Quah, 2006). Since the mid 1990s, the issue of corruption has achieved a prominent place on the global agenda (Quah, 2006; Larmour, 2007; Schmidt, 2007; Heineman and Heimann, 2006). Sarah Bracking (2007: 3) notes that the AC campaign, in a

fifteen-year period, has produced *"an industry of consultants, organisations, and technologies bounded in the discourse of combat and high moral velocity."* As a consequence of this increased global corruption focus, 'anti-corruption' became the buzzword of the 1990s (de Sousa, Larmour and Hindess, 2009; Bukovansky, 2006). The notion of AC entered international debates, framing corruption as a major global problem demanding a collected international effort (Schmidt, 2007). For example, in 1996, the former president of the WB, Mr. Wolfensohn, warned of the need to deal with what he referred to as the *"cancer of corruption"* (Norad, 2008: 14).

In continuation of this, it is evident that the notion of AC is a fairly new one and is still in a process of value change where standards defining what is and what is not acceptable are constantly being questioned, challenged and revisited (de Sousa, Larmour and Hindess, 2009). De Sousa (2002, in de Sousa et al., 2009: 7) rather broadly describes AC as an *"ensemble of actors, initiatives, measures, and instruments"* that seeks to combat corruption. However, no explicit definition of AC exists in the academic literature that we have consulted; nevertheless, definitions of corruption are plentiful. Hence, AC is defined as an opposition to corruption; in other words, fighting what the term corruption entails. The most commonly used definition of corruption is the one presented by the WB: *"The abuse of public office for private gain"* (World Bank, 1997). This definition is similar to the one put forward by the United Nations Development Programme: *"The misuse of public power, office or authority for private benefit - through bribery, extortion, influence peddling, nepotism, fraud, speed money or embezzlement"* (UNDP, 2004: 2). Although these definitions are widely used they have the weakness of limiting corruption to the public sphere. The definition used by TI, on the other hand, also includes private sector corruption: *"The misuse of entrusted power for private gain"* (TI, 2010c). Most development organizations apply one of the above definitions or ones similar to them (Norad, 2008). In this thesis it is not of relevance to adhere to a certain definition of corruption. Due to the nature of this study, the way corruption is defined will not have any influence on the outcomes of this research.

Due to the multifaceted nature of corruption and AC and the number of actors involved in AC efforts, there is no one solution to combating corruption. Various types of AC programmes are carried out worldwide; hence, how to reduce corruption *"is not clear at all although suggestions for fighting corruption abound"*

(Jain, 2001: 98). Nevertheless, Miller and colleagues (2005) identify two main types of AC programmes: reactive and preventive. The reactive system is one that steps in when a corrupt act has occurred. Miller et al. (2005: 128) argue that *"the rationale for the reactive response for dealing with corruption is threefold: offenders are held to account for their actions; offenders get their just deserts; and potential offenders are deterred from future offenses"*. The preventive system is essentially preventing corrupt behaviour. Preventive systems can be divided into three categories: promoting an environment in which integrity is rewarded; mechanisms that limit the opportunity for corrupt behaviour; and transparent mechanisms that act to expose corrupt acts (Miller et al, 2005). Johnston (1998) claims that AC programmes call for a more long-term social foundation, beyond enhancing transparency and accountability in state institutions. He argues that this can be obtained through the social empowerment of citizens, which involves strengthening the civil society to enable for economic and political participation. Widening citizens' political and economic resources and giving protection to their political activities can help reduce their vulnerability to exploitation, and enhance their ability to participate effectively in politics and to 'watch dog' politicians (ibid.). Despite the numerous suggestions to address the issue of corruption, many AC initiatives fail to achieve their objectives: *"For every high-profile success story, there are dozens of spectacular failures or efforts that would appear to be on the fast track to nowhere"* (Fritzen, 2006: 79).

Although corruption may appear as an uncontested issue, it is important to recognize that there can be grey areas, and that corruption may even be seen as a way to speed up some processes. Bukovansky (2006: 182) raises the question *"why has corruption moved from being a tacitly accepted, if unsavoury, part of international transactions, with many countries making bribes to foreign officials tax deductible, to being considered a primary villain for underdevelopment and a host of other ills?"* In fact, as Bukovansky argues, corruption can cut red tape and facilitate a more smooth operation of markets. Further, as Anderson and Heywood (2009) argue, the fact that corruption is harmful to society does not necessarily mean that the growing focus on AC strategies can only bring benefits. In fact, there may also be some drawbacks to this focus. One such unintended side effect is ineffective bureaucracy due to increased supervision introduced after each new corruption scandal (de Sousa, Larmour and Hindess, 2009). The 'dangers' of AC campaigns are especially evident in transi-

tion countries and non-democracies as they can hinder democracy development (Andersson and Heywood, 2009). For example, if AC initiatives are seen as being part of democratisation and corruption continues to thrive, scepticism towards democracy may develop (ibid.).

Other writers point towards another criticism of AC and stress that not all AC campaigns pursue entirely uncontroversial goals (Hindess, 2009). Today, the AC efforts of leading international organisations (IOs) seek to alter the existing institutions in corrupt countries, to allow for less government and thereby less opportunity for corrupt public officials to abuse their office (ibid.). This view joins nicely with the market-friendly notion that less government is better government (Bukovansky, 2006). As a consequence of this increased neo-liberal¹ agenda, Bukovansky (2006) argues that the AC rhetoric is in need of a moral foundation and that the current AC, in its developmental focus, indicates an extension of multilateral efforts to broaden and solidify the institutional foundations for a global market economy. Marquette (2007: 246) also asserts that morality has been taken out of the AC discourse: *"There is no sense of the moral complexity surrounding decisions to act corruptly or not: indeed, morality has been stripped away from much of the contemporary debate about corruption."* Indeed, Bukovansky (2006) argues that the rationalist approach to AC is a means to extend the neo-liberal doctrine and the focus on institutions and incentive structures is what is focused on in AC, including transparency, separation of powers, and government accountability, rather than dealing with the morality of doing what is right. The rationalist approach, she argues, allows the question of what is right to be evaded, because modernity and economic growth, as well as a governing structure that maximizes individual rights, are taken as given and unproblematic. This leads to the ethical issue of the liberal-rationalist approach to corruption, which externally imposes standards on societies that do not fully participate in defining those standards. Along this line, Marquette (2001: 404) argues that the WB has the agenda of promoting liberal democracy through its AC work: *"It would appear that the Bank, despite its non-political mandate, could be accused of de facto promotion of liberal democracy through its anti-corruption campaign."* Bukovansky (2006: 195) reaches the same conclusion: *"the anti-corruption consensus may be seen as an aspect of the broader*

¹The term neo-liberal is used to identify projects concerned to corporatize or privatize public sector institutions, to expand the sphere of competition and market-like interaction, and to promote the individual choice alongside or in place of public provision (Hindess, 2009).

governance agenda that has emerged within the IMF and the World Bank."

After having presented and discussed the literature concerned with AC efforts in general, we now turn to the various actors that are emphasised in the AC literature.

2.2 Actors in anti-corruption

The complexity of corruption has led the academic community to propose many different actors in the AC battle. Sampson (2005, in de Sousa, Larmour and Hindess, 2009) has described these actors - government and non-government - as 'integrity warriors'. The word 'integrity' points to a condition where there would be no corruption. Thus, the term 'integrity warriors' describes those who are struggling to end it (ibid.). This myriad of actors on the AC stage suggests that the fight against corruption essentially is a global one (Everett et al., 2007). Here, we outline the actors in AC as emphasized in the academic literature.

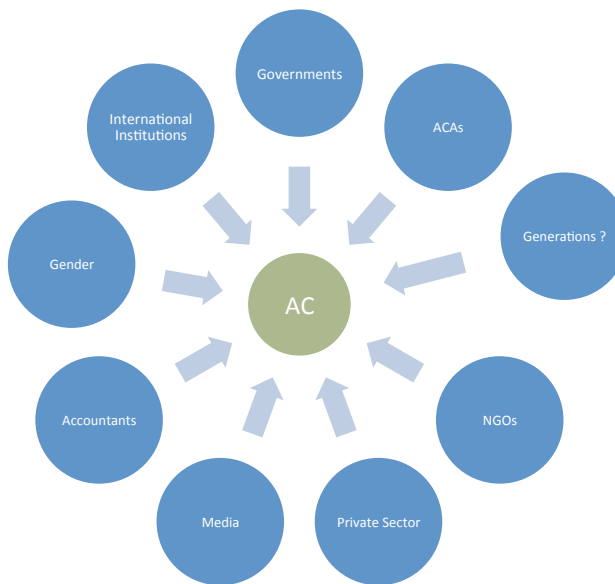


Figure 2.1: Actors in anti-corruption

2.2.1 International organisations

Prominent actors identified in the AC literature are international organisations (IOs), such as the WB, IMF, UN and OECD, who have been emphasised as some of the founding fathers of the international focus on AC (Bracking, 2007). According to Larmour (2007) the WB and the UN became more interested in fighting corruption because of the consequences corruption can have for development. Hindess (2005) and Thomas (1999) argue that there is a tendency to focus mainly on the public sector in the AC programmes of the IOs, which is also reflected in the definition of corruption proposed by the WB. In the literature concerning these institutions there has especially been a focus on the 'good governance' agenda that these organisations have had as a part of their AC programmes. Larmour (2007: 10) describes AC as a *"natural ally of democracy"* in relation to the international programmes of 'good governance'. De Sousa, Larmour and Hindess (2009: 14) furthermore put forward that *"the campaign against corruption is also a campaign for a particular view of 'good governance'"*, which according to the writers is a general trend in AC campaigns. Consequently, there is a strong link between the agenda of the IOs and the initiatives taken by governments. According to Miller et al. (2005), many IOs are reluctant to put money into countries with widespread corruption due to a concern that a portion of the funds will be diverted into the pockets of corrupt officials. Therefore, there is an increasing awareness by such international bodies that for aid to be effective, it is necessary to invest in targeted programs that enhance governance and capacity building to aid governments in fighting corruption (ibid.). Thus, for governments to attract aid they need to actively address the issue of corruption as demanded by IOs. This 'good governance' agenda has faced sharp criticism from various scholars. For example, the 'good governance' paradigm has been criticised for being *"straightjackets imposed from outside by powerful actors"* (Mény, 2009). Bukovansky (2006: 205) argues that, *"Technical prescriptions handed down by social scientists as though it were a cure to all that ails the 'developing world'"* is not the most effective way to address the issue of corruption. Furthermore, she stresses that the governance discourse is likely to remain ineffective without the *"active, committed, self-determining participation of the people toward whom the governance agenda is directed"* (Bukovansky, 2006: 204). In continuation of this, civil society is in fact frequently regarded as holding great potential in fighting corruption. This is because they know the

consequences of corruption better than distant experts, thus making them better capable of monitoring the problem (Everett et al., 2007). Hence, although there is a great focus on the state and governance, it is important not to forget the importance of including civil society on the AC agenda.

2.2.2 Government

Literature concerned with corruption and AC on the government level is plentiful (Bracking, 2007; Rose-Ackerman, 2008), emphasising weak political competition, underdeveloped civil society, insufficient public service integrity and ethics, and weak democratic structures as deficiencies associated with corruption (Bracking, 2007). Corruption tends to be understood in a neo-liberal, economistic anti-state paradigm, which views politics as a source for rents, so AC policy excessively depends on deregulation to reduce the opportunity for public officials to collect bribes, and privatisation - in other words, *"policy on corruption is thus deeply embedded within the wider constructions of global neoliberal governance"* (Bracking, 2007: 15). Targeting corruption at the state level is especially essential in countries emerging from civil war. According to Rose-Ackerman (2008: 1) *"although it may be risky and difficult to counter corruption in post-conflict peacebuilding, if the problem is allowed to fester, it can undermine other efforts to create a stable, well-functioning state with popular legitimacy."*

An issue of great importance on the AC agenda is upholding transparency in government institutions. Promoting transparency can be seen as a preventive measure for combating corruption (Miller, Roberts and Spence, 2005). According to Miller and colleagues (2005: 149), *"a fully functioning parliamentary system plays a central role in deterring public sector corruption, because public sector officials are required to go through a detailed and rigorous process in relation to their expenditure of public monies and their exercise of the powers vested in the public offices that they occupy"*. Transparency is essentially upheld through governing institutions, and thereby importance is, again, given to good governance.

2.2.3 Anti-corruption agencies

Other actors that have received attention in the AC literature are the Anti-Corruption Agencies (ACAs), which are increasingly being established around the world (Meagher, 2004). ACAs have one or more of three functions-investigation and enforcement; corruption prevention; and awareness and education. Those with all three functions are generally identified with the Hong Kong ICAC model (Doig, Watt and Williams, 2006). Doig (2009) points out that in many countries a police agency, or units within such an agency, has the responsibility of investigating corruption affairs. However, in other countries a distinct and specialised agency beyond the police is preferred. Particularly in transitional and developing countries, a new agency is often proposed because *"the police have traditionally not been trusted to deal with corruption"* (Doig, 2009: 66). In line with this, for ACAs to be effective, certain conditions need to be in place - among these, support from or independence from government (Doig et al., 2006).

Scholars especially mention the successes of Singapore and Hong Kong (Meagher, 2004). However, in their research on the Anti Corruption Commissions in Africa, Doig et al. (2005 in Larmour, 2007) question the usefulness of independent ACAs. This is because they can turn into being merely a symbol; for example, because governments can keep them weak by limiting their budget. The writers conclude that the agency is almost bound to fail because it has only limited resources and too much is expected of it (ibid.). De Sousa, Larmour and Hindess (2009: 9) claim that the efficacy of the ACAs is *"often curtailed by lack of collaboration from conventional enforcement agencies which often do not welcome the creation of such distinctive institutional creature with special powers"*.

2.2.4 Non-governmental organisations

Numerous NGOs are also actively involved in fighting corruption (Everett et al., 2007). The NGO most often referred to is TI, an NGO that focuses entirely on how to combat corruption. When TI was founded, it initially met resistance, but today its ideas are recognized by international organisations and aid donors, especially the WB and OECD (de Sousa, Larmour and Hindess,

2009). Bukovansky (2006) argues that when TI initiates local chapters devoted to address the problems of corruption, and in that way promote work at the grass-root level, they are more likely to be effective than are international institutions like the WB and the IMF because of the conditionality attached to the loans of such institutions. This is because the participation of the people is important to succeed (Bukovansky, 2006). Thus, she emphasises civil society as an important actor to include in AC. However, NGOs also face problems with legitimacy. Typically, NGOs receive a high level of public support; as de Sousa et al. (2009: xix) argue, *"they are often regarded as morally superior compared to governments, or even more so, industry."* Nevertheless, NGOs frequently receive donations from IOs, corporate donors, and national governments, and this may raise questions about their independence (de Sousa et al., 2009).

2.2.5 The private sector

The role of the private sector has recently been increasingly emphasised in the AC literature (Hansen, 2010; Rose-Ackerman, 2002; Miller et al, 2005). This can be seen in connection to the neo-liberal turn in AC, which gives a more prominent role to the market forces. Rose-Ackerman (2002) argues that there are two sides that engage in corruption (for example, bribers and bribe takers), but that the large multinational corporations have an ethical obligation to take the high road being key actors in the marketplace and in the societies where they invest. Further, the *"source of this obligation is the status of firms as legal persons operating at the suffrage of the state"* (Rose-Ackerman, 2002: 1904), or, as corporate citizens. Hansen (2010) also argues that there is a growing private actor engagement in AC, including the implementation of corporate AC policies, collective AC initiatives and new business opportunities with regards to the creation and dissemination of AC expertise and instruments. Further, he suggests that businesses have come to view corruption as a risk that should be managed: *"It is by understanding the rise of 'corruption risk' that we realize the growing importance of anti-corruption for non-state actors and the private sector in particular"* (Hansen, 2010: 8). Hansen links the discussion of risk to the concerns of businesses of making their ethical conduct visible and explicit. Here, the author argues that AC has become a part of the corporate social responsibility (CSR) wave. An example is the UN Global Compact of the year 2000, with its tenth

principle against corruption: *"Businesses should work against corruption in all its forms, including extortion and bribery"* (UN Global Compact, 2010). However, these voluntary initiatives have met harsh criticism. An example, is how CSR has been accused of *"greenwashing"* companies (Utting, 2003), thus CSR is by many seen as a rather superficial initiative. Miller and colleagues (2005) also express that there is a role for business in AC. They argue that the processes involved in corporate governance *"play a crucial role in controlling corruption"* (Miller et al, 2005: 143). Also essential in the discussion of AC and business is the issue of whistle blowing. As Miller and colleagues (2005) argue, the activity of whistle blowing is inextricably linked to corruption, as corruption typically provides the occasion and justification for whistle blowing.

2.2.6 The media

The literature on the media's role in AC argues that it has an important role to play in fighting corruption because it *"not only raises public awareness about corruption, its causes, consequences and possible remedies but also investigates and reports incidences of corruption"* (Stapenhurst, 2000). Here, Stapenhurst argues that an effective media is a critical element of a country's AC effort. Brunetti and Weder (2003) agree that a free press is essential and even claim that it is probably among the most effective tools when it comes to controlling bureaucratic corruption. This is because independent journalists have a *"strong incentive to investigate and uncover stories of wrongdoing"* (Brunetti and Weder, 2003). Thus, countries with a free press should have less corruption compared to countries where the press is censored and controlled. The authors support this proposition in an empirical analysis of a cross-section of countries and by evidence from time series.

2.2.7 Professions - accountants

Recently, there has been an increasing focus on accountants as professionals in the AC debate. Everett et al. (2007) discuss the role of accountants in the AC arena from two different viewpoints. The first viewpoint, the orthodox mentality, is seen in the discourse and research of the major AC organisations,

such as the WB, UN, IMF, OECD and TI. They perceive the role of accounting's involvement in the fight against corruption as virtually unproblematic. On the other hand, the radical mentality portrays the involvement of accountants with more ambivalence: both as a potential enabler, but also as a plausible constrainer of economic accountability. The writers argue that accounting might have a potentially ambivalent role in the development field and conclude that *"we hope to show that an anti-corruption program, as part of any larger development program, is never a fully virtuous one, and that it might in fact be riddled with vices"* (Everett et al., 2007: 537). This shows the complexity of AC and how actors can often have an ambivalent role.

2.2.8 Gender

The literature on corruption and AC has also touched upon the subject of gender (Goetz, 2007; Alhassan-Alolo, 2007; Alatas et al., 2006; Swamy et al., 2001; Dollar et al., 2001). Dollar, Fisman and Gatti (2001) propose the hypothesis that increased female participation leads to more honest government. The authors test this based on a study of the relationship between female participation in government and the perceived level of corruption in a sample of more than 100 countries. They find that *"at the country level, higher rates of female participation in government are associated with lower levels of corruption"* (Dollar et al., 2001: 427). Swamy and colleagues (2001) also put forward that women are less corrupt than men. They show, based on several independent data sets, that women are less likely to condone corruption and are less involved in corruption, and that countries that have a higher representation of women in government and market transactions show lower levels of corruption (ibid.). Goetz (2007) on the other hand, questions this idea that women are less corrupt than men. She suggests that *"there is a myth-in-the-making at the moment: that women tend to be less corrupt than men"* (Goetz, 2001: 1). Goetz argues that the new image of women as *"political cleaners"* (Goetz, 2001: 2) is based on assumptions, and criticises the work of Swamy et al. and Dollar et al. on the basis of the difficulty of measuring corruption. Further, Goetz argues that gender restricts access to political posts, and that this restriction may in fact promote corruption on behalf of women who wish to rise in status. Goetz also suggest that women have less opportunity to engage in corrupt actions, because they

have less access to networks for illicit activities, for instance through links to business, than men. Alhassan-Alolo (2007) also proposes that the argument that women are less corrupt, which is used to integrate women into the public sector, will not hold if corrupt opportunities and networks exist.

Having consulted the academic literature on corruption, and AC and outlined the main actors of focus within academics, we have not found any research in the mainstream academic literature on the role of generations in AC, and hence the role of youth. The AC literature has been concerned with other issues; in specific, there has been a great focus on the role of the state and IOs. We are aware that we may not have encountered all relevant literature on this topic, as there may be a researcher somewhere in the world who might have written something on the subject of AC and youth, but we have not come across it through our literature search on the web and through libraries. The gap in the research, that the lack of focus on youth in the AC literature represents, yields an opportunity for us to contribute to the AC discussion.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

Here, we outline the methodology of the thesis. First, to establish the foundations of the research, we discuss the philosophy of science position we take. Then, we lay out the research strategy. Subsequently, we describe the research method we utilise in order to collect data. Next, we outline the mode of analysis we employ and we describe the types of data we apply. Finally we outline the limitations of the research.

3.1 Philosophy of science

The epistemological position we take in this thesis is that of interpretivism. Interpretivism emphasises the understanding of human behaviour, rather than seeking to explain it, and is the term given to a contrasting epistemology to positivism (Bryman, 2004). We view social science as being fundamentally different from the natural science. Therefore, the study of the social world requires a different research approach from the natural. Studying social phenomena requires a logic that *"reflects the distinctiveness of humans as against the natural*

order" (Bryman, 2004, p. 13). Furthermore, interpretivism has its intellectual heritage in the hermeneutic tradition (Bryman, 2004). Hermeneutics is a term drawn from theology, which when applied to social science, is concerned with the theory and method of the interpretation of human action (Bryman, 2004). The objective is to obtain an understanding of the text, dialogue or action under examination and the medium is dialogue between the text and the researcher (Thagaard, 2004, in Kristensen, 2007). In this thesis, hermeneutics is employed as a basis for the analysis and interpretation of our interview data and in the discourse analysis.

We approach the research through the ontology of constructionism, which denotes that reality is not objective, but rather is socially constructed and given meaning by people (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson, 2008). Corruption is certainly a human construct, a concept that changes depending on where you are in the world. Constructionism asserts that social phenomena are developed through social interaction, and these phenomena are constantly changing. Also, constructionism takes into account the way we, as researchers, approach the research issue, emphasising that we affect the research through our own pre-conceptions of the world. We as researchers are not value free and unbiased. For example, our values affect our choice of research area and how we analyse the data and conclude on our findings. Central for social constructionism is the emphasis that social phenomena are not eternal and static, but rather have come into existence through historic and social processes (Rasborg, 2005).

3.2 Research strategy

We choose to employ the case study as our research design. A definition of the case study provided by Yin (2009) is: *"an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context"* (Yin, 2009: 18). According to Yin (2009) a case study is the preferred approach when examining contemporary events, but when the researcher cannot manipulate the relevant behaviours. Both of these apply to this project. We conduct a multiple case study, with our point of departure in two cases: Transparency International and the World Bank. Our initial idea was to base our study on several organisations, in order to map out the general trend of focusing on youth across the AC

industry. To do so, we decided to focus our attention on international players, as these set the international agenda on AC work. Therefore, we investigated whether there was a link made between youth and AC in TI, the WB, IMF and OECD. However, as we encountered no obvious link made between youth and AC by the IMF and OECD through a thorough exploration of their official websites, we chose not to include these in our study. In the case of TI, all of their work is connected to AC and they have numerous programmes that involve youth. For the WB we found various AC and governance programmes directed at youth.

We explore the focus on youth in the AC discourse and programmes of TI and the WB. As our literature review reveals, this is an area that has gained focus only recently, and therefore there is no academic literature to consult directly on the topic. Our thesis will hence be exploratory in nature. A definition of exploratory research is: *"Social science exploration is a broad-ranging, purposive, systematic, prearranged undertaking designed to maximize the discovery of generalizations leading to description and understanding of an area of social or psychological life"* (Vogt, 1999 cited in Stebbins, 2001: 3). Alan Bryman (2004: 23) argues that *"if a researcher is interested in a topic on which no or virtually no research has been done in the past, a more exploratory stance may be preferable and, in this connection, qualitative research may serve the researcher's needs better, since it is typically associated with the generation rather than the testing of theory"*. We are aware that as a research design, the case study cannot aid in obtaining broad, general data on the increasing focus on youth in the AC industry. According to Yin (2009) this is a general concern about case studies, namely that they provide little basis for scientific generalization. However, this is not the purpose of conducting a case study. The goal is not to make statistical generalizations; rather, by conducting a case study one can expand and generalise theories, also referred to as analytic generalisation (ibid.). Hence, by doing a case study, we can contribute to, and expand the knowledge of, this subject and make theoretical generalizations on why there is an increasing focus on youth in the AC industry. Following this, our thesis will be inductive, which is the process of moving from specific observation to broader generalization and theories (Bryman, 2004). Our inductive approach to the study fits well within the explorative strategy. As stated by Stebbins (2001: 8): *"Exploration and inductive reasoning are important in science in part because deductive logic alone can never uncover new ideas and observations."*

This thesis applies a qualitative research strategy. According to Stebbins (2001) exploratory studies are predominantly qualitative. Qualitative research usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data (Bryman, 2004). Further, qualitative research emphasizes an inductive approach to the relation between theory and research, has an emphasis on the ways in which individuals interpret their social world, and finally, views social reality as a constantly changing property influenced by individuals. As is evident from this, the qualitative research strategy suits the constructionist view with which we approach the research. We use qualitative data to understand the research area, both through a thorough consultation of the literature and through semi-structured interviews, as well as e-mail interviews, with individuals who have experience with AC and youth.

To ensure quality in research Yin (2009) proposes four tests: construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability. Construct validity involves identifying accurate operational measures for the concepts being studied (*ibid.*). Here, we use multiple sources of evidence in our data collection, conducting numerous interviews and using documents as basis for the discourse analysis. Internal validity, which seeks to establish a causal relationship as distinguished from spurious relationships, is for explanatory or causal studies only; hence, this is not applicable to this study. External validity is concerned with the problem of whether a study's findings can be generalised beyond the immediate case study. In a case study analytic generalisation, as opposed to statistical generalisation, is possible, which is what we strive towards, as outlined above. Reliability deals with the issue of replication of the case study. To ensure this, we document the procedures we follow in this study to reach our conclusions. However, as LeCompte and Goetz (in Bryman, 2004) note, replication of qualitative research is a difficult criterion to meet since social settings and the circumstances of a study cannot be 'frozen' to make it replicable.

3.3 Research method

Here, we outline the research method. In this thesis, we employ the qualitative interview and email interviews as data collection methods. We use the interviews to supplement the discourse analysis by using the answers we obtain to critically

view the findings of the text analysis.

3.3.1 Interview

We conduct an interview with TI in order to gain insight into TI's general interest in involving youth in AC. We contacted the secretariat at TI via email to inquire into the possibility of an interview. We were given the chance to interview Georg Neumann, a senior communications officer, and Samantha Grant, the Asia programme director. Mr Neumann joined the Online Communications Group at TI in June 2005 and is responsible for internal communications and for coordinating TI's social media strategy (TI, 2010g). Ms Grant, who joined TI in June 2008, has valuable insight into the youth dimension of TI's work, as many of the Asian national chapters have worked with youth. We interviewed Mr Neumann and Ms Grant together in Berlin for one hour. Interviewing both respondents together worked quite well, as the respondents complimented each other well, and elaborated further on each other's points (see appendix B).

We conducted a qualitative, semi-structured interview (see appendix B.1 for interview guide). According to Kvale (1996: 27) *"technically, the qualitative research interview is semi-structured: It is neither an open conversation nor a highly structured questionnaire."* Semi-structured interviews give way to a number of advantages: They have the advantage that one can expect the interviewee's viewpoints to be more clearly expressed than in a standardized interview or questionnaire (Flick, 2006); the interviews can give a higher degree of confidentiality between the interviewer and the interviewee, as the replies tend to be more personal in nature (Easterby-Smith and Thorpe, 2008); the semi-structured set-up allows us to ask clarifying questions throughout the interview; and finally, they are advantageous to avoid bias, because the interviewers to a smaller degree impose their own points of view on the interviewees (ibid.).

The qualitative interview is in line with social constructionism, as we recognise that we as interviewers affect the interviewee and vice versa. We as researchers affect the knowledge that is constructed, as we introduce the topic of the research and critically follow up on our interviewees' answers in the interview situation. Further, the narrative structure of the interviews is an exchange of viewpoints

and meanings, which is up to us to interpret and understand.

Regarding ethical considerations, we asked to record the interview and got the respondents consent. The respondents were also aware that the interview would be used in a thesis that will be published at the Copenhagen Business School, and here we were also given their consent. Kvale (1996) emphasises informed consent as being one of the major ethical considerations in an interview situation. Both respondents urged us to contact them via e-mail if we had any further questions or need for clarification in our further work on the thesis, signalling trust and mutual interest between our respondents and us.

3.3.2 E-mail interviews

If we had the opportunity, we would have preferred to conduct face-to-face interviews with the TI national chapters and the WB. However, as this is not possible, due to time and resource constrictions, we employ e-mail interviews to obtain further empirical data (see appendix C).

Conducting e-mail interviews yields a number of advantages: It allows us to have multiple respondents around the globe with low administration costs; there is no need for geographical proximity between interviewer and respondent; the electronic data require no additional transcription (Selwyn and Robson, 1998); e-mail interviewing reduces the issue of interviewer effect, whether this is a result of visual or non-verbal cues; and finally, the e-mail interview has the advantage that the respondent can answer when it is appropriate and no mutually convenient time has to be arranged for the interview to happen (Bampton and Cowton, 2002).

However, there are also drawbacks when interviewing per e-mail. The respondent might take too long to reply to the e-mail. In this case, we sent several reminders. Further, the respondent is not as committed to answering the questions if the interviewer does not sit right in front of him/her. Therefore, the answers may not be as complete or as rich in description. Another limitation of the e-mail interview is the fact that the increased spread of the electronic communication leads to 'information overload' (Selwyn and Robson, 1998) and therefore research via e-mail may run the risk of becoming marginalised as a

form of junk mail. When we still did not hear from the respondents after having sent a reminder, we called them to make sure they had received the e-mail and that it had not ended up in their spam inbox. However, sometimes it is simply extremely difficult to make people respond to e-mails, however genuine the researcher is (Selwyn and Robson, 1998). To minimize these possible obstacles when interviewing per e-mail, we kept the e-mail short and precise so not to scare away the respondents, especially as we had made no prior agreement to send the questions. As Bampton and Cowton (2002) state, too many questions might appear daunting and thereby discourage the respondent from replying.

Organisation	Answer
TI Bangladesh	No
TI Brazil	No
TI China	No
TI Fiji	No
TI Georgia	Yes
TI India	Yes
TI Korea	No
Lebanese Transparency Association	Yes
TI Madagascar	Yes
Transparency Maldives	No
Transparencia Mexicana	Yes
TI Moldova	Yes
Ocasa - Transparencia por Colombia	Yes
TI Pakistan	No
TI Papua New Guinea	No
TI Russia	No
Transparency Solomon Islands	No
TI Sri Lanka	No
Transparency Thailand	No
TI Uganda	Yes
Transparencia Venezuela	Yes
World Bank Institute	No
Youthink - World Bank	No
TI Zambia	No
TI Zimbabwe	No
Response percentage	36%

Table 3.1: E-mail interviews - response rate.

We sent e-mails to 25 respondents and we received answers from 9. Thus, the final response percentage was 36 percent (see table 3.1). We examined the TI websites for descriptions of youth projects, and contacted the relevant chapters presented here. Further, we chose respondents based on the TI Tool Kit 'Teaching Integrity to Youth' and the TI Annual Report 2009, in which several youth initiatives are described. We also examined the WB website, and contacted the relevant departments.

We choose to focus only on developing and emerging countries, as corruption is more widespread and affects youth in a more explicit manner. Further, the majority of the AC programmes that involve youth are carried out in these countries. When we contacted Transparencia por Colombia, they referred us to the organisation Ocasá, which was born from Transparencia por Colombia. Therefore, we perceive Ocasá as representing the youth focus of Transparencia por Colombia.

Transparencia Mexicana replied that they would prefer to answer the questions via videoconference. Consequently, we arranged a meeting via Skype with executive director Eduardo Bohórquez. We conducted a semi-structured interview, asking the same questions as in the e-mail interview. However, we were able to elaborate further on some questions and therefore the feedback from TI Mexico is undoubtedly more detailed than from the other chapters (see appendix D).

3.4 Discourse analysis

To examine whether and why youth increasingly are seen as agents of change on the AC agenda, we apply Fairclough's critical discourse analysis to examine the language utilised in documents from TI and the WB. We do this to analyse how the language employed to speak about youth underpins the motivations for focusing on youth in AC. Discourse analysis is essentially a hermeneutic process, as we seek to interpret the way youth are constructed through the discourse.

