BUILDING POLITICAL WILL
TOPIC GUIDE
Compiled by the Anti-Corruption Helpdesk

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Topic guides are a series of publications developed by the Anti-Corruption Helpdesk on key corruption and anti-corruption issues. They provide an overview of the current anti-corruption debate and a list of the most up to date and relevant studies and resources on a given topic.

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This topic guide provides an overview of major approaches to building political will for fighting corruption, and a compilation of the most up to date and relevant studies and resources on the topic.

POLITICAL WILL

WHAT IS POLITICAL WILL?

The lack of political will is often invoked as a reason for failure of anti-corruption reforms and a major obstacle to economic performances and the achievement of development goals. Political leadership and a commitment to fight corruption at the highest levels is a pre-requisite for initiating and sustaining reforms over time, until results are achieved. Power holders are supposed to act for the common good and against their self-interest. As they make the laws and allocate the powers, manpower and funds that enable them to be effectively enforced, they are the principal actors who can change a country's culture of corruption. In fact, some authors go as far as saying that political will has been the most important factor for ensuring the effective implementation of a comprehensive anti-corruption strategy in countries such as Singapore[1]. On the other hand, power holders are also potentially the greatest beneficiaries of corruption, with the powers and incentives to use and maintain the corrupt nature of government for their own benefit. Thus, the critical importance of the existence or lack of political will in the success or failure of governance and anti-corruption reforms has been largely recognised in recent years.

Yet, the concept itself has received relatively little study and remains poorly defined and understood, referred to by some authors as "the slipperiest concept in the policy lexicon"[2]. Political will is commonly defined as the "demonstrated credible intent of political actors"[3]. A more detailed and operationally-oriented definition of this concept is "the commitment of political leaders and bureaucrats to undertake actions to achieve a set of objectives and to sustain the costs of those actions over time"[4]. While this definition seems straightforward, many authors stress the complexity of the concept of political will, which entails many dimensions and reflects a large and multifaceted set of underlying factors. They conclude that thinking about political will as a single, simple factor underestimates the sheer complexity of what is involved.

ASSESSING POLITICAL WILL

Due to the complexity of the concept of political will, finding evidence of political will is challenging. Political will can hardly be observed separately from the action it supports, making it hard to measure directly. In addition, while some politicians may openly reject anti-corruption reforms, many of them are likely to claim supporting anti-corruption reforms while (intentionally) failing to implement them in practice[5]. Finally, most studies claiming that a reform failed due to the lack of political will were also conducted retrospectively, looking back at failed programmes: failure to implement change is generally assumed to be a manifestation of a lack of political will, while successful implementation is interpreted as a proof of its existence[6]. It is, therefore, exceedingly difficult to assess whether political will to support certain reforms is present in a country or not. To

[1] Quah, Jon S.T. 2013. Curbing corruption in Singapore: the importance of political will, expertise, enforcement, and context
[2] Hammergren, L. 1998. Political will, constituency, building and public support in rule of law programmes
http://issat.dcaf.ch/content/download/2200/19056/file/Hammergren%20Political%20Will.pdf
[3] Malena, C. 2009. From political wont to political will: building support for participatory governance
https://styluspub.presswarehouse.com/resrcs/chapters/1565493117_excerpt.pdf
[4] Brinkerhoff, D.W. 2000. Assessing political will for anti-corruption efforts: an analytic framework. Public Administration and Development, Vol. 20, No. 3
[5] Malena, C. 2009. From political wont to political will: building support for participatory governance
https://styluspub.presswarehouse.com/resrcs/chapters/1565493117_excerpt.pdf
[6] Post, L.A., Raile, A.N.W and Raile, E.D. 2010. Defining political will. Politics and Policy, Vol 38, No. 4

address this issue, efforts have been made in recent years to identify a set of components that could indicate the presence and level of political will or lack of thereof, such as a lack of follow-up on promises made, weak or non-existent legal and institutional framework, inadequate allocation of powers and resources, lack of appropriate sanctions, lack of enforcement and so on[7].

