YOUTH AGAINST CORRUPTION

**The Lebanese
Transparency
Association
(LTA)**

Table of Contents

Forward

This is the English version of the Lebanese Transparency Association (LTA) book "Youth Against Corruption" that was published originally in Arabic in May 2005. The first edition came at a very crucial time in the modern history of Lebanon. The assassination of the late Prime Minister Rafik Hariri led to international intervention, to the withdrawal of the Syrian army, and reshaped the political arena. For the first time since the end of the Lebanese civil war, the Lebanese people felt totally free in expressing their opinions and views. The demonstrations that took place last February and March proved that the Lebanese youth are becoming more politically aware.

LTA hopes that this version will help in reaching a wider audience and will contribute to raising awareness of the Lebanese and subsequently of Arab youth on issues of corruption and good governance in general.

This book was prepared under the supervision of Dr. Khalil Gebara, LTA co-Executive Director. LTA would like thank all the ones who made this edition possible especially Mr. Charles Adwan, LTA's former Executive Director who initiated this project, Guillermina Zapareto, Evelyn Shcmidt, Fourat Ashkar, Gaelle Kibranian, Osama Gharizi and Nora Kamel. Also this book would have not been possible without the support of the executive committee and the board of the Lebanese Transparency Association and the financial support of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation.

Preface

Charles D. Adwan

A number of questions come to mind regarding the relationship of young people to corruption in general and "Wasta" (using connections) in particular. These expand to include more general questions, such as characteristics particular to young people, the problem of raising issues that concern only them, and how to distinguish between the impact of these issues on them and on other segments of society. Doesn't corruption have a negative impact on fathers as much as sons? Aren't young people affected by other problems, whose impact might be greater on other age groups? Does separating young people from the rest of the population have negative methodological and practical implications? These and other questions, or research-related issues, oblige us to begin with a small outline of the special characteristics of Lebanese young people. Although they might share things with other Arab youth, they are distinguished by several specific factors that are connected to the country's modern political history.

If we consider young people to be between the ages of 15 and 24,the first observation we can make is that Lebanese young people were born after the beginning of the war and some time during the conflict (1975-1990); thus, the term "war generation" is an appropriate one. The second conclusion, which is no less important, is that although the war is present in the consciousness of most young people, none of them took part in it or likely even followed it, depending on a person's political maturity. The war ended in 1990, when the oldest young person today was approximately 14 years old. Therefore, the majority of young people reached political maturity after the war; they found themselves paying its price and suffering from its political, economic and social consequences. The predominant feeling about the war among young people is profoundly negative, due to its consequences today and painful memories, for those who remember such events. Some Lebanese young people did witness the state of chaos that prevailed and their reaction to it was hostile in all its forms. For young people today, the reasons for the war do not justify the conflict. Young people have inherited a war but not the cause for which it was fought. They share this feature in most cases, and some have returned to get involved in activities that are multi-sectarian and promote coexistence; they have experienced the futility of the situation for which their families waged the war, based on a given political orientation.

1- Researcher and former executive director of the Lebanese Transparency Association (LTA)

Other characteristics that distinguish Lebanese young people, and those that might be more widespread, especially in the Arab world, include the political marginalization of young people. The voting age of 21 is responsible for a huge gap between young people's political and civil rights. Young people must perform all of their legal and national duties, such as military service, while they remain "minors" when it comes to politics. They are not trusted with selecting their representatives in taking political decisions. This can lead to an "intifada"-type reaction in some cases or political alienation in many others. A person might go through his or her young years without once electing his or her representatives, whether in local or parliamentary elections. These years are considered crucial in the formation of a person's life. Most of a person's convictions and images of one's social and political environment are established during this phase. It is not strange to see young people viewing politics as a participation in corruption, lying and exploiting people. All of these elements result in a divorce between young people and public life. An opinion poll indicated that 94% of young people in Lebanon believe that young people "do not participate at all in decision making because the horizons for change that expresses the true aspirations of young people are closed." Lebanon's civil war is another factor in the equation, since militia practices during the war, which extended to politics when the warlords assumed the reins of power after the war ended, do not encourage young people to believe in public life or participation.