Here, we attend to the definition of discourse. Discourse is a concept that has been given various definitions, formulated from different theoretical and disciplinary standpoints. Discourse in linguistics, for example, mainly refers to

spoken dialogue as opposed to written texts. In this sense, text analysis and discourse analysis do not share the traditional limitation of linguistic analysis to sentences or grammatical units, but focus rather on higher-level organisational properties of dialogue or of written text, for example the structure of a crime report in a newspaper (Fairclough, 1992). Normally, however, discourse is used in linguistics to denote extended samples of either spoken or written language. This sense of discourse highlights interaction between speaker and addressee or between writer and reader, and hence the processes of producing and interpreting speech and writing (*ibid.*). Also, discourse is used to denote different types of language used in different kinds of social situation; for example, 'newspaper discourse' or 'classroom discourse' (*ibid.*). On the other hand, discourse is also widely used in social theory and analysis, where it refers to various ways of organising fields of knowledge and social practice. Discourses in this sense do more than just reflect or represent social entities; rather, they construct or constitute them (*ibid.*).

Fairclough combines the social-theoretical sense of 'discourse' with the text-and-interaction sense in linguistically oriented discourse analysis. His concept of discourse analysis is hence three dimensional (see figure 3.1). Any instance of discourse is simultaneously seen as a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice (Fairclough, 1992). The 'text' dimension deals with analysis of text. The 'discursive practice' dimension identifies the nature of the processes of text production and interpretation. This relates to the 'text-and-interaction' view of discourse analysis, which emphasises interaction between speaker and addressee or between writer and reader, and hence the processes of producing and interpreting speech and writing (*ibid.*). The 'social practice' dimension addresses issues of concern in social analysis, such as the institutional and organisational circumstances of the discourse and how this shapes the nature of the discursive practice, as well as the constructive effects of discourse (*ibid.*). Central to Fairclough's approach is that discourse is an important mode of social practice, which both reproduces and transforms knowledge, identities and social relations, among these power relations, and is simultaneously shaped by other social practices and structures (Jørgensen and Philips, 1999).

A point of criticism of Fairclough's methodology is the way discourse practice is analysed (Jørgensen and Philips, 1999). When analysing the discourse prac-

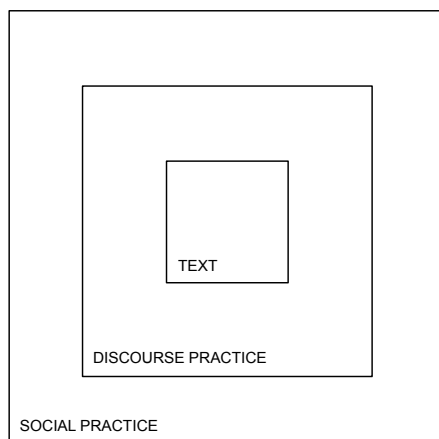


Figure 3.1: Fairclough's three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis. Adapted from Jørgensen and Philips, 1999

tice, one is interested in how the text is produced and consumed. However, analysing this would require sociological analysis of how texts are produced and interpreted. For example, one could obtain a sociological impression of the circumstances for the production of a newspaper to uncover what links the text goes through and what changes occur in each link. On the consumer side, one could do a reception analysis to find out how the consumers interpret the text. However, very few discourse analysts do this (*ibid.*). Since we also cannot sociologically uncover the way the text is produced and consumed, we assess how the text types can affect the text production and consumption. Another point of criticism regards the boundary between the discursive and the non-discursive (*ibid.*). The boundary between the discourse analysis and the analysis of the social practice is not clarified. Fairclough provides no guidelines for how much social analysis is sufficient, or any indication of what types of sociological theory or cultural theory one can or should use (*ibid.*). We do not apply any wider theoretical framework in the analysis of social practice. Instead, we use literature that deals with various theories, which allows us to discuss the findings of the text analysis, and to examine the relation between the discourse and the social practice.

The way we carry out the discourse analysis is based on Fairclough's overall progression from (i) analysis of discourse practices; to (ii) analysis of texts; to

(iii) analysis of the social practice of which the discourse is a part (Fairclough, 1992). The process is a progression from interpretation to description and back to interpretation: from interpretation of the discourse practice, to description of the text, and finally to the interpretation of the text in the light of the social practice in which the discourse is rooted. Fairclough points out that these dimensions of analysis inevitably overlap in practice; for example, we are aware of the social practice the discourse is embedded in before we begin the text analysis. To organise the discourse analysis we centre it around various themes. We develop the themes by outlining what the AC programmes that target youth in TI and the WB are focused on. We use these as a point of departure for the text analysis and look for these themes when analysing the texts.

i. Discourse practice

The discourse practice is the process of production and consumption of text. The analysis of the discourse practice is not a central part of our analysis. Rather, it is fundamental to this study to examine how the social practice affects the discourse, since this is where we draw our conclusions. Furthermore, to carry out a thorough analysis of the discourse practice is not within the reach of this thesis, referring back to the criticism of Fairclough's method, and hence we do not focus on this part. Instead, we assess how the text types can affect the text production and consumption, also outlining the texts we analyse.

ii. Text analysis

In the text analysis we look for connections and underlying implications brought forward by the language use. We focus on how youth are constructed by examining identities and relations. For example, how youth are placed in relation to other actors, and whether youth are treated as a collective group or as individuals. We also focus on word meaning, with an emphasis on key words, to uncover the themes in the discourse. The keywords as we identify them in the quotes are made bold, so that it is clear what we focus on in the analysis of the discourse.

iii. Social practice

We examine the relation between the discourse and the social practice to uncover

why youth are increasingly emphasised as agents of change in AC. The social practice within which the discourse we analyse is embedded is AC. First, we outline the field of AC to map out the social structures that create the frame for the discourse. Next, we contextualise the focus on youth in AC to the wider focus on youth in other social processes. We do this to uncover whether the emphasis on youth in AC discourse parallels how youth are viewed in other social processes. Finally, we discuss the outcomes from the text analysis in relation to the wider social practice of AC, to understand how the social practice affects the discourse on youth and vice versa. To discuss the social practice and to uncover possible underlying agendas of why youth are gaining interest in AC discourse, we employ various theories found in the AC literature and beyond.

The strength of the critical discourse analysis approach is that we are able to analyse the forces that affect the discourse. Hence, we can examine the underlying notions to the framing of youth in the AC discourse. This implies that we reach our conclusions in the analysis of the social practice.

3.5 Literary frame

Here we provide a short overview of the literature we apply in the thesis. We choose to attend to the literature here, rather than outline it in the literature review. This is to avoid repetition. We do not outline the theories we use; rather, we introduce the arguments and apply them to our findings in the social practice chapter. This compliments the critical discourse analysis, as the social practice dimension is analysed through the use of multiple theories. In this thesis, the literature *"acts as a proxy for theory"* (Bryman, 2004: 7), which according to Bryman is often the case in an explorative study. Here, we can also refer back to the criticism of Fairclough's method, where it is pointed out that the use of theory in the analysis of social practice is not clear. Hence, we analyse the social practice according to the theories we see fit to shed light on the findings of the text analysis.

3.5.1 Primary literature

The primary literature is comprised of books and journal articles on the topics corruption, AC, youth, governance, citizenship and education. This literature is used to discuss the interface between the text analysis and the social practice and to uncover possible underlying agendas for the increasing focus on youth as agents of change. According to the themes of the critical discourse analysis, the literature we choose to employ express various opinions on these themes. Here, we use theory on citizenship and civic education. Further, we analyse the power of international organisations and NGOs by applying theory on government.

3.5.2 Secondary literature

The secondary literature comprises books and texts on methodological issues. The main works we draw from are Robert K. Yin's *Case Study Research* (2009), Alan Bryman's *Social Research Methods* (2004) and Norman Fairclough's *Discourse and Social Change* (1992).

3.5.3 Official texts from TI and the WB

For the discourse analysis, we draw upon official texts from TI and the WB. These include annual reports, working papers, programme descriptions and text from their websites. The texts are all found through the official websites of TI and the WB.

3.6 Limitations

The main analytic limitation to this thesis regards the analysis of discourse practice in the critical discourse analysis. A thorough analysis of the discourse practice is outside the reach of this study. The analysis of the social practice is the central part of this study, because this is where we find our conclusions.

Hence, we do not view the analysis of the discourse practice as able to contribute to the findings of this study.

Also, we limit ourselves from analysing the general discourse on youth from a wider selection of organizations, and focus only on TI and the WB. This also has the implication that our focus is international, rather than nationally rooted. Thus, we do not examine nationality or culture in relation to AC. We do not analyse the specific national context of, for example, TI national chapters, to examine whether this affects this national chapter's focus on youth in AC. Further, we view the TI national chapters as representative of the entire TI institution. Hence, we do not take into account how the national chapters define youth in their national contexts.

Further, our study is entirely qualitative; hence, we do not make use of any quantitative data. For example, we do not seek to evaluate on the impact the youth focus in AC yields. Also, we do not examine the results of the programmes that target youth, how many young people have taken part, or what impact the programmes have had. Hence, we do not seek to examine how youth themselves engage in AC or how they contribute to this agenda. Rather, we examine the perspective of TI and the WB, and investigate why these organisations increasingly focus on youth.

The way we carry out the critical discourse analysis implies that we do not analyse the general discourse on youth. We only examine how youth is seen in relation to AC. Hence, the critical discourse analysis is extremely focused. Also, we have a time limitation in this study. We do not examine how youth has been the focus of earlier processes. We take a contemporary look at the AC industry and how youth has increasingly become a focus in this industry since the beginning of the new millennium.

Finally, as we also note in the outline of the interview method, we are not able to obtain wide interview data. It would have been advantageous to obtain more interview data, especially with the WB as well, since this could have added new insights in connection to the text analysis.

CHAPTER 4

The Case Organisations

This chapter provides an introduction to the organisations we examine: the World Bank (WB) and Transparency International (TI). This is essential in order to set the context for the discourse analysis. Further, since these institutions are significant components of the wider social practice of the discourse, it is of great importance to understand the nature of these institutions and the notions their work revolve around. Essentially, it is these organisations that create the discourse on youth, which we analyse. We present the history of the organisations, the institutional set-up, their field of work and main notions that the work of the institutions revolve around.

4.1 The World Bank

The WB was founded in 1944 as part of the Bretton Woods Institutions¹. The original mission was to facilitate post-war reconstruction and development, but it has evolved to the present day mandate of worldwide poverty alleviation (WB, 2011c). The Bank has expanded from a single institution to a group of five development institutions: the WB, the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID) (ibid.). The WB's mission is *"to help developing countries and their people reach the goals by working with our partners to alleviate poverty"* (ibid.). To reach their mission, the WB works with six strategic themes that drive their efforts: The Poorest Countries; Post-conflict and Fragile States; Middle-Income Countries; Global Public Goods; The Arab World; and, Knowledge and Learning (ibid.).

The WB is organized as a cooperative, where its 187 member countries are shareholders. The shareholders are represented by a Board of Governors, who are the ultimate policy makers at the WB (WB, 2011f). The governors meet once a year at the Annual Meetings of the Boards of Governors of the World Bank Group and the IMF. Since the governors only meet annually, specific duties are delegated to 25 executive directors, who work on-site at the Bank. The five largest shareholders, France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States each appoint an executive director, while the remaining member countries are represented by 20 executive directors (WB, 2011f).

The WB is not without controversy, especially with regards to the criticism it has received for promoting neo-liberalism through its lending, and this has been addressed extensively (Marquette, 2001; Castro, 2002; Taylor, 1997). A critical voice is provided by Taylor (1997) who asserts that two-thirds of the countries in the world lack full control over their own economic policy, because 'experts'

¹The Bretton Woods Institutions are the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These were founded at a meeting of 43 countries in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA in July 1944. Their objective was to help rebuild the devastated post-war economy and to promote international economic cooperation. The original Bretton Woods agreement also included plans for an International Trade Organisation (ITO) but these remained undeveloped until the World Trade Organisation (WTO) was created in the early 1990s (Bretton Woods Project, 2007).

managed by industrial country nationals, the WB and the IMF regulate their macroeconomics, investment projects and their social spending. According to Taylor, the principles that guide this management are known as the Washington Consensus, which developed between the international institutions in Washington in the 1980s. It merged IMF macroeconomic stabilisation policies with the WB's supply-side economics ideas, along with the British eagerness to privatise public enterprises (ibid.). For the WB, the consensus involved removing price 'distortions', such as artificially high wages, liberalisation of foreign trade, the cutting back of barriers to external capital flows, and deregulation of the home financial market. Taylor argues that this liberalisation and reduction of state intervention did not have the intended effects, and in many cases resulted in rising unemployment, financial instability, and increased corruption (ibid.).

The WB has moved from the Washington Consensus towards a greater focus on 'good governance'. The governance agenda challenges the conceptual foundations of the Washington Consensus in a number of ways (Santiso, 2001). One of the important dimensions of good governance is the recognition that politics matter for development. This suggests that sustaining development requires reforming not only the policies but also the institutional framework in which these policies are devised. According to Santiso (2001: 15), *"It has become apparent that effective democratic institutions are urgently needed to complement macroeconomic policy changes, provide safety nets and assuage the adverse social consequences of structural adjustment programs."* This is a rather significant leap from the Bank's previous focus on less government intervention. However, as Santiso (2001) notes, the approaches used to strengthen good governance in developing countries remain noticeably similar to those used to promote economic reform, namely aid conditionality, which involves conditioning aid on a number of prerequisites and promises of reform.

The WB is required by its Articles of Agreement to take a non-political stance on lending issues, which forbids it to support one particular system through its activities (Marquette, 2001). For example, Article III, section 5 (b) states that *"The Bank shall make arrangements to ensure that the proceeds of any loan are used only for the purposes for which the loan was granted, with due attention to considerations of economy and efficiency and without regard to political or other non-economic influences or considerations"* (WB, 2011c). Nevertheless, Castro (2002: 391), a former employee at the Bank, stresses that the WB is strug-

gling with its mandate to remain non-political: *"Of course, it would be naïve to imagine that it is possible to have an institution operating in such central and delicate areas without an ideology. Neutrality or agnosticism are not options. To have any meaning, policies have to accept or deny such all-encompassing concepts such as free markets, private property and public intervention. Therefore, implicitly or explicitly, banks do have their own ideology"*. However, he believes that this is an integral part of being a development bank, and that it does not necessarily cloud the work of the Bank. He goes on to argue that *"banks cannot impose much on countries, they are quite powerless to force countries to do what they don't want (or are unable to accomplish) and they are chronically weak at the implementation stage"* (Castro, 2002: 399). Castro identifies the conditionalities imposed by the Bank as being the source of contention; however, he argues that having no conditions to loans is worse, as this could lead to projects being funded that could never reach their objective.

The WB started to work on governance and AC in the early 1990s (Weaver, 2008). This new focus was not spontaneous, but was pushed for by donor states, who after the Cold War ended no longer avoided these inherently political areas of development aid (ibid.). Within the WB, *"the foremost barrier to translating governance and anticorruption from rhetoric into action was internal opposition to the potential breach of the Bank's apolitical mandate"* (Weaver, 2008: 93). Owing to this, the governance and anti-corruption (GAC) discourse that emerged in the Bank in the 1990s was driven by an economic theoretical framework that lacked the recognition of the workings of the state and the political environments of the donor states (Weaver, 2008). Former WB president James Wolfesohn also had a part to play in the development of a corruption agenda in the WB (Bukovansky, 2006). After his appointment in 1995, he worked closely with TI to formulate an AC strategy. According to Bukovansky (2006) the Bank's focus on AC has intensified in recent years. This can be seen on the WB's website, where they identify corruption as one of the greatest obstacles to economic and social development (WB, 2011d).

4.2 Transparency International

TI was founded in 1993 by a group of people seeking to raise awareness of, and diminish tolerance of, corruption, while at the same time implementing practical actions to address it (TI, 2010a). The international NGO was born out of a wish to create an AC structure independent of the constraints of an intergovernmental framework, namely the WB (Galtung and Pope, 1999). The frontrunner in TI's conception was Peter Eigen, former regional director for East Africa, who retired from the Bank to pursue his dream of establishing an AC network. Eigen retired owing to the Bank's unwillingness to change from within, which was due to its belief that to tackle corruption would interfere with the Bank's charter to abstain from political interference (ibid.). Many of Eigen's friends and colleagues joined him, and they formed a working group that met regularly in 1991-1992. By the end of 1992, a significant group of supporters formed the initial board of directors and advisory council of TI. TI has since grown into a prominent player in the AC industry: *"Although the global anticorruption movement is wider than TI, this INGO has gained an indisputable recognition and reputation as the most prominent 'corruption fighter' at the global level* (de Sousa 2005: 1). TI has gained acceptance by, and cooperation with, the IMF and the WB insofar as they have worked closely with TI to develop good governance policies (Bukovansky, 2006). According to Bukovansky (2006: 190) *"the ties between Transparency International and the World Bank are very close."*

TI is a global network including more than 90 locally established national chapters. These bodies fight corruption in their national contexts in a number of ways. The chapters assemble relevant players from government, civil society, business and the media to promote transparency in elections, in public administration, in procurement and in business (TI, 2011a). The national chapters decide what programs they wish to carry out. The TI secretariat's role in relation to the national chapters is to support, organize and aid the chapters in sharing best practices (Neumann, TI Interview). Also, Ms. Grant (TI Interview) points out that in the Asian department they are helping the national chapters to develop a regional strategy. However, the TI secretariat mainly has the role of facilitator (Grant, TI Interview). According to de Sousa (2005), despite TI's apparent unified outlook, the degree of consensus over the policy

salience of corruption is not always harmonious across all the national chapters. In other words, the chapters have different concerns in spite of a global agenda against corruption to which they are required to adhere as constituents of TI. This, according to de Sousa (2009: 187) has given rise to tensions between the secretariat in Berlin and the national chapters, and *"NCs have gradually looked at the Secretariat in Berlin (TI-S) as a head office trying to dictate approaches to them."*

TI addresses the roots of corruption as well as its symptoms by following a systemic approach based on a National Integrity System (NIS) model. This model is the central approach to much of TI's work. The model provides a holistic view of the institutions, policies and practices that work together to prevent corruption in society (TI, 2011a). The concept of the NIS approach can be visualised through the 'Integrity Wheel' (see figure 4.1).

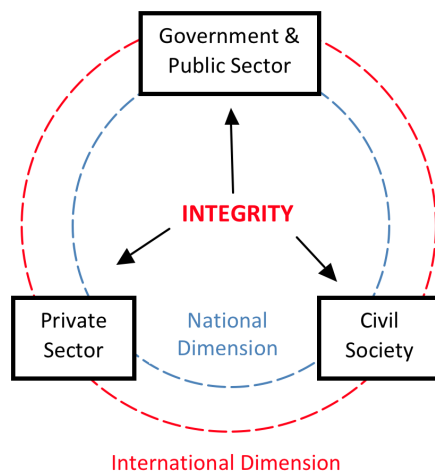


Figure 4.1: TI's 'Integrity Wheel'. Adapted from Transparency International, 2011a

Hindess (2009: 31) compares the NIS with the good governance programme of the WB: *"The World Bank's 'good-governance' programme and TI's NIS address a similar task in the broader governmental arena: suggesting a Western institutional structure for the state, noting that such a state nevertheless has important limits, and insisting on the role of civil society and the private sec-*

tor in the overall government of society." Furthermore, he argues that, on the international level, having neo-liberal reform on the agenda is not only limited to the WB and other Western-dominated inter-governmental organisations. It also relies on organisations such as TI, although they have no coercive powers of their own, but instead operate through suggestion and example (Hindess, 2009).

TI's major contribution to the fight against corruption is its published indices. The primary index is the annual Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI). The CPI ranks countries by perceived levels of corruption among public officials. Another contribution is the Bribe Payers Index (BPI), which was first published in 1999. This examines the supply side of corruption by ranking the leading exporting countries according to their businesses' propensity to bribe when doing business abroad. The Global Corruption Barometer is a survey that evaluates the general public's attitudes towards, and experience of, corruption in countries around the world, in order to collect the knowledge necessary for designing AC measures. The CPI has been criticised on a number of levels (Brown and Cloke, 2004). First, the CPI is based on the observations of a narrow group of respondents, primarily international and regional business elites and sometimes very few per country, rather than detailed independent research. Second, it has tended to focus upon the public sector and, hence, upon the people who accept bribes, rather than on the actions of the corporations who do most of the bribery (ibid.). However, with the publication of the BPI this point of criticism has been addressed.

Another point of criticism is that TI is too focused on curbing corruption at all costs, which *"ignores . . . the negative implications that some anti-corruption measures have"* (de Sousa, 2009: 198). Furthermore, TI has been criticised for its close cooperation with the private sector, especially in relation to funding: *"By not ensuring the arm's length distance from decision-makers and the corporate world, TI and its NCs compromise their independence, mission, and objectives. Although some chapters have put in place a balanced and sustainable system of financing, most depend on one source of donations which leaves their independence and integrity in peril, and with considerable risk to TI's image and reputation"* (de Sousa, 2009: 203).

In November 2010, TI decided on their 2015 Strategy, which will guide the actions of the entire TI body from 2011-2015. The strategy identifies and promotes

common focus areas, while at the same time strengthening the diversity of the organisation (TI, 2010e). The strategy focuses on four main areas: people, institutions, laws and values. The overall goal is to *"engage with people more widely than ever before, broadening the base of the organisation to ensure commitments to stop corruption are translated into actions, enforcement and results. There will be a much greater emphasis on outreach to the general public and young people"* (TI, 2010f: 1).

CHAPTER 5

The AC programmes targeting youth

In this section we attend to our sub-question: What is the focus of the AC programmes that target youth? Here, we outline the AC programmes of the WB and TI that incorporate youth. We outline the programmes that target youth within the age range of 12-24 years old - the definition of youth provided by the WB (Herrera, 2006). This is to find out what the main focus areas of these programmes are, which subsequently helps us develop the themes that we centre the critical discourse analysis around. When outlining the programmes we simultaneously divide them up according to the overall goal of the specific programme. This way it is clear what main notions the programmes revolve around.

TI has been working with youth for more than the last ten years (Neumann, TI Interview), and from examining the programmes of the WB we can see that the Bank started to focus on youth in AC in the early 2000s. However, the focus on youth has increased over the last few years with new initiatives in both organisations, which can be seen from the outlining of the programmes.

Due to the organisational structure of TI, with national chapters in many countries, it has numerous programmes focusing on youth, where the WB does not have as many programmes. To demonstrate how youth is targeted in AC programmes, TI presents a 'Youth Engagement Continuum'. The model illustrates various approaches of engaging youth, which according to TI can lead to a positive impact on the community and/or organisational level on four sequential stages. According to the model, the main activities in TI involving youth are: Youth-adult partnerships and non-formal education within youth organisations to support youths' development in areas like ethics, integrity and transparency; educational courses on ethics to build and develop youth leadership and decision-making skills; political education and awareness to boost civic engagement of youth; and, activities engaging youth in mobilisation efforts and direct action to organise youth.

Youth Engagement Continuum				
Intervention→	Development →	Collective Empowerment →	Systemic Change→	
Youth Services Approach	Youth Development	Youth Leadership	Civic Engagement	Youth Organising
Programming focuses on treating and preventing corruption in the key areas affecting youth (education, employment, health, police, political parties, etc.)	Activities attempt to provide support and opportunities for youths' personal development in the areas of ethics, integrity and transparency. Work may be carried out through youth-adult partnerships and non-formal education within youth organisations.	Initiatives aim at building and developing youth leadership and decision-making skills, such as through educational courses on ethics that are part of mandatory school curriculum and non-formal education.	Work engages young people in political education, advocacy and awareness to create a collective identity among youth as agents of social change. Activities include service delivery monitoring, independent election oversight and participation in school boards.	Activities engage youth in mobilisation efforts and direct action, trying to involve youth as integral members and actors of governing bodies, such as through the creation of voluntary citizen corps to report corruption in their communities as well as organising campaigns against corrupt officials.

Figure 5.1: Youth Engagement Continuum. Source: TI, 2009b.

This model already gives an indication of what the AC programmes targeting

youth focus on in TI. However, this model does not give us any indication of whether some areas are of more importance than others in the programmes. Hence, we examine the array of AC programmes carried out in relation to youth in TI.

First of all, some TI chapters choose to make youth an integral part of all of their main programmes, thus no specific areas can be pointed out in their programmes targeting youth. Examples include TI Georgia that describes youth as a general target for their work (TI Georgia, E-mail Interview). Ocasá, an NGO descending from Transparencia por Colombia, is dedicated entirely to promoting youth integrity in Colombia, and Transparencia Mexicana also stress that even though they do not make it explicit in their documents, the majority of their projects take into account the youth segment (Transparencia Mexicana, Skype interview). Nevertheless, the majority of the AC programmes focusing on youth fall into certain categories, which is apparent from the examination of these programmes.

5.1 Educational programmes

The majority of the AC programmes targeting youth are focused on education. Especially, there seems to be a focus on integrity education and on instilling certain values and qualities in youth. Also, it appears that there is a certain focus on civic education. First, we outline the programmes focused on education and on instilling integrity in youth. Secondly, we examine the civic education programmes.

Programmes with a general focus on educating youth are: The 'Youth Against Corruption' programme, run by TI-Initiative Madagascar from 2006 to 2008 in universities, secondary schools and primary schools in the three major cities of Madagascar (TI 2011b; TI-Initiative Madagascar, E-mail interview), and the training of more than 150 law students on Palestine's legal framework for combating corruption run by the AMAN-Coalition for Integrity and Accountability (TI Palestine). In this programme, the students examined causes and different forms of corruption, the UN convention against Corruption, and made recommendations for combating corruption. Also, TI Palestine worked with 12 youth

institutions to raise awareness of the UN convention, and to help them develop their capacity to combat corruption (TI, 2008).

5.2 Integrity education

Programmes focusing on integrity education are many and thus it seems that instilling integrity in youth is a main objective in numerous AC programmes targeting youth.

An integral part of the Asia Pacific Regional Strategy 2008-2012 is the 'Youth Integrity Promotion Projects' (YIP). The aim of the project is to promote integrity in young people and to enable and inspire them to work against corruption. The project works at the sub-regional levels, and is headed by TI Korea, TI Vanuatu or Papua New Guinea, TI Bangladesh and TI Thailand/Malaysia. The projects include youth surveys, the development of integrity and AC learning materials, incentives and awards to enhance integrity among youth, and integrity summer camps in the various countries (TI, 2009c).

TI Korea has led the YIP programme by developing and producing the 'Youth Integrity Index Survey', which measures young people's attitudes towards integrity and corruption, in order to develop AC education tools and monitor policies targeting youth. Furthermore, for the sixth time, TI Korea held a Cambodia study tour in January 2010, where ten students visited Phnom Penh and Siem Reap to meet with Cambodian students. The activities of the study tour included workshops and discussions focusing on the linkages between poverty and corruption and the future of the world. Afterwards the students joined TI Korea's Youth Network, which operates various activities such as a youth integrity camps (TI, 2011c).

TI India also works with youth integrity and has been inspired by TI Korea's YIP programme. Especially, TI India is inspired by TI Korea's experience with the Youth Integrity Index (YII). To supplement the YII, TI India will follow up with other initiatives. These include youth camps, youth organisation in the AC field and development of AC education materials for youth in schools (TI India, 2008).

TI China fronts the 'National Universities Integrity Research and Education Society' to promote a culture of integrity in all universities and to develop Integrity Curriculum for students all over the country. As part of this programme, a student association on integrity was established at Beijing University in 2005, which was the first of its kind in China. The aim of the association is to promote AC research in Chinese universities, provide policy guidance and develop AC curricula. Currently, the society has 30 members (TI, 2011d).

TI Colombia is the initiator of an inter-university initiative called 'Working with Universities: the Cátedra Programme', which is supported by several higher education institutions. This programme supports the ethical formation of future professionals by providing pedagogical tools, and by bringing together leaders of public and private organisations, university academics and students (TI, 2004). Thereby, it *"advances reflection on the values and ethical challenges of contemporary organisations, with an emphasis on the construction of public good"* (TI, 2004: 17). The programme has been running since 2002 and works through the following four components: Inter-university plenaries, case analysis seminars, values in action workshops, and exchange of teachers' experiences in teaching ethics (TI, 2004).

TI Sri Lanka has run a programme for high school students across the country to increase anti-corruption awareness amongst youth. As part of the programme they held workshops where students were taught the fundamentals of AC and shared their views on integrity and how corruption affects their daily lives. Afterwards, the responses from the workshops were presented to the Ministry of Education, academics and human right activists to initiate a dialogue on youth integrity (TI, 2011e).

The TI national chapter in Lithuania has together with the Lithuanian Student Union Association worked to promote integrity among students throughout the country. In addition, it has helped to conduct a training seminar on integrity and accountability for student political leaders and has been hosting lectures in universities and high schools. Furthermore, the chapter has collaborated with other CSOs on youth projects, including the Civil Society Institute, the Centre for Modern Didactics, the RePublica Student Corporation, and Café Babel Lithuania (TI, 2009b).

Transparencia Venezuela runs a programme in schools focusing on integrity called 'Integridad Escolar'. The objectives of the project are to help youth develop the skills needed to be responsible and participatory citizens, to promote a greater understanding of the democratic principles, and for the students to acquire abilities that allow them to think on their own, reach their own conclusions and defend their point of views (Transparencia Venezuela, 2011).

5.3 Civic education programmes

Educating youth as citizens and raising civic engagement of youth also appear to be of significance in the AC programmes involving youth.

To raise civic engagement on the Maldives, Transparency Maldives developed a 'Civic Education Handbook' to explain concepts of democracy and governance in plain language. The handbook presents basic government, judicial and parliamentary structures, as well as international standards of governance and basic human and civil rights (TI, 2011f).

TI Papua New Guinea runs an annual 'Youth Democracy Camp' to target the future leaders of the country. For more than 10 days, 50 young people from 20 provinces around the country are gathered at this camp. As part of the activities, the participants organise their own mock republic and parliament, participate in intensive seminars on topics such as women in politics, human rights and HIV awareness. Also, they take part in various lectures, where speakers share their knowledge and insights. Earlier speakers include Ila Geno and Chronox Maenk, the country's current and former chief ombudsmen, and representatives from women's organisations (TI, 2011g).

Transparency Solomon Islands works for the implementation of civic education classes in secondary schools. As part of these efforts, they have held civic education workshops with curriculum development officers and social studies lecturers and created a civic education teacher's manual (TI, 2011e).

TI Fiji is taking part in the 'National Initiative on Civic Education' (NICE) programme. It is a project implemented by the UNDP in collaboration with various

CSOs on behalf of the Government of Fiji. The project runs for a period of three years from 2008-2011 and the overall aim of the project is to raise public awareness of the importance of good governance, democracy and constitutionalism (UN, 2009). Whereas most of the partners are targeting the general community, TI Fiji was given the task to focus entirely on youth. In TI Fiji's quarterly bulletin of 2010 they write: *"With youth being marginalized in the community, we felt that this would be a great opportunity to target youth in educating them about their civic rights and responsibilities in becoming effective and efficient citizens of this country"* (TI Fiji, 2010). As part of the programme, workshops were held across the country to encourage civic education in the educational system (ibid.). Furthermore, TI Fiji is in the process of establishing a youth membership category, which will be comprised of young representatives from various NGOs, government departments, provincial offices, and from communities across the country. Participants in the 'Youth Committee' will be trained by TI Fiji in TI's goals and principles, and in issues such as good governance, codes of conduct and ethics. Furthermore, some participants will be given the possibility to intern with the chapter, or become involved in awareness raising workshops (TI, 2011h).

The Lebanese Transparency Association (LTA) initiated their 'Youth Against Corruption Programme' in 2005 with a civic education project implemented in the southern part of Lebanon. LTA has implemented four other projects under the umbrella of this youth programme. Furthermore, they have integrated a general youth focus in its other programmes, though mainly the Democratization and Public Accountability Programme (Lebanese Transparency Association, e-mail interview).

TI Pakistan runs a 'Youth in Governance' programme where it establishes youth clubs in major educational institutions, set up web sites, undertake workshops and seminars and organise the third national anti-corruption convention. The programme is established to inform youth of *"the role they can play and equip them with technical and educational resources to become agents of transformation"* (TI Pakistan, 2011: 1) and it is hoped that youth hereby will become *"participating members of Civil Society"* (ibid.).

In Bangladesh, the national chapter has asked young people to serve as volunteers in their communities to control whether the local and national governments

are fulfilling the promises that they have made. More than 2.000 young people from 52 administrative units are part of volunteer groups that monitor whether corruption is affecting service delivery in hospitals and health clinics, schools, universities and public administration offices (TI, 2009b).