More specifically, it is assumed that if political will is present, a number of actions will become visible. The characteristics listed below indicate immediate outcomes of political will and can be of help when trying to assess not only the presence, but also the strength of the political commitment to support anti-corruption efforts[8].

Government initiative
This characteristic relates to where the impetus to implement reforms comes from. "Home-grown" initiatives to fight against corruption show that the government sees the issue as important and is willing to do something about it. Externally imposed or imported anti-corruption initiatives, on the other hand, face the challenge of having to build true commitment and ownership among the political actors.

Degree of analytical rigor
Anti-corruption policies that are decided or implemented utilising evidence-based analyses of the options and their related costs and benefits are likely to represent a higher degree of willingness to act and achieve positive results. Window dressing anti-corruption measures, on the other hand, are likely to be implemented without taking into consideration the country context, needs and costs and show a lack of commitment to effective achieve change.

Mobilisation efforts
Efforts to mobilise support from other stakeholders (such as civil society organisations and the private sector) in the implementation of reforms is also seen as a sign of strong political will by political actors.

Long-term public commitment and allocation of resources
The amount of human and financial resources allocated to support the reform, its goals and objectives also offers some insights into the level of political will. If new anti-corruption agencies are created, but they suffer from underfunding and shortage of personnel, this can also indicate that political will is half-hearted. It is also important to look into the resource allocation for the anti-corruption strategy/institution in the long run as policy makers often simply see anti-corruption strategies as a one shot endeavour or a symbolic gesture.

Application of credible sanctions
Without well-crafted sanctions, corruption cannot be reduced. An effective, proportionate and enforced sanctions regime therefore signals a serious commitment to fight corruption and a higher degree of political will. Symbolic and/or selective sanctions, on the other hand, point to a lesser degree of political will.

Learning and adaptation
Establishing a process for tracking and monitoring the progress and results of anti-corruption policies and programmes is also relevant as this allows for the adaptation of the strategies to emerging circumstances. It also shows a certain level of commitment to learn from past experiences and monitor achievements in a more transparent and accountable manner.

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[7] Malena, C. 2009. "From political won't to political will: building support for participatory governance"
https://styluspub.presswarehouse.com/resrcs/chapters/1565493117_excerpt.pdf
[8] Brinkerhoff, D.W. 2000. "Assessing political will for anti-corruption efforts: an analytic framework". Public Administration and Development, Vol. 20, No. 3

THE DRIVERS OF POLITICAL WILL

There is little empirical evidence regarding the drivers of political will. In the late 2000s, several authors started to address this gap and tried to unpack the concept in order to understand it better. For example, Malena (2009) disaggregated the concept into three elements, defining political will as the sum of *political want*, *political can* and *political must*. For power holders to commit and act in favour of a certain cause they need "to *want* to undertake a given action, feel confident that they *can* undertake that action and feel that they *must* undertake the action".

Political will is therefore closely connected to implementation capacity and what may look to outsiders as a lack of political will to advance certain reforms may actually be a symptom of insufficient government capacity. At the individual level, for example, a central component of political will is the policy makers' assessment of whether or not he or she would be able to successfully implement the sought reform. The political calculus is "best not to try if we are not sure we have the means to make progress"[9]. This means that even if politicians are interested in passing reforms, a lack of abilities, skills, resources or mechanisms to do so are likely to result in a lack of political will to push for these reforms. Therefore, state actors need confidence in their abilities and the will of other important stakeholders to cooperate in the implementation of the reforms. This suggests that, in many circumstances, creating political will become a task of developing government capacity.

There are other factors that also play a role in building the political will of policy makers to undertake certain reforms (see Brinkerhoff 2000: 241-242).

Individual factors
At the most basic level, the willingness of political actors to support anti-corruption reforms is linked to their personal beliefs, aspirations, motivations and values. Some actors might be intrinsically motivated to fight against corruption, while others will have to be convinced.

Organisational factors
Organisational mandates, culture, established practices and procedures also influence political will and political actions of individuals who act on their behalf. Organisational-level factors can have an impact on the political will of the individuals therein.