These political factors, as well as other, socio-economic ones, justify the methodological and practical division of young people from other segments of society when dealing with one of the problems that directly affects their relationship with society. Whether in research work or in the "struggle" on the ground, we should separate young people's issues in order to merge this segment with the rest of society and limit disparities among them to physiological ones. This is also the case in dealing with other marginalized segments of the community, such as women, the disabled, and prisoners being held in poor conditions. We should focus on the problems of young people in particular and clarify the impact of any social problem on them. Young people's problems often accumulate and become general for the rest of society. Alternately, society's problems might accumulate and become destructive for some segments, such as young people. One of the best examples in this regard is the economic decline from which society as a whole suffers. However, young people in particular are paying an unbearable price, which encourages them to emigrate, such as in Lebanon today. Emigration by young people is not just a problem for this group

but rather affects society as a whole, especially if the imbalance leads to brain drain, i.e. emigration by the educated segment that is considered the infrastructure of tomorrow's society. Corruption and particularly "wasta" lie at the heart of these economic problems. These are fundamental factors that have a direct negative impact on young people - they lead to brain drain and the emigration of skilled workers, who find themselves outside the production cycle because of illegal competition and unequal opportunities, compared to those who enjoy socio-political connections although they are not as highly skilled. By raising awareness about these issues, the mitigation of the persuasive effects of wasta and corruption becomes likely.

Introduction

CORRUPTION you face it every single day, at school, university, and work. Corruption not only affects the daily life of millions of young people but also endangers their future, for example by undermining the quality of their education. Many young people are not interested in politics and show signs of increasing political alienation because they feel powerless and unmotivated to participate in a system that does not consider their needs and favors only a few. Corruption disables people and creates a sense of helplessness, increases cynicism about politics, and gives people reason not to trust the government. Corruption can thus seriously endanger democracy and eventually cause its collapse.

The development costs and social consequences of corruption are well-documented. The World Bank estimates that one trillion dollars ($1,000,000,000) is globally wasted every year, due to corruption! The level of development decreases as corruption and fraud increase: it costs governments more to deliver fewer public services to fewer citizens.

Research shows that countries which tackle corruption can quadruple their national per capita incomes. Child mortality rates can fall as much as 75%, but only if corruption is reduced. In corrupt countries, the average income is about three times lower than in less corrupt countries.

Corruption: What is the Deal?

In today's society, corruption appears as a complex phenomenon with multiple causes and effects. It encompasses different sorts of corrupt behavior ranging from accepting gifts to receiving millions of dollars in kick-backs, bribing, misusing money entrusted to you, or giving preferential treatment to certain people (nepotism, or clientelism for instance) regardless of their merits. But it can be generally defined as one thing: the abuse of public power for private gain. Corruption is not a cultural issue, the causes for corruption might be multifarious, but it is basically about being unfair and not respecting the rules of democracy: it is about cheating and being dishonest.

The damaging consequences of corruption are so varied and numerous that it is hard to measure them in economic terms. When public money finds its way into private

pockets, and is mismanaged, it hinders the ability of systems to function properly. High levels of corruption threaten economic stability, slow growth, increase poverty, reduce the resources available for social programs, harm the environment, and undermine democracy and trust in government.
In the first part of this booklet you will find general information about corruption: the definition, its causes and its consequences. In other words, by reading it, you have the ability to get informed on how the vicious cycle of corruption works, why t harms society, and why it is crucial to fight it. Your knowledge will be one of the most powerful tool to face corruption because each one of you can play a role in breaking the vicious cycle!

The second part of the booklet is about concrete initiatives for young people to fight corruption. It explains some steps which have already been used by other young people and youth organizations that fight corruption from all over the world, including Lebanon and gives you the chance to personally get involved.