The 'Youth for Good Governance Learning Program', conducted in 2002-2003, was initiated by the WB and designed to engage youth in several selected countries in dialogue on governance and anti-corruption. The program brought students from various countries together to study important principles of political and economic organization and how those ideas relate to governance and AC strategies. The programme was split up in three phases: 1) a distance-learning course through videoconference and the Internet with participants from schools in eight different countries; 2) an Internet based course in collaboration with the World Links education programme¹; and 3) a social action component where the students who participated in phases one and two took part in community governance (WB, 2011a). The program stressed the important role young people can play in improving governance in their countries. Participants worked on developing locally relevant and realistic plans of action that would enable them to apply the knowledge and skills they acquired to their own society (WB, 2011a).

5.4 Communications technology and youth networks

There also seems to be a focus on communications technology in the AC programmes that target youth, and especially on the Internet, which is thought to create a platform for young people to voice their opinions. Also, there is a focus on creating youth networks for youth to share experiences on corruption and AC through the use of communications technology.

The World Bank Institute (WBI) has contributed to the AC effort by estab-

¹The World Links for Development Program managed by the World Bank works in 23 developing countries to establish school-based Internet learning centres with a focus on the introduction and integration of information and communications technology in the classroom, and for community development (WB, 2011a).

lishing a youth network with a specific focus on AC: the 'Global Youth Anti-Corruption Network' (GYAC). GYAC was initiated with the objective of connecting youth groups from around the world working to fight corruption, as well as facilitating and strengthening this network. The network aims to mobilize youth groups around AC using innovative approaches through which to inspire and engage them in the long term to fight corruption (WBI, 2010a). The programme was launched in January 2010 with a virtual event where WBI's Global Development Learning Network connected youth groups that work on promoting good governance with each other and young journalists around the world (ibid). The project combines face to face and interactive dialogue formats including web-based and videoconferencing tools to achieve the following objectives (WBI, 2010a: 1):

1. Identify a core group of young change makers in countries to share their experience in anti-corruption and serve as inspiration in a launching event;
2. Engage young journalists to develop their capacity in anti-corruption and raise greater awareness of the network's events;
3. Use a launching event as a springboard to establish a global youth network of potential leaders that meets annually and is nurtured by the expansion of country level initiatives to improve governance and fight against corruption;
4. Facilitate a social networking platform that is owned and self-managed by network members and that function as a resource centre on youth and anti-corruption. At the same time the platform would form the backbone of their non-hierarchical and informal network and would allow participants to engage on an ongoing basis;
5. Create an enabling environment for youth to tackle corruption, in which the youth themselves will set priorities to inform the follow-up activities of the network; vi. Harness ICT and music to support the participants' sustained engagement, raise awareness and increase their projects' reach;
6. Generate visibility by using music as an awareness raising and outreach tool and by linking the network meetings to the World Bank Group's Annual Meetings and WBI's Leadership in Fragile States events.

Another programme that is based on communications technologies is the WB's CivICTs: Technology and e-Governance Project that was carried out from April to June in 2003. This distance-learning event was an initiative that had the objective of promoting technology and e-governance in local communities through the designing of a social action websites. The goal was to help raise awareness on governance issues among high school students and to develop students' technology skills (WB, 2011b). This programme exposed young people, approximately 200 students aged 16-18, in several selected countries to discussions on governance, and it emphasised the important role that youth can play in improving the quality of governance in their communities. The overall goals of the project included stimulating dialogue on governance issues among youth, making public documents from local institutions available on the web and to the communities, unifying young people to be agents of transformation within their communities, and encouraging youth to participate in development. The programme was a continuation of the Youth for Good Governance project (ibid.).

The Youthink! Forum is a website - launched in 2004 - that was created by young people at the WB as a response to questions regarding development (WB, 2004). The website is an information centre regarding development issues, but it is also a platform for young people to voice their opinions and to influence political decision-making (Youthink, 2011a). The site presents the major issues the world is facing today, such as climate change, globalisation, HIV/AIDS, and corruption. These issues are presented by WB experts, with a short overview of the issue and its main implications. The website encourages the users to share their stories on the issues: *"Share with us what you see. You know best what's going on around you"* (Youthink, 2011b). The website also has a forum where ways to get involved are presented, as well as a multimedia section and a blog where youth can discuss the issues using a variety of media.

5.5 Other initiatives

Programmes and initiatives in other areas mainly focus on making youth reflect on the impact corruption has in their lives. This is done through song contests, essay competitions, drama competitions, youth camps, transparency clubs, and the opening of a documentation and information centre providing youth with

audio-visual AC materials.

Fair Play is a global competition for original songs by young bands between the ages 18-35 years on the theme of AC (Fair Play, 2011). The program is a partnership between WBI, GYAC and Jeunesse Musicales International (JMI) that has the objective of raising awareness and building networks to connect socially conscious artists and citizens worldwide. Through the website, bands are invited to submit their AC music videos online. In 2011, the three winning bands are awarded a trip to Kenya to participate in the 2nd Global Anti-Corruption Forum and they get to perform live in Nairobi. Further, the band that receives the most online votes for their video receives a studio session worth \$2000.

Since 2004, the WB has held the worldwide annual Essay Competition for youth aged 18-25. The competition is managed by the WB Office in Paris, and is implemented in partnership with the country offices of the WB and Public Information Centres in 84 countries, as well as partners from universities, NGOs and youth organisations from all over the globe (WB, 2007a). In 2007, the essay competition invited young people to reflect on how they make a difference by addressing the following questions: How does corruption affect your life? What can you do to fight the corruption that you face? Due to the massive communication campaign carried out in 104 countries (50.000 leaflets and posters were distributed), more than 2.300 young people from 130 countries submitted their essays, with ninety-five percent of the essays coming from developing countries (ibid.).

TI Fiji is undertaking a drama competition where youth between the ages of 16-26 have the opportunity to write and perform a 20 minute play looking into issues of democratic governance, constitutionalism or human rights. The competition is held in three locations in Fiji: Labasa, Savusavu and Suva. In each city, the first prize is FJ\$4,000 (€1,600), the second prize FJ\$2,000 (€800), and the third FJ\$1,000 (€400) (TI, 2011h).

TI Uganda has taken the initiative to open transparency clubs in universities, the first one being Makerere University. Also, they are generally working with university students to promote a culture of transparency and accountability and further, to mobilise youth and the general public to hold leaders accountable (TI Uganda, E-mail interview).

CENTAL, the national chapter of TI in Liberia, has set up integrity clubs (iClubs) in three counties across the country that are run by local volunteer groups, among other groups. The members of the clubs function as monitors who raise corruption concerns and demand action taken from government (TI, 2009b).

TI Moldova planned an AC day in a youth camp, which was attended by 70 young people from 14-17 years old. The goal of the AC day was to inform youth in Moldova about the negative impact of corruption on social, economic and political life in Moldova, as well as possible action against corruption. Further, the experiences on corruption of other countries were discussed, and the international AC work was reflected on. The day included three workshops focusing on corruption within different sectors: the future entrepreneurs - corruption and business; the future journalists - corruption and journalism; and corruption and the education system. The day ended with a presentation of 38 AC video spots (TI, 2004). The camp also included workshops where the young people played out theatre scenes and pantomime to express their thoughts on bribery, nepotism, lack of transparency, and so on. Further activities TI Moldova has undertaken include AC workshop for the Youth Parliament of Moldova, and AC discussions and public classes in universities and youth NGOs. Yet another activity is a competition about who could make the best caricature about corruption (TI Moldova, E-mail interview).

Transparency Thailand has organised camps attended by more than 500 youth. This was organised by Transparency Thailand's 'Youth Society for Democracy and Good Governance' to raise awareness of corruption and democracy (TI, 2008).

TI's partner in Burundi, ABUCO, has opened an information and documentation centre. Besides a library especially used by academics and students, the centre provides audio-visual AC materials, such as films, songs, cartoons and poems collected through a competition (TI, 2008).

5.6 Sub-conclusion

First of all, youth are seen as having an increasingly significant role in AC, as the plethora of TI and WB programmes with a focus on youth demonstrates. For TI, the 'grassroots' set up with the national chapters means that TI have several programmes focusing on youth, because many national chapters carry out AC programmes targeting youth in their national contexts. The programmes of the WB, on the other hand, seem to have a wider scope and focus more on targeting youth in an international setting using Internet technology.

From the presentation of the AC programmes that focus on youth, it is clear that many revolve around education. Especially, there is a focus on integrity education, where the aim seems to be promoting a culture of integrity among young people, as well as ethical formation of youth. Furthermore, there is an intrinsic focus on educating young people as citizens. It seems that the objective of these types of programmes is to help youth develop the skills needed to be responsible and participatory citizens, to raise civic engagement, and to make youth aware of the important role they can play in improving governance.

A further focus appears to be on communications technology, and especially the Internet. There seems to be a focus on getting youth engaged in a manner so youth themselves can take part in counteracting corruption, as the GYAC and Youthink websites show. Also, there is a focus on creating youth networks to mobilise youth to work together to counteract corruption, and for youth to share experiences on corruption and AC.

Other programmes and initiatives mainly focus on making youth aware of what corruption is, and making youth reflect on the impact corruption has in their lives and how detrimental it is to the development of their country.

To conclude, the main themes resulting from the examination of the AC programmes targeting youth appear to be a general focus on education and integrity education, along with a great focus on citizenship and a focus on communications technology, as a way to create networks for youth. Hence, the themes we choose to centre the critical discourse analysis around are: education, citizenship and communications technology.

CHAPTER 6

Critical Discourse Analysis

We carry out the discourse analysis based on Fairclough's overall progression from (i) analysis of discourse practices; to (ii) analysis of texts; to (iii) analysis of the social practice of which the discourse is a part.

6.1 Discourse practice

As outlined in the methodology, the discourse practice is the process of text production and text consumption. We analyse the discourse on youth; thus, all the texts that discuss youth in connection to AC from TI and the WB are explored. As argued in the methodology, the analysis of discourse practice is not an essential element to this thesis. Hence, we do not make an elaborate analysis of the discourse practice. Rather, we examine the different communicative events that make up the text we analyse, and outline how these possibly affect the production and consumption of the texts.

According to Jørgensen and Phillips (1999) it is obvious that some discourses

have more impact in the mass media than others. For example, it is typically more difficult for a pure academic discourse to be brought up in the media than a hybrid discourse that mixes academic (from the university discourse order) and popular discourse (from the everyday discourse order). This is important to this study, as we are essentially analysing 'academic' or 'practitioner' discourse. Hence, the discourse we analyse does not have a wide consumption, but is rather typically consumed by a small group of practitioners within the field of AC.

6.1.1 Annual reports

Annual reports are text types that have a wide range of readers, which includes key stakeholders, such as partners, donors, affected citizens, governments, and so on. The consumption of these reports is collective, as there are possibly numerous readers of the text. The reports are written in order to inform a wide audience of key areas of interest, what the organisation has achieved in the past year, and what the future challenges are. Therefore, the annual reports can be seen as a medium to convey to stakeholders what the organisation has accomplished, which can help keep stakeholders interested and satisfied.

Annual reports can be viewed in a political light, as they represent the values of the organisation, and present the key areas of focus. The reports are extensive and often written over a longer period of time, and with multiple authors involved. Hence, the production of the texts can be seen as collective. Further, the reports are final, in the sense that the text cannot be changed, and hence they provide a specific image of the organisation for that period of time. In that way, annual reports give a clear picture of what the organisation has worked with in the past, and hence one can follow the development of focus areas within the organisation.

We have analysed annual reports from both TI and the WB. For TI, annual reports from 2005-2009 all have components that discuss education and youth. The texts produced by TI inherently revolve around corruption and AC, and therefore all texts that discuss youth make the link between AC and youth. Each WB annual report has a specific theme, and the 2007 report dealt with the issue of development and the next generation. In the WB annual report, all

references to youth in connection to corruption are analysed.

The annual reports we analyse are:

- WB World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next Generation
- TI Annual Report 2005
- TI Annual Report 2006
- TI Annual Report 2007
- TI Annual Report 2008
- TI Annual Report 2009

6.1.2 Working papers, programme papers and reports

The working papers are short papers that discuss a specific issue. They typically aim to generate solutions to the issue of concern. The programme papers include the official documents that describe the programme, as well as the documents that have been used in the programmes by the participants. In the latter, the audience is very specifically the young people that participate in the programme. These documents are of a very descriptive nature, as they outline and describe the programmes. The report we analyse describes the general issue of youth in Argentina, and here we only draw in the sections that deal with youth and corruption. All these types of texts are characterised by having a narrower audience in comparison to the annual reports. This is because they deal with specific issues, and are targeted more at practitioners and participants in programmes. Also, these types of texts are not as easily accessible as, for example, the annual reports, because they require some manoeuvring on the official websites of the organisations.

The working papers we analyse are:

- Youth and Corruption (TI)

- Corruption in Education (TI)
- Strengthening Youth Integrity: a few lessons from experience (Ocasá - Transparencia por Colombia)

The programme papers we analyse are:

- Teaching Integrity to Youth (TI)
- Mobilizing youth against corruption - Global Youth Anti-Corruption Network (WB)
- CivICT-program (WB)
- Youth for Good Governance - distance learning program (WB)
- The Role of Youth - Module IX

The report we analyse is:

- Argentine Youth - An Untapped Potential (WB)

6.1.3 Website text

We analyse website text, where the theme of youth is presented on the official websites of both TI and the WB. What is unique about websites is that the text can be continuously altered and updated. Further, the websites have a wide audience, as both TI and the WB communicate extensively through their websites. The website text is typically short pieces of text describing projects, issues and themes, which makes it more accessible to a wide audience. Also, this implies that the text is less in-depth and instead more general. However, we can question how wide the audience of these websites are, as the topics that are presented are typically academic and hence targeted at practitioners and people with knowledge of the field.

The website texts we analyse are:

- 2003-2007 Topic: Youth and Good Governance (WB) [Accessed on 8 October 2010]
- The Story Behind Youthink! (WB) [Accessed on 10 March 2011]
- Youth and corruption (TI) [Accessed on 7 March 2011]
- Youth education (TI) [Accessed on 10 March 2011]
- In Focus 2007: Back to School (TI) [Accessed on 7 March 2011]
- In Focus 2010: Educating for integrity (TI) [Accessed on 10 March 2011]

6.2 Text analysis

Here, we analyse the youth discourses found in the texts. First, we analyse how youth are constructed. Next, we analyse the discourse according to the various themes outlined in the methodology: education, citizenship, and communications technologies. As is evident from the outline of the AC programmes, TI has an overarching focus on education, whereas the WB emphasises the role of communications technologies. This implies that the discourse we analyse under the theme education is entirely from TI, whereas the theme communications technology only draws on discourse from the WB, which however is supplemented with interview data from TI. Nevertheless, in the social practice analysis we treat the discourse collectively, as we seek to uncover how youth are emphasised in the AC discourse.

6.2.1 Construction of youth

Young people are described and talked about in various ways when the WB and TI argue for why it is of importance to focus on youth in AC. The labels young people are given in this connection stress the role the WB and TI wish to dedicate youth in AC work.

TI argues that,

*"The importance of engaging youth in anti-corruption **cannot be overestimated**. It can help **change attitudes and mores and build zero-tolerance for corruption** where the problem is seen as an acceptable fact of life" (TI, 2010h: 1).*

Here, the discourse strongly illustrates the importance of youth in AC work by using the words 'cannot be overestimated.' Youth are viewed as a group that can change attitudes and values and build a culture where corruption is not tolerated in any way. This discourse shows the immense role youth are given, and thus, indirectly, they are also given great responsibility.

6.2.1.1 Youth as a collective group

Youth are throughout the texts we have analysed constructed as a collective group. This is especially evident where the size of the youth population is discussed. According to TI,

*"Young people have the **sheer numbers needed for social change** and provide an **unprecedented force for shifting the future** in the global fight against corruption. Further progress on anti-corruption work will be **hard to advance without young people playing a leading role**" (TI, 2009b: 2).*

According to this quote, because youth are many they present an 'unprecedented force' for changing the future. This indicates that youth are viewed as a collective group. Furthermore, one can argue that using the word 'force' and 'fight' are strong words that ascribe youth power. This great power of youth also expresses itself in the part stating that youth can shift the future. In the last part of this piece of text, youth are given great responsibility as there is no alternative but for youth to play a 'leading role' in AC work.

The interviews support the outcomes of the text analysis but also bring in other perspectives in relation to demographic factors. Samantha Grant (TI Interview) says: *"... if you count the under 30 year olds, I mean in most of the countries*

this is the main part of the population. And everywhere a place between 80-90 per cent of young people, especially in the developing countries which is where we focus, we have a huge group of people that actually you know is simply coming into workspace, coming into basically society and greater environments..." This indicates that TI focuses on youth because they are the ones entering the work place and are about to take greater part in society. Another perspective, provided by TI Uganda, is that youth *"have a higher stake in the future of the country by the fact that they are expected to live longer hence should be more concerned on what happens today as they are affected as either victims of bad governance or beneficiary of good ones. They have responsibility to make things better for their future"* (TI Uganda, E-mail interview). Here, youth are assigned responsibility for driving change to improve their own futures, as they are likely to live longer than their parents' generation. Hence, if youth do not address corruption, they will suffer for a longer time.

Eduardo Bohórquez from Transparencia Mexicana (Transparencia Mexicana, Skype interview) also brings in a new perspective. He points towards youth as a demographic bonus: *"The reason why it is important to work with people that is young in countries like Mexico is basically the demographic patterns of the country ... We are living what is called a demographic bonus, we have a large amount of our population in the age of being part of the economic activity of the country and this is gonna last only for a decade or so, so this is the only right time for working with young people."* Here, it is emphasised that there is an urgency of focusing on youth, because the demographic opportunity is not going to last forever. There is an economic perspective to this statement, as youth are given importance because they are part of the economic activity of the country.

6.2.1.2 Youth as agents of change

The discourse generally places great emphasis on youth as a group that can bring about change:

"The youth movement is at the forefront of challenging this status quo. Youth have always been a force of change within

countries, whether by daring to ask pointed questions, pushing civilian movements of resistance or promoting social issues" (TI, 2009b: 2).

The discourse shows that youth are change makers, and that they have always been. The word 'youth movement' puts youth in a political light, and views youth as being a collective group. Further, youth are presented as being frontrunners in 'challenging the status quo'. Here, youth are pictured as revolutionaries who challenge the current situation, which is upheld by the present society. TI argues that to get youth involved

*"at an early stage and as an **active stakeholder** offers an **immense opportunity to shift** how governments view their obligation to create societies grounded in ethics and integrity rather than corruption and abuses" (TI, 2009b: 1).*

Here, youth as 'active stakeholders' are described as offering an 'immense opportunity' to influence governments and change how they view their responsibilities towards society. Referring to youth as stakeholders indicates that youth can expect something - they have a stake in the governance of their country - but also that they have the duty of voicing their concerns, and practicing this role as stakeholders. The discourse suggests that society is currently grounded in 'corruption and abuses' and if youth act as active stakeholders, this could make the government work to create a society grounded in 'ethics and integrity'. Hence, these are the values that are desired.

The WB writes that,

*"Young people are **assets** in development and **agents of social and political change**. Around the globe they are a **major force** in democratization processes, peace movements, and anticorruption efforts" (WB, 2009b: 75).*

Youth are presented as 'assets' and 'agents of change', which assigns them great value. Also, the words 'a major force' portray youth as being powerful and able

to drive processes of change. Emphasising that youth are viewed as a force in democratisation processes and AC efforts reveals that this is desired.

Youth are furthermore referred to as a group that 'drive real change':

*"With nearly a fifth of the world's population between 15 and 24 years old, young people in particular have the potential to **drive real change**" (TI, 2009d: 41).*

However, what 'real' change is does not appear from this piece of text, but what it indirectly communicates is that 'real' change has not yet occurred. It indirectly appears that no other group in society has been able to bring about 'real' change - youth is now the group expected to bring about this 'real' change.

Youth are also called 'powerful agents of change':

*"**Young citizens** are **powerful agents for change** and innovation when they find a **space** where they can voice their views, develop leadership capacity and interact creatively" (WBI, 2010a: 1).*

Here, it is emphasized that youth need a space for acting as change agents. What this space is, is not evident from the quote. However, it points towards the use of the Internet, as it should be a place where youth can voice opinions and 'interact creatively'. Also, youth are referred to as 'young citizens', indicating that they are viewed as participants in society. TI underlines that as citizens, youth have the potential to fight corruption:

*"Young people have the potential to transform this present reality and make a lasting impact as **tomorrow's and today's citizens** by creating **a world free of corruption**" (TI, 2009b: 1).*

Here, youth are described as a group that can create a 'world free of corruption'. This use of language implies that youth can essentially wipe out corruption entirely, which is no small feat and again ascribes youth great power. Further,

getting rid of corruption can be done by acting as citizens; hence, citizenship is a factor in counteracting corruption.

Youth are also described as a group that in many countries have

"served as a powerful voice for significant change when inspired and empowered to take up the mantle of reform" (WBI, 2010a: 1).

Here, youth are described as having a 'powerful voice', which assigns them significance. Further, the quote illustrates that youth have already shown their potential to provide 'significant change' - however, only when 'inspired and empowered'. This indicates that youth need empowerment and inspiration in order for them to act, which can only be done by other groups in society. In other words, youth is dependent on 'being empowered' in order to act as change makers. Similarly, in another piece of text, the WB argues that only empowered youth can change society:

"Empowered youth can change society for the better - but only if they have the necessary political, social, and human capital" (WB, 2009b: 89).

This further illustrates that youth need certain types of capital for them to be able to change society, which points towards the need for educating young people to acquire this capital. Further, this capital is political, social and human, indicating that there are certain types of capital that are desired in youth. The WB's Youthink website points towards the need to provide opportunity for youth in order for them to become change makers:

"Youth can be powerful agents for change if given the opportunity to voice their views and develop and test their capabilities and creativity" (Youthink, 2010c).

Again, youth can become agents of change if they are given the opportunity to speak about their views. This suggests that youth need to be aided in becoming

agents of change.

6.2.1.3 Youth as the world's future

The discourse also generally frames youth as representing the future:

*"Today's young people are the **world's future**. They will one day build our societies' economies, and make decisions that will **impact the lives of future generations**" (WB, 2011a: 1).*

Here, youth are assigned great importance - but also great responsibility - as they will be building their societies and have to make decisions that will affect future generations. Further, youth will build their economies, which indicates an economic undertone. In line with this, TI writes,

*"Young people constitute a country's **future political and economic leaders**" (TI, 2010h: 2).*

By writing 'political' and 'economic', the discourse shows that young people will have the power to affect politics, as well as the economy. This further indicates that focusing on youth in AC is important, since otherwise the future political and economic leaders may continue the corrupt practices. And this is viewed as problematic.

TI also describes youth as 'the next world leaders':

*"Transparency International recognises the **force and power** that young people harness in tackling corruption. They are, **after all, the next world leaders**" (TI, 2007a: 1).*

Again, using the words 'force' and 'power', both strong words, ascribe youth a sense of supremacy, which illustrates that youth possess great ability to 'tackle' corruption. Youth are seen as a powerful group that 'after all' are going to

lead the world. The phrasing 'after all' illustrates a sense of obviousness that youth should be powerful in tackling corruption because they are the next world leaders.

6.2.1.4 Youth compared to the older generation

The discourse we analyse demarcates the young generation from the older generation. Further, it constructs the young generation as being superior in AC, because the older generation may not be willing to see change. Comparing youth to the older generation, it appears that the youth generation is of greater value than the older generation in AC work:

*"Older generations may have a **vested interest** in **maintaining the corrupt status quo**, or may have become tired of seeing promises for change never materialise. In contrast, youth are usually more **open to wide-scale transformation** and **have the will to pursue it**" (TI, 2009b: 2).*

Indeed, this comparison of old and young indicates that youth are perceived as a group more willing to change, and having the determination to act on it. Again, it is emphasised that youth are seen as change makers. Also, youth are framed as better than the older generation at curbing corruption, as they are more open to this change. The relation between young and old here is one that portrays the youth as the uncorrupted, and the older generation as apathetic and even having an interest in 'maintaining the corrupt status quo.' This is also a point that is made by TI Uganda: *"Young people are dynamic and receptive to change compared to the old generation which is characterised with resistance to change and partly soaked into the habit of corruption hence not easily recruited into the fight against corruption"* (TI Uganda, E-mail interview).

Youth are also described as a group that more easily acquire new knowledge as compared to the older generation:

*"The **capacity to learn** is much greater for the young than for older people, so **missed opportunities** to acquire skills, good health*

habits, and the desire to engage in the community and society can be extremely costly to remedy" (WB, 2007b: 4).

This indicates that working with the older generation is more costly and more difficult as their 'capacity to learn' is not as great as for the younger generation. If youth are not targeted they will not develop the skills or desire to change their societies, which in turn can become difficult and costly to change

The comparison between generations is also visible through the interviews. According to Georg Neumann (TI interview), *"one of the ways of actually breaking up this cycle is getting ... fresh news into it, and bringing in people that are not corrupted ... that have different standards of how business should be done. And that's much easier than coming from older people."* Here, youth are presented as a group of people not yet corrupted and hence, it is argued that the youth more easily can contribute to end the cycle of corruption than older people. TI Moldova (E-mail Interview) also touches upon the difference between generations when it states that: *"it is really important that the next generation gets better than ours."* Here, TI Moldova indirectly communicates that it is hoped that the next generation becomes less corrupt. Hence, the current older generation has not been able to counteract corruption in their society, so it is up to youth to drive this change.

6.2.1.5 Diverse characteristics of youth

Generally, the discourse we have analysed frames youth in a very positive light. Youth are described as possessing specific qualities that are of value in AC:

"Youth can be resilient, resourceful and responsive, and there is a need to encourage and establish mechanisms in countries to involve youth in playing a role in addressing corruption and consequently improving governances in their countries" (WB, 2010c: 1).

Youth are portrayed as a group that reacts on societal issues, and has the resources and flexibility to do so. The word 'resilient' signifies that youth do

not give in. Due to these qualities of youth, the discourse suggests that youth need to be given a role in addressing corruption. Further, the discourse shows that there is not only an emphasis on addressing corruption; there is also an equally great emphasis on improving governance. Further qualities ascribed to youth are:

*"Their [youth's] **energy, strength, inventiveness and hopefulness** have led to the **transformation of societies** within a generation" (TI, 2009b: 2).*

The word 'energy' suggests that youth have a certain drive, whereas describing youth as strong again underlines that youth are powerful and have the ability to bring about change. Also, there is a focus on the ability of youth to bring new ideas into AC work, by describing youth as inventive. The word 'hopefulness' indicates that youth believe that change is possible and that youth have a positive attitude. Further, the quote demonstrates that youth have been able to change societies within a generation, which again constructs youth as powerful change makers.

The WB ascribes a further quality to youth:

*"Young people have the **idealism** ... in helping to address these issues [improving governance]" (WB, 2011a: 1).*

This quality portrays youth as allowing no compromise, and working until they have reached their goals. Further, it suggests that youth have the ideal of a world with no corruption, and that this is an important quality in AC.

TI Georgia (E-mail interview) also mentions further qualities of youth when arguing for why they focus on youth: *"Youth are less vested, they fear less and are more likely to take on big opponents."* This frames youth as being less afraid of being involved in AC, as they have less interest in keeping corruption. Hence, they are viewed as standing outside of corruption.

Although youth are generally depicted as possessing qualities that are of great value in the fight against corruption, youth are also described as being part of

the problem of corruption, which deviates from the general positive depiction of youth in the discourse:

*"Out of all the age groups surveyed in TIs 2009 Global Corruption Barometer, **people under 30 years reported paying bribes the most frequently.** Whether bribing to go to school, pass an exam or get a job, this early introduction to corruption sets a dangerous precedent" (TI, 2009).*

This means that there is a deviation from the general positive discourse on youth, where youth are depicted as, for example, being 'resilient' and having 'idealism'. This discrepancy in the discourse is also evident from the interview with Eduardo Bohórquez: *"We discovered in 2001, and that was a terrible, a terrible discovery in those years that the group, which was more prompt to pay a bribe in order to gain access to public services in Mexico was the younger group"* (Skype interview).

6.2.1.6 Summing up

First of all, youth are constructed as a collective group, and youth are ascribed great power due to their numbers. Further, youth are constructed as a 'force of change' and 'agents of change'. These expressions assign youth great power and responsibility. A key argument is that for youth to take on this responsibility and to be able to change the status quo, youth need to be inspired and empowered.

Next, youth are continuously described as a group worth a focus because they are the future. They are also described as the 'leaders of the future'. They are even referred to as 'the one group' that has the power to change society. Hence, here they are also given great power as a group, as they will affect the future by either putting an end to corruption or by continuing it.

Furthermore, youth are referred to as citizens that have the power and will to hold governments accountable, indicating that young people's participation in society is valued.

The comparison to the older generation presents youth as a generation more willing to change and as a group having the determination to do so, as opposed to the older generation. The discourse demarcates the younger and the older generation, and ascribes the young generation the key role in addressing corruption.

Finally, diverse characteristics of youth are emphasised. They are ascribed various qualities, such as being resilient, resourceful and inventive. Also, they are described as a group possessing energy, strength, hopefulness and idealism. All these qualities are arguments for focusing on youth in AC work, and they frame youth very positively. However, one can question why youth are framed this positively, when they at the same time represent a group that engages widely in corrupt practices.

6.2.2 Education

Generally, education is framed as civic education. From the discourse it is clear that education is viewed as a means to shape youth in a way that makes them resist corruption and that makes them aware of their role as citizens in their societies. However, the discourse also addresses the issue of corruption in the educational system, thus shedding light on some of the negative aspects of education.

TI declares that:

*"Education is **central** to preventing corruption" (TI, 2004: 3).*

This quite clearly puts education at the centre of AC. Further,

*"Education about corruption is the key to its **long-term** prevention. To **shape the views** of future generations, many national chapters in the Asia Pacific region have targeted young people through informal and formal educational activities" (TI, 2005: 9).*

Here, education is presented as being fundamental in the long-term prevention of corruption. Further, education is presented as a mechanism that can form the 'views of future generations'. Hence, education has the capacity to change the mindset of young people towards corruption, and this can help prevent corruption from occurring in the future generations. However, what views are needed is not evident from the discourse.

TI also argues that by educating youth, the cycle of corruption can be broken:

*"Teach the young that corruption is wrong and you have a **chance** to **break the cycle**" (TI, 2010h: 1).*

Referring to corruption as being cyclical indicates that it will continue to occur, unless this cycle is broken. Further, using the word 'chance' indicates that breaking the cycle of corruption is an enormous task, and is not easily done. However, youth are given the role as the actors who could break the cycle. Along this line, TI argues that it focuses on educating and empowering youth because lasting change can only come from youth:

*"TI engages, **educates** and **empowers** young people to get involved and take action on corruption issues, recognising that **lasting change** must come from youth. **If only TI could awaken the kid in everyone**" (TI, 2007a: 1).*

Here, lasting change is connected to involving youth in AC education. This places great hope on young people. Further, it is indicated that education empowers young people. In the last sentence, TI shows that the youth qualities are wished for 'in everyone', which puts youth at the centre of AC.

Education is also presented as a method to instil desired values in youth. TI writes that,

*"Anti-corruption education promotes **values**, attitudes and expectations that condemn corruption, and build the **knowledge** and **skills***

*to **resist** it. It develops people's understanding of their rights and responsibilities for preserving the public good" (TI, 2010h: 1).*

This presents AC education as a means to instil values in young people that can help them counteract corruption in their own lives. Hence, the 'right' values will make young people condemn corruption. Further, education is framed as building youth's abilities to resist corruption. The word 'resist' indicates that corruption is something that can attract people and hence young people must acquire skills to be able to oppose it. Further, the discourse places youth as having rights and responsibilities in relation to corruption.

TI refers to education as

*" one of the most **powerful tools** for **ensuring** a future where corrupt practices are not part of the **normal way of life** " (TI, 2009b: 3).*

Here, education is placed as 'one of the most powerful tools' to ensure a future without corruption. It is communicated that education can help guarantee a future with no corruption, which places great importance on education. Also, writing that corruption should not be a part of the normal way of life, insinuates that it currently is.

6.2.2.1 Civic education

Education is generally framed as civic education. This is evident from the discourse, since youth and education are often linked to citizenship. For example, TI presents education as a way to shape future citizens for them to be able to work against corruption:

*"Education shapes **attitudes** and builds **skills** that help future citizens to reject corruption. TI considers anti-corruption education, from ethics to **civic education**, to be a key element of any anti-corruption strategy." (TI, 2007b: 3).*

Here, civic education is linked to shaping attitudes that can aid 'future citizens' in opposing corruption. Further, civic education can shape attitudes so youth can 'reject corruption'. This indicates that civic education is viewed as being a tool for instilling values and attitudes in youth.