Relational factors
Although political will is often related to the will of state power holders, many governance reforms, such as anti-corruption reforms, also require the participation of citizens and civil society. Therefore, pressure exercised by these group on power holders will also have an effect on the political will of state actors. Creating political will for anti-corruption reforms in a context where citizens are disengaged or where the relationship between the government and the civil society is characterised by mutual distrust or hostility is particularly difficult.

Societal factors
Where there is a legacy and/or remnants of authoritarianism or dictatorship and where the notions of democracy and active citizenship are still being consolidated, building political will is particularly challenging. In such contexts, real decision-making power sometimes lies outside formal government institutions and in the hands of an elite that seeks to serve its own interests rather than the well-being of society as a whole. Generating political support for anti-corruption reforms in situations like these is extremely difficult because public officials benefiting from corrupt deals will resist the call for more transparency and accountability.

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[9] Brinkerhoff, D.W. 2010. "Unpacking the concept of political will to control corruption", *U4 Policy Brief*, Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute

There is a broad consensus that political will is closely associated with the quality of governance[10]. Since poor governance goes hand in hand with a culture of impunity, public officials feel little obligation to be accountable to citizens and citizens have limited expectations that their elected leaders should be accountable to them. As a result, in such environments, public officials face little pressure to change their behaviour. Moreover, the most fundamental problem in such situations is that these unaccountable elites must essentially police themselves. Political will therefore requires a minimum standard of governance that has at least a certain degree of participatory, responsive and transparent decision making and a respect for the rule of law. If corruption is endemic, the chances of political will emerging and sustaining these reforms are very low.

STRATEGIES FOR BUILDING POLITICAL WILL

The sources of motivation to mobilise against corruption are often perceived to flow from the top levels of a country's political system (frequently prominent individuals) and permeate into the rest of governmental agencies and society. Paul Kagame in Rwanda and Lee Kwan Yew in Singapore are often referred to as some of the most striking examples of national champions driving such top-down anti-corruption reforms. But how can external actors, such as the donor community, foster political will among political elites to advance governance reforms? There is no straightforward answer to this question due to the numerous factors that affect political will. Some authors even suggest that the ideal scenario for the adoption of governance reforms is not when political leaders need to be forced or convinced to do so, but rather when they genuinely believe in the content and benefits of the reform. The literature, however, offers some insights on how to nurture political will among the political elite of a country.

How to generate demand for anti-corruption among the political elite

In many societies with poor governance, where transparency, accountability, participation and the rule of law are limited, generating political will can be difficult. Pressure exercised by external actors to adopt a specific agenda, such as ratifying the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC), establishing anti-corruption institutions or passing a couple anti-corruption laws has been an approach used in many developing countries in recent years. However, importing models of laws and institutions from the developed world, which enjoys the rule of law, to contexts with weak institutions and governance systems has been found to be inadequate in many countries[11]. Building political will involves more in most contexts.

Political self-interest is an important source of political will and, therefore, it is necessary to underline the political benefits that politicians and bureaucrats can derive from supporting anti-corruption reforms. Benefits might vary from attracting more donor funds to the possibility of exposing political opponents. However, if politicians or bureaucrats perceive the costs of anti-corruption reforms to outweigh their benefits, they are likely to lack the political will to push for them.

In countries with a history of authoritarianism or with a recent transition to democracy, the political mantra is often to retain power at all costs. In such countries, a first strategy to generate demand for anti-corruption reforms among public officials may involve addressing the fear of losing power. Under such circumstances, it is necessary to advocate for anti-corruption reforms and show politicians that by fostering transparency, accountability and empowering citizens, they can enhance their popularity and power.

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[10] Brinkerhoff, D.W. 2010. "Unpacking the concept of political will to control corruption", *U4 Policy Brief*, Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute and Fritzen, S. 2006. "Beyond 'political will': how institutional context shapes the implementation of anti-corruption policies", *Policy and Society*, Vol 24, No. 3
[11] Mungiu-Pippidi, A. et al. 2011. Contextual choices in fighting corruption: lessons learned, NORAD.
http://www.againstcorruption.eu/reports/contextual-choices-in-fighting-corruption-lessons-learned/

The growing concern of the international community about the damaging effects of corruption has led to efforts to help foster political will in many countries. As donors seek to increase the impact of their aid through ex-post conditionality or progress-based criteria, transparency and accountability have gained a salient role in the selection criteria for receiving aid. Beyond the UNCAC, many other initiatives with more specific objectives have emerged such as the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) and the Open Government Partnership (OGP). By requiring regular reporting on a country's progress in the implementation of anti-corruption laws, several of these initiatives have helped create incentives for domestic actors to fight corruption. The potential of such initiatives for building political will derives from the costs of not fighting corruption, which may affect the flows of foreign investment and/or foreign aid.