This booklet is designed to be a source of information, through which you can find out more about the phenomenon of corruption. It is also a tool for you to get more ideas on how corruption can be fought, and it can assist you in taking the initiative to fight it yourself. We are convinced that young men and women can make a difference! The more numerous and the more informed you are the stronger and more prepared you will be in taking this initiative. Isaac Mwanza, the former Executive-Director of the Foundation for Corruption Awareness, addresses youth with the following message:
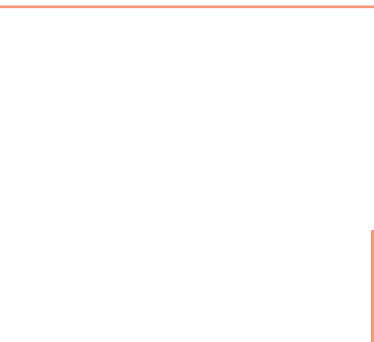
"As an advocate of better youth policies in Zambia and with my eight years of experience as a director of the affairs of youth anti-corruption organizations, I say: To those honest youths everywhere who are fighting corruption individually, wherever they are, let them know that they are not alone. "
So read on, be curious, and learn more about your possibilities in fighting corruption!

The surest way to corrupt a youth is to instruct him to hold in higher esteem those who think alike than those who think differently.

Friedrich Nietzsche

PART I: What Is Corruption?
Definition and Concepts

Corruption is a term that comprises a wide range of dubious economic and political practices. Corruption is a complex phenomenon and a hidden enemy. Nevertheless, it is omnipresent, and unfortunately it affects the daily life of too many people around the whole world.

Youth is particularly vulnerable to the dangers of corruption and the way it affects the future, since it often undermines the quality of their education.

First: The Elements of Corruption

In general, corruption is defined as the misuse of entrusted power for private benefit.
To understand this abstract definition, four elements must be identified:
- Entrusted means appointed or elected.
- A power can be either in the public sector, the private sector, or in the civil
society sector.
- A private benefit could be the individual benefit to the person misusing the power,
or benefit to a friend, a member of the family, the community, the confession,
the tribe, the town, or the political party.
- The benefit could be financial, political, or social and it could be immediate or
deferred.

In other words, whenever someone abuses public power for private gain, this is a
corrupt practice. Corruption is not a western concept nor is it a cultural phenomenon.
Supposing or believing that corruption is cultural, is very simplistic and pessimistic
and entails that it is very difficult and even impossible to cure it. In any society, there
is a difference between practices that are acceptable and those that cause outrage;
there is no country in the world that accepts bribery in its laws. Thus, many people
from all over the world perceive corruption as a big problem and agree that corrup-
tion is not a cultural issue.

A Ukrainian student by the name of Vasyl Harasymiv translated a joke known
amongst his friends:
(Available at http://www.ynac.org/phpBB2/viewtopic.php?t=25)

A Student and Professor at the exam
session:
P: "Show me your knowledge," angrily
said the professor.
S: "So…," nervously replied the student.
P: "Aha…," said the vexed professor.
S: "Not enough knowledge!" burst out
the student .
P: "How much?"
S: "300."
P: "USD or Ukrainian?"