TI declares that,

*"Building **civic awareness** and transmitting **ethical values** help shape social behaviours and make society **intolerant** of corruption. In this sense, a good education is itself a deterrent to corruption"* (TI, 2009a: 7).

Here, civic education involves 'building civic awareness and transmitting ethical values'. What is also inferred is that a 'good education' has elements of civic education. Civic education is important because it is a way to teach society not to tolerate corruption, through the spreading of ethical values. It is not clear what these values are from the discourse. However, in continuation of this, TI writes of the importance of:

*"Developing and educating a new generation in the values of integrity, **democracy** and transparency"* (TI 2009b: 3).

This indicates that fighting corruption requires certain values that are promoted within the democratic system. Democracy seems to be the value system within which civic education of youth is placed, and where it is possible to counteract corruption.

Until now the text analysis has shown that education is generally seen as a tool with great possibilities to educate youth to be uncorrupted and as a way to shape young people. However, the focus on youth is also linked with the issue of corruption in the education system. TI states that,

*"In a corrupt education system, students do not acquire the skills and knowledge that will enable them to contribute **meaningfully** to their country's economy and society"* (2009a: 2).

By employing the word 'meaningfully', TI insinuates that youth can also contribute to society in a way that is not meaningful. Further, it is suggested that this is likely if youth are taught in corrupt education systems. The economic focus is also visible here.

In continuation of this, TI argues that if youth grow up in a corrupt system, they will learn to accept corruption:

*"They learn from a young age to **value** corruption, **accepting** it as a norm for them and society" (ibid.).*

Thus, TI

*"believes that if the fight against corruption is to be successful, youth must grow up believing that their **talent, effort and merit count more than favourism, manipulation and bribery**" (TI, 2007b: 1).*

It appears to be of importance that youth learn how society works without corruption for AC work to be successful. Hence, corruption in education is an issue that needs to be addressed in order for education to have the 'right' impact on youth. If youth face corruption in education, they are likely to become corrupt themselves if they learn that, for instance, bribery leads to good grades.

A point Georg Neumann (TI interview) makes is that education is often a natural first step when focusing on youth and AC: *"I mean traditionally, that's the first step and it's the easiest step to really say ok now here that's how corruption works, that's how it shouldn't work, and that's the way of educating."* Neumann presents education as being the first step in AC, and further notes that education is easy to do. TI India (E-mail interview) argues along the same line: *"Corruption is like a virus which affects the whole body and spread all over. So to fight with the virus and protect them from spreading, first we should educate and motivate our youths."* Here, education of youth is described as the 'cure' to the virus that is corruption, and as being the first thing that should be done to counteract corruption.

Another perspective visible through the interviews is the reach education provides. Georg Neumann (TI interview) makes the point that education *"is also a way of where you reach a lot of students, which is in schools and universities. So it's easy to do actually a, you know, a master's course or a programme within as part of a curriculum."* This is also a point made by Uganda (E-mail interview): *"young people are easily reached at colleges, university, schools."* Hence, because education targets a large part of the youth population, it is of value to use this in AC. In the case of Mexico, Eduardo Bohórquez (Transparencia Mexicana, Skype interview) argues that there are *"30 million people ... in the schools at this moment. So when you're talking about any kind of project or initiative related with anti-corruption efforts that is based on the educational system you're talking about circa 40 per cent of the population of the country no. So that makes a case for working with ... younger people in the case of Transparencia Mexicana."* This suggests that Transparencia Mexicana overtly targets youth in AC through education, as it is a means to reach many people.

A discrepancy in the presentation of education is visible when Eduardo Bohórquez (Transparencia Mexicana, Skype interview) claims that youth education as a tool in AC essentially is a cliché: *"The cliché is very common ... it is this idea that we can educate society for a different future."* He further argues that, *"Anyways, it's a cliché no, obviously I mean you are educating people for new problems and circumstances all the time, this is, and as a very good friend in UNICEF tend to, says a lot, we are all going to become terrible adults at the end no. So that's a cliché part. It's important to have it because it raises a lot of awareness about the problems of corruption and it's a good way of bringing the head of households or the parents into the discussion, it's a good way of discussing the issue. But in terms of policy and structural reform that is not a reason good enough if I make any sense with this comment"* (Transparencia Mexicana, Skype interview). Essentially, Mr. Bohórquez criticises education for not having as great an impact as generally believed. Further, calling education a cliché indicates that practitioners view education as an important tool in AC, but without critically considering its merit. Hence, this is a deviation from the general discourse, which presents education as a significant tool in AC work.

6.2.2.2 Summing up

Education is described as being fundamental to the long-term prevention of corruption. It is suggested that through the education of youth, the cycle of corruption can be broken. Here, citizenship education is emphasised, as well as the importance of building civic awareness and educating youth to participate in society. In this way, education is seen as a way to shape future citizens. Similarly, TI argues that it focuses on educating and empowering youth because lasting change can only come from youth. The interviews raise the point that education is an easy way to reach many people. A discrepancy is visible when Eduardo Bohórquez frames education as a cliché, which indicates that education is given a prominent role in AC without necessarily considering the impact of such a method.

6.2.3 Citizenship

Corruption is often placed in connection to citizenship. For example, the WB puts forward that youth engaging as citizens is essential for the development of good governance:

*"A key element in the development of **stable political** systems and **good governance** is the capacity of the state to **engage** youth and to facilitate their transformation into citizens through political socialization, participation and education"* (WB, 2009b: 75).

This quote indicates that the WB sees a very clear role for youth as citizens, and that youth are given a value in creating a stable society and in promoting good governance. It also indicates that it is the responsibility of the government to engage youth and 'facilitate their transformation'. Hence, according to this, the government must work to involve youth and help them on their way to becoming citizens that contribute to stable political systems. Further, political socialization, participation and education are means to transform youth into citizens. This indicates that a particular political system is desired that allows for participation, which hints towards a democratic system.

The e-mail interviews with the national chapters support the view that youth citizenship is a factor in the youth's role in AC. LTA stresses that it is important to work with young people because *"they form the backbone of society, among whom you can find the young citizens seeking new opportunities and jobs, voters, public servants, teachers, entrepreneurs and the leaders of tomorrow in whose hands rests the welfare of society"* (LTA, E-mail interview). This quote presents youth as being key citizens in their societies.

From the discourse, it also appears that youth have a role in contributing to improved governance through citizenship:

*"by progressively engaging and exercising their **citizenship**, youth learn to participate in the political system and acquire **norms and values** that can contribute to the peaceful resolution of conflicts, greater transparency, and improved **governance**"* (WB, 2009b: 76).

The WB emphasises that youth acquire norms and values through exercising their citizenship, which can contribute to improved transparency and governance. Hence, this discourse hints at a strong link between youth citizenship and improved governance. It also indicates that youth must learn to participate in the political system and acquire values through exercising their citizenship, which defines citizenship as being politically active. This hints towards a democratic system, where citizens are able, and expected to, participate in the political system. Further, asserting that 'norms and values' can contribute to greater transparency and improved governance also suggests that these lie within the democratic system.

The WB also addresses youth directly:

*"Do not forget that you are a **citizen** and a **stakeholder** in your country's governance. As the youth, you also represent your country's future"* (WB, 2011d: 6).

Here, youth are reminded that they too have a responsibility towards improved governance. This responsibility of youth is also stressed when youth are described as being the future of their countries, and when once again referred to

as stakeholders. That engaging youth is hoped to improve governance is a point of view also expressed through the e-mail interviews. TI Uganda mentions that it works with university students and transparency clubs *"to promote the culture of transparency and accountability as well as encouraging the young people to mobilise the public to hold leaders accountable"* (TI Uganda, E-mail interview). Demanding accountability from their leaders also points towards a democratic view of society, as youth have the possibility of holding their government accountable.

However, for youth to participate, the discourse suggests that they must be enabled to do so:

*"Enhancing the **capacity** of youth and state institutions increases the relevance and quality of youth participation, **enabling** youth to negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable the institutions that affect their lives"* (WB, 2009b: 89).

Here, the WB speaks of capacity, which implies that youth must have certain capabilities to enhance in order to increase the relevance and quality of their participation. If these qualities are enhanced, youth become enabled to affect institutions. This suggests that there is a role for institutions, government or organisations to enable youth. It also implies that as youth are now, they are unable to influence or control the institutions that affect their lives.

Giving youth a voice is presented to be important if youth are to exercise their citizenship. The WB argues that listening to youth can have direct benefits:

*"The **voice** of young people can also **improve service delivery** by monitoring and giving feedback on the quality of services. For example, students and student organisations in Eastern Europe have notched important early wins in the fight against corruption in tertiary education through the exercise of voice"* (WB, 2007b: 220).

Here, the Bank presents a concrete example where giving youth a voice has affected their engagement in AC efforts. The WB emphasises that giving voice

to youth is fruitful as young people receive many different kinds of public services and hence have valuable insight. Samantha Grant (TI interview) supports this view: *"Especially in a country like Bangladesh from the developing world, youth engaging in the public services in things that really affect them, I mean it can be quite useful and it can be quite effective"* (Grant, TI interview).

The way the WB would give youth voice seems to be through increasing their political participation:

*"Raising youth **political participation** would create a mechanism for them to voice specific demands and thereby **increase government accountability**"* (WB, 2009b: 78).

This suggests that if youth voice their demands, this has the potential to increase government accountability.

6.2.3.1 Summing up

The discourse frames youth citizenship as essential for the development of good governance and a society free of corruption. There is a strong link between youth citizenship and improved governance. Through exercising their citizenship, youth acquire norms and values. However, giving youth a voice is assigned great importance for youth to be able to exercise their citizenship. Because young people receive many different kinds of public services and hence have valuable insight, it is of value to give youth voice. The discourse suggests that youth can be given voice by raising their political participation. Nevertheless, young people often lack voice in relation to policies that directly affect them, which indicates that only if youth are given a voice they can help bring about change.

6.2.4 Communications technologies

The importance of communications technologies, and especially the Internet, when focusing on youth is reflected in the WB's AC programmes that target

youth, since a central element in most of these programmes is the Internet. For example, the Global Youth Anti-Corruption Network (GYAC)

*"aims to **mobilize** youth groups around anti-corruption with the help of **innovative approaches** through which to **inspire and engage** them in the **long term** to tackle corruption"* (WBI, 2010a: 1).

Here, the innovative approaches are presented as being highly important in AC work, since they are described as a way to mobilise youth, and to inspire and engage them in the long term to counteract corruption. From the programme it appears that these innovative approaches involve using the web to create a platform for sharing views and ideas, and blogs where young people can voice their concerns regarding corruption and other issues that affect them (WBI, 2010a). From the e-mail interview with TI Uganda it is also apparent that the Internet is viewed as a way to mobilise youth. In response to our question of why they believe it is important to focus on youth in AC, TI Uganda replies: *"above all they have embraced modern technology and communication channels like Internet making them easy to mobilize"* (TI Uganda, E-mail interview).

The GYAC network furthermore works to

*"Harness ICT and music to support the participants' **sustained** engagement, raise **awareness** and increase their **projects' reach**"* (WBI, 2010a: 2).

This indicates that the WB acknowledges communications technologies as an important tool to 'sustain' the engagement of young people and to increase the projects' reach. Hence, keeping youth engaged and raising their awareness is highly valued.

The WB aims for GYAC to

*"**create an enabling environment** for youth to tackle corruption"* (WBI, 2010a: 2).

This shows that the WB sees a technological platform such as a website as an 'enabling environment', where youth can engage in AC, and hence 'tackle' corruption. That youth need an enabling environment to address corruption is in line with earlier findings of this text analysis, where 'empowering and enabling' youth is shown as essential for youth to become agents of change.

The WB 'CivICTs programme' also employs communications technologies. Here,

*"the aim is to help raise **awareness on governance issues** amongst high school students and enhance students' technology skills" (WB, 2011e: 1).*

Here, it is apparent that the issue of governance plays a key role in this programme. By making use of communications technologies the WB can 'raise awareness on governance issues.' Further, the discourse shows that technology skills are viewed as important. Further,

*"In addition to the **livelihood skills** that these youth will receive, this information will positively **contribute to local governance information availability and dissemination** in the school" (WB, 2011e: 2).*

The discourse indicates that youth's technology skills are significant for their livelihood, but also that the website is an important method of informing wider society on governance issues. Hence, the programme aims to have wider effects beyond those directly involved in the programme.

The WB writes that the expected outcomes of the programme include

*"participating youth ... using the web to develop **new forms of social and citizen participation**" (WB, 2011e: 2).*

Here, it is suggested that the Internet provides a new way for youth to participate in society. Hence, using the web is viewed as a means for youth to practice citizenship.

In continuation of this, the WB writes that an aim for its 'Youth for Good Governance' learning programme is to

*"help create **networks of knowledge sharing and learning on governance** and anti-corruption issues among the youth by encouraging the use of the web to develop **new forms of social and citizen participation**" (WB, 2011a: 4).*

The last part of this piece of text is the exact same phrasing as when the WB describes the expected outcomes of the CivICTs programme presented above. This illustrates that the phrasing surrounding the programmes in the WB are often very similar and highlight the same advantages of focusing on communications technologies and youth. Furthermore, there is an emphasis on 'knowledge sharing' and 'learning on governance' when making use of the communications technologies. These seem to be the objectives of the programme; hence, governance is again emphasised as a key goal in a programme of the WB.

The description of the 'Youth for Good Governance' programme emphasises the reach technology yields:

*"An e-governance program that explores modern technology will enable WBI to **reach out to many more youth** around the world" (WB, 2011a: 9).*

This indicates that the WB recognises youth as users of modern technology, and that this technology is a central method of reaching them in large numbers. Hence, this also shows that reaching many young people is needed.

The strong link between communications technologies and youth in AC programmes is also evident from the interview with TI and the e-mail interviews. Georg Neumann (TI interview) states that youth are beginning to do *"programmes themselves, especially when we then look at new technologies..."* Also, he emphasises the importance of new communication structures: *"... through basically the introduction of communication structures, now everyone has the opportunity to actually voice their concerns, be present, and it really doesn't*

matter if it's a blogger of 16 years that just feels very strongly about these issues ... So it's really also everyone has the same chances to voice concerns and engage in political dialogue that cause changes" (Neumann, TI interview). This indicates that the Internet is viewed as a means for young people to engage in politics, which might not otherwise be possible. This suggests that the new technologies present a means for youth political dialogue that was not possible before.

Samantha Grant asserts that the social media is an important issue for engaging youth in AC, especially in some parts of the world: *"In some regions it is absolutely key. In Indonesia everyone is on Facebook, everything is done by texting ... and that is where all the social networks happens so you want to engage with youth"* (Grant, TI interview). This example indicates that communications technologies are greatly used by youth to communicate and that it is of advantage to engage with youth because of this. Samantha Grant also stresses the importance of social media in harvesting the potential of youth: *"not only is there great potential there ..., with social media and with other tools like this, then they talk to each other more"* (Grant, TI interview). Hence, social media can help spread ideas through youth.

6.2.4.1 Summing up

It appears that there is a strong link between communications technologies and youth, because youth are users of these technologies. The technologies are seen as a way to engage youth and as an easy way to mobilise them, as much of the WB's work on youth shows. The communications technologies form new ways of engaging youth and it is a way to reach out to many youth at the same time. More importantly, the Internet is becoming a means for youth to practice their civic engagement. Further, the communications technologies are seen as a way to raise awareness on issues of governance. In other words, the good governance agenda is apparent.

6.2.5 Sub-conclusion text analysis

Here we attend to our sub-question concerning how youth are framed in the AC discourse. The discourse we have analysed constructs and frames youth in a certain way. Generally, there is a repetition of words in the discourse we have analysed, illustrating that youth are systematically and continuously presented and constructed in the same manner.

Throughout the discourse, youth are constructed as a collective group and because youth constitute a large part of the global population they are believed to be key to include in AC to drive change. This ascribes youth great power, which is also the case when youth are constructed as 'agents of change' and as the group of people that can bring about 'real' change. This also ascribes youth great responsibility for driving social change and curbing corruption. Here, the discourse emphasises the need for youth to be empowered and inspired to become agents of change. Youth are also constructed as the 'world's future leaders', again ascribing them power as well as responsibility; also it underlines the importance of focusing on youth, as they will affect future generations. Further, the discourse demarcates the younger and the older generation, and thereby assigns the young generation the key role in addressing corruption, as they are perceived as being more willing to see change.

The discourse constructs youth in a very positive way and youth are emphasised as possessing central qualities for addressing corruption. Youth are ascribed various qualities: resilience, resourcefulness, idealism, hopefulness, energy, and inventiveness. These qualities are all seen as necessary for fighting corruption, ascribing youth a key role in AC. However, an interesting discrepancy appears when it comes to this general positive picture of youth and their qualities, because youth are also described as being part of the problem of corruption, when reported as the group most often paying a bribe.

Youth are also constructed as citizens and stakeholders in their societies. The discourse suggests that engaging youth as citizens is essential for the development of good governance and a society free of corruption. Citizenship is framed throughout the discourse within the democratic system, suggesting that the values and norms that are referred to are those pertaining to democracy.

The importance of citizenship is also apparent in the framing of education, which is framed as civic education. Education is described as being fundamental to the long-term prevention of corruption, by educating and developing youth in values such as integrity', 'democracy' and 'transparency'. Thus, the discourse frames youth education as being essential for youth to engage in society and the fight against corruption. Citizenship is in the discourse referred to as being politically active, with an emphasis on how youth can play a role in improving governance. Also, the discourse shows that youth engaging as citizens is essential for the development of 'good governance' and the creation of 'stable political systems'.

communications technologies are viewed as forming new ways for engaging youth, and more importantly, the Internet is viewed as a means for youth to practice their civic engagement. Youth are expected to participate in society and AC and thereby practicing their citizenship through the use of 'innovative approaches', such as the Internet.

Next, we turn to the social practice element of the critical discourse analysis to address why youth are constructed in this way and to examine what lies behind this certain discourse of youth.

6.3 Social practice

In this chapter we analyse the social practice of which the discourse is a part. The social practice in which the discourse we have analysed is embedded is AC. To understand this wider social practice, we first argue that AC is placed within a wider development practice. Then, we address how youth is placed in other social processes, to examine whether youth is framed differently in other domains compared to AC. Finally, we analyse the findings of the text analysis, and draw in theory on citizenship, governmentality and power, in order to answer why youth are constructed as they are in the discourse.

6.3.1 AC within a development agenda

We view AC as being placed in a wider social practice of development. A widespread approach to addressing the 'development gap' between North and South is to assert that a country's development suffers because of corruption (Bukovansky, 2006). Further, it is generally agreed that the corruption issue is one of the central problems facing transition economies and the developing world today (ibid.). The WB's focus on corruption sprung from the concern that corrupt government was hindering development in Africa. From this, the term 'governance' was coined in relation to the authoritarian rule seen in many African countries, and during the 1990s, aid donors increasingly insisted on good governance as a condition to receive aid, foreign loans, and preferential market access (de Sousa, Larmour and Hindess, 2009). Consequently, addressing corruption in government became an issue that was dealt with through developmental aid. Hence, AC is placed in connection to development, and can be seen as an issue that is addressed in the development of countries.

According to Marquette (2004: 414), *"in 1997 the World Bank announced its intention to provide a systematic framework for addressing corruption as a development issue in the assistance it provides to countries and in its operation work more generally."* This shows that the focus on corruption by the WB was tied to development from the very beginning. Brown and Cloke (2004) also note that the global concern with combating corruption has seen the formulation of national AC initiatives in many developing countries, frequently as a part of programmes funded through international financial institutions (IFIs). This indicates a clear connection between the AC agenda, and the wider development focus in developing countries.

The international organisations concerned with development seem to agree on an overall goal: economic growth is the engine of economic development (Bukovansky, 2006). Further, the focus on corruption *"is one symptom of the perceived inadequacy of narrowly economic approaches to the problem of economic development"* (Bukovansky, 2006: 185). Hence, AC and good governance are viewed as new ways to attain the goal of economic development. However, cases such as the US throughout its history, and Italy, Japan and South Korea in the second half of the twentieth century show that there are cases of economic growth under

corrupt regimes (Hindess, 2009). This demonstrates that *"the relation between corruption and economic growth is less straightforward than the rhetoric of TI and the WB suggests"* (Hindess, 2009: 27). Thus, corruption as a hindrance to economic development is not an uncontested issue.

According to Bukovansky (2006), the fact that the desired results of the modernisation after decolonisation - stable markets and democratisation - were not obtained has led to the study of institutions and governance in the search for relevant variables that may have been overlooked in the earlier development literature. This focus has in turn revealed the problem of corruption as a hindrance to development (ibid.). This again suggests that the focus on corruption lies within a development agenda that emphasises governmental reform.

Santiso (2001: 2) notes that the WB has *"significantly stretched its policy frontiers by endorsing 'good governance' as a core element of its development strategy."* Good governance is increasingly tied in with development aid, making the strengthening of good governance both an objective and a condition for development assistance (Santiso, 2001). This places AC within the development agenda, as good governance is often a conditionality of aid assistance. This form of aid conditionality is similar to that used to promoting economic reform, which was largely the objective of the IFIs in the 1980s and 1990s (ibid.). Hence, the good governance agenda of the WB can be viewed in a similar light to the economic reform it carried out through lending in the 1980s and 1990s. Santiso further argues that governance is embedded in democracy and that *"neither democracy nor good governance is sustainable without the other"* (Santiso, 2001: 2). The notion good governance introduces a normative dimension addressing the quality of governance; that is, it favours the democratic system and its values over others. However, Santiso argues that for the WB to significantly improve good governance in borrowing countries, it will need to explicitly address issues of power, politics and democracy (ibid). This, however, proves difficult for the WB as reforming systems of governance is considered outside of its core mandate.

Because AC is often tied to development programmes as a conditionality, it is difficult to view AC as a separate issue. Thus, the wider development agenda has the implication that AC cannot be viewed as an agenda in itself. One can question, with AC being embedded in this wider development agenda, whether

the focus on youth in AC is influenced by the objective of wider governmental and economic reform. This is an issue we debate when discussing the social practice in relation to the themes.

6.3.2 Youth in other social processes

Here, we attend to our sub-question: How are youth framed in other social processes? We contextualise the youth discourse in AC to the wider focus that youth are increasingly given in other social processes. This is to provide an understanding of how youth are seen in other processes, and to address whether the construction of youth in the AC discourse parallels how youth are viewed in these other social processes. This aids us in uncovering the underlying agenda of how youth are constructed in the AC discourse. Youth are increasingly given the role as key actors in many social processes. The processes we examine are essentially 'anti-movements'; they involve eradicating something negative, such as anti-obesity and anti-poverty. This is also the objective in AC work.

Agenda setters, such as the UN and the WB, are increasingly looking to focus on youth in their anti-poverty efforts. The UN has the 'UN Programme on Youth', which aims to build awareness of the global situation for young people, as well as to promote the rights and aspirations of youth (UN, 2011a). The UN has published World Youth Reports, the latest from 2010 dealing with the issue of 'Youth and Climate Change'. The report highlights the role youth can play in addressing climate change, and hereby assigns youth a key role in addressing this issue (UN, 2011b). The World Youth Report 2007 examines the challenges and opportunities that exist for the world's youth. This report explores major issues of concern to youth development, such as employment, education, health, poverty and violence. Further, it also emphasises youth as a positive force for development, and offers recommendations for supporting youth's contributions to development (UN, 2011b).

Youth are also increasingly becoming the focus of attention when discussing the issue of health and lifestyles, especially in relation to HIV/AIDS. According to the UN, young people in both developed and developing countries are currently facing a number of serious health risks that can derail their transition to healthy,

productive adulthood (UN, 2007). In developing countries, and in many of the economies in transition, HIV/AIDS represents perhaps the greatest health risk. Target 6a of the MDG goal to combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases has an explicit focus on the young people aged 15-24 (UNDP, 2011). However, young people around the world are also exposed to other health threats that can seriously affect their welfare. Many of these are connected to the contemporary lifestyles; for example, poor nutritional practices are contributing to the growing incidence of obesity and related diseases among youth. Further, the prevalence of tobacco, alcohol and drug use and the high rates of morbidity and mortality associated with accidents and violence among youth are also issues linked to health that are presented by the UN (ibid). The anti-smoking movement is especially targeting youth, as young people are still making the choice to smoke despite the common knowledge that smoking has detrimental effects on your health (Smoke Free Methods, 2010). Also, obesity in children and young people is an issue gaining focus (Lobstein, Baur, and Uauy, 2004). It is argued that the greatest health problems from obesity will be seen in the next generation of adults. Greatly increased rates of heart disease, diabetes, certain cancers, gall bladder disease, osteoarthritis, endocrine disorders and other obesity related conditions will be found in young adult populations, and their need for medical treatment may last for their remaining life-times (ibid.).

Youth unemployment is an issue that is receiving increasing attention globally (O'Higgins, 2001). The problem centres on the issue that the rate of youth unemployment is much higher than that of adults in most countries around the world. According to O'Higgins (2001), data is less widely available for developing countries, but it suggests that the gap between youth and adult unemployment rates is wider than in industrialised nations. There seems to be a strong case to be made for paying particular attention to youth unemployment (ibid.). First, long-term youth unemployment is much more widespread among youth with lower levels of educational achievement, and in particular among those with less than upper-secondary qualifications. Second, it is possible that long periods of unemployment early on in a young person's working life can permanently damage that individual's productive potential and hence affect the future long-term employment prospects (ibid.). Youth unemployment is also linked to insecurity. According to Henrik Urdal (2006: 612) *"it has been argued that high unemployment among educated youth is one of the most destabilizing and potentially violent sociopolitical phenomena in any regime."* He argues that

if young people are left with no alternative but unemployment and poverty, they are increasingly likely to join a rebellion as another way of generating an income (Urdal, 2006). Along this line, youth is increasingly addressed in the security literature (Ismail and Alao, 2007). This is due to the relation between the large youth 'bulges' and proneness to conflict (ibid.). According to Urdal (2006: 607) *"youth bulges are argued to potentially increase both opportunities and motives for political violence."* He emphasises that strong motives for violence may arise, as youth bulges are more likely to experience institutional crowding, in particular unemployment as outlined above.

In the social processes we outline here, youth as actors in these processes are framed in two different ways. The UN and the WB emphasise youth as being important actors in poverty reduction and other development agendas. Hereby, youth are viewed in a positive light, as actors who can contribute to change in these social processes. However, many of the social processes we review frame youth in a negative manner. In the 'anti-movements' we have outlined, youth are framed as being central actors in generating the problem. For example, youth are treated as being a prominent factor in the spreading of HIV/AIDS due to their risky sexual behaviour, and also contribute to health issues due to their drug and alcohol consumption. Further, youth are presented as being potential contributors to insecurity, as they are prone to conflict and violence. Hence, in many anti-movements the focus on youth is essentially to change their behaviour. From the text analysis, we see that the discourse almost entirely frames youth in a positive light, constructing youth as 'agents of change'. There is only one discrepancy to this, where youth are presented as being part of the corruption problem as they are prone to bribe. Thus, youth in AC is framed differently from most of the other social processes we have reviewed. According to Sukarieh and Tannock (2008), constructing youth in a positive way in AC places them within the good governance agenda, making them actors in furthering this agenda. If youth are constructed as the problem, they are placed outside the good governance paradigm, which makes the furthering of these values more difficult. This is an argument we unfold in the next section.

6.3.3 A critical discussion of the construction of youth in AC

Here, we critically assess why youth are framed as they are in the AC discourse. Hence, we position ourselves critically towards the findings of the text analysis. We seek to uncover the underlying notions and implications for constructing youth as they are.

6.3.3.1 Citizenship and democracy

Our analysis of the youth discourse shows that both TI and the WB greatly emphasise citizenship in their work with youth and AC. A strong link is made between youth citizenship and improved governance and citizenship is framed within a democratic value system in the discourse. This is evident throughout the text analysis. For example, when analysing the discourse, one can question whether demanding accountability from your leaders, transforming youth into citizens through political socialisation and participation, or consultation and recognition of youth through their participation in policy decision and implementation is even possible in regimes that are not democratic. We view this as an indirect furthering of democracy through the youth focus in AC, as this would not be possible in a non-democratic system. Here, we can also refer back to the point made by Larmour (2007:10), where he describes AC as a "*natural ally of democracy*" in international programmes of good governance. Further, Marquette (2001: 395) argues that the language the WB generally uses, "*(e.g., accountability, transparency, participation, etc.) and the projects it supports seem to endorse the spirit of liberal democracy.*" This supports our finding that the youth discourse is embedded within a wider focus on democracy. However, many countries in the developing world struggle with establishing democracy, as is evident in many African nations, where a recent example is the civil unrest in the Ivory Coast after president Gbagbo refused to step down after his opponent was democratically voted into office.

Tying the value system of democracy to youth in AC suggests an underlying agenda of both the WB and TI. Hindess (2009) argues that AC programmes, just as the US wars on drugs and terror, certainly serve various symbolic purposes,

and although AC institutions will never reach their headline objective to wipe out corruption, this is not of importance. Part of the reason that AC institutions keep going is because their activities are not only focused on fighting corruption. Besides the symbolic functions of these activities, they also reflect a broader programme of governmental reform (ibid.). The discourse we have analysed places youth citizenship within a good governance agenda, which is evident from the values that are sought in youth - democracy and integrity, as mentioned above - and in the way citizenship is presented as political participation. Ismail and Alao (2007) provide a critical voice to the focus on governance, arguing that the overall development goal of good governance in the 1990s gave youth an opportunity to get politically involved, but had the unfortunate side effect that those who gained political power became alienated from the rest. As Ismail and Alao (2007: 8) state: *"Across many developing countries, youths who used the opportunity of the global call for good governance to join the political elite groups have followed the traditional pattern of pursuing personal development at the expense of national development."* This criticism ties in with Hindess' argument that governmental reform may be the ultimate agenda of AC programmes, rather than actually wiping out corruption entirely.

To conclude on this, the youth discourse is embedded within a wider focus on democracy, which implies that the focus on youth has an underlying agenda of furthering democratic values.

6.3.3.2 Changing conception of citizenship

The emphasis on citizenship in the AC discourse on youth, and the link this suggests to a promotion of democratic values, directs us to examine the notion of citizenship. Citizenship has originally been perceived as the basis of a political relationship to the nation-state, embodied in the passport (Procacci, 2001). However, the concept of citizenship is undergoing significant renewal. The concept has undergone an extension to include wider social and cultural domains, while at the same time losing some of its narrow juridical and bureaucratic meaning (ibid.). According to Procacci (2001: 342), with the crisis

of the nation-state¹, citizenship has become *"less an expression of belonging to a national community and more the practice of such a belonging"*. Further, globalisation processes decompose the state politically (Procacci, 2001). Massive migrations are producing communities of 'non-nationals' who increasingly claim rights reserved to citizens, which undermines the coincidence of citizenship and nationality. Hence, the crisis of the nation state challenges the notion of citizenship as it has been understood in relation to nationality. This notion of citizenship can be connected to the way citizenship is framed in the discourse we have analysed. Here, citizenship is based on values of democracy and participation, which indicates a global sense of citizenship. The discourse does not take into account the cultural and political contexts of the young people, and hence promotes a general set of values to be exercised through youth citizenship.

According to Procacci (2001), the notion of government changes the way citizenship is perceived, from emphasising rights towards a focus on the importance of individual action. To govern *"is an action over action, a conduct of others' conduct"* (Procacci, 2001: 347). To govern means to structure the action of others; hence, power is entangled with the subjectivity of the individuals on who this power is exercised (Procacci, 2001). This view of government is attributed to Foucault's theorising on government and power. Foucault used government as a concept for thinking about liberalism (Procacci, 2001), which denotes the shift from welfare state to the liberal models of the state. Within this modern type of power, new political configurations appear where a political power of the state is combined with governmental action concerned with individuals' lives and conduct. According to Rose and Miller (1992: 180), *"The elaboration of the liberal doctrines of freedom went hand in hand with projects to make liberalism operable by producing the 'subjective' conditions under which its contractual notions of the mutual relations between citizens and society could work"*. This points towards the notion that citizenship has changed towards emphasising responsibility from citizens, rather than their rights, which is also one of the main outcomes from the text analysis where the discourse frames citizenship as being politically active and taking responsibility. Supporting this argument, Sherrod et al. (2010) argue that a central aspect of citizenship is the ability to move

¹According to Bobbitt (2002) the crisis of the nation state is expressed by its increasing difficulty in maintaining the credibility of its claim to provide public goods for the nation, which is evident within three spheres: the military, cultural and economic challenges that face the nation state.

beyond one's individual self-interest and be committed to the well-being of some larger group of which one is a member.