Reputation can also be a powerful resource to motivate political actors to care for the fight against corruption. Several organisations, such as Transparency International and the World Bank publish yearly corruption indicators, making it easier than ever before for the international community and civil society in many countries to assess the extent of corruption in a country. By doing this, these organisations have helped create incentives to generate political will among politicians in corrupt countries, as there are major reputational damages for politicians to be ranked at the bottom of Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index.

Core strategies to build political will from a top-down perspective include (see Brinkerhof 2010):

Strengthening familiarity and trust between civil society and state actors
A lack of familiarity and trust between state actors, bureaucrats and citizens can be a great obstacle for political will. The "them versus us" mentality can make governments unaware of civil society, and civil society actors can be misinformed about government systems, laws and regulations. Providing a neutral space for discussion between stakeholders where both parts can share their views can help build political will for reform.

Seeking critical collaborations
Governance reforms require that multiple stakeholders agree to work together. This does not imply that government and civil society must agree with one another, but they need to be willing to interact, by affording neutral avenues for meaningful dialogue, for example.

Demonstrating the clear benefits of anti-corruption policies
Building political will might require investing time and energy in documenting and publicising the expected concrete benefits of the suggested reforms.

Lobbying and making use of legal/policy reforms
Setting legal requirements and sanctions for corruption can help to modify the current incentive structure. These efforts, however, often need to be accompanied by programmes that support rule of law reforms, as well as training for investigators, lawyers and judges in order to guarantee correct enforcement of the laws and to credibly sanction corruption.

The donor community can support the above-mentioned strategies by identifying and bringing together politicians and public officials committed to anti-corruption reforms in order promote the emergence of home-grown initiatives. Another possible area of intervention for donors is the strengthening of government capacity through the provision of technical assistance in policy analysis, formulation, priority-setting, programme design and cost analysis. Supporting rule of law reforms and providing training for investigators, lawyers and judges can also help strengthen political will by increasing the application of credible sanctions against corrupt officials. Finally,

donors can intervene in monitoring the progress of the reforms in order to diagnose whether or not the adopted policies need to be adapted or if institutions need further reforms[12].

Generating demand for anti-corruption reforms among citizens and civil society

Political will to fight corruption is most often seen as coming from the top levels of a country's political system, but political will does not only flow from the top down and can be supported by bottom-up approaches. Public officials on the frontline of service delivery might be committed to fight corruption and prevent fraud and abuse by higher-level officials. In other cases, one might find support for the fight against corruption outside the structure of the state, such as the private sector or in civil society organisations. The willingness of these actors to engage in anti-corruption activities, such as whistleblowing and advocacy, can generate pressure on power holders to initiate and sustain reform.

Moreover, in countries where corruption is deeply entrenched, the effectiveness of institutional reforms and top-down anti-corruption interventions may yield little or no results, largely because they pose a threat to the political and bureaucratic establishment. In such countries, where political will is lacking or is insufficient at the top, bottom-up pressure from civil society on political leaders can contribute to generate political will for reform.

Bottom-up interventions typically focus on building demand for reform outside government and targeting citizens' behaviour. As the incentive structures of politicians can be affected by a decline of citizens' support for politicians under whom levels of corruption are perceived as high, citizens' changes of attitude and behaviours with regard to corruption can help generate political will for anti-corruption reforms. In democratic settings and countries with a strong and vibrant civil society, citizens can play an important role in generating political will through elections, advocacy and using social accountability tools.