S: "Hmm…., Ukrainian"
P: "Oh, not enough. Looks like it is
going to be a "C."
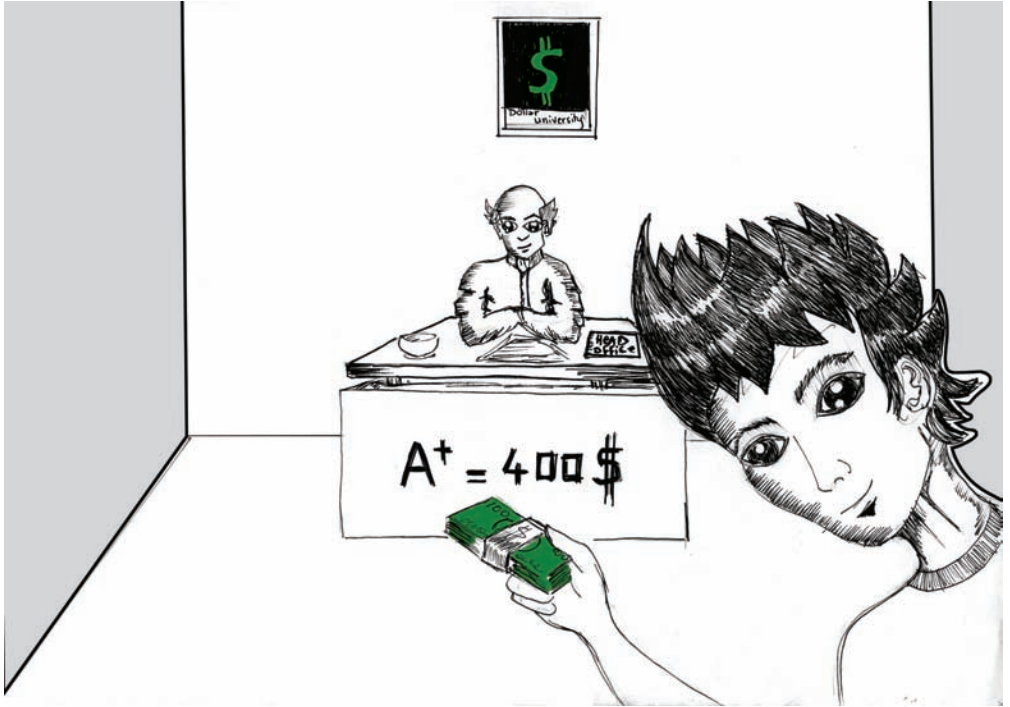**S:** "So…?" started the student.
P: "Not enough?" asked the professor,
"what do you expect?"
S: "I want an "A," answered the stu-
dent.
"But, you don't fulfill all the requirements
for the "A"."
The student timidly put forth his record

sheet. There were 3 hundred bills inside the sheet.

The professor was just about to write the grade.

S: "Listen," said the student, "I still have some more knowledge, but in coins."

P: "Let me see it," said the professor. He took all the coins and weighed them

S: "Good?" asked the student.

P: "Good," answered the professor.

The professor was just about to write in the sheet again...

S: "Wait, wait... I still have more knowledge!" cried out the student. He delved in his left pocket.

P: "Now you are fully knowledgeable and deserve an "A."

P: "Keep it up student!!!"

The main forms of corruption are bribery, fraud, embezzlement and extortion. These concepts do sometimes overlap, but through them, some of the basic characteristics of corruption can be identified.

1- Bribery is the payment that is given or taken in the context of a corrupt relationship. It is, in fact, the essence of corruption, because to pay or to receive a bribe is corruption per se. There are many other terms used to describe the same phenomenon such as kickbacks, baksheesh, gratuities, sweeteners, pay-offs, speed or grease money.

Bribery can also be in the form of informal taxation. This is the case when public officials charge additional payments or 'gifts' from clients who wish their request be answered.

2- Embezzlement occurs when a state official steals from the public institutions in which he/she works, and from resources which belong to the state and the public. Embezzlement also occurs when employees in private firms embezzle money from their employers.

However, from a strictly legal perspective, corruption is not defined by the fact that public money finds its way to private pockets. In legal terms, one speaks of corruption when in a transaction between two individuals, a state agent and a civilian, the state agent goes beyond the limits of the law in order to benefit from a personal stand. Therefore, the problem with embezzlement is that the civilian side is not directly involved (there is no private property which is stolen, and thus individual citizens have no legal right to claim the theft of the public resources). However, the bottom line is that the general public end up suffering from embezzlement when their resources are threatened.

For this reason, embezzlement is particularly dangerous and harmful. In order to fight it, there needs to be a political will and an independent judiciary. It is clearly a form of power abuse that can seriously endanger the developing efforts of many countries.

Another form of embezzlement is the fact that many people in influential positions use their power for their private business interests, for example by nationalizing foreign businesses and redistributing them among family members.

3- Fraude

is a term for an economic crime that involves some kind of trickery, swindle or deceit. Fraud for example occurs when state representatives are involved with illegal trade networks, counterfeiting and racketeering. Fraud also happens when officials do not take action against illegal occurrences, often called "dirty tricks politics". Dirty tricks politics include, for instance, the import of toxic waste, international drug trade, or even money laundering through state banks that issue false certificates with false origins etc.