The discourse we have analysed frames youth as stakeholders in their societies, and essentially emphasises the responsibility youth have for counteracting corruption. Hence, this aligns with the notion of citizenship as outlined above, where citizens are governed to act freely and be responsible for their own conduct in society. This suggests that the notion of citizenship constructed through the discourse lies within a neo-liberal paradigm. This implies that the aspiration for youth citizenship in AC points towards an underlying agenda of spreading the neo-liberal views of citizenship.

6.3.3.3 Power of international institutions

Following the discussion on how globalisation processes undermine the nation state, Procacci (2001) argues that these processes benefit supranational organisations and new regionalisms. Governance is not only the domain of the nation state, but international institutions are increasingly exercising power. That international institutions have power to govern is a central part of Foucault's theorising on government and governmentality (Hindess, 2001). In modern government, civil society, and hereunder international institutions, is an actor in governance. Hindess (2001) argues that government is not concerned primarily with taking over the state and keeping it in one's possession, but rather the effort of conducting the affairs of the population in the interest of the whole. Government, in this sense, is not limited to the work of the government and its agencies; government will also be carried out by agencies that constitute civil society: churches, financial institutions, legal and medical professionals, voluntary associations (Hindess, 2001). Hence, *"The work of the state as whole, then, extends far beyond the institutions of the state itself"* (Hindess, 2001: 43). This is also a point made by Rose and Miller (1992: 174): *"Political power is exercised today through a profusion of shifting alliances between diverse authorities in projects to govern a multitude of facets of economic activity, social life and individual conduct."* This yields a role for international institutions in government of society.

According to Barnett and Finnemore (1999), IOs such as the WB *"embody a*

form of authority, rational-legal authority, that modernity views as particularly legitimate and good. In contrast to earlier forms of authority that were invested in a leader, legitimate modern authority is invested in legalities, procedures, and rules and thus rendered impersonal" (Barnett and Finnemore, 1999: 707). The authority is rational because it deploys relevant knowledge recognised in society to create rules that determine how goals are pursued. Further, the autonomy of an IO derives from its specialised technical knowledge and experience that is not immediately available to other actors (Barnett and Finnemore, 1999). Barnett and Finnemore (1999: 708) argue that the power of IOs is embodied in how they *"present themselves as impersonal, technocratic, and neutral - as not exercising power but instead as serving others."* However, the authors also put forth that this depoliticised nature of IOs is a myth: rather, IOs always serve some social purpose or set of cultural values. This can be set in relation to AC, and the promotion of good governance through AC, by the WB. Further, it is also visible in the widespread criticism of how the WB is struggling with its mandate to remain non-political.

The power of IOs is visible in three domains (Barnett and Finnemore, 1999). First, they classify and organise information and knowledge. Barnett and Finnemore (1999: 710) write: *"The ability to classify objects, to shift their very definition and identity, is one of bureaucracy's greatest sources of power."* Second, they exercise power through their ability to fix meanings; IOs ability to invest situations with a particular meaning constitutes an important source of power. Third, they diffuse norms. IOs establish rules and norms, and are keen to spread the benefits of their expertise; hence, IOs often act as *"conveyer belts"* for the diffusion of norms and *"models of good political behaviour"* (Barnett and Finnemore, 1999: 713). Along this line, Barnett and Finnemore (1999: 700) argue that global organisations *"create actors, specify responsibilities and authority among them, and define the work these actors should do, giving it meaning and normative value."* Tying this to AC, youth in AC are created as actors by the WB. Further, the WB fixes meaning to youth as important actors in AC by assigning them power and by describing them as agents of change. Finally, the WB diffuses the norms and values of democracy, transparency and good governance through youth in AC.

Regarding the power of NGOs, Sending and Neumann (2006: 652) put forth that in the perspective of governmentality, *"the role of nonstate actors in shaping and*

carrying out global governance-functions is not an instance of transfer of power from the state to nonstate actors but rather an expression of the changing logic or rationality of government (defined as a type of power) by which civil society is redefined from a passive object of government to be acted upon into an entity that is both an object and a subject of government". Further, they argue that the self-association and the political will-formation that is characteristic of NGOs and civil society do not stand in opposition to the power of the state, but is rather a central feature of how power operates in modern society. Hence, NGOs have a central role in governance in modern society, and thus power to affect social processes.

According to Rose and Miller (1992), knowledge is central to government. They argue that, *"government is intrinsically linked to the activities of expertise, whose role is not one of weaving an all-pervasive web of 'social control', but one of enacting assorted attempts at calculated administration of diverse aspects of conduct through countless, often competing, local tactics of education, persuasion, inducement, management, incitement, motivation and encouragement"* (Rose and Miller, 1992: 175). Hence, international institutions, such as the WB and TI, have a governing role, as they possess expertise within the field of AC. Because the WB and TI have the expertise and the knowledge within the field of AC, they are able to create the rules of AC and they can shape how the goal of ending corruption is pursued. Therefore, the WB and TI have the authority to shape the AC agenda, and ascribe youth power as actors in AC. The discourse constructs youth as a powerful collective group, and Herrera (2006) argues that it is through these moments, when youth are described collectively that they potentially make up a politically or socially transformative force. Nevertheless, *"Collective identity and action necessitate points of inclusion, but conditions of poverty, disability, delinquency, disease and conflict, with their accompanying features of lack of access to food, health care, education, employment, media, markets and political institutions, serve as points of exclusion of young people"* (Herrera, 2006: 1427). This is especially so in the developing part of the world, where the majority of the programmes of the WB and TI are aimed. Thus, with youth being marginalised in many parts of the world, one can question whether a collective action of youth is at all plausible and how powerful they are as a group. Thus, the WB and TI may be in a position to create youth as a powerful actor; however, we question whether youth have power at all - especially in the developing part of the world. It is definitely in the interest of the WB and TI to

define youth as a powerful actor when including them in their AC programmes. This is because their work is concerned with bringing about change; hence, the more powerful the youth group appears, the easier it is to argue that youth is a significant group to include in AC work.

To conclude on this discussion, we argue that the notion of governmentality implies that in modern government, IOs and NGOs are central actors in governance. Hence, the WB and TI have a source of power, especially in their knowledge and expertise of AC, to govern the action of individuals within the realm of AC. Thus, they also have power to define actors and ascribe these actors power and responsibility in AC - in this case youth. However, they ascribe youth power, without youth necessarily possessing power.

6.3.3.4 A neo-liberal agenda

We argue that the discourse we have analysed places citizenship within a neo-liberal view of government. According to Rose and Miller (1992: 201) *"For neo-liberalism the political subject is less a social citizen with powers and obligations deriving from membership of a collective body, than an individual whose citizenship is active. This citizenship is to be manifested not in the receipt of public largesse, but in the energetic pursuit of personal fulfilment."* What is central to modern government is the recognition that individuals must 'self-govern' (Hindess, 2001). Hence, citizenship is framed as 'responsibilization', a term used by Burchell (1993) to denote the liberal forms in which the governed are encouraged, freely and rationally, to conduct themselves. The discourse continuously places responsibility on youth, for example when assigning youth the responsibility for driving change. The general picture of youth, the discourse constructs, ascribes power and responsibility to youth by placing them at the centre of AC as the actors who can drive 'real' change. Further, they are continuously referred to as the world's future political and economic leaders and hence assigned responsibility for the lives of future generations. Hence, this suggests that the 'responsibilization' in the discourse places youth within the neo-liberal view of citizenship.

We argue that the WB and TI place importance on youth as actors in AC to further a particular agenda of neo-liberal reform. TI's main approach to tackle

corruption, its NIS model, is criticised for promoting a *"broader neo-liberal programme of normalization"* (Hindess, 2009: 30). In the model, civil society - and thereby youth - has a part to play in assuring national integrity, as seen in figure 4.1. Hindess (2009) argues that the NIS model builds on an idealised and particularly neo-liberal image of a Western institutional framework. Hence, since youth are placed within the NIS model, they contribute to the promotion of this broader neo-liberal agenda. Sukarieh and Tannock (2008: 301) argue that the turn to youth in the WB primarily serves the purpose of *"insulating the increasingly contested neoliberal project from further political and ideological challenge"*. The authors assert that the WB uses youth as a marketing tool to promote the interests of business and political elites and in that way youth is seen as an entity that can be used to push capitalist agendas (ibid.). Nevertheless, there seems to be a paradox: while youth on the one hand are being spoken of as *"agents of change, citizens and leaders, participants and activist, nations' most important assets, the best hope and promise we have for our collective future development and prosperity"* (Sukarieh and Tannock, 2008: 301), they are at the same time being referred to as *"ticking time bombs, social dynamite, boiling-over frustrations, pent-up anger, violent conflicts, political insurrection and instability, disease and death"* (ibid.). This we have shown at the beginning of this chapter, where we describe how youth are viewed in various social processes. We find that youth in some social processes are viewed as being the root problem, whereas in AC they are presented as 'agents of change'. According to the authors, this difference in discourse arises because youth are welcomed and celebrated when standing inside the neo-liberal economic system, but when standing on the outside, questioning or challenging the system, they are referred to instead as a highly negative force - *"society's worst nightmare"* (Sukarieh and Tannock, 2008: 302). Portraying youth in a positive light in the discourse essentially welcomes and celebrates youth, and hence places youth within the neo-liberal agenda of the WB and TI. In the discourse, youth are assigned various qualities and framed as being resilient and possessing idealism. Further, when youth are compared to the older generation this is also a way to highlight the positive qualities of the youth population. However, one can ask why the youth discourse frames youth as it does, when it is also found to be the group that bribes the most often. We argue that depicting youth in a positive light is a way for the WB and TI to justify why they choose to focus on youth. This indicates that the way youth are portrayed in the youth discourse works

to further the political agenda of good governance and disseminating a system of neo-liberal values.

Another indication that AC is tied to a neo-liberal agenda, is that youth are described as presenting a 'demographic bonus', which indicates an economic motive for focusing on youth. This is in line with the neo-liberal view, which emphasises an economic motive underlying development. Many developing countries are currently experiencing a 'demographic window' (Mitra and Nagarajan, 2005), also referred to as a 'demographic opportunity' (Fussel and Greene, 2002). The 'window' occurs when countries move from high to low mortality and fertility. A rapid shift in the dependency burden occurs during this shift. During the interval when the youth dependency ratio is small and when the large generation enters the labour market, this could lead to economic growth. Countries with a relatively higher proportion of young or old dependents have to spend more of their resources on these groups without this giving any immediate returns. In comparison, countries with a relatively higher share of working age population can save and invest more due to the reduced spending on dependents (Mitra and Nagarajan, 2005). To benefit from this, however, nations need to be willing to invest in this opportunity. This could be done through investment in education, job creation and health services (Fussel and Greene, 2002). Hence, if youth are educated to be uncorrupted the economic growth resulting from the investment in the 'demographic opportunity' may result in wider economic growth in society. Presenting youth as providing a demographic bonus points towards an economic motive for emphasising youth in AC. Youth become actors in the market and are viewed as economic agents. This is embedded within the neo-liberal view of the WB and TI, and hence this also supports the argument that youth as agents of change in AC are placed within a neo-liberal agenda.

In conclusion, the changing notion of citizenship that emphasises responsibility, which is visible in the discourse, the framing of youth in positive terms placing them inside the governance agenda, and describing youth as contributing to a 'demographic bonus' all indicate that the focus on youth in AC is placed within a neo-liberal agenda.

6.3.3.5 Shaping youth through education

When focusing on youth you inevitably come across education, as it is a large component of young people's lives. It is also in the education system where young people are especially confronted with corruption. This is evident from the text analysis, where corruption in education is viewed as a factor in youth's acceptance of corruption. The point is made that corruption in education needs to be addressed, as it is important for youth to grow up believing that hard work and merit pays off, rather than bribery and manipulation. Corruption in the education sector is visible in numerous areas; for example, in the charging of additional fees to enter the school, or the professional misconduct on behalf of teachers when accepting bribes for positive grades (Heynemann, 2002). These negative aspects in relation to education are only mentioned a few times by TI. Generally, the discourse frames education as a panacea for engaging the youth population in breaking the cycle of corruption.

From the text analysis it is apparent that education is mainly framed as civic education and education is seen as playing a vital role in relation to the civic engagement of youth. In this way, education is constructed as a way to shape future citizens. That civic education is increasingly being targeted as a tool to combat corruption is also seen in the increased interest among donors in funding civic education *"to build corruption awareness and civic virtue in schools"* (Marquette, 2007: 239). Marquette argues that there are a number of reasons why donors view this sort of education as key in fighting corruption: first, the public is largely viewed as a necessary and effective watchdog against corruption; second, citizens themselves often contribute to corrupt practice by offering bribes, evading taxes, practicing nepotism, and so on; and finally, all politicians and civil servants started out as ordinary citizens, and if civic education can instil an AC ethic within the wider public, this could translate into an AC ethic within the public sector as well (Marquette, 2007). Funding is an issue that we have not been able to analyse in the discourse, since it is not an issue that is explicitly discussed in the text material. However, we inquired into the relevance of funding in relation to the increasing focus on youth in AC through the interviews. Funding is only of importance to TI, because it is an NGO. From the interviews it appears that for some national chapters funding is currently not a big issue in the work with youth. Nonetheless, TI Venezuela notes that

youth projects with a focus on education are easier to raise funds for because *"enterprises tend not to sponsor initiatives that might seem related with politics in order to prevent being associated with any political faction"* (TI Venezuela, E-mail interview). Hence, *"it is always preferred to fund initiatives that involve educational campaigns"* (ibid.). This suggests that educational programmes targeting youth may be easier to get funding for compared to other programs. However, we question whether education programmes for youth in AC are at all non-political; rather, we argue that education programmes in AC shape youth according to a neo-liberal agenda.

Kassimir and Flanagan (2010) argue that there is a positive relation between education and participation in society. However, undertaking civic education to fight corruption in developing countries is extremely difficult due to the low budgets, weak institutions, widespread illiteracy, poor schools and inadequate training of teachers (Marquette, 2007). Furthermore, for AC education to be effective, wider civic education is essential. In the case of the Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) in Hong Kong, which has had great success with its corruption programmes, the education on corruption is just one part of the wider civic education. Marquette points out that it is unlikely that civic education programmes that target corruption can be transferred to other environments with the same success if this wider focus on civic education cannot be found. At least they would not obtain the same results. This points towards the difficulties of undertaking civic education targeting corruption and the importance of wider civic education. Thus, the success of the civic education programmes on corruption of international institutions can be argued to be dependent on whether there is wider civic education taking place in the local societies.

International institutions like the WB and TI are increasingly taking over parts of the education that was once a formal national government domain (Blasco and Hansen, 2006), indicating the emergence of a global field of education under the influence of various actors - national as well as international. When the civic educational programmes targeting youth are shaped by international organisations one can argue that it is their values that are expressed through the programmes; hence, one can argue that there is a dissemination of 'global' values. According to Blasco and Hansen (2006: 469): *"Education is today being hailed as a key tool in promoting a particular set of 'global' values"*, indicating

that education is often used not only for the purpose of learning skills, but that there is also the underlying purpose of instilling a certain type of values in youth. The values promoted through the civic education programmes by TI and the WB lie within a specific way of framing citizenship, namely under the umbrella of good governance and neo-liberalism. Thus, the education programmes of the WB and TI are tied up to a global set of values embedded in a democratic neo-liberal system. The values are essentially about teaching youth to self-govern, which is intrinsic to modern liberal government: *"Rather than act directly on the actions of individuals, government aims to do so indirectly by influencing the manner in which individuals regulate their own behaviour"* (Hindess, 2001: 42).

Education by the WB and TI can therefore be seen as a means to instil global values in youth that support the good governance agenda and promotes neo-liberal principles, by making youth able to self-govern according to these principles.

6.3.3.6 Promoting citizenship through communications technologies

One of the key outcomes from the text analysis is that new technologies can help foster civic engagement of youth and that the use of the web can lead to new forms of social and citizen participation. For youth to exercise their citizenship, the discourse emphasises that it is of great importance that youth are given a voice. The objective is to involve youth in civic affairs through the creation of websites and other forums that make use of new technologies where dialogue and thinking about, as well as participation in, civic life is promoted and encouraged. Blasco and Hansen (2006) argue that supranational organisations, other international organisations and civil society organisations have since the late 1990s seen the fusion between the supposed entrepreneurial and civic potentialities of young people with new media as a way to create a powerful development catalyst.

That the programmes targeting youth make use of the Internet to, among other things, form social networks, and that the discourse is occupied with the potential of communications technology to foster civic engagement of youth is no surprise, since young people are the main users of the new communications technologies, especially the Internet (WB, 2007b). Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and

other social websites are making it possible for people to share their opinions with, possibly, millions of people. A current example that shows how youth make use of communications technology, and how they use this medium to create political momentum, is the uprising of youth in Tunis and Egypt in January 2011 where they used social media to organise massive protests against their oppressive and corrupt governments (Kirkpatrick and Slackman, 2011). Emad Shahin, an Egyptian scholar, asserts: *"If you look at the Tunisian uprising, it's a youth uprising. It is the youth that knows how to use the media, Internet, Facebook, so there are other players now"* (Kirkpatrick and Slackman, 2011). In Egypt, Kirkpatrick and Slackman (2011) call the protests *"an online rallying cry for a show of opposition to tyranny, corruption and torture... unexpectedly vaulting the online youth movement to the forefront as the most effective independent political force in Egypt"* (Kirkpatrick and Slackman, 2011). During the protests in Egypt, the Egyptian government tried to silence and deter the people by shutting down the Internet (BBC News, 2011), proving the force of the social media.

Focusing on the use of Internet when working with the world's youth may however raise the question of accessibility to the Internet of all youth. More and more people in the developing countries are gaining access to the Internet, but as seen from figure 6.1, not nearly as many people in the developing world have access to the Internet compared to those in developed countries. In other words, there exists a digital divide between those who have access to communications technologies and those who do not have access or do not know how to use these technologies (Santoyo and Martínez, 2003).

Thus, when the WB writes that the use of communications technologies can increase the reach of their projects, as it is a way to reach a large number of youth at the same time, this would only take place in countries where youth have access to the Internet, which is not the case in many developing countries. Furthermore, since the WB's programmes are aimed at emerging markets and developing countries it can be questioned to what extent the use of communications technologies increase the reach of its programmes and thus, how many young people the programmes give voice to.

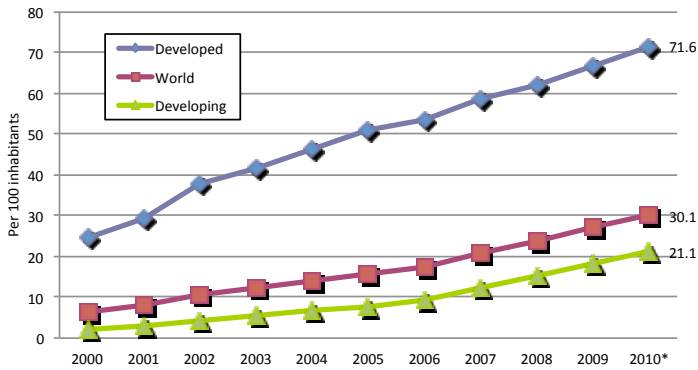


Figure 6.1: Internet users per 100 inhabitants, 2000-2010*. Source: International Telecommunication Union, 2010. Note: * Estimate.

6.3.3.7 Providing voice through communications technologies

The discourse emphasises the importance of giving youth a voice. However, we argue that it may not be an unconditional voice. We outline this argument by discussing the aspect of writing on the Youthink website. On the Youthink website youth are encouraged to write and comment on various developmental issues, such as corruption, to take part in a global conversation amongst youth. However, the website is constructed so that any comments have to go through the Youthink employees by filling in a form on the website. The comments are therefore not directly 'blogged', but uploaded through a system managed by the WB. Hence, the WB has the opportunity to filter unwanted entries. This means that the 'voice' the WB emphasises may not be any kind of voice. It also seems that it is the same young people that write about various themes, which raises the question whether Youthink is a platform for all youth to voice their concerns or if it only gives voice to a smaller, selected group of young people. A further observation is that the articles posted by young people on the issue of corruption all represent the views and interests of the WB and do not in any way position themselves critically towards the Bank. Hence, one can suspect that the young people writing through the website are merely puppets moved by strings controlled by the WB. The notion of voice has also been sharply criticised by Sukarieh and Tannock (2008), although from another perspective.

They argue that the World Development Report 2007 shows a concern with making sure the opinions of youth are heard and included, and include profiles of many exemplary youth initiatives and youth leaders; however, some of the most prominent examples of collective youth voice and action from around the world are missing. These include the youth protests in France over lack of jobs, the anti-globalisation movement that erupted in Seattle in 1999, and the anti-sweatshop movement (ibid.). Hence, *"When the World Bank speaks of giving voice, it is precisely to replace, silence and contain these movements with the Bank's own voice of neoliberalism, to be inculcated in global youth through a steady diet of Bank-proscribed education, employment and development programming"* (Sukarieh and Tannock, 2008: 311). Hence, it seems that the aim is to connect young people electronically to institutions, which can then give voice to and disseminate the values that these organisations perceive as being of importance in transforming young people into citizens (Blasco and Hansen, 2006).

A further observation in relation to the programmes making use of communications technology is that many of them revolve around a good governance agenda. In continuation of the discussion of voice, one can ask if the voice given to youth through these programmes is essentially a means to promote good governance. For example, in the CivICTs and the Youth for Good Governance programmes there is a particular focus on citizen participation amongst youth, since through the participation of youth it is believed that governance will improve and hereby the opportunities for corruption will be reduced (WB, 2011a). Thus, there is an idea that the Internet can aid in the transformation of young people into responsible, participating citizens. Blasco and Hansen (2006) argue that when the Internet's transformative potentialities on youth are combined with techniques of good governance, neo-liberalism or the concept of governmentality, *"the stage is set for activities and interventions that revolve around how to be engaged, participatory, entrepreneurial and self-responsible individuals, even though the social and economic life conditions of these actors are not particularly conducive to help them meet such ideals"* (Blasco and Hansen, 2006: 471). In other words, supranational organisations like the WB and TI are promoting ideas about how the use of communications technology can be linked to political projects and initiatives, although the developing world, where most of the AC initiatives are carried out, is generally characterised by economic scarcity, marginalisation, marketization and a weakening of the state (ibid.).

To conclude, the Internet is increasingly viewed as means for youth to engage in political activities and to exercise their citizenship. Further, the Internet provides a tool for youth to voice their concerns and opinions. However, we argue that the way the WB gives voice to youth can be seen as a way to further a particular good governance, neo-liberal agenda.

6.3.4 Sub-conclusion social practice

First of all, we conclude that AC is embedded within a wider development agenda, which implicates that AC cannot be viewed as an agenda in itself. With AC being embedded in this wider development agenda, we question whether the focus on youth in AC is influenced by the objective of wider governmental and economic reform.

Youth in AC is framed differently from most of the other social processes we have reviewed. In the majority of the anti-movements we outline, the focus on youth is essentially to change their behaviour, whereas in the AC discourse, youth are almost entirely framed in a positive light, constructing youth as 'agents of change'. We argue that constructing youth in a positive way in AC places them within the good governance agenda, making them actors in furthering this agenda.

The discourse we have analysed frames youth as stakeholders in their societies, and essentially emphasises the responsibility youth have for counteracting corruption. Hence, this aligns with the changing notion of citizenship as outlined above, where citizens are increasingly governed to act freely and be responsible for their own conduct in society. This suggests that the notion of citizenship constructed through the discourse lies within a neo-liberal paradigm. This implies that the aspiration for youth citizenship in AC points towards an underlying agenda of spreading the neo-liberal views of citizenship. The 'responsibilization' of youth that the discourse emphasises highlights the role of the individual, which is a central aspect of neo-liberalism.

In continuation of this, we argue that the notion of governmentality implies that the WB and TI possess a source of power, especially in their knowledge and expertise of AC, to govern the action of individuals within the realm of AC

- giving them power to ascribe youth power and responsibility in AC and the power to shape youth in accordance with the above mentioned values. However, it appears that youth are ascribed power, without youth necessarily possessing power.

Further, education is framed as civic education, and as a means to instil global values in youth that support the good governance agenda and promotes neo-liberal principles by making youth able to self-govern according to these principles. Hence, we view education as a tool to shape youth in accordance with democratic and neo-liberal values and norms.

It is emphasised that new media can lead to new forms of social and citizen participation, and thus help foster civic engagement. The Internet is seen as a means to increase the reach of projects, which we question, as a digital divide exists between developing and developed countries. New media is also emphasised as a way to engage youth in discussions on good governance, and to provide youth with a voice. However, we argue that providing 'voice' to youth can be viewed as a means to further the agenda of good governance and neo-liberalism.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

Taking our point of departure in the WB and TI, we investigated why youth are increasingly emphasised as agents of change in the AC discourse. The focus on youth in AC is quite novel and is an area that has yet to be researched by academics. Thereby, we find this study important and relevant, as this gap in the academic research represents an opportunity for us to contribute to the AC discussion.

To answer the research question we first turn to how youth are framed in the AC discourse. The discourse frames youth as a collective group, assigning them great power. Further, youth are constructed very positively, with the discourse assigning youth such qualities as resilience, resourcefulness, idealism, hopefulness, energy, and inventiveness. All these attributes given to youth appear to be of great value in AC work. However, at the same time it is acknowledged that youth is the group that most frequently bribes, which presents a discrepancy in the discourse. Further, constructing youth in the following ways ascribes great power, as well as responsibility to youth: as the world's future leaders; as citizens; as agents that can drive 'real change'; as the one generation, as opposed to the older generation, that can end the cycle of corruption; and expressing that it

will be difficult to advance AC work without the participation of youth. Youth are also referred to as stakeholders, indicating that youth can expect something - they have a stake in the governance of their country - but also that they have the duty of voicing their concerns, and exercising this role as stakeholders.

Youth are placed in relation to three central themes in AC programmes: education, citizenship and communications technologies. We found that education of youth is framed as civic education, and is presented as a means to instil desired values in youth. The discourse suggests that youth acquire norms and values, such as 'integrity', 'democracy' and 'transparency', through exercising their citizenship, which implies a focus on democracy and good governance. In continuation of this, the discourse emphasises the importance of giving youth a 'voice' and how this is possible through the use of communications technologies, presenting new ways for youth to exercise their citizenship. By placing youth citizenship as central in AC, the discourse indirectly promotes a particular political system, where 'political socialisation' and 'participation' is possible for youth. This hints towards a democratic system.

To answer why youth are constructed as they are in the discourse, we turn to the findings of the analysis of the wider social practice in which the discourse is embedded. We reviewed how youth are framed in other social processes that lie within 'anti' agendas. We found that youth are framed differently in AC compared to these social processes: In AC, youth are framed positively and are placed as powerful actors who have the ability to drive change, whereas other 'anti-movements' frame youth as the root of the problem, and hence the focus on youth is essentially to change their unwanted behaviour. Nonetheless, youth in AC are created as a powerful actor, without youth necessarily possessing power. Hence, the construction of youth as a powerful actor seems to serve another purpose. We conclude that youth are constructed in a positive way and as powerful actors, to place youth within a neo-liberal agenda that we argue is being pushed forward by the WB and TI through the emphasis on youth in AC.

We conclude that the discourse constructs and frames youth within a neo-liberal view of citizenship and government. Civic education, under the umbrella of AC, educates youth in demanding accountability and transparency of their governments, and the programmes educate youth themselves to resist corruption, and instil in them a certain view of citizenship. We argue that this notion of citizen-

ship lies within the neo-liberal paradigm, which emphasises the 'responsibilization' of youth - and hence the role of the individual in self-governance. In this light, AC programmes with the component of civic education can essentially be viewed as a means to shape youth and instil in youth particular values that promote democratic, neo-liberal thinking. This appears to be a wider agenda of the WB, and also TI, who both emphasise good governance embedded in neo-liberalism in their discourse.

Beyond the generic reasoning for emphasising youth in AC, such as their sheer numbers, their role as the future world leaders, and their idealism, we conclude that the emphasis on youth as agents of change reveals an underlying agenda: the WB and TI essentially use youth to push forward a contested neo-liberal agenda. Hence, this thesis contributes with a deeper understanding of the increasing focus on youth as a new actor in AC. What implications do our findings have?

Reaching these conclusions raises a number of issues that could be of interest in further research beyond this study. One such issue is to explore the impact the youth programmes have had. How many young people are actually engaging in these programmes? And is it even possible to measure the impact of the programmes on corruption? Corruption is notoriously difficult to measure since it is an illegal activity; however, it would be interesting to analyse how youth have changed their view of corruption, or their behaviour, after having participated in the AC programmes outlined in this thesis. Further, a possible research area would be to explore the paradigm shift - the shift from a focus on systems to emphasising people as change makers - and what the possible advantages and disadvantages such a shift yields, for the institutions that work with AC, as well as concerning the impact of people-focused programmes.

This thesis has also made us consider the implications of the WBs involvement in AC, as the WB has been widely criticised for the conflict between its Articles of Agreement and its AC agenda. It is argued that good governance is in direct conflict with the Bank's non-political mandate. The move towards focusing on youth in AC has not diminished the Bank's underlying agenda of neo-liberal reform, as we have revealed in this thesis. In light of this, we concur with the criticism, and question whether it is time for the WB to reconsider a redraft of its Articles of Agreement.

Bibliography

AC (2009), *Realising the Potential of Africa's Youth*. [online] Available at: <http://www.africacommission.um.dk/en/menu/Reports/FinalReport2009/> [Accessed 27 January 2011].

Alatas, V., Cameron, L., Chaudhuri, A., Erkal, N. and Gangadharan, L. (2006), *Gender and Corruption: Insights from an Experimental Analysis*. Melbourne University: Department of Economics. [online] Available at: <http://www.economics.unimelb.edu.au/SITE/research/workingpapers/wp06/974.pdf> [Accessed 25 October 2010].

Alhasan-Alolo, N. (2007), 'Gender and corruption: Testing the new consensus.', *Public Administration and Development* **27**(3), 227–237. [e-journal] Available through: Wiley Online Library [Accessed 25 October 2010].

Andersson, S. and Heywood, P. M. (2009), Anti-corruption as a risk to democracy: on the unintended consequences of international anti-corruption campaigns., in 'de Sousa, L., Larmour, P. and Hindess, B., eds. 2009. *Governments, NGOs and Anti-Corruption - The New Integrity Warriors*', Routledge, Oxon. Ch. 3.

Ansell, N. (2005), *Children, Youth and Development.*, Routledge, Oxon.

Bampton, R. and Cowton, C. J. (2002), 'The e-interview.', *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum Qualitative Social Research* **3**(2). [e-journal] Available at: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/2-02/2-02bamptoncowton-e.htm> [Accessed 8 December 2010].

Barnett, M. N. and Finnemore, M. (2006), 'The politics, power, and pathologies of international organisations.', *International Organisation* **53**(4), 699–732. [e-

- journal] Available though: Cambridge Journals Online [Accessed 8 December 2010].
- BBC-News (2011), *Egypt severs internet connection amid growing unrest*. [online] Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/technology-12306041> [Accessed 31 January 2011].
- Blasco, M. and Hansen, H. K. (2006), 'Cosmopolitan aspirations: New media, citizenship education and youth in latin america.', *Citizenship Studies* **10**(4), 469–488. [e-journal] Available though: Taylor & Francis (Informaworld) [Accessed 14 October 2010].
- Bobbitt, P. (2002), The market state., in 'The Shield of Achilles', Allen Lane, London. Ch. 10.
- Bracking, S. (2007), Political development and corruption: Why 'right here, right now!'.?, in 'S. Bracking, ed. Corruption and Development - The Anti-Corruption Campaigns.', Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills. Ch. 1.
- Bretton-Woods-Project (2007), *What are the Bretton Woods Institutions?* [online] Available at: <http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/item.shtml?x=320747> [Accessed 10 February 2011].
- Brown, E. and Cloke, J. (2004), 'Neoliberal reform, governance and corruption in the south:assessing the international anti-corruption crusade.', *Antipode* **36**(2), 272–294. [e-journal] Available through: Wiley Online Library [Accessed 25 October 2010].
- Brunetti, A. and Weder, B. (2003), 'A free press is bad news for corruption.', *Journal of Public Economics* **87**, 1801–1824. [e-journal] Available through: ScienceDirect [Accessed 21 October 2010].
- Bryman, A. (2004), *Social Research Methods.*, Oxford University Press Inc., New York. 2nd ed.
- Bukovansky, M. (2006), 'The hollowness of anti-corruption discourse.', *Review of International Political Economy* **13**(2), 181–209. [e-journal] Available through: JSTOR [Accessed 9 September 2010].
- Burchell, G. (1993), 'Liberal government and techniques of the self.', *Economy and Society* **22**(3), 267–282. [e-journal] Available through: Taylor & Francis (Informaworld) [Accessed 13 April 2010].
- Castro, C. D. M. (2002), 'The world bank policies: Damned if you do, damned if you don't.', *Comparative Education* **38**(4), 387–399. [e-journal] Available through: Taylor & Francis (Informaworld) [Accessed 10 February 2011].