The effectiveness of such bottom-up interventions is determined by the political institutions that govern the relationship between citizens and politicians, such as the presence or absence of electoral institutions, electoral rules and access to information laws, among others[13]. Bottom-up approaches or social accountability mechanisms are more successful when civil society has the power to punish corruption or reward integrity through horizontal accountability and sanctioning mechanisms such as elections[14]. Therefore, building political will is an effort that requires both bottom-up and top-down approaches and the generation of coalitions among the relevant stakeholders, that is, high-level politicians and civil society.

The most important strategies to generate political will from a bottom-up perspective include:

Empowering citizens
Active and engaged citizens are a key element to build political will. Public officials that see citizens as uninformed, uninterested or unengaged are unlikely to support anti-corruption reforms. Providing education and training for citizens is therefore essential to boost the interest and the confidence of political stakeholders in the success of these reforms.

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[12] Brinkehoff, D.W. 2010. "Unpacking the concept of political will to confront corruption", *U4 Policy Brief*, Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute.

[13] Hollyer, J.R. 2011. "Is it better to empower the people or the authorities? Assessing the conditional effects of 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' anti-corruption interventions

[14] Hanna, R., et al. 2011. The effectiveness of anticorruption policy: what has worked, what hasn't, and what we know
https://eppi.ioe.ac.uk/cms/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=9T7IlZ7LFw8%3D&tabid=3106&mid=5783

Ensuring and supporting citizens to have the space for expressing their opinions is a crucial element to generate political will. Forums that mobilise large numbers of citizens and directly demonstrate their capacity for collective action can be very effective in putting pressure on political leaders to take action against corruption.

As anti-corruption interventions work best when they are locally owned, country-led and supported by collective action from local stakeholders, the international community has a key role to play in making such coalitions become broad and powerful[15]. Donors can assist in the generation of demand for anti-corruption reforms by identifying and training relevant stakeholders, such as civil society watchdogs and journalists, and providing support to constituency building and advocacy coalitions. Providing grants to civil society organisations and the media to publicise successful anti-corruption efforts, as well as technical assistance in citizen satisfaction surveys on service delivery are also ways in which the donor community can help generate political will through bottom-up approaches.

RESOURCES ON POLITICAL WILL

Defining political will

***Defining political will*. Post, L.A., Raile, A.N.W and Raile, E.D. 2010.**
in *Politics and Policy,* Vol 38, No. 4.
http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1747-1346.2010.00253.x/abstract

Although frequently invoked as a rhetorical tool in political discussions, political will remains ambiguous as a concept. The authors propose a pragmatic and systematic approach to the definition. This approach facilitates analysis by identifying particular shortcomings in political will and potential ameliorative measures. The authors also address fundamental issues like the specification of contexts. The analytical approach includes a conceptual definition dissected into essential components, along with corresponding means of operationalisation and targets for assessment. Among the major definitional components are requirements that a sufficient set of decision makers intends to support a particular initiative and that such support is committed. The latter condition is difficult to ascertain, but various signals, influences and constraints on action are observable.

***Political will in combating corruption in developing and transition economies: A comparative study of Singapore, Hong Kong and Ghana*. Abdulai, A.G. 2009.**
in Journal of Financial Crime, Vol 16, No. 4.
http://www.academia.edu/3674304/Political_will_in_combating_corruption_in_developing_and_transition_economies_A_comparative_study_of_Singapore_Hong_Kong_and_Ghana

This paper examines the role of political will in combating corruption in three different countries: Hong Kong, Singapore and Ghana. It concludes that controlling corruption in a sustained manner requires a consistent demonstration of genuine commitment on the part of the top political elite. The article highlights a number of lessons from the successful anti-corruption strategies of Singapore and Hong Kong that are significant for developing countries, including: (i) the need for participatory and inclusive anti-corruption reforms that involve all stakeholders (public and private sectors as well as civil society); (ii) the need to provide adequate budgets and staff for specialised anti-corruption agencies and grant them independence in the execution of their mandates and; (iii) the need to

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[15] Mungiu-Pippidi, A. et al. 2011. Contextual choices in fighting corruption: Lessons learned, NORAD.
http://www.againstcorruption.eu/reports/contextual-choices-in-fighting-corruption-lessons-learned/

establish effective mechanisms to provide positive incentives for those who comply with anti-corruption laws, while exposing and sanctioning corrupt individuals and institutions.