4- Extortion

is described as the infamous mafia style of extracting money (or other resources) by the use of violence or threats. Individual citizens, businesses, and public officials are harassed and intimidated into paying sums of money. Only by paying the required sums do they escape further harassment. Evidently, this exchange is very unfair as the victim only gets a lax promise of impunity. The corrupt ones, on the other hand, are able to impose their influence and obtain privileges, tax breaks and/or business opportunities. In some countries, the state itself acts as the most powerful mafia group. This is the case when the state extorts money from individuals, for instance by putting military roadblocks where individuals have to pay a fee to leave or enter a town. This is considered to be an informal form of taxation.

5- Favoritism

is another mechanism of power abuse and implies that power-holders favor acquaintances, friends or family.

This distribution of resources is clearly undemocratic, and the privileged obtain favors and special treatment regardless of merit. In extreme cases and in most non-democratic systems, for instance, the president has the right to appoint all high-ranking officials.

Nepotism is a special form of favoritism and means that family members and kin relations are appointed to power.
These mechanisms allow power holders to transfer public power into private wealth. This fact brings us back to the initial definition of corruption i.e. the misuse of entrusted power for private benefit.

6- Political ("Grand") vs. Bureaucratic (Petty) corruption

a- Political (Grand) Corruption: As its name indicates, political, or "Grand," corruption takes place at the highest levels of political authority. It occurs when political decision makers use their power to maintain their status and wealth. In such cases, policy formulation, agenda setting and the legislation itself are tailored to their benefit. The problem with political corruption, naturally, is the extreme unwillingness for the corrupt power holders to change the system and lose their privileges.

b- Bureaucratic ("Petty") Corruption: We use the term, bureaucratic, or "petty," corruption for corrupt practices in the administrative sector, for example, if parents have to pay special fees to have their children treated by a doctor or citizens cannot obtain their official documents without paying bribes. It is this type of corruption that citizens will experience most directly in their daily lives. For this reason, its consequences are very severe because it excludes a large part of society from public services.

It is noteworthy mentioning that the distinction between grand and petty corruption is not always very clear: it depends on the separation of politics from administration. This distinction is often very ambiguous, especially in developing countries.

"Petty" is relative. If the affected person is poor, in his or her perspective, the term "petty" becomes very inappropriate.

Second: The Causes of Corruption and its Consequences

In general, the causes of corruption relate to a country's history, and its political, social and economic context as well as its bureaucratic and private sector traditions. One of the main explanations of corruption is the link between corruption and institutional weaknesses. The weaker the institutions, the higher the risk of corruption becomes; especially in the public service and the judiciary. Corruption tends to occur when a person, organization, or group has monopoly power over goods or services. When regulations are not well-defined, and the discretion of public officials is high, accountability and low ethical principles become weak. Another cause of corruption is the absence of enforcing penalties on corrupt individuals.

Even if you do not come into direct contact with corruption, it affects your lives because it reduces the overall wealth in a country. There is less money available for the government to pay productive workers and purchase supplies such as books, medicine or public transport.

High levels of corruption threaten economic stability, slow down growth, increase poverty, reduce the resources available for social programs, harm the environment, and undermine democracy and trust in government.

Good Governance[2] and corruption are inversely related: the less democracy, the more corruption, and the more corruption, the less the democracy. Those who have enough money or connections to bend the law in

2- Good Governance is about both achieving desired results and achieving them in the right way. Good Governance includes according to a list published by the United Nations: Participation (all men and women have a voice in decision-making), Transparency, Responsiveness, Consensus Orientation, Equity, Effectiveness and Efficiency, Accountability and Strategic Vision (leaders and the public have a long-term perspective on human development). To know more about Governance: see the Learning Tools of the Institute of Governance on www.iog.ca

their favour become richer, they influence the decision making processes, and benefit from public services. Those who have no power, on the other hand, are denied access to public services, they are also prevented from exercising their political rights, and are unable to participate in decisions that affect their lives, intensifying their poverty and perpetuating social inequality. Because of corruption's discriminative nature, therefore, it violates human rights.