- D. Dollar, R. F. and Gatti, R. (2001), 'Are women really the 'fairer' sex? corruption and women in government.', *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* **46**(4), 423–429. [e-journal] Available through: Science Direct [Accessed 25 October 2010].
- de Sousa, L. (2005), *Transparency International in search of a constituency: The franchising of the global anticorruption movement. Policy and Governance Discussion Paper 05-14 Asia Pacific School of Economics and Government*. [online] Available at: <http://dspace.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/43040/1/PDP05-14.pdf> [Accessed 15 February 2011].
- de Sousa, L. (2009), Ti in search of a constituency: the institutionalization and franchising of the global anti-corruption doctrine., in 'de Sousa, L., Larmour, P. and Hindess, B., eds. 2009. Governments, NGOs and Anti-Corruption - The New Integrity Warriors', Routledge, Oxon. Ch. 12.
- Delanty, G. and Strydom, P. (2003), *Philosophies of Social Science - The Classic and Contemporary Readings*., Open University Press, Maidenhead.
- Doig, A. (2009), Matching work load, management and recourses: setting the context for 'effective' anti-corruption commissions., in 'de Sousa, L., Larmour, P. and Hindess, B., eds. 2009. Governments, NGOs and Anti-Corruption - The New Integrity Warriors', Routledge, Oxon. Ch. 5.
- Doig, A., Watt, D. and Williams, R. (2006), 'Hands-on or hands-off? anti-corruption agencies in action, donor expectations, and a good enough reality?', *Public Administration and Development* **26**, 163–172. [e-journal] Available through: Wiley Online [Accessed 25 October 2010].
- Espinosa, A. C. G. (2008), *Strengthening Youth Integrity: a few lessons from experience*. [online] Available at: http://iacconference.org/documents/13th_iacc_workshop_Strengthening_Youth_Integrity_a_few_lessons_from_experience.pdf [Accessed 15 November 2010].
- F. Galtung, J. P. (1999), The global coalition against corruption: Evaluating transparency international., in 'Schedler, A., Diamond, L. and Plattner, M.F., eds. The Self-Restraining State - Power and Accountability in New Democracies', Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., London, Colorado. Ch. 16.
- Faiclough, N. (1992), *Discourse and Social Change*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Fair-Play (2011), About. [online] Available at: <http://www.anticorruptionmusic.org/?about> [Accessed 14 February 2011].
- Fijnaut, C. and Huberts, L. (2002), *Corruption, Integrity and Law Enforcement*., Kluwer Law International, Netherlands.
- Flick, U. (2006), *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*., Sage, London.

- Fritzen, S. (2006), 'Beyond 'political will': How institutional context shapes the implementation of anti-corruption policies', *Policy & Society* **24**(3), 79–96. [e-journal] Available at: http://www.spp.nus.edu.sg/Scott_Fritzen_publications.aspx [Accessed 25 January 2011].
- Fussel, E. and Greene, M. E. (2002), Demographic trends affecting youth around the world., in 'Brown, B.B., Larson, R.W. and Saraswathi, T.S., eds. The World's Youth - Adolescence in Eight Regions of the Globe.', Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. Ch. 2.
- Goetz, A. M. (2007), *Political Cleaners: How Women are the New Anti-Corruption Force. Does the Evidence Wash?* [online] Available at: <http://www.u4.no/document/showdoc.cfm?id=124> [Accessed 25 October 2010].
- GYAC (2010), *Global Youth Forum 2010: Mobilizing Youth Against Corruption*. [online] Available at: <http://voices-against-corruption.ning.com/events/global-youth-forum-2010> [Accessed 5 October 2010].
- GYAC (2011), *Global Youth Anti-Corruption Network*. [online] Available at: <http://voices-against-corruption.ning.com/video/global-youth-anticorruption> [Accessed 31 January 2011].
- Hansen, H. K. (2010), 'Managing corruption risks.', *Review of International Political Economy*. (Accepted for publication in August 2010).
- Heineman, B. W. and Heimann, F. (2006), 'The long war against corruption.', *Foreign Affairs* **85**(3), 75–86. [e-journal] Available through: JSTOR [Accessed 20 January 2011].
- Herrera, L. (2006), 'What's new about youth?', *Development and Change* **37**(6), 1425–1434. [e-journal] Available through: Wiley Online [Accessed November 9 2010].
- Heynemann, S. P. (2002), *Education and Corruption*. [online] Available at: <http://www.u4.no/document/literature/Heynemann-2002-Education-and-Corruption.pdf> [Accessed 6 October 2010].
- Hindess, B. (2005), 'Investigating international anti-corruption.', *Third World Quarterly* **26**(8), 1389–1398. [e-journal] Available through: Taylor & Francis (Informaworld) [Accessed 16 October 2010].
- Hindess, B. (2009), International anti-corruption as a programme of normalization., in 'In: de Sousa, L., Larmour, P. and Hindess, B., eds. 2009. Governments, NGOs and Anti-Corruption - The New Integrity Warriors', Routledge, Oxon. Ch. 5.

- IACC (2010a), *The IACC Programme - Changing the Rules of the Game*. [online] Available at: <http://14iacc.org/programme/change-the-rules-of-the-game/> [Accessed 6 April 2011].
- IACC (2010b), *The IACC Programme - Young People: victims and [game-changers]?* [online] Available at: <http://14iacc.org/programme/sessions/young-people/> [Accessed 6 April 2011].
- Ismail, O. and Alao, A. (2007), 'Youths in the interface of development and security', *Conflict, Security & Development* **7**(1), 3–25. [e-journal] Available through: Taylor & Francis (Informaworld) [Accessed 15 October 2010].
- ITU (2010), *Internet Users*. [online] Available at: <http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/statistics/> [Accessed 11 April 2011].
- J. Everett, D. N. and Rahaman, A. S. (2007), 'Accounting and the global fight against corruption.', *Accounting, Organizations and Society* **32**, 1–12. [e-journal] Available through: Science Direct [Accessed 25 October 2010].
- Jain, A. K. (2001), 'Corruption: A review.', *Journal of Economic Surveys* **15**(1), 71–121. [e-journal] Available through: Wiley Online Library [Accessed 1 November 2010].
- Johnston, M. (1998), 'Fighting systemic corruption: Social foundations for institutional reform.', *The European Journal of Development Research* **10**(1), 85–104. [e-journal] Available through: Taylor & Francis (Informaworld) [Accessed 7 October 2010].
- Jørgensen, M. W. and Phillips, L. (1999), *Diskursanalyse som Teori og Metode.*, Roskilde Universitetsforlag, Roskilde.
- Kassimir, R. and Flanagan, C. (2010), *Youth Civic Engagement in the Developing World: Challenges and Opportunities.*, in 'Sherrod, L. R., Torney-Purta, J. and Flanagan, C. A., eds. Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth [online]. Available through: Wiley Online Library [Accessed January 14 2011].
- Kirkpatrick, D. K. and Slackman, M. (2011), 'Egypt youths drive the revolt against mubarak.', *The New York Times*. . [online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/27/world/middleeast/27opposition.html> [Accessed 6 April 2011].
- Kristensen, C. J. (2007), Interview med enkeltpersoner., in 'Fuglsang, L., Hagedorn-Rasmussen, P. and Olsen, P.B., eds. 2007. Teknikker i Samfundsvidenskaberne.', Roskilde Universitetsforlag, Roskilde. Ch. 14.
- Kvale, S. (1996), *Interviews - An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing.*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi.

- L. de Sousa, P. L. and Hindess, B. (2009), *Governments, NGOs and Anti-Corruption - The New Integrity Warriors.*, Routledge, Oxon.
- Larmour, P. (2007), 'A short introduction to corruption and anti corruption.' [online] Available at: <http://ancorage-net.org/content/documents/cies-wp37.pdf> [Accessed 22 October 2010].
- Lobstein, T., Baur, L. and Uauy, R. (2004), 'Obesity in children and young people: a crisis in public health', *Obesity Reviews* **5**(1), 4–85. [e-journal] Available through: Wiley Online [Accessed 31 March 2011].
- M. Easterby-Smith, R. T. and Jackson, P. R. (2008), *Management Research.*, Sage Publications Ltd., London. 3rd ed.
- Marquette, H. (2001), 'Corruption, democracy and the world bank.', *Crime, Law & Social Change* **36**, 395–407. [e-journal] Available through: Springerlink [Accessed 12 December 2010].
- Marquette, H. (2004), 'The creeping politicisation of the world bank: The case of corruption.', *Political Studies* **52**, 413–430. [e-journal] Available through: Wiley Online [Accessed 25 October 2010].
- Marquette, H. (2007), 'Civic education for combating corruption: Lessons from hong kong and the us for donor-funded programmes in poor countries.', *Public Administration and Development* **27**, 239–249. [e-journal] Available through: Wiley Online [Accessed 4 January 2011].
- Meagher, P. (2004), 'Anti-corruption agencies: Rhetoric versus reality.', *The Journal of Economic Policy Reform* **8**(1), 69–103. [e-journal] Available through: Taylor & Francis (Informaworld) [Accessed 22 October 2010].
- Mény, Y. (2009), *Foreword.*, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills. In: S. Bracking, ed. *Corruption and Development - The Anti-Corruption Campaigns.*
- Miller, S., Roberts, P. and Spence, E. (2005), *Corruption and Anti-Corruption - An Applied Philosophical Approach.*, Pearson Education, New Jersey.
- Mitra, S. and Nagarajan, R. (2005), 'Making use of the window of demographic opportunity: An economic perspective.', *Economic and Political Weekly* **40**(50), 5327–5332. [e-journal] Available through: JSTOR [Accessed April 4 2011].
- Montgomery, K. and Gottlieb-Robles, B. (2006), Youth as e-citizens: The internet's contribution to civic engagement., in 'Buckingham, D. and Willet, R., 2006. Digital generations: Children, young people, and new media.', Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Mahwah. Ch. 8.

- Norad (2008), 'Anti-corruption approaches - a literature review'. [pdf] Available at: <http://www.norad.no/en/Tools+and+publications/Publications/Publication+Page?key=119213> [Accessed 5 October 2010].
- O'Higgins, N. (2001), *Youth unemployment and employment policy: a global perspective*. [online] Available at: http://mpa.ub.uni-muenchen.de/23698/1/MPRA_paper_23698.pdf [[Accessed 3 April 2011].
- Procacci, G. (2001), Governmentality and citizenship., in 'Nash, K. and Scott, A., eds. *The Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology*., Blackwell, Oxford. Ch. 32.
- Quah, J. S. T. (2006), 'Curbing corruption: The elusive search for a cure.', *Public Administration Review* **66**(6), 939–943. [e-journal] Available through: Wiley Online Library [Accessed 7 October 2010].
- Rasborg, K. (2005), Socialkonstruktivismen i klassisk og moderne sociologi., in 'Fuglsang, L. and Olsen, P. B., eds. *Videnskabsteori i Samfundsvidenskaberne - På Tværs af Fagkulturer og Paradigmer*. 2nd ed.', Roskilde Universitetsforlag, Frederiksberg C.
- Rose-Ackerman, S. (2002), 'Grand corruption and the ethics of global business.', *Journal of Banking & Finance* **26**(9), 1889–1918. [e-journal] Available through: ScienceDirect [Accessed 25 October 2010].
- Rose, N. and Miller, P. (1992), 'Political power beyond the state: Problematics of government.', *The British Journal of Sociology* **43**(2), 173–205. [e-journal] Available through: JSTOR [Accessed 9 April 2011].
- Ruddick, S. (2003), 'The politics of aging: Globalization and the restructuring of youth and childhood.', *Antipode* **35**(2), 334–362. [e-journal] Available through: Wiley Online Library [Accessed 2 November 2010].
- Santiso, C. (2001), 'Good governance and aid effectiveness: The world bank and conditionality.', *The Georgetown Public Policy Review* **7**(1), 1–22. [e-journal] Available at: http://www.sti.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/Pdfs/swap/swap108.pdf [Accessed 14 February 2011].
- Santoyo, A. S. and Martínez, E. M. (2003), *La Brecha Digital: Mitos y Realidades*., Universidad Autonoma de Baja California, Mexicali.
- Schmidt, D. (2007), 'Anti-corruption: What do we know? research on preventing corruption in the post-communist world.', *Political Studies Review* **5**(2), 202–232. [e-journal] Available through: Wiley Online Library [Accessed 7 October 2010].
- Selwyn, N. and Robson, K. (1998), 'Using e-mail as a research tool.', *Social Research Update* **21**. [e-journal] Available at: <http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU21.html> [Accessed 13 December 2010].

- Sending, O. J. and Neumann, I. B. (2006), 'Governance to governmentality: Analyzing ngos, states, and power.', *International Studies Quarterly* **50**, 651–572. [e-journal] Available through: Wiley Online Library [Accessed 17 April 2011].
- Sherrod, L. R., Flanagan, C. and Youniss, J. (2010), 'Dimensions of citizenship and opportunities for youth development: The what, why, when, where, and who of citizenship development.', *Applied Developmental Science* **6**(4), 264–272. [e-journal] Available through: Informaworld [Accessed 16 November 2010].
- Smoke-Free-Methods (2010), *Antismoking Campaigns Targeting Youth*. [online] Available at: <http://smokefreeeri.org/antismoking-campaigns-targeting-youth.htm> [Accessed 31 March 2011].
- Stapenhurst, R. (2000), *The Media's Role in Curbing Corruption.*, World Bank Institute, Washington, DC.
- Stebbins, R. A. (2001), *Exploratory research in the social sciences.*, Sage Publications, Inc., California.
- Swamy, A., Knack, S., Lee, Y. and Azfar, O. (2001), 'Gender and corruption.', *Journal of Development Economics* **64**(1), 25–55. [e-journal] Available through: ScienceDirect [Accessed 25 October 2010].
- Taylor, L. (1997), 'Editorial: The revival of the liberal creed - the imf and the world bank in a globalized economy.', *World Development* **25**(2), 145–152. [e-journal] Available through: ScienceDirect [Accessed 10 February 2011].
- Thomas, C. (1997), 'Does the good governance policy of the international financial institutions privilege markets at the expense of democracy?', *Connecticut Journal of International Law* **14**(2). [e-journal] Available through: Heinonline.org [Accessed 20 October 2010].
- TI (2001), *Youth in Governance*. [online] Available at: <http://www.ying.edu.pk/node/5> [Accessed 15 March 2011].
- TI (2004), *Teaching Integrity to Youth: Examples from 11 Countries*. [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/tools/e_toolkit/corruption_fighters_tool_kit_special_edition_2004 [Accessed 16 February 2011].
- TI (2005), *Annual Report 2005*. [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/publications/publications/annual_reports/annual_report_2005 [Accessed 2 March 2011].

- TI (2007a), *Annual Report 2997* . [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/publications/annual_report [Accessed 7 March 2011].
- TI (2007b), *In Focus - Back to School*. [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/news_room/in_focus/2007/back_to_school [Accessed 7 March 2011].
- TI (2007c), *In Focus - Youth and Corruption* . [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/news_room/in_focus/2007/youth_and_corruption [Accessed 7 March 2011].
- TI (2008a), *Annual Report 2008*. [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/publications/annual_report [Accessed 16 February 2011].
- TI (2008b), *Asia Pacific Regional Strategy 2008-2012 brochure* . [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/regional_pages/asia_pacific/tiap_regional_strategy_2012 [Accessed 16 February 2011].
- TI (2008c), *Corruption and (In)security* . [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/publications/publications/working_papers/wp_4_2008_10_01_corruption_security [Accessed 11 March 2011].
- TI (2009a), *Annual Report 2009*. [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/publications/publications/annual_reports/ti_ar2009 [Accessed 1 March 2011].
- TI (2009b), *Working Paper No. 6/2009 Youth and Corruption* . [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/publications/publications/working_papers/working_paper_no_6_2009_youth_and_corruption [Accessed 8 February 2011].
- TI (2010a), *About Us* . [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/about_us [Accessed 4 October 2010].
- TI (2010b), *Corruption in the education sector* . [online] Available at: http://transparency.org/global_priorities/other_thematic_issues/education/corruption_education [Accessed 6 October 2010].
- TI (2010c), *Frequently asked questions about corruption* . [online] Available at: http://transparency.org/news_room/faq/corruption_faq [Accessed 29 September 2010].
- TI (2010d), *Quarterly Bulletin 2010* . [online] Available at: <http://www.transparencyfiji.org/docs/TI%20Fiji%20Quarterly%20Bulletin%202010.pdf> [Accessed 16 February 2011].

- TI (2010e), *Secretariat*. [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/about_us/organisation/secretariat [Accessed 20 October 2010].
- TI (2010f), *TI projects and activities* . [online] Available at: http://transparency.org/global_priorities/other_thematic_issues/education/anti_corruption_education/ti_projects_activities [Accessed 7 October 2010].
- TI (2010g), *Working Paper #4: Corruption in the Education Sector*. [online] Available at: http://transparency.org/publications/publications/working_papers/wp_04_2007_corruption_in_education [Accessed 6 October 2010].
- TI (2010h), *Youth Education* . [online] Available at: http://transparency.org/global_priorities/other_thematic_issues/education/anti_corruption_education/youth_education [Accessed 8 October 2010].
- TI (2011a), *Transparency Maldives*. [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/regional_pages/asia_pacific/about/south_asia/maldives#civic [Accessed 15 February 2011].
- TI (2011b), *Anti-Corruption Education in the Asia Pacific* . [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/regional_pages/asia_pacific/current_projects/anti_corruption_education [Accessed 15 February 2011].
- TI (2011c), *Approach* . [online] Available at: http://transparency.org/about_us/approach [Accessed 11 February 2011].
- TI (2011d), *Educating for integrity*. . [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/news_room/in_focus/2010/educating_for_integrity [Accessed 10 March 2011].
- TI (2011e), *The Transparency International movement adopts strategy, appoints two new board members and approves three resolutions at Annual Membership Meeting* . [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/news_room/latest_news/press_releases/2010/2010_11_09_ti_bod [Accessed 16 February 2011].
- TI (2011f), *TI Annual Membership Meeting endorsed TI Strategy 2015* . [online] Available at: <http://www.transparency.am/news.php?id=303&inside=1> [Accessed 16 February 2011].
- TI (2011g), *TI National Chapters in Sub-Saharan Africa* . [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/regional_pages/africa_middle_east/sub_saharanafrica/national_chapters#madagascar [Accessed 12 February 2011].

- TI (2011h), *Transparency International China* . [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/regional_pages/asia_pacific/about/east_asia/china#highlight [Accessed 13 February 2011].
- TI (2011i), *Transparency International Fiji* . [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/regional_pages/asia_pacific/about/pacific/fiji#education [Accessed 15 February 2011].
- TI (2011j), *Transparency International Korea (South)*. [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/regional_pages/asia_pacific/about/east_asia/south_korea#education [Accessed 13 February 2011].
- TI (2011k), *Transparency International Papua New Guinea* . [online] Available at: http://www.transparency.org/regional_pages/asia_pacific/about/pacific/papua_new_guinea#education [Accessed 15 February 2011].
- TI (2011l), *Youth education* . [online] Available at: http://transparency.org/global_priorities/other_thematic_issues/education/anti_corruption_education/youth_education [Accessed 10 March 2011].
- TI (2011m), *Youth Integrity Survey 2008 Report* . [e-mail] Personal communication, 8 February 2011].
- Transparencia-Venezuela (2011), *Integridad Escolar*. [online] Available at: <http://sites.google.com/site/integridadescolar/objetivos-del-proyecto> [Accessed 14 February 2011].
- UN (2007), *United Nations World Youth Report 2007*. [online] Available at: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/wyr07_chapter_8.pdf [Accessed 30 March 2011].
- UN (2011a), *NICE Project Civic Education Activities Reach Local Communities*. [online] Available at: http://www.undp.org.fj/index.php?option=com_news&Itemid=45&task=view&id=51 [Accessed 16 February 2011].
- UN (2011b), *UN Programme on Youth* . [online] Available at: <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/mandate.htm> [Accessed 30 March 2011].
- UN (2011c), *United Nations World Youth Report* . [online] Available at: <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/wyr10.htm> [Accessed 30 March 2011].
- UN-Global-Compact (2010), *About Us*. [online] Available at: <http://www.unglobalcompact.org/AboutTheGC/TheTenPrinciples/anti-corruption.html> [Accessed 27 October 2010].
- UNDP (2004), *Anti-corruption Practice Note*. [online] Available at: <http://www.uneca.org/itca/governance/Documents/Anti%20Corruption%20Note%20FINAL%20VERSION%20031704.pdf> [Accessed 1 November 2010].

- UNDP (2011), *What are the Millennium Development Goals?* . [online] Available at: <http://www.undp.org/mdg/basics.shtml> [Accessed 30 March 2011].
- Utting, P. (2003), *Promoting Development through Corporate Social Responsibility - Prospects and Limitation* . [online] Available at: <http://www.er.uqam.ca/nobel/r22714/jur7642/respUtting.pdf> [Accessed 25 January 2011].
- WB (1997), *Helping Countries Combat Corruption: The Role of the World Bank* . [online] Available at: <http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/anticorrupt/corruptn/cor02.htm> [Accessed 1 November 2010].
- WB (2003), *Responses to Corruption - A Focus on Prevention, Education, and Enforcement* . [online] Available at: <http://search.worldbank.org/all?qterm=responses%20to%20corruption> [Accessed 8 October 2010].
- WB (2004), *Youththink! Action=results* . [online] Available at: <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:20192863~menuPK:3567536~pagePK:34370~piPK:34424~theSitePK:4607,00.htm> [Accessed 7 April 2011].
- WB (2006), *Youth-Responsive Social Analysis: A Guidance Note* . [online] Available at: http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2006/11/30/000310607_20061130095846/Rendered/PDF/380920Youth0So10Guidelines01PUBLIC1.pdf [Accessed 4 March 2011].
- WB (2007), *World Development Report 2007 - Development and the Next Generation* . [online] Available at: http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2006/09/13/000112742_20060913111024/Rendered/PDF/359990WDR0complete.pdf [Accessed 4 March 2011].
- WB (2009a), *Argentine Youth - An Untapped Potential* . [online] Available at: http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2009/05/11/000333037_20090511001608/Rendered/PDF/484600PUB0Arge1010fficial0Use0Only1.pdf [Accessed 3 March 2011].
- WB (2009b), *Youth Investments in the World Bank Portfolio - Child and Youth Development Notes* . [online] Available at: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTCY/Resources/395766-1186420121500/YDNIii2_InvPortfolio.pdf [Accessed 3 March 2011].
- WB (2010a), *2003-2007 Topic: Youth and Good Governance*. [online] Available at: <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/WBI/WBIPROGRAMS/PSGLP/0,,contentMDK:20282819~menuPK:461615~pagePK:64156158~piPK:64152884~theSitePK:461606,00.html> [Accessed 8 October 2010].

- WB (2010b), *Governance and Anti-corruption*. . [online] Available at: <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/WBI/EXTWBIGOVANTCOR/0,,menuPK:1740542~pagePK:64168427~piPK:64168435~theSitePK:1740530,00.html> [Accessed 8 October 2010].
- WB (2011a), *About Us*. . [online] Available at: <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/0,,contentMDK:20653660~menuPK:72312~pagePK:51123644~piPK:329829~theSitePK:29708,00.html> [Accessed 10 February 2011].
- WB (2011b), *CivICT-program*. [online] Available at: <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/86123/civict.pdf> [Accessed 4 March 2011].
- WB (2011c), *CivICT-program*. [online] Available at: <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/0,,contentMDK:20040580~menuPK:1696997~pagePK:51123644~piPK:329829~theSitePK:29708,00.htm> [Accessed 7 April 2011].
- WB (2011d), *Module IX - The Role of Youth*. . [online] Available at: <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/35976/mod09.pdf> [Accessed 10 March 2011].
- WB (2011e), *The International Essay Competition 2007 - Report and Winning Essays*. . [online] Available at: http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2008/05/23/000334955_20080523034250/Rendered/PDF/438120WP0Box321etition200701PUBLIC1.pdf [Accessed 3 February 2011].
- WB (2011f), *Topic: Youth and Good Governance - Previous Learning Events*. . [online] Available at: <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/WBI/WBIPROGRAMS/PSGLP/0,,contentMDK:20288850~menuPK:537637~pagePK:64156158~piPK:64152884~theSitePK:461606,00.html> [Accessed 3 February 2011].
- WB (2011g), *World Bank - Civil Society Engagement. Review of Fiscal Years 2007 to 2009*. . [online] Available at: http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2009/11/04/000334955_20091104040925/Rendered/PDF/514270v20WP0Ci10Box342028B01PUBLIC1.pdf [Accessed 3 March 2011].
- WB (2011h), *Youth for Good Governance - distance learning program*. [online] Available at: <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/35958/overview.pdf> [Accessed 3 February 2011].
- WBI (2010), *Mobilizing youth against corruption - Global Youth Anti-Corruption Network*. . [online] Available at: <http://www.voices-against-corruption.org/pdf/mobilizing-youth-against-corruption.pdf> [Accessed 6 October 2010].

- Weaver, C. (2008), *Hypocrisy Trap - The World Bank and the Poverty Reform*, Princeton and Oxford Princeton University Press.
- Yin, K. (2009), *Case Study Research - Design and Methods. 4th ed*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Youniss, J. (2002), 'Youth civic engagement in the twenty-first century', *Journal of Research on Adolescence* **1**(12), 121–148. [e-journal] Available through: Wiley Online Library. [Accessed 15 November 2010].
- YouThink! (2010), *About* . [online] Available at: <http://youthink.worldbank.org/about/banks-focus-youth> [Accessed 5 October 2010].
- Youthink (2011a), *About* . [online] Available at: <http://www.youthink.com/> [Accessed January 31 2011].
- Youthink (2011b), *About* . [online] Available at: <http://youthink.worldbank.org/about> [Accessed 3 March 2011].
- Youthink (2011c), *The Story Behind Youthink!* . [online] Available at: <http://youthink.worldbank.org/about/banks-focus-youth> [Accessed 10 March 2011].

APPENDIX A

Executive Summary

It seems a new focus is developing on youth as an actor in anti-corruption (AC), with youth increasingly being referred to as agents of change. This developing focus on youth in AC represents an interesting issue of growing relevance that is visible in the work of Transparency International (TI) and the World Bank (WB). Both institutions have received criticism for promoting an underlying agenda of neo-liberal reform in their work on AC; hence, we question whether the emphasis of youth as an actor in AC is a continuation of this agenda. We view this as an interesting issue in need of illumination. Consequently, in this thesis we take a critical stance towards why youth are increasingly being emphasised as an actor of change on the AC agenda. We seek to uncover why this focus has occurred and what motivations lie behind incorporating youth in AC. We ask the following research question: Why are youth increasingly emphasised as agents of change in the anti-corruption discourse? From the literature review it appears that this focus on youth in AC is quite novel and is an area that has yet to be researched by academics. No literature exists on this link between AC and youth. Hence, we view this topic as important and relevant, as we examine a topic that is yet unexplored. To guide the research we ask the following sub-questions: What is the focus of the AC programmes that target youth? How are youth framed in the AC discourse? How are youth framed in other social processes?

We employ the case study as our research method and we take our point of

departure in two international organisations, TI and the WB, which both have a focus on youth in relation to their AC programmes. By employing the case study we can contribute to, and expand the knowledge of, the subject of youth in AC, and make theoretical generalizations on why there is an increasing focus on youth in the AC industry. We employ a qualitative research strategy and use qualitative data to understand the research area. To analyse the data, we apply Fairclough's three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis to examine the language utilised in documents from TI and the WB. We use interview data to contextualise the text analysis.

We conclude that the discourse constructs and frames youth within a neo-liberal view of citizenship and government. Civic education, under the umbrella of AC, educates youth in demanding accountability and transparency of their governments, and the programmes educate youth themselves to resist corruption, and instil in them a certain view of citizenship. We argue that this notion of citizenship lies within the neo-liberal paradigm, which emphasises the 'responsibilization' of youth - and hence the role of the individual in self-governance. In this light, AC programmes with the component of civic education can essentially be viewed as a means to shape youth and instil in youth particular values that promote democratic, neo-liberal thinking. This appears to be a wider agenda of the WB, and also TI, who both emphasise good governance embedded in neo-liberalism in their discourse.

Beyond the generic reasoning for emphasising youth in AC, such as their sheer numbers, their role as the future world leaders, and their idealism, we conclude that the emphasis on youth as agents of change reveals an underlying agenda: the WB and TI essentially use youth to push forward a contested neo-liberal agenda. Hence, this thesis contributes with a deeper understanding of the increasing focus on youth as a new actor in AC.

APPENDIX B

Interview TI Secretariat

B.1 Interview guide

Date: 24 November 2010

Setting: TI secretariat, Berlin

Respondent: Georg Neumann and Samantha Grant

Observations:

Introduce self

Permission to record

Purpose of study: The increasing role of youth in anti-corruption

Youth in general

- When did TI begin to focus on youth?
- And why did youth become important on the anti-corruption agenda?

- How does TI choose what areas to focus on in anti-corruption? -global priorities...
- Why does TI believe it is of importance to focus on youth in anti-corruption?
- Why youth?
- How highly are programmes directed at youth prioritized at TI compared to other programmes? (women, professions/accountants, private sector) Why?
- Where does this focus on youth originate from?
 - Inspiration from other organizations?
 - The World Bank also has a focus on youth, with regards to good governance. Has this affected TI?
- Does TI's collaboration with other organizations affect its work?
 - Priority areas, such as youth/education?
- Is this focus on youth something TI will keep on the agenda?
 - Or does it tend to change?
 - "Popular tendencies" - Why?

Youth programmes

- Why do you mainly have anti-corruption education in your programmes directed at youth?
 - Positive youth development...
- Do any of the national chapters have a greater focus on youth than others - and why?
 - Bangladesh (the YES programme) and
 - Thailand (Youth camps and forums to educate youth)
- What has the experience been regarding these youth projects?
 - Impact?
 - Is it too early to tell, or are there positive results?

B.2 Transcript of interview with Georg Neumann and Samantha Grant 133

TI and National Chapters

- The national chapters have several initiatives that involve youth; is that something that TI has decided? Or does it come from the national chapters themselves?
- What is the relationship between TI and its national chapters?
- Can TI affect what projects and programmes the national chapters undertake?

Finances

- Does TI obtain donations based on specific projects? How about the national chapters?
- Does TI apply for donations towards individual projects, or is it for the entire budget?
- When TI seeks donations, is it for specific projects? How does it seek funding?

Do you have anything you would like to add? Or comment on?

Notes for ourselves: What answers are we hoping to get from this interview?
Citizenship - agents of change - tomorrow's leaders - good governance - financing
priority

B.2 Transcript of interview with Georg Neumann and Samantha Grant

Stinne: As Stine said, we are researching the increasing role of youth in AC. And to try and see what the motivations are for involving them in AC. So I don't know if I should just ask both of you the question and then you can elaborate. So, first of all we would like to know when did TI begin to focus on youth?
00:00:27-7

Georg: I think it's a good question. We've been, I think, sort of if you look at the different target groups, and especially in AC, you look at different developments.