From political won't to political will: Building support for participatory governance. Malena, C. (ed.), 2009.
USA: Kumarian Press.
https://styluspub.presswarehouse.com/resrcs/chapters/1565493117_excerpt.pdf

The introduction to this book offers an overview of the concept of political will and the difficulties of defining and measuring it. The author later breaks down the concept into three elements: political want, political can and political must and analyses the different factors that affect political will at the individual, organisational, relational and societal levels. The book also provides examples of how to generate, nurture and build political will for participatory governance. The concluding chapter analyses the main reasons for the lack of political will, effective strategies for nurturing political will, and key factors of success and lessons learned in building political will for participatory governance.

Where there's a will, there's a way? Untangling ownership and political will in post-conflict stability and reconstruction operations. Brinkerhoff, D.W. 2007.
in *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, Winter/Spring 2007.
http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0c54e3b3-1e9c-be1e-2c24-a6a8c7060233&lng=en&id=31141

Although this paper deals mostly with the challenges of post-conflict reconstruction, the author sheds some light on the potential role of donors in re-building and strengthening institutions and explores ways in which donors can potentially help generate political will. The author concludes that donors can help enhance political will and the sense of ownership by analysing how the donor-country relationship affects the interests and motivation of all stakeholders in a country (and not simply national decision makers). The author also recommends breaking down ownership and political will into measurable and more tangible concepts and advises donors to avoid pushing for policy shortcuts to achieve quick results.

What does ownership mean in practice? Policy learning and the evolution of the pro-poor policies in Uganda. Morrisey, O. and Vershoor, A. 2006.
in A. Paloni and M. Zanardi (eds.), *The IMF, World Bank and Policy Reform*. London: Routledge
http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display/document/legacyid/754

Despite the fact that this paper focuses on pro-poor policies, it addresses the issue of political commitment and government ownership. The authors argue that successful implementation of poverty reduction policies in developing countries depends mostly on the policy environment and that a government's assessment of whether or not a policy can be implemented plays a salient role in the choices it makes. Persuasive economic arguments supported by relevant research can shape preferences while technical and financial support can enhance political capacity. Through such interventions, donors can help to establish political support for reforms.

Beyond "political will": How institutional context shapes the implementation of anti-corruption policies. Fritzen, S. 2006.
in *Policy and Society*, Vol 24, No. 3.
http://lkyspp.nus.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/fritzen-PS.pdf

Despite the literature that argues in favour of the importance of political will for the success of anti-corruption reforms, this paper shows that political will alone is not enough to guarantee the success of these reforms. The author argues that in many occasions the very actors who must adopt and implement policies to curb corruption are those who may face weak, or even negative, incentives to do so. Moreover, by analysing the case of Vietnam, the author identifies some potential pitfalls for anti-corruption reforms in countries with autocratic institutions or where corruption is systematic. The paper concludes that certain institutional settings, especially those where the executive

authority is incontestable, the bureaucracy is fragmented and civil society is weak, facilitate the ability of actors throughout the system to resist anti-corruption efforts.

Deconstructing political will: Explaining the failure to prevent deadly conflicts and mass atrocities. Woocher, L. 2001.
in *Princeton Journal of Public and International Affairs*, Vol 12, No. 10.
https://www.princeton.edu/jpia/past-issues-1/2001/10.pdf

This paper analyses the concept of political will by drawing on examples of deadly conflicts in Rwanda and Serbia. The author claims that these two catastrophes were blamed on a lack of political will, but criticises the absence of a systematic analysis of this concept and its determinants. This paper sketches a theoretical framework for the role of political will in conflict prevention and identifies several factors that might affect political will and the corresponding strategies for its enhancement.