Corruption is particularly harmful in developing countries. Development assistance is drawn away from its original aims by corrupt politicians, and instead it is spent on projects that provide the greatest opportunities for personal enrichment with the cooperation of corporations and governments of ex-colonialist nations that refuse to give up the interests they had in their old colonies.

The following chapter shows the links between corruption and the various affected domains [3]

1- Impact on Growth and Development

Corruption delays, disturbs, and diverts growth and development. Even though it is difficult to measure its impact directly (because it occurs within institutions with other weaknesses other than corruption), it is clear that it is a direct cause of slow economic growth. Firstly, it lowers investment, both foreign and domestic, as it can be seen as an additional tax, it raises the cost of investing. It therefore increases the uncertainty and risk attached to investment.

Furthermore, when corruption occurs in the form of tax evasion, governments willing to implement sustained development programmes lack the funds for productive investment. Corruption can also influence the willing-

ness of the donor community to provide aid and development assistance or, when aid is not withdrawn; it can be diverted to corrupt, non-productive purposes. When such forms of corruption occur, funds are often diverted from productive programmes which have a high correlation with economic growth (e.g. education) into public spending on capital projects which generate large bribes (e.g. buying military equipment).

The negative impact of corruption on social development is illustrated in the following chart based on the UN's Human Development Index and Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index[4].

The Human Development Index (HDI) is a summary index that measures a country's average achievements in three basic aspects of human development: health, education, and standard of living[5]. As for the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), it is used by Transparency International (TI) The CPI ranks countries in terms of the degree to which corruption is perceived to exist among public officials and politicians. It is based on various polls and surveys carried out by independent institutions, and it includes data on economic indicators, as well as data on residents. The lower the CPI, the more corrupt the country is; and the higher the HDI, the more developed
the country.

Corruption and Human Development
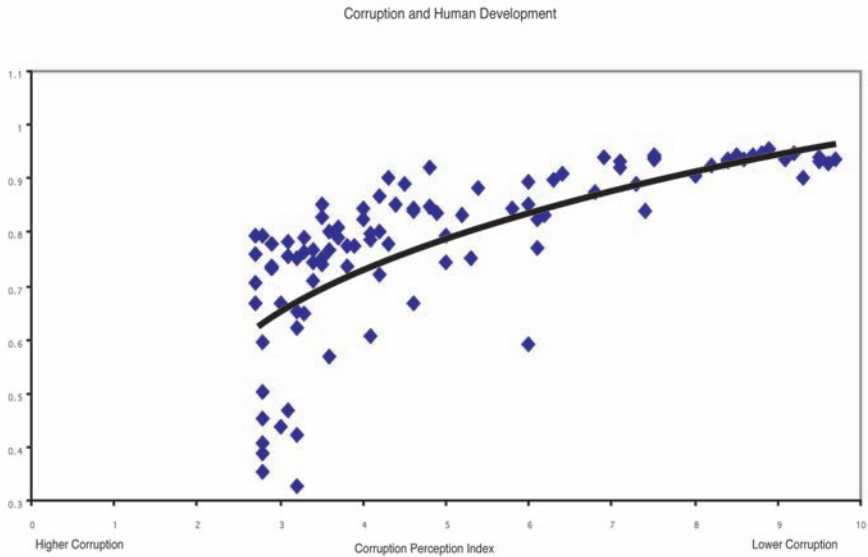
Control of corruption (CPI 2000) and human development (HDI 2000)

Corruption slows investment, diminishes the revenue base of the state and disturbs the composition of public spending. It has a negative impact on human development.

2- Impact on Poverty Eradication

It is much easier to eradicate poverty when the economy is stable. Macroeconomic stability includes a controlled level of inflation and a functioning employment market. Low inflation rates benefit the poor and provide a platform for economic growth. But high inflation is often linked to excessive government borrowing and in highly corrupt countries, politicians are interested in high spending levels which provide opportunities for corruption. To help the poor, public resources have to be moved to activities that promote growth, most importantly universal primary education and basic health care. Large bribes, however, can more easily be earned from, for instance, arms purchases and major construction projects, and spending that is beneficial to the poor receives a lower priority.