So, especially the AC movements started off very top-down, so you started to talk a lot in the first let's call it the wave of AC, we started to talk a lot with, you know, business leaders and government, heads of state, the World Bank, so it was very kind of elite group that was starting to talk about these issues. And then with the further development of AC, we started to you know involve more groups into this whole development. So ??? started to grow around these issues, and then obviously more and more groups on the ground started to work on AC. And TI has been working on this definitely for more than the last ten years. So, if you look at our website we have a section called AC in education or education, there you have a couple of good examples from the early sort of 2000s, which probably are a good example of the work that was done back then. A lot of education, sort of trying to educate people and putting this into curricular sector, and corruption in the educational sector, which obviously is one of the key issues as well. If we look now maybe as a development it's less educating, it's starting to actually take youth more as a force to do themselves, to engage in the AC fight. So really to see that they have a voice on their own, they have ideas on their own, and they are actually happy to start holding their politicians account, like doing programmes themselves, especially when we then look at new technologies and look more about examples of this. [00:02:27-1](#)

Samantha: No, I think you know there are something definite true of the whole movement, I think it's very true. I think, I mean you see depending on the different national contexts, some of the chapters are great at working on these for a very long time because youth is part of civil society is more engaged, and our chapter in Bangladesh does a huge youth programme and it you know kind of explicit culture. So I think it differs from chapter to chapter. [00:02:51-0](#)

Stinne: Yeah, and the tool kit you have on your website is from 2004, so that is sort of when it really sparked off? [00:03:00-4](#)

Georg: Sort of the three years before that, because that was the first way of trying to gather a lot these. [00:03:04-9](#)

Stinne: And you sort of started to answer the next question I have, so why did youth become important on AC agenda? You have been talking civil society... [03:13-3](#)

Georg: I mean I don't know probably you have even more a better numbers on that, but in many of the countries people and I think there is a bit of different definition of youth, but if you count the under 30 year olds, I mean in most of the countries this is the main part of the population. And everywhere a place between 80-90 per cent of young people, especially in the developing countries which is where we focus, we have a huge group of people that actually you know is simply coming into workspace, coming into basically society and

B.2 Transcript of interview with Georg Neumann and Samantha Grant 135

greater environments and they you know come there, how do they encounter things, and what do they want to do with this, and from a national perspective you have probably... (towards Samantha) 00:04:01-2

Samantha: Yeah, I mean I think something particularly in Asia, because I work with Asian chapters, but I think it's true in more of the broader movement to, I mean I think the question has become you know a bit less scared of the standard, bit less on the policy and research side and I mean a bit toward more toward looking at the idea of kind of ethics. And corruption as kind of an ethical thing. Some of our chapters this is really very much where they have always engaged anyway, and so I mean you know bringing in youth at an early age and in you know cultivating these kinds of ideas is seen as quite important. I think something that we are looking at now is the possibility of how to continue that as they do enter the work place and this kind of thing. Because, you know, it can be quite difficult, so... 00:04:46-9

Stinne: To maintain it? 00:04:48-2

Samantha: Exactly, I mean for a lot of them, I think what we have seen as well is, I mean, you can change each part individually, but really it is quite important to have a holistic approach and, you know, to on the one hand look at institutions that exist, but also look at the new generation that are coming into the. I think that's why youth are seen as quite key as well. 00:05:12-3

Georg: And again, with your, on these kinds of international networks and youth organising themselves, there has been a huge development from I think Korea IACC was ten years ago, so that was the first time where we actually had one of the biggest international AC conferences. The 14th international AC conference was just two weeks ago in Bangkok and we just came back. Like back then there was like a tiny group, it was the first time where they brought people together that actually worked on AC and youth, and this time you could really tell how many more groups are working on these issues. Simply a lot of them are self-organised, a lot of them working in their countries, from Indonesia to Latin America, and then also seeing that there is a huge you know, how do you call it, responsibility from young people towards their political environment, from and ??? by the journalists to start writing about these issues with the problem that we did, and there is a huge in ??? as well, and one of the things that goes back to a different wave is that through basically the introduction of communication structures, now everyone has the opportunity to actually voice their concerns, be present, and it really doesn't matter if it's a blogger of 16 years that just feels very strongly about these issues, or if it's someone that from 55 years that feels strong about these issues. So it's really also everyone has the same chances to voice concerns and engage in political dialogue that cause changes. 06:52-2

Stinne: And that's what you said, it used to be more top-down and used to pay a lot more attention to leaders, but now there is more possibility also to engage youth, that is what I hear you say. 00:07:03-6

Samantha: I think both in the secretariat and the chapters I think the focus is becoming more and more as supporting these kinds of young groups (knocking on door - short interruption). Uhm I dont know what I was saying? 00:07:25-0

Georg: You were talking about the secretariat and the chapters, so... 00:07:26-9

Samantha: Ah yeah, I mean I think that you know there is a kind of a recognition that not only is there great potential there and you know with, like Georg was saying, with social media and with other tools like this, then they talk to each other more, but that youth are engaged, they are out there. I mean I think, I was at the ASEAN youth forum not that long ago and there was many many people there from all over South East Asia, and I mean I think the other thing that I saw a lot of was people who were engaged in environmental issues, or these issues, corruption comes up in so many of these issues and there are already a lot of existing networks out there.00:08:03-6

Stinne: That you can tap into... 00:08:03-6

Samantha: Yeah, and I think yeah so... 00:08:08-6

Stinne: That sounds great. So, another question is how does TI choose what areas to focus on in AC? 00:08:14-7

Samantha: Well that was, I think we just had our annual membership meeting and I mean I think we are looking at you know, we've our new strategy that we have, and its really our chapters, I mean its developed from input from all over, but our chapters have a lot of input into that in terms of what they are doing, in terms of you know how the secretariat can help them, can focus commonalities of what the chapters are doing. The chapters themselves can be quite diverse, I mean they work on whatever they want, but I mean so it was a very long consultation process, with chapters and also with external stakeholders, you know getting feedback about where is the AC movement going, how can TI you know take advantage of it. 00:09:00-1

Georg: Traditional TI has always worked from a national perspective, so you basically did an analysis of your house, what we call the national integrity system of a country, how is this set up, where are the gaps, and where do we work. So thats like a normal traditional approach of TI. And then you have obviously international tools and international conventions where you can work on. And its really finding a balance of this and putting this together in a global strategy

B.2 Transcript of interview with Georg Neumann and Samantha Grant 137

where you think look at having 100 different priorities and trying to find where are the commonalities. And its not easy, but in the end one thing, and I think thats interesting that comes out very clearly, is that well right now its something that is mainly probably the one outcome of this strategy processes, the main focus for the next five years will definitely be on people. And a very strong focus on young people, because (Samantha: and young leaders) they are young leaders, because thats exactly the way where there are still a lot of opportunities to be doing something that we havent done so much before and where there is a lot of power as well coming out. And then obviously we have the other three areas which is laws and institutions, and ethics. So thats really a movement by the consultation process. 00:10:28-0

Stinne: So, it is quite the sort of the holistic, I can hear from you, way of attacking this issue. Because another question we have is how highly are these programmes directed at youth prioritised. So it seems its not like they are split up, but more that there is a holistic system. 00:10:48-4

Samantha: Well, I think something, I mean because it was quite a lot of discussions both of TI at the membership meeting and at the IACC, so. And I think that I would say that we are at a point now where a lot has been going on in the past, but I mean, there has been a definite, like a big push kind of decision now to look at youth and prioritise them more, because you have a lot of people working on youth. And I mean, I think that what I was hearing from wihtin TI and from a lot of other chapters too is it is really time to make this a priority to look at building networks, to look at more kind of structured and these kinds of ways of moving forward. And of really taking advantage of this because people have realised that if, you know, for the past 10 years many different chapters have working on this. many different programmes have happened, so... I think that we are looking at, you know, sort of an increase in the attention and the priority put on youth at the moment. 00:11:48-4

Stine: So was that a big topic on your meeting? 00:11:54-9

Georg: We didnt talk about youth in particular, but more about people as citizens and as part of this, especially in connection with new technologies, social media, which are new opportunities to actually reach out and provide people with all this aware, and then obviously we think we can have them with. 00:12:16-2

Stinne: So where do you think this focus on youth originates from? You were talking about the national chapters, but also other organisations are taking up the issue? 00:12:29-2

Samantha: I think recently there are a couple of, I mean the World Bank has

the global youth AC network, and there are some international things that are happening now. I think it is that more and more chapters are getting involved. There are more and more sort of projects that are happening, that are feeding into you know what we do, and I think its ... 00:12:53-2

Georg: It's a bit of a general development from starting with small and targeted to broadening your scope, and then really realising that if we want to... If we think about ten years ahead, we need to think about who is young right now, about who will be the leader of in 20 years. I think its a, in terms of a strategic decision, is not something absolutely innovative, for example, I think its a natural of starting to focus more and more on these issues. 00:13:22-5

Stinne: Yeah because TI is quite young. I mean it... 00:13:25-3

Georg: Yeah its 16- 17 years old, we just reached maturity. I mean we can drink now! 00:13:33-0

Ha ha ha ha 00:13:33-0

Samantha: In some countries! 00:13:34-2

Ha ha ha 00:13:34-2

Georg: I mean the other thing is obviously that if you look at breaking the vicious cycle of corruption, if ??? networks of corruption, if you look at sort of the basis of how corruption works, its like when people know each other everything, you know, you are buddies with someone and its just the things how things work. And one of the ways of actually breaking up this cycle is getting new, fresh news into it, and bringing in people that are not corrupted yet and do not, that have different standards of how business should be done. And thats much easier than coming from older people. 00:14:16-6

Samantha: Yeah and I think thats why.. well I think one of your.. you can say why youth is a catalyst for change. I think a lot of it is about breaking the cycle and also creating a demand that currently there is, you know, have more integrity, that there's less corruption within the government and these kinds of things, in creating that amongst , you know, youth in societies, and that then can be supported, not just with youth but you know engaging with society, engaging with schools, engaging with parents, engaging with in creating that so that, you know, that they can be the catalyst for the change. But I think its, like Georg was saying, its seen as, kind of a an exciting way where there is a lot of energy towards breaking the cycle, that you know... 00:15:01-4

Stinne: So this focus on youth is something TI will keep on the agenda in the

B.2 Transcript of interview with Georg Neumann and Samantha Grant 139

years to come it seems.. 00:15:07-6

Georg: Yeah, its the strategy 2050. 00:15:10-3

Samantha: Absolutely! 00:15:10-3

Ha ha 00:15:10-3

Georg: You have to! 00:15:13-4

Ha ha ha 00:15:13-4

Stinne: Thats great. So to move on to the youth programmes you have, why do you mainly have AC education in your programmes that are directed at youth? It seems thats a lot the focus area in your programmes... 00:15:28-2

Georg: I mean traditionally, thats the first step and its the easiest step to really say ok now here thats how corruption works, thats how it shouldnt' work, and thats the way of educating. And its also a way of where you reach a lot of students, which is in schools and universities. So its easy to do actually a, you know, a masters course or a programme within as part of a curriculum. At university there is a couple of courses or in schools. So thats like an easy way of doing this, and especially if you think of ethics and the many ways of how you teach these things, thats a good way. But I thinks its something that is changing now, it began with new technologies where you see that much more as an engaged person themselves, empowering citizens. For example we have worked with young journalists, because we saw that their interest in actually writing about this. And not only, they already think that this is something that shouldn't be done, so lets give them a channel to actually voice these and reach out to their colleagues and friends, etc. So, I think thats something that now we have much more the tools at hand to do this. If you think of chapters in some of the countries where we work are very small, they have very few resources and its not very easy to manage huge amounts of masses, so TI traditionally hasnt been a mass movement in most of the countries, in Bangladesh which is one of our biggest examples of being a chapter that works a lot with young people and where you have AC concerts and you have really excited young masses, and its really nice. But its something that needs a lot of organisational work, you need a lot of people to actually ??? 50 people. In many of the chapters we are max 10 people, 10-15 people. But thats again something that is changing with the realisation that we have to be focussed more on people, so we have to also start creating these structures of being in touch with volunteers, with IT for people. And with these kinds of AC events such as concerts, and you know spraying grafitti sessions or so is becoming more and more used. I think one good example is as we did in Chile where they created a AC dictionary

online, through a campaign and a network that was set up where people could suggest expressions that would describe acts of corruption. And in the end they had 1000 expressions describing these kinds of you know movements and how things are being done, which are basically corrupt. And that was very strong youthbased as well. Because you suddenly had a way of, a technology of reaching out to these people, and they are the ones that were using it. 00:18:30-7

Samantha: Yeah, I mean I think, you know while education has been something that some of the chapters have done, actually I think quite a lot of the chapters in Asia dont do so much, that there is a lot engagement going on. I mean our chapter in Thailand for example has a whole series of childrens books and they've just started a project called 'Growing Good' where they engage with about 500 different schools in the metropolitan Bangkok area to provide... it is education, but I think its moving beyond this as well, engagement and, you know, getting them ready. But they also in for example Thailand they do that on the one hand, but then they also, there is TV sitcoms that they do, those competitions they do, I mean this is something that is quite common I think, you know, cartooing competitions, again Bangladesh does this, but so does Sri Lanka. And if you look at chapters in the Pacific for example, they often have a lot of walks against corruption, or they have a lot of street theatre, and this is something that is quite common, you know, coming into a level where children are and looking at where they are. So I think education has been quite key. A lot of countries have successfully intergrated the international curriculum, for example in China the chapter there is working with the government to incorporate it into the standard university curriculum in the whole country. So I think that is another thing as well, that we have actually seen successes there and that looking at that, you know, people are now looking at ok curriculum is one thing, but I think everyone also acknowledges that while that is great if you'd really want to engage youth you've got to do more than throw books at them. While it is important, and its really useful for them to know, I think that we are looking at, you know, more interesting opportunities, like Georg said, people want to write about corruption and thats fantastic, you know, so... 00:20:09-5

Stinne: So being a bit more creative in how you reach and sort of acknowledging that some people cannot be reached through education, you have to do it in a different way? 00:20:18-5

Samantha: Definitely. I mean I think that its different for different, because I'm kinda talking on the chapter level, and its different for different chapters, but I think while there are some chapters ???, they do realise that maybe by doing a radio show, or maybe by doing this street theatre which doesnt actually take a whole lot, you can actually reach quite a lot of people. 00:20:40-3

Stinne: So as you also said there is a difference between the chapters and how

B.2 Transcript of interview with Georg Neumann and Samantha Grant 141

they engage... 00:20:49-2

Samantha: Definitely. 00:20:49-2 Stinne: We actually also found out the thing that Thailand is actually among the countries that have a strong focus on youth. So there is a difference, you also said this in the beginning, how they prioritise youth in their programmes and how they reach them. So what is the experience been regarding these youth projects, you said that they have had some impact? 00:21:07-0

Samantha: I think, I mean one example of that... the EDF ??? Bangladesh always talks about is the YES the... engagement... 00:21:23-0

Stinne: The YES programme? 00:21:23-0

Samantha: Yeah, anyway, one of the things that they do is that they have their youth volunteers, and they... I think one of the most successful stories they often are outside of hospitals for example, or they are often engaged in public services. Things that relate to them, educating the public as well. So outside the hospital they'll be telling people how much they should be paying for things to make sure that they are not paying, you know, that extra money. In this one example the students were outside this hospital for quite a few days, and eventually the head of the hospital came out, and I think basically it was standard to charge an extra 5, I think is it rupees? I'm not sure... South Asia is not the country I usually work with, but I hear this story quite a lot. To check to charge an extra 5 rupees or whatever it is and so there was this kind of engagement between the students saying you dont need to pay this, and then finally the director came out and said, well look this is what we'll do, we'll actually raise the cost to these extra 5 rupees and we'll put that money aside in a fund that we then give to the poor who cannot actually afford health care. So I mean I think looking at how, you know, engaging with youth and taking this energy, there are definitely I think successes, and I think especially in a country like Bangladesh from the developing world, youth engaging in the public services in things that really affect them, I mean it can be quite useful and it can be quite effective. 00:22:58-8

Stinne: We also looked at some models of youth development, and we are thinking about how AC engagement can actually have wider effects. Do you believe that to be true in society, like positive youth development for instance? 00:23:10-2

Samantha: Sure, I mean I think that is probably part of the young leader idea, about nurturing young leaders and I mean I think that that's something we haven't really moved into quite so much, the chapters haven't done quite so much, but I think it's something that we've looked at and talked about you know

providing leadership programs that include you know integrity, but looking at developing strong leaders, not just integrity. 00:23:44-8

Georg: I mean generally corruption is not an isolated issue. So if you start looking at especially looking at programs that are being set up on social media etc. that generally talk to transparency issues in general, dealing with democracy issues in general which do then have obviously a much broader effect on society and it's an effect that you know a group of people gets together and puts up a platform that affects the whole group, a whole community etc, which is the case in Brazil as well, then of course if you as a young group of people manage to change something that ... mumbling... then these obviously have an effect also for the rest of the people. They show, I think that that's one of the key self-challenges that we face in fighting corruption is that people think well you know you can do anything. So if one person then has a lot of energy to contribute with, a young person generally has more energy like in the way, might probably a younger person is less afraid of some politicians or so, there is the energy that actually show you know it is actually possible. And that's one of the key things that we need as well in fighting corruption. To make sure to show that it is not something that we have to take for granted you actually can change something. 00:25:19-4

Samantha: I think one of the chapters that we are closer with is our national contact in Vietnam. They are currently, they have just completed actually the data-collection on a youth-integrity survey, which we've spent quite a lot of time developing and which goes to look at not only, I mean one of the things that looks at is which aspects of society do they feel is corrupt, do the corrupt influence come in from. It all looks at things like also where do youth engage, is it in the media, is it television, is it facebook, is it you know these kind of things. But it does look specifically at society and I think corruption is part of that but not just all of it looking at the negative influences, looking at integrity, positive role models. And one of the reasons that the study is geared this way is because it's very much something that we want to be able to use afterwards to look at what type of advocacy programs and where to engage in society I mean you know is it the private sector, is it government, is it when students graduating going to jobs it's so corrupt that they have to, you know, they have to become part of that system so I think, you know, working with youth in corruption and particularly with the study and trying to find out exactly where it is, really is then, you know, the next step is to then engage with the different aspects of society so that when, you know, because it can't just be from youth, it has to be both sides. So I think that you know there is no real benefit for society. 00:26:40-1

Stinne: Yeah, because I mean we have a focus on developing countries in our thesis and we talk a lot about systemic corruption and that it's so wide spread

B.2 Transcript of interview with Georg Neumann and Samantha Grant 143

and of course if you have this engagement with youth and they are really being changed, but if they then come out into the job market 00:26:58-8

Samantha: Definitely 00:27:00-9

Stinne: And they have go through corrupt channels and nepotism of whatever, it's you know, what's the use then, so... 00:27:08-2

Samantha: Exactly, and where the young leader thing comes in as well I mean it's also about examples, I mean you know I think people do acknowledge that it's not easy and it's not simple to make these changes, and if you start with certain groups of people here and certain groups of people there that we are making a difference and are being recognized for that, I mean we're developing some more programs now that are helping towards those kinds of goals that you know, that's really really important. 00:27:35-5

Stinne: Yeah, you mentioned earlier that the national chapters are very important in shaping these youth programs, so it's something that they decide or TI as you say also has this general program directive. Is it in collaboration between national chapters and TI secretariat or? 00:27:57-6

Georg: It's the national chapters that decide the programs. I mean we try to, you know, support them, try to coordinate them, share best practice, but it's not a task that we have in the secretariat. 00:28:07-4

Stinne: OK 00:28:07-4

Samantha: At the moment. I mean, the thing is we've just come back from Bangkok with this new directive and I mean, like I said I think in the Asian department we are helping to develop some regional programs, but it's very much coming from the chapters, it's basically, you know, working with something that, the survey that I'm talking about it's something that our chapter in Korea developed, Vietnam is now using and we are hoping that other chapters can use it as well, but we're trying much a facilitation role I think.00:28:34-2

Stinne: Yeah, OK. And also as you say knowledge sharing, best practice, making sure that you can share some of the experiences. 00:28:43-2

Samantha: I think especially with youth, you know with many things but especially with youth, having the individual national contexts, particular in a developing countries, it's, you know, it's really important so that you're really targeting youth and the way that that's gonna be effective. 00:29:01-5

Stinne: Yeah, to have the cultural understanding in the context. 00:29:02-8

Samantha: Yeah. [00:29:02-8](#)

Stinne: Yeah. Well actually we've sort of run through a lot of the questions already. You have been very good at answering what we want. The final thing we have is sort of a sidestep but it's regarding finances. How does TI obtain donations and how does it work? Is it based on specific projects or when you get donations or help from organizations wherever you get from. Is it for the entire budget or how does it work? [00:29:36-5](#) Georg: Well it's basically, it works like this that we have the secretariat, which is mainly 70% from international development donors plus some private foundation, a little bit of private sector and basically non individual donors. And that's mainly for international operations. Then the last years there have been more and more projects that look at multi-countries so that we actually from the secretariat start coordinating projects where we have ... mumbling... for example. In principle all national chapters actually raise their own funds. [00:30:13-9](#)

Stinne: OK [00:30:13-9](#)

Georg: And are self-sustainable, which I mean has been changing a little bit over the last couple of years because for some region it's very hard to find the financing or it's easier to do actually a multi-country project because it's something that is interesting, especially to the big foundations like the Bill and Linda Gates Foundation and others where they simply are very interested in these kinds of issues. But in general it's really that chapters raise their own funds to do these kinds of programs. [00:30:46-4](#)

Stinne: And is that then program based? If they for instance pitch a project and then they get funding for this specific project or is it more we are TI, we work against corruption? [00:30:56-5](#)

Samantha: I think it varies from chapter to chapter I mean as Georg said sometimes, you know, quite a lot of our chapters are engaged in come multi-country programs so they'll have project funding for this. Quite a few of our chapters develop an overall strategic plan and then go to donors and say this is what we're want to do and we want core funding, you know unrestricted funding, so that we can support these various programs that we're working on. It depends, I mean there are some countries, for example in Malaysia or in Korea where you don't have, they are not developing countries and they don't have the donor community there. There are different ways that, sometimes through membership they might raise money. I know the example of PNG (Papua New Guinea) raised I think something like a 150 thousand Euros. They do this walk against corruption, this public walk and they've, several years in a row now and it has become really successful and a huge substantial part of their core funding comes from this kind of ... mumbling..., all of the community comes out and

B.2 Transcript of interview with Georg Neumann and Samantha Grant 145

they donate money and they set up, you know, then they set up an endowment to fund their chapter so it definitely depends on different countries, I mean where there are lots of donors active, particularly in developing countries that's relevant, you know that's there. But in other countries I mean it can come from a lot of different places. But I think that youth and young leaders is, quite, it's a positive thing, it's something that many donors are quite interested in funding at the moment. 00:32:22-7

Stinne: And positive towards.. 00:32:22-6

Samantha: Yeah, exactly, so I mean, you know, its the kind of, it's a good thing for us. 00:32:30-3 Georg: True. 00:32:30-3

Samantha: Yeah, because their agendas are ... mumbling... 00:32:32-2

Stinne: Anything more (??) 00:32:39-3

Stine: I just thought about the World Bank program, do you have any cooperation with other organizations on these issues? 00:32:46-3

Georg: I mean, we do a lot of cooperations, for example the global youth anti-corruption network, we had, I think ... mumbling... was at the Brussels meeting where they... 00:32:59-1

Samantha: Several actual youth members from our chapters where there and spoke so I mean... 00:33:04-3

Georg: There is a lot of cooperation in general in these, for example now at the AC conference we try to gather them all together and there's a common youth convention. I know that in Colombia, for example there is this youth organization called Ocasá. We're on very good terms with them and work a lot together, I mean they're my friends so there's a lot of work with them together in a way. 00:33:37-8

Stine: So you also had people from the World Bank coming to the meeting in Bangkok? 00:33:43-2

Georg: Yes exactly, I think nine people were there and basically we got together, but I mean, everyone in a way also runs a little bit their own project, we do have, for example a ... mumbling... of understanding of the things that, or the young ? network that we have been working with not so much in the past, but ... mumbling... 00:34:12-3

Stinne: So back in the beginning of this youth focus, for instance your col-

laborations with the World Bank could have affected you in looking at youth?
00:34:19-7

Georg: No, I think they started later than we did. 00:34:24-0

Stinne: So you were sort of the front runners in this focus on youth? TI?
00:34:28-7

Samantha: Uhmm 00:34:31-9

Georg: It's complicated. I think in the end it's people that are interested in, and I think its , I think maybe I'd say the start of this was in our national chapters and then we started to networking together on an international level and that comes somehow also from TI secretariat, which then starts to coordinate things a little bit more. But in the end it always starts on a national level, it can be a national chapter or it can be some organization independent from the national chapter, in the end this thing... 00:35:04-1

Stinne: It trickles up you can call it from... 00:35:07-6

Samantha: Yeah 00:35:08-1

Stinne: Yeah, yeah 00:35:15-4

Stine: I just have one more question. A lot of theories at the moment think that it might be to late to actually ultimately change youth. Cause once they leave the family it's really hard to influence them and change their mindset. What is your opinion on that? 00:35:26-4

Georg: Well there is always new young people. 00:35:37-9

Stine: What do you think about what age groups to focus on and stuff like that?
00:35:35-3

Samantha: I think that has actually been a bit of a debate within TI and kind of beyond that as well, some of the youth groups we talked to actually when we were looking at the youth integrity survey and what age groups to this. Thailand has actually worked with pretty young people, kindergarten, 1st, 2nd grade and I think that some people feel that there is definitely real advantages to starting that young. While others on the other hand feel that, you know, at that age it doesn't really matter and you need to get them when they're a bit more, you know aware of the outside world and aware of what good and bad is and what it's going to mean, and kind of experience the corruption themselves.
00:36:11-4

B.2 Transcript of interview with Georg Neumann and Samantha Grant 147

Georg: I think the younger you start the broader you have to be. So if you start very young you should focus much more on general ethics which is something that in principle actually is taken on a lot in Germany for example, though religion or ethics courses anyway you know. Because I think it is not about, in this case, about corruption as one of the issues, but really about good, you know the manner of integrity management of a country of all the people who count in a country that has elections etc., so it's really, the younger you are you have to be broader, which it's been in sort of ethics problems and the older you get you can become more precise and you say let's focus on corruption and this is what the future sets most ... mumbling... which probably makes it easier to start later, cause it's easier to actually have like a university course. On the other hand, maybe too late for some things. It's like, I was giving a training, more like a session with students here in an international school in English and they were between 10 and 13 years old. It was a wonderful group cause they already were aware of actually you know what does it mean a conflict of interest. When you have someone who was a doctor and then some from a pharmacy, whose parents were from a pharmacy company and they were like, we give all of these presents and the doctors get ... mumbling... and my mom is receiving them, so now what does that mean for the decision making. And that's actually a moment where they already realize it, but it's a little bit broader than that you know. So anyway, yes it's probably never too early but to be most effective I think we'll have to find out, I don't know. 00:38:02-6

Samantha: Yeah definitely that's why I think we're starting to look exactly where it is. There are things that are really important, I think that, you know, to provide incentives you know other ??? working jobs to provide, in communities and society and also to engage parents as well, cause I think that that's crucial to engage broader society but particularly, I mean, yeah they think that you're right children are imprinted kind of, you know, from a young age and once those things exist it's hard to change so it's important to emphasize to parents as well, and I think it's something that some of our chapters in Asia are looking at more and more, but when they see their father paying bribes for their school and education it sends a very clear message and it's important not to send that message.00:38:49-2

Stinne: But then again as you say, they have to be at a certain age also to really actually understand what is going on and as you say understanding the political system around them. Cause what we've been discussing is having sort of a focus on education, corruption in education, because it's very much an area where youth are facing corruption, where it actually works against them and where they are personally affected by it so what we've decided to do is to use the UN guidelines and they focus on 15 to 24 year olds, that's their youth definition. 00:39:29-0

Samantha: I think that's... We had quite a bit of discussion on this when we were looking at developing out new methodology for our survey and we've decided on 15 to 30. Cause we wanna look at young leaders. But I mean, that's just for one project, I mean, you know, there are others that they are looking at. 00:39:42-8

Georg: If you look at age groups in the end you know in Germany you're in high school until 19 and in Colombia you're already out of university. 00:39:50-7

Stine: Yes, it really depends on the country. 00:39:51-8

Samantha: And then, exactly, in Vietnam when you say 15 to 30 you're talking about people that are probably out of school. I mean, some of them are still in school and in university, but if you say this, absolutely... In Germany they are probably still in university. 00:40:07-9

Stinne: Yes exactly. 00:40:07-9

Stine: It's hard to generalize. 00:40:07-9

Stinne: We're beyond the youth phenomenon. 00:40:11-6

Ha ha ha 00:40:11-6

Samantha: Yes, exactly. It is controversial though and there are some chapters who feel very strongly that engaging at this aspect of a young person's life, you know regardless of the age wherever it is it's quite important I think, they will probably be unaware, but I think wherever you engage it can be positive. It's just that, you know, the way that you do it needs to be suited. 00:40:36-6

Stinne: Great. Do you have anything that you would like to add? Or a gem of some information that you have up your sleeve? 00:40:48-9

Ha ha ha 00:40:48-9

Samantha: I am happy to share in more detail any of the work that any of our chapters are doing of put you in touch with them if you, you know, are interested or... 00:40:58-7

Stinne: We are actually interested in maybe contacting by e-mail just a few... 00:41:08-7

Stine: And also Colombia we talked about... 00:41:07-8

B.2 Transcript of interview with Georg Neumann and Samantha Grant 149

Stinne: About motivation for engaging youth so we have a bit of a wider data set. 00:41:14-0

Georg: I would be interested in what role do you give technology as part of your thesis? 00:41:22-3

Stine: We have actually not at all been talking about technology... 00:41:25-0

Stinne: We did in our brainstorm 00:41:25-0

Stine: We did, we've touched upon it but ... we're probably gonna be focusing more on that after this interview I think, cause it seems like it's a really important part of why you choose to focus on youth as well. 00:41:41-3

Stinne: Yeah, it's a good point 00:41:47-2

Samantha: I think it depends on the country, but in some regions it is absolutely key. In Indonesia everyone is on facebook, everything is done by texting what ever else and that is where all the social network happens so you wanna engage with youth, I mean, I think, it's yeah... 00:41:56-9

Stinne: Yeah, I mean, also reading from your toolkit how you engage the youth also with the national essay contest and youth camps and such. So it will definitely be part of our thesis and part of our analysis to I mean, asking why youth, and you say social movements and youth are super-users of the social network so definitely. But I think what we will do is we will send you a copy of our thesis once we've written it, I mean if you're interested... 00:42:28-9

Samantha: Yeah that would be great... 00:42:28-8

Stinne: Because then you can read it and maybe it can be a tiny contribution to the AC force I don't know. 00:42:48-5

Stine: But I mean, our thesis is not so much on how the programs work, it's more why you choose to focus on youth. So we're not gonna come into a debate on whether the programs are working or how the national chapters are doing the programs etc. It's more about why you choose to focus on this specific group. 00:43:04-6

Stinne: So it's more sort of the motivation. We'll be sort of doing a discourse analysis on the programs and how youth are... how World Bank, TI is talking about youth. I mean what words. You had some great words as well. 00:43:24-8

Stine: The use of agents...00:43:27-0

Stinne: Yeah exactly, such things. So yeah, this was great. 00:43:29-7

Georg: You didn't tell us that before. 00:43:31-7

Ha ha ha 00:43:31-7

Stine: No, there's a reason why. 00:43:35-4

Stinne: We have been working a lot on this guide. On what to ask and what not to say. So that's great. 00:43:40-9

Stine: Can I ask, how long have you been working with TI? 00:43:44-2

Samantha: About three years. 00:43:49-6

Georg: Five and a half years. 00:43:52-6

Stinne: And the headquarters has been in Berlin since birth, since ... 00:43:55-8

Georg: Yeah 00:43:59-4

Stinne : It's a very interesting place. 00:44:01-3

Stine: Yeah, I think well that's it. Thank you so much letting us interview you

APPENDIX C

E-mail interviews

C.1 Example of an email interview, for TI national chapters

Dear TI Uganda We are two Danish students from the Copenhagen Business School studying a master in Business and Development Studies, and we are currently writing our thesis on anti-corruption.

In our thesis, we wish to examine why anti-corruption programs are increasingly focusing on young people. We have conducted an interview with two employees at the Transparency International secretariat, Georg Neumann and Samantha Grant. They advised us to contact you, as you have specifically worked with anti-corruption programmes that focus on young people.

We are very much hoping you will take the time to help us gain an understanding of this issue. We kindly ask you to answer the following questions to the best of your ability. This will give us an idea of the motivations behind your choice to engage youth in anti-corruption.

1. When did your organisation begin to focus on youth?

2. Why does your organisation believe it is of importance to focus on youth in anti-corruption?
3. In what way does/did your youth project contribute to the fight against corruption?
4. What has the experience been regarding your youth project?
5. Does your work with youth affect the amount of donations you receive? And if so, why?

We really hope you have the time to answer these questions. We would appreciate a quick reply if this is possible, as we have a deadline on this thesis. If you would be interested, we would gladly send you our finished project.

Kind regards,

Stine Andersen and Stinne Hjulmann

C.2 Transcript of e-mail interviews

C.2.1 Transparencia por Colombia - 16.12.2010

Dear Stine Andersen and Stinne Hjulmann

A long time ago here in "Transparencia por Colombia", we made some projects with young people, nevertheless actually there is a organization name OCASA that was born from our organization, but now they are independent.