Assessing political will for anti-corruption efforts: An analytic framework. Brinkerhoff, D.W. 2000.
in *Public Administration and Development*, Vol. 20, No. 3.
http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/108384/session4I.pdf

This article focuses on analysing political will as it relates to the design, initiation and pursuit of anti-corruption activities. The article elaborates an analytical framework for political will that divides the concept into a set of characteristics and indicators. The author also identifies the external factors that affect political will and traces their influence on the support for design and outcomes of anti-corruption reforms. The article closes with recommendations on the practical applications of the framework.

Building political will

Contextual choices in fighting corruption. Mungiu-Pippidi, A. et al. 2011.
Norway: Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD).
http://www.norad.no/en/tools-and-publications/publications/publication?key=383808

This report argues that the quest for public integrity is mostly a political one, between predatory elites in a society and its losers. Effective and sustainable good governance policies therefore need to diminish the political and material resources of corruption and build normative constraints in the form of domestic collective action. The authors argue that most of the anti-corruption strategies so far have focused on increasing legal constraints, which often fail because most interventions are localised in societies that lack the rule of law. In one of the final chapters, this report also contains specific recommendations for the donor community on how to play its role in fostering good governance in a more strategic way.

Is it better to empower the people or the authorities? Assessing the conditional effects of "top-down" and "bottom-up" anti-corruption interventions. Hollyer, J.R. 2011.
in D. Serra and L. Wantchekon (eds.), New Advances in Experimental Research on Corruption (Research in Experimental Economics, Volume 15)
http://www.tc.umn.edu/~jhollyer/CorrupInterventionsReview.pdf

This chapter analyses the circumstances under which bottom-up and top-down anti-corruption interventions can be effective and identifies some factors that are conducive to the success of either forms of intervention. The author shows that anti-corruption efforts do not directly affect corruption levels, rather the effect of these treatments is mediated through the behaviour of political actors. The causal chain linking the intervention to corruption outcomes is longest when bottom-up designs are applied: the interventions target citizens' behaviour, which must influence politicians who in turn

influence bureaucrats. But, the effect of top-down interventions is also mediated by the behaviour of politicians or officials charged with oversight roles. Political institutions that govern the relationships between citizens, politicians, watchdogs and bureaucrats are therefore likely to play an important role in conditioning the effectiveness of both forms of anti-corruption interventions.

Unpacking the concept of political will to confront corruption. Brinkerhoff, D.W. 2010.
U4 Policy Brief, Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute.
http://www.u4.no/publications/unpacking-the-concept-of-political-will-to-confront-corruption/

In this brief, the author offers a general overview of his previous work on political will and how to assess it. Following the theoretical discussion regarding the importance of government capacity and other factors to understand political will, the author provides a list of possible top-down and bottom-up strategies for donors to build political will for anti-corruption reforms.

Governance reform under real world conditions: Citizens stakeholders and voice. Odugbemi, S. and Jacobson, T. 2008.
Washington DC: World Bank.
https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/6513

This book demonstrates to a broad audience – particularly governments, think tanks, civil society organisations and development agencies – the ways in which communication research can help address development challenges, particularly in the area of governance reform. The book provides innovative solutions to six key challenges in governance reform, including how to secure political will, presenting theoretical frameworks as well as practical approaches and techniques to address these challenges.

Romanian coalition for a clean parliament: A quest for political integrity. Mungiu-Pippidi, A., 2005.
ERCAS Working Papers, Berlin: European Research Centre for Anti-Corruption and State-Building.
http://www.againstcorruption.eu/reports/working-paper-no-1-romanian-coalition-for-a-clean-parliament-a-quest-for-political-integrity/

This paper provides a detailed description of an anti-corruption campaign that took place in Romania in 2004 and which prevented nearly one hundred controversial MPs from being re-elected. The author describes how civil society became organised to create a coalition of relevant stakeholders to fight against corruption in a context characterised by predatory political elites, high state capture, constituencies with low civic competence and low interest in politics.

Making anti-corruption agencies more effective. Pope, J. and Vogl, F. 2000.
Finance and Development.
http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2000/06/pope.htm

National anti-corruption agencies can be critical in preventing corruption before it becomes rampant, but this article claims that such agencies are difficult to set up and often fail to achieve their goals once they have been established. The authors claim that the main problem with these agencies is that they may be so bound to the political elite that they will not dare to investigate the most corrupt government officials. Moreover, they may lack the power to prosecute or they may be poorly staffed. The paper shows the role of political will in building anti-corruption agencies and underlines the role that international organisations can take to contribute to the success of these agencies.

Practical insights: handbooks and toolkits

***Reform toolkit: Making the most of public-private dialogue, an advocacy approach.* Center for International Private Enterprise. 2011.**
Washington DC: Center for International Private Enterprise.
http://www.cipe.org/sites/default/files/publication-docs/ppd_052411.pdf

This toolkit gives an overview of relevant strategies to push for governance reforms through advocacy and dialogue. Although these strategies are originally designed for the private sector to seek economic and governance reforms, the advocacy strategies are also applicable for civil society and other external actors, such as donors.

***An analytical tool for understanding political won't and identifying strategies to influence political will.* Malena, C. 2010.**
CIVICUS Participatory Governance Programme.

This tool is based on the analytical framework outlined in the book edited by Malena (2009), and it assumes that the presence or absence of political will is not an external factor which one must passively accept, but rather something one must actively seek to create and nurture. The tool aims to help development practitioners and activists to generate and nurture political will by: (i) understanding the different elements and key influencing factors of political will; (ii) in the context of a specific sector, issue or development goal, identifying positive and negative factors with regard to each of these, and; (iii) in light of these factors, formulating practical strategies to nurture political will.

***Combating corruption in judicial systems: An advocacy toolkit.* Transparency International. 2007**.
Berlin: Transparency International.
http://www.u4.no/recommended-reading/transparency-international-advocacy-toolkit-combating-corruption-in-judicial-systems/

This guide aims to help Transparency International chapters and other civil society groups to undertake effective advocacy to combat judicial corruption. In addition to providing basic advice about conducting advocacy, it provides examples from Transparency International chapters of work on judicial corruption, including monitoring the process of selecting supreme court judges, monitoring actual cases and diagnosing corruption problems. It also includes a diagnostic checklist for assessing safeguards against judicial corruption.

***Anti-corruption conventions in Africa: what civil society can do to make them work.* Dell, G. 2006.**
Berlin: Transparency International.
http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/anti_corruption_conventions_in_africa_what_civil_society_can_do_to_make_the

This guide provides some practical input on how to foster political interest in anti-corruption reforms from a bottom-up approach. It focuses on two principal anti-corruption conventions in Africa, the African Union and United Nations conventions, explains their uses and describes why it is important and how to promote national ratification, implementation, inter-governmental monitoring, and discusses ways to carry out civil society monitoring.

***The Global Programme Against Corruption: UN anti-corruption toolkit.* United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime. 2004**.

Vienna: UNODC.

http://www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/corruption/toolkit/corruption_un_anti_corruption_toolkit_sep04.pdf

This toolkit offers an overview of anti-corruption strategies, both top-down and bottom-up and discusses each of them. It also identifies political will as a key element to the success of many of these policies and offers some specific guidelines on how to identify the presence of true political will to support these reforms.

***Confronting corruption: The elements of a national integrity system.* Pope, J. 2000.**

Transparency International.

http://www.u4.no/recommended-reading/confronting-corruption-the-elements-of-a-national-integrity-system-ti-source-book/

This source book is an attempt to describe the problem of corruption and its impact, and to present a comprehensive strategy for combating corruption. The book offers a holistic approach to transparency and accountability strategies based on "11 pillars" to create a national integrity system. These pillars range from the role of the executive and the judiciary to that of the media and civil society. The author also dedicates a section to the importance of political will and ways in which it can be built. He also highlights the potential role of external actors to generate political will and the importance of timing to achieve this.

***Helping countries combat corruption: The role of the World Bank.* World Bank. 1997.**

Washington DC: World Bank.

http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/anticorrupt/corruptn/coridx.htm

This publication acknowledges that the success of national anti-corruption efforts depend mostly on the determination with which they are pursued and on the economic policies and institutions that underpin them. The World Bank, however, recognises that external agencies can also play an important supportive role in fighting corruption and outlines its strategies to help countries fight corruption, which combines bottom-up and top-down interventions.