You can contact Xiomara Trujillo - xtrujillo@ocasa.org.co she is the Executive Director Assistant and she can help you with your investigation

Best Regards

María Alejandra Baquero Cimadevilla Asistente Técnica de la Dirección Ejecutiva Corporación Transparencia por Colombia Tel: (57-1) 2146870 Ext 106 Fax (57-1) 6373603 Autopista Norte No. 114 -78 Oficina 101

C.2.2 TI Georgia - 09.12.2010

TI Georgia

1. When did your organisation begin to focus on youth? Since we started in 2010.
2. Why does your organisation believe it is of importance to focus on youth in anti-corruption? There are several reasons. 1) the same reason that cigarette companies do, that if you get a convert who is young, there is a longer pay off, 2) young people are more idealistic, 3) they are more flexible and will try new things and new ways of doing things, 4) they are more creative and if we can get them to get involved with us we are more likely to get good programming ideas from them, 5) being less vested, they fear less and are more likely to take on big opponents.
3. In what way does/did your youth project contribute to the fight against corruption? Right now we don't have a specific youth project that is specifically funded, we just focus on youth as a target for our work. We have had some in the past. But I would say that youth in general are more participatory. They have a better and more intuitive understanding of participatory civic organizing than older people.
4. What has the experience been regarding your youth project? Good. And we are likely to try to do more. But it is not that easy to get funding. Donors tend to want to fund technical training activities. Organizing works best with youth and donors don't know how to fund it very well.
5. Does your work with youth affect the amount of donations you receive? And if so, why? Yes, see above. With youth, they want to be in charge and we want them to be and those types of programs are not easy to get funded.

C.2.3 TI India - 08.02.2011

We are sorry for the delay in replying to your e-mail due to oversight.

Our answers to your questions are as follows:

Q.1. When did your organisation begin to focus on youth? Ans. Initially, we started focusing youths through Debates and discussions on Corruption on Int'l Anti-Corruption Day on Dec.9 every year. Then, as a follow up to our India

Corruption Study 2008, we started working at different levels of governance through the empowerment approach. At that time, a need was felt to associate youths with our projects like Pahal and Development Pact (DP) at all levels.

Q. 2. Why does your organisation believe it is of importance to focus on youth in anti-corruption? Ans. Corruption is like a virus which affects the whole body and spread all over. So to fight with the virus and protect them from spreading, first we should educate and motivate our youths as they are the future of the society.

Q. 3. In what way does/did your youth project contribute to the fight against corruption? Ans. It is the awareness which is most important and is a must before it is practised. That is why we are including youths in our projects. Apart from this, we have also participated in a multi-country survey for preparing a youth Integrity Index in the year 2008. The same is attached.

Q. 4. What has the experience been regarding your youth project? Ans. Our experience has been that youths integrity is generally unquestionable.

Q. 5. Does your work with youth affect the amount of donations you receive? And if so, why? Ans. Generally, donors are not available for such a cause. However, we are trying to create a network of Youth for Development (YfD) in our project Development Pact (DP), which seeks political and administrative accountability by making the voices of poor count and for this we have not received any donation.

Thanks & regards,. TI India

C.2.4 Lebanese Transparency Association (LTA) - 12.01.2011

1. When did your organisation begin to focus on youth?

LTA's Youth against Corruption Program started in late 2005 with a civic education project implemented in the south of Lebanon. LTA has implemented 4 other projects under the framework of its youth program and have integrated a youth focus in its other programs mainly the Democratization and the Public Accountability Program.

2. Why does your organisation believe it is of importance to focus on youth in anti-corruption? Youth aged between 15 and 24 constitute around 18% of the Lebanese population thus targeting them means that we are targeting a large portion of the society that will determine the future of the country on the coming 25 years. This group of society has not been

affected by corrupt practices and thus is easier to be put on the right path. Youth are the agents of change in their communities and have a lot of potential, energy, enthusiasm, and ambitions that can be employed in the fight against corruption. They form the backbone of society, among whom you can find the young citizens seeking new opportunities and jobs, voters, public servants, teachers, entrepreneurs and the leaders of tomorrow in whose hands rests the welfare of society. Finally, youth hold within them the essence of integrity and idealism.

3. In what way does/did your youth project contribute to the fight against corruption? The Youth against Corruption program aims at raising awareness among youth on corruption and its negative effects on their daily lives and that of the society as a whole. Our projects have two main components: thematic and technical trainings on corruption, transparency, good governance, accountability, citizenship, conflict resolution, proposal writing, and project management. The aim thus is to go beyond awareness-raising and to encourage learning through doing by providing the trained youth with the skills and resources to develop and implement small projects aiming at promoting transparency within their communities including universities, municipalities, public hospitals, etc... LTA also administered youth shadow municipal elections and the elected councils implemented developmental projects based on the needs of their communities and thus presented a form of a responsive body. In addition, LTA has engaged youth in their campaign finance monitoring projects (part of the Democratization and Public Accountability Program at LTA) where they were engaged in exposing violations such as vote-buying during the Parliamentary elections of 2009 and the Municipal elections of 2010. These young monitors have helped us estimate the expenditures on the electoral campaigns and compare it to the expenditure ceiling assigned in the electoral law. These will be used to identify the needed reforms to the law that will be advocated for at a later stage. Examples of youth small projects included: gauging the quality of water, promoting transparency in the services of a public hospital, compiling stories about corruption into a booklet, organizing competitions for artists tackling the issue of corruption, conducting training workshop in Public High Schools...

4. What has the experience been regarding your youth project?

The youth program faced different challenges that LTA has tackled as follows: Project End: Once the Project is over, the stimulated trained Youth feel abandoned and need new opportunities to be engaged.

- Solution: LTA assists them in setting up their own youth organizations through which they can independently raise funds and implement projects

Lack of commitment: We have noticed that because of the nature of the training process and the length of the workshops many young people lose their motivation and tend to drop out.

- Solutions:
 - (a) Design interactive training sessions that include a good number of games, simulations, energizers, creative feedback methods, etc...
 - (b) Discern diplomas upon the completion of a certain number of training hours.
 - (c) Pay attention to their needs, always get their feedback and suggestions on the programs. Recruitment: One of the most challenging issues in these programs is how to encourage youth to be engaged. We have noticed that many tend not to believe in the end results which lead in certain cases to refuse to participate in the projects.
 - Solution: We are still looking for good solutions to this dilemma in the future. Fear of commitment: We have noticed that because of the nature of the training many people tend to discourage their children from engaging in such activities for fear of retaliation or threats of political parties or figures.
 - Solution: Conduct interactive training sessions that open the eyes of Youth to their rights and duties towards their community to improve the standards of democracy, governance and human rights.
5. Does your work with youth affect the amount of donations you receive? And if so, why? Targeting youth was one of the major aims of LTA since 2005 and is imbedded in the strategy of the Transparency International Movement. Based on that, LTA seeks donations to fund this program but did not initiate it to attract funds. But, when the donors' strategy focuses on the youth, LTA benefits from the existence of an established and strong youth program -giving it a comparative advantage - to win these funds.

C.2.5 TI Madagascar - 23.02.2011

Please find below some elements regarding to your request

1. Transparency International-Initiative Madagascar (TI-IM) is the malagasy chapter of Transparency International (TI). Its activities deal mainly with the implementation of transparency and reliability in all activities. The achievement of this objective will contribute largely in the fight against

corruption. TI-IM launched a program called "Youth against corruption" in 2007 and 2008 in three main big cities of Madagascar, including the capital city and two regional capitals.

2. We decided to focus youth in anti-corruption because we noticed that it would be better to start by the beginning which young people who are still at school or university. Since, TI-IM has many youth associations as partners, we collaborate with them to transmit the messages to another youth associations located at schools, colleges, universities, both public and private.
3. It is quite difficult to give a clear cut answer to this question since the project, funded by USAID Madagascar did not come to a normal end. Consequently, a monitoring and an evaluation did not take place. However, we can say that all participants were highly interested in being familiarized with concepts dealing with corruption. In some schools, an anticorruption committee was launched, and they participated with TI-IM for the celebration of the international anti-corruption day (9 december 2007).
4. We benefited from these close contacts with younger people that they are also interested in anti-corruption programmes since they have already noticed that corruption is damaging their future, above all at the state university.
5. As it is said before, the project was carried out under USAID funding. As everybody knows, Madagascar has been imposed sanctions since march 2009. Consequently, the project on youth was not renewed.

C.2.6 TI Moldova - 19.01.2011

Dear Stine Andersen and Stinne Hjulmann,

I am sorry for a late answer. TI-Moldova is a part of several networks that use to "reply all" all their discussions and this is why we receive daily about 150-200 messages. This makes really hard to follow up and find the messages that need to be replied :(Lets get straight to your questions:

1. When did your organisation begin to focus on youth? I can not tell you the exact date, but TI-Moldova paid attention to this segment of population almost since the date of its creation in 2001. We did not come to the idea, we always remembered about youth. Besides, it is fun to work with them.

2. Why does your organisation believe it is of importance to focus on youth in anti-corruption? I do not want to sound pathetic, but it is really important that the next generation gets better than our. Unfortunately, in some of our discussions with youth we notice cynicism and tolerance towards corruption. The idea of "sticking to money and not values" seems to be spreading pretty well through mass-media, even if it does not plan on it.

Of course I am not talking about all youth. We had some nice cooperation with youth where they dedicated time and effort by disseminating leaflets about the threat of corruption, they participated actively in opinion polls as respondents, telling stories of corruption in their universities and expressing their negative attitude towards this phenomenon. I remember the essays that youth wrote for your contest "Say NO to corruption!" Some of them were naive, some - pretty sophisticated, some were with a lot of misspells and other even written in verses. All of them were about intolerant attitude to corruption. My strong opinion is that youth NEED strong leaders that proved integrity, professionalism and success to follow up and it's our generation's responsibility to raise them and give them a chance.

3. In what way does/did your youth project contribute to the fight against corruption? TI-Moldova has three major objectives:
 - Research of corruption phenomenon, elaborating proposals for anti-corruption policies and monitoring their implementation;
 - Strengthening the civil society's capacity to withstand corruption and diminishing the tolerance towards corruption;
 - Supporting investigative journalism.

Within the three objectives related to youth were some of our studies (we conducted a study of integrity in educational system and we regularly conduct surveys about bribery in education), as well as raising public awareness about corruption. TI-Moldova organized anti-corruption workshops for the Youth Parliament of Moldova; we organized anti-corruption discussions and public lessons in universities and youth NGOs. We conducted anti-corruption days in schools and summer camps. During these events we not only provided youth with information on the threat of corruption for their future, but we made them think and express their attitude. So, we organized games where youth were asked to improvise and play theater scenes and pantomime to express how they understand the notion of bribery, nepotism, protectionism, conflict of interests, traffic of influence, lack of transparency. We organized master-classes of anti-corruption caricatures and contests for the best caricature about corruption. We made them read fables and realize that, in fact, they are about corruption. We

invited youth to our exhibitions of anti-corruption caricatures and concerts to help us disseminate leaflets and brochures. We gave interviews about corruption for youth newspapers, school newspapers, etc. Well, we did a lot, but it is not sufficient to really cultivate values.

4. What has the experience been regarding your youth project? As I wrote above: they were very different. From disappointment with the optimism of some youth to total satisfaction with youth willingness to be active :
5. Does your work with youth affect the amount of donations you receive? And if so, why? We did not have problems with donors, because we did not ask fundings for our activities with youth. Usually we conduct all these activities ad-hoc from the funds that were saved from other articles of our budget.

C.2.7 Ocasá - 13.12.2010

Dear Stinne,

Thank you for your email and apologies for not replying before but the end of the year is quite a busy moment.

As Georg and Samantha mentioned, I am co-founder of Ocasá and currently Member of their Board of Directors., an NGO working to increase youth participation to strengthen democracy in Colombia with a particular focus on raising awareness about corruption and empowering youth.

Since its foundation in 2003, Ocasá has focused on youth both because it was founded by a group of young activists but also because it is our aim to complement anti-corruption actions with youth participation. Please see the attached presentation prepared by an Ocasá Member for the 13th International Anticorruption Conference outlining our general strategy. This paper is cited in a TI working paper on youth that you may already have seen.

In terms of funding, as we have only focused on youth we have always looked for resources that allow us to carry out our activities, so availability of funding has not been at all a reason for us to work with youth, but rather a mean for Ocasá's overall purpose.

In case you have more questions, please contact Gina Romero, Ocasá's Executive Director. You can also visit www.ocasa.org.co where you can find more details about Ocasá's activities (in Spanish).

Best,

Andrés.

C.2.8 TI Uganda - 07.12.2010

1. When did your organisation begin to focus on youth? Our organisation has recently started focusing on involvement of the youth in the anticorruption agenda. We have started with working with University students and opening transparency clubs at Universities the first one being Makerere University and also working with existing ones to promote the culture of transparency and accountability as well as encouraging the young people to mobilise the public to hold leaders accountable.
2. Why does your organisation believe it is of importance to focus on youth in anti-corruption? There are many reasons and advantages working with young people to fight corruption; to begin with in Uganda the youth constitute over 65 % of our population. In actual sense over 65% of the population is below 30 years so this numerical advantage is critical to create that critical mass and voice for good governance Secondly, young people are dynamic and receptive to change compared to the old generation which is characterised with resistance to change and partly soaked into the habit of corruption hence not easily recruited into the fight against corruption. Young people become soft target to recruit into the struggle. Young people are easily reached at colleges, university, schools above all they have embraced modern technology and communication channels like internet making them easy to mobilise. We believe they have a higher stake in the future of the country by the fact that they are expected to live longer hence should be more concerned on what happens today as they are affected as either victims of bad governance or beneficiary of good ones. They have responsibility to make things better for their good future. We also believe that young people are vulnerable easily swayed hence if not positively influenced for doing good they will be swayed to the opposite direction better to capture them for doing good.
3. In what way does/did your youth project contribute to the fight against corruption? Youth are dynamic and innovative so they come up with new ways and methodology of countering corruption They are good in mobilisation They are effective as change agents especially among fellow youth Their numerical advantage mentioned earlier.
4. What has the experience been regarding your youth project? Need to engage the youth closely and convince them to join the struggle out of

conviction They need to be in the driving seat and be left to be innovative in approach, try out new ideas and methods They need mentoring and are shown the benefits of the proposed intervention for them to devote their time

5. Does your work with youth affect the amount of donations you receive? And if so, why? Not yet but we expect to improve in this area especially where we have tangible results

C.2.9 Transparencia Venezuela - 02.02.2011

Dear friends,

Im sending you the link of the program where you will be able to find all the details available about "Integridad Escolar". The web page is in Spanish, I hope that's not to much of an inconvenience!

<http://sites.google.com/site/integridadescolar/objetivos-del-proyecto>

The only question you will probably not be able to find is whether funding has increased over the years since the implementation of this program. The truth is that in Transparencia Venezuela, we receive funding for each program separately, meaning that we sell each one by its own, so we can only measure if it is easier to get funding for educational programs over other types. I must clarify a variable that affects the outcome of this question. In Venezuela, private enterprises tend not to sponsor initiatives that might seem related with politics in order to prevent being associated with any political faction. In this sense, it is always preferred to fund initiatives that involve educational campaigns instead of initiatives that involve governmental follow-up mechanisms or any of the sort. Additionally, a law on international funding has been approved prohibiting the international sponsorship to "Political Organizations" defined as "aquellas que realicen actividades públicas o privadas, dirigidas a promover la participación de los ciudadanos en los espacios públicos, ejercer control sobre los poderes públicos o promover candidatos que aspiran ocupar cargos públicos de elección popular." (Art 3 of the Ley de Defensa de la Soberanía Política y Autodeterminación Nacional)

With these arguments, the international sponsors have reduced funding and would rather sponsor educational initiatives. If you wish to read the legislation approved this past december you can find it attached to this email.

I hope this information serves its purpose!

Sincerely,

Gustavo Pérez Ara

APPENDIX D

Skype interview Transparencia Mexicana

D.1 Interview guide

Date: 3 February 2011

Respondent: Eduardo Bohórquez

Introduce self

Purpose of study: The increasing role of youth in anti-corruption

1. When did Transparencia Mexicana begin to focus on youth?
2. Why does your organisation believe it is of importance to focus on youth in anti-corruption?
3. In what way does/did your youth projects contribute to the fight against corruption?
4. What has the experience been regarding your youth projects?

5. Does your work with youth affect the amount of donations you receive?
And if so, why?

D.2 Transcript of interview with Eduardo Bohórquez

Stine: Thank you so much for taking your time to make this... (02:30)

Eduardo: No, it's a pleasure, because we knew that the conversation was going to be, well held in English, but also that it was going to tackle certain issues about youth, so I took the liberty to invite a group of colleagues that are actually working now in Transparencia Mexicana that are in their final year of education so most of them, probably some of them are already finished with their undergraduate studies, so they are gonna be present with us and I want to introduce them to you, so you know, I mean obviously the discussion is gonna be our conversation and discussion, but I thought that it was a good idea to invite them to our conversation if you don't mind. (02:45)

Stine: No, I don't mind at all, they are more than welcome to join the conversation, of course. (02:51)

Eduardo: OK, maybe they can introduce to you and then we can start with the questionnaire. (02:56)

Stine: That sounds great. (02:59)

Valentina: Hello, I'm Valentina (03:02)

Stine: Nice to meet you (03:04)

Valentina: Nice to meet you too (03:06)

Pati: Hi Stine, I'm Pati (03:07)

Stine: Nice to meet you (03:10)

Mariana: Hi, my name is Mariana, nice to meet you (03:13)

Stine: Perfect (03:16)

Eduardo: Perfect, OK we can start now. So you tell me, how can I be useful for the project you're making (03:26)

Stine: Let me explain, also to all of the girls what this project is actually about. We are making a study on, to examine why anti-corruption programmes are increasingly focusing on young people. Cause what we have seen is that, not only in Transparency International, but also in World Bank programmes there is a tendency to have more programmes focusing on youth. So basically what we are looking into is why youth is given this increasingly important role. (04:05)

Eduardo: OK (04:05)

Stine: And we have been or we have talked also to other national chapters from Transparency International to hear their view and we have also been to Berlin to talk to two employees down there. (04:20)

Eduardo: Can you tell me the names of these people so I can, so I don't repeat the story they have already told you? (04:26)

Stine: It's... we talked to Georg Neumann and Samantha Grant and yeah, they told us one story but I'm interested in your story so I'm not gonna... hahaha (04:39)

Eduardo: No no no, I don't want to listen to the stories but just to have an idea if you were talking to the right people, but I'm pretty sure that you're doing that. As you know Georg was born in Germany and is a German, but he's like 35 per cent Mexican because he spent a lot of time in Tijuana. (04:59)

Stine: Oh, really. (04:59)

Eduardo: He speaks Spanish wonderfully and actually he has a very good background in certain issues related with grassroots organisations, so you are talking to the right people. Well that was from the, I mean from my... (05:14)

Stine: That sounds great. Maybe I should tell you. I also speak Spanish actually, but... (05:24)

Eduardo: That's OK, we'll try that. I'll try in terrible English and you can try in... (05:27)

Stine: but it's perfect that we are doing the interview in English, cause my colleague doesn't speak any Spanish. (05:34)

Eduardo: OK (05:35)

Stine: So that's great. Well, the questions I have. The first question I wanted to ask you about is when Transparencia Mexicana started to focus on youth (05:50)

Eudardo: Well, basically this is a decision that, as any other strategy has to be based on evidence and on empirical information or data no? (06:04)

Stine: Mmm (06:05)

Eduardo: Because I mean, obviously we can decide randomly to work with elder people or younger people just because we have better networks or points of contact with them. (06:17)

Stine: yes (06:17)

Eduardo: But in the case of Transparencia Mexicana it was a conscious decision, because for 10 years now we have been surveying the frequency on which households have been participating in paying bribes in order to get access to public services and procedures. So, we discovered in 2001, and that was a terrible, a terrible discovery in those years that the group, which was more prompt to pay a bribe in order to gain access to public services in Mexico was the younger group - households that were... Well, think about the complexity of a country of Mexico with 108 million people and 25 million households. There is because of the social demographic pyramid there are a lot of households that are headed by a young female or male. This group of population is between 18 and 24 years old and this was the group of population in terms of households that was more prompt to pay bribes no, so this was basically our decision related with evidence, with empirical evidence and with a national trend in terms of the participation of younger people in corrupt acts. The group that had the lower participation in terms of corruption, in paying bribes, was the group that above 50 years old, so there is a lot of evidence. I'm not gonna enter into details unless you really want to, but this is basically how the decision came into practice. Younger households are more affected by the quality of public services and are more affected by the presence of corruption in their lives because they are gonna become parents, they are gonna become, they are gonna establish a new household and they are gonna be part of the society in a more broader way than other groups. (08:36)

Stine: That's really interesting. Why do you think that younger people are more prone to pay a bribe? Have you made any studies on that or looked into it? (08:50)

Eduardo: Well not specifically on why younger people are more prone to pay, but on the reasons why people are more prone to pay bribes in order to gain access to public services. This is basically related with the whole development

discussion about metropolitan concentration and graphic patterns no. Young people in countries like Mexico and in many other countries in the world tend to live in urban areas now and because of the growth rates of the population they can exercise a lot of pressure on the demand side of services, so if you think about megacities like Mexico City, Guadalajara, Monterrey, Puebla, the major cities in the country and in many other countries as well there's a lot of these groups of the population ... adapt to these circumstances in a very rational way no. You are not gonna ask these groups of population not to gain access to water or sanitation or to garbage collection because they are younger no and enthusiast. So basically they are, (the part of the population that are experiencing a higher demand of public services and in that way there is a conditionality of public service providers to pay for bribes - not sure if this is exactly what he's saying!), but this is just one particular form of corruption. (10:35)

Stine: Yeah, it's just one part of it. (10:39)

Eduardo: Yes, I mean, it would be impossible to make a case about the behaviour of younger people for instance in the corporate governance problems of corruption no. It would be impossible to say executives below 35 years old are to be more honest than executives... (10:59)

Stine: Yes, that would be very difficult (11:01)

Eduardo: That would be very difficult, so in that case what we're trying to establish is the nature of the institutional framework in which people or populations are operating. (11:12)

Stine: OK, great. And, so focusing on youth in anti-corruption, do you have more reasons or why do you think it is of importance to focus on youth in anti-corruption? (11:27)

Eduardo: There is a cliché and there is a structural problem. The cliché is very common and maybe you have heard a lot about it and it is this idea that we can educate society for a different future no. Anyways, it's a cliché no, obviously I mean you are educating people for new problems and circumstances all the time, this is, and as a very good friend in UNICEF tend to, says a lot, we are all going to become terrible adults at the end no. So that's a cliché part. It's important to have it because it raises a lot of awareness about the problems of corruption and it's a good way of bringing the head of households or the parents into the discussion, it's a good way of discussing the issue. But in terms of policy and structural reform that is not a reason good enough if I make any sense with this comment. The reason why it is so important to work with people that is young in countries like Mexico is basically the demographic patterns of the country and this is gonna last only for a decade or so. We

are living what is called a demographic bonus, we have a large amount of our population in the age of being part of the economic activity of the country and this is gonna last only for a decade or so, so this is the only and right time for working with young people. (13:06)

Stine: OK. So you are hoping by, so by working with young people now you are hoping to gain an opportunity or to..., what is it that you are hoping to achieve then with this bonus that you are talking about? (13:21)

Eduardo: Well, actually we were talking to the larger share of the population, which is very important. Talking about, I mean when we are thinking about a strategy or a campaign we have a focus on younger people because they are the more important and significant constituency in the country right now no. Because of the demographic pyramid. So basically in the case of Mexico you are talking about, I don't know, working in the education sector you are actually working with 40 per cent of the population of the country no. Just to give you a figure we have around 30 million people in the age of education in the country no. 30 million people that are in the schools at this moment. So when you're talking about any kind of project or initiative related with anti-corruption efforts that is based on the educational system you're talking about circa 40 per cent of the population of the country no. So that makes a case for working with a fresher style and with younger people in the case of Transparencia Mexicana. The other part of course it has to be related with the cliché, with the cultural reform no. Also, when you are talking with a new generation of Mexicans or with younger people you are trying to change the cultural patterns or the sociological behaviour that can explain part of the ... that's why I'm saying it has two very powerful reasons. One is the structural - younger people are the main focus of our work and the main constituency in the country and secondly, of course there is a cultural reform discussion about how to involve younger people in building a new country and building new relationships and ideas of the country and it also includes the anti-corruption efforts. I don't know if it makes sense Stine and you can go in depth if I'm not making any sense. (15:35)

Stine: No, it definitely makes sense. We are also looking into some theories that talk about a demographic opportunity so it definitely makes sense to me and I can tell you that many people talk about that we want to focus on youth because they are the future and they are huge in numbers and also there might be, it could be a huge security issue if you don't take care of these young people now in some countries, especially in Africa. (16:09)

Eduardo: Yeah, probably, I agree. If worked inside an office in Sub-Saharan Africa I would immediately start working with younger population no. Not because of the, only of the cultural discussion, but basically because of the societal risk that is involved. (16:26)

Stine: Exactly, exactly. Can I ask, what are the programs that you are running currently in Transparencia Mexicana concerning youth? (16:36)

Eduardo: That will be a very long answer and my colleagues here have to do a lot of things after this meeting so I will focus on two major things. One is to bring the perspective of young population to any kind of strategy, which is different to have a target that is strategy for younger people, so I will say that a lot of our projects are very conscious about the segment of the Mexican population that we are talking about, which is the younger people. I mean maybe it doesn't have to state it on the front page of the document, but it's like a perspective on a lot of the issues. In that field, in that model will be projects like the national survey on corruption and good governance that covers 35 public services all over the country and that can disaggregate data for each one of the 32 states of Mexico. Think about Mexico as a federation like in the US, Canada or Germany. Basically we have to operate with that institutional framework, so everything is always sorted into 32 something no, because there are 32 states in the country. So that would be the case of the national survey on corruption and good governance that also provides a lot of data and evidence for depth ... in our strategies, it will be also the case of projects that are involving procurement for the accomplishment of the basic rights, human rights in the country, health, education and security, so there are a lot of initiatives that are covering that amount of the population, that sector of the population and then we have specific projects that are designed for younger people. We are very happy to have one project that is, it has a terrible name Stine, don't quote it, it's terrible, it's very technical, my colleague says really unsexy because it's the National Day for Transparency and Accountability for High Schools (19:06)

Stine: Yeah, it's not so catchy hahaha (19:10)

Eduardo: It's terrible, but the beautiful part of it is that 350 thousand, between 350 thousand and 500 thousand people participate in each one of 1,400 federal high schools all over the country in a very simple mechanism to make the head master of the high school accountable to the community, including the students so the head master of each one of this 1,400 high schools comes into the front of the main public space or public area in the high school and those three things. One is to present 140 indicators of performance of the school that is public. After that day they present a report on the performance of each one of this 140 indicators. They include them in a database that is public and becomes an information system that anyone in the country can see and can compare the performance of each one of this 1,400 units. The second thing that he does or she does is to step in front of the community and you can imagine how tough it is to talk in front of young people in high schools and explain basically which is he's or her plan for improving those indicators in a period of two years. This head master is appointed by a meritocratic system that work a lot with the national,

with the federal education ministry and he or she has to be accountable to the community for improving these indicators in two years. If he or she doesn't succeed then we can have an external review and he or she can be removed, so this is not basically having a good speech in front of your school. This is making the head master accountable to the community and to the students for that and the students, this is a part three, have a structure model of dialogue where they can obviously, I mean at this point when you see the kind of question that they are raising, these are not particularly fancy or sophisticated questions, but it's a way of understanding that this is a dialogue and a right for them to make governments and public officials accountable into their lives. At this point we have around one million students, sorry, 1.8 million students have participated in these efforts and obviously it has both the direct mechanism of making head masters accountable, but also the possibility of very likely training them for exercising a whole set of rights in their communities and areas and when you are thinking about a country of the complexity of Mexico this is a figure I dislike, but just to give you an order of magnitude we transport the whole population of Denmark just in the Mexico City underground every day. (22:57)

Stine: Yeah, I know, yeah. (22:59)

Eduardo: So obviously, this is not India or China no but the complexity of our demographic situation is intense, so when you are talking about each one of the federal high schools you are talking about communities that could have only 2000 or 3000 people, so basically everyone that reach that level is participating, that level of education, is participating for the first time in their lives in a moment where the public official is accountable to them, so maybe they can contrast that and it has happened with what, I don't know, the municipal president, the major of the municipality where they live and they say why the head master of the federal high school has to be accountable to me and the municipal authorities forget about me. I spent a lot of time in describing the project, because if I simply said Jornadas de Transparencia y Rendición de Cuentas en las Escuelas would be boring, but this is the kind of projects that are directly thought for younger people and we have a couple of them, I'm not going into details, but you can have the two models. One is having the perspective; the second model is having the objective population of the project being directly young people. (24:37)

Stine: Do you have any papers on this project on your webpage cause I haven't been able to find it? (24:44)

Eduardo: No, it's a secret project no, I'll be happy to send you the reports (24:52)

Stine: Hahaha (24:51)

Eduardo: The main problem for Transparencia Mexicana right now is try to work with younger people having a terrible website, but I'll be happy to send you a lot of information about these projects. (25:31)

Stine: That would be great. (25:33)

Eduardo: It's written in Spanish and in English so you can quote it properly. (25:37)

Stine: In English would be perfect that would be perfect. So what impact do you think this project is gonna make overall. (25:47)

Eduardo: The issue of impact as you know Stine and you are accessing the intentions of TI and other organisations. It's always blurry no. Because those that are expressing dramatic changes in behaviour or attitudes or perspectives just because they were part of a project, well they are actually lying no. ... be absolutely clear about this no. You cannot transform the life of a person by simply making them part of experience. Especially if you go to the municipal authority and the municipal authority ask you for a bribe to gain access for water or sanitation, so in reality, on the field, especially in small municipalities people have more than one experience simultaneously. They have ... This is their only way, this kind of project is their only way of creating what in economic terms is called a contra factual model, basically what we are doing here is trying to express that there are alternative scenarios for their lives. Not necessarily that they are gonna become honest or gonna be part of a more honest community or integrity is gonna grow naturally. This is basically in very, very clear economic terms the best way of saying this is not the only possible scenario for your live no. (27:32)

Stine: Mmm, so that they know they have other possibilities. (27:35)

Eduardo: Exactly, and that someone clearly expresses their constitutional rights, and that's something that normally state level or municipal authorities are not interested in promoting, so see this kind of project as a citizens acupuncture model. You are basically applying a lot of effort in a mini place, in a spot, so you can say, well basically every single Mexican could be reached, but not necessarily every single form of authority or administrative level, to be really, really clear. ... was part of something very interesting was what, that was the social controllership in Mexico, a major project related with social problems, one of the largest social problems in the world, which is called Oportunidades, which is a conditioned benefit program for alleviating poverty and we claim 2.4 million people. We train 2.1 million Mexicans to become social controllers and this was a major effort in the country. They were actually invited to come to Mexico City to be part of seminars and workshops and training 2.1 million people, I mean, we

learn that one thing is to train people to become a social controller and a total different thing is to imagine that this person is gonna change dramatically his or her behaviour in all the systems they are taking part of no. So this also require projects that are not directly related with young people that are transforming systems for public service delivery or are transforming systemic and structural part of the equation, so people are influenced or persuaded to be honest but also you can reinforce that by having systems at work. Does this make sense? Sorry not to offer you the holy grail of transforming Mexicans in two weeks no... (30:13)

Stine: No, no, it makes sense, I mean everything is interconnected of course you cannot change society only by focusing on young people. I mean it's many factors influencing this change no, so yeah. (30:24)

Eduardo: By training them no. (30:25)

Stine: Exactly. So I have one last question and it's if your work with youth is affected by the amount of donations you receive? (30:40)

Eduardo: No, that's a very simple answer no. (30:41)

Stine: It's not, OK, that's perfect. (30:46)

Eduardo: No, we are very lucky because of the, as I have said, the demographic pyramid and the structure of the country to work in this kind of projects without having to raise the issue focusing on youth as a strategy for fundraising. (31:04)

Stine: OK, perfect. Well that's really, really interesting wow. Well, Thank you so much for your help and have a wonderful day and we'll be in touch. (31:12)

Eduardo: Well goodnight then or what remains of the day. (31:16)

Stine: Yeah, it's not so much. (31:17)

Eduardo: Say hello to the other Stine. (31:19)

Stine: I will, I will. Thank you so much. (31:22)

All: Bye, bye... (31: 27)