Corruption in Education[6] has very serious consquences on poverty eradication. If parents pay to ensure their kids a place in the front row of their classroom, this is again discriminating against the children of poorer families.

Also, if parents have to pay if they wanted their child's exercise books to be corrected, children will be taught that everything has its price and that 'basic education for all' is not applicable at all.

Corruption is a major factor in spreading and deepening poverty.

6- examples taken from 'Corruption in Education Systems in Developing Countries: What it is doing to the Young", Nicolas Bennett.

3- Corruption and Human Rights

The struggle for human rights and the fight against corruption are closely linked because corruption is an important obstacle to human rights. Human rights are, per se, the rights of all human beings, while corruption concerns the few and the particular only.
Two international covenants, one dealing with civil and political rights and the other focusing on social, economic, and cultural rights, have supplemented the Universal Declaration of Human Rights[7] . Since 1976 Lebanon, as most of the remaining countries, has acceded to both covenants.

In reality, however, billions of people are denied their human rights and corruption plays an important role in perpetuating this situation. It is the case, for example, when a child cannot get a place in school without paying a bribe to headmaster. Another instance is politicians who are bought and sold by powerful groups with economic interests, regardless of their political rights. It is the families of torture victims who are denied impartial investigations. It is also the prisoners who are denied a fair trial and/or the right to a defence lawyer because their families refuse or cannot afford to pay bribes.

Human rights are the expression of the belief in the equality of human beings and equal treatment by governments. There would be no purpose for bribery if all seekers of the same service were treated equally. Corruption clearly violates human rights because it denies the poor access to public services and prevents them from exercising their political rights.

In short, corruption constitutes a violation of the human rights of the people who experience it.

7- On the following homepage you can search for all UN documents on Human Rights:
http://www.ohchr.org/english/docsearch.htm

4- Corruption and the Environment

Corruption also has an adverse effect on the environment. The threat is due to the subversion of existing laws and regulations (those who pay bribes essentially violate the law), it promotes fraud and tax evasion, reduces the accountability of corporations and bypasses inspections. Corruption also accelerates the exploitation of resources without regard to the environmental impact. For example, oil exploration, mining activities or generating hydroelectric power are all activities characterized by frequent corrupt incidences as they are capital-intensive, and therefore are domains of interest to corrupt officials and politicians.

In developing countries, corruption has tremendous devastating effects on the environment. It has a direct consequence on health and can even endanger lives. An additional problem is the fact that the phenomenon of corruption and the needs of the environment belong to different time periods: corruption is more of short term issue (someone seeking an immediate illegitimate private benefit,) while environmental management needs long term commitment and sustainable development that can only be achieved when all actors agree to conserve the environment.

In conclusion, corruption is the enemy of environmental protection and can seriously hinder environmental management.

5- Corruption and Private Sector Development

Corruption has direct and indirect effects on the conduct of business. At the macroeconomic level, it distorts the market and it affects fiscal, budget and debt management, which, in turn, damages the

economy. Distorting a market means that economic activity is redirected from one sector to another. In so doing, resources are not employed in the sectors that have the highest demand. Therefore, the efficiency of economic activities is significantly decreased.

At the microeconomic level of economy, corruption raises the costs of doing business and increases uncertainty. Competition is unfair, business transactions are not transparent, become complicated and delayed, and in the worst case, corruption can deter entrepreneurs from starting businesses. As a result, fewer jobs are created and more people are unemployed.

In general, private sector development flourishes when investment prospects are favourable and when entrepreneurs have reliable information about costs, risks and business opportunities.

Corruption is a negative factor on the scale, form and growth rate of private sector development.

6- Corruption and Developmental Aid

Evidence shows that increasing the flow of aid can increase the levels and costs of corruption: new resources enter the country and can be plundered. More concisely, foreign aid can be used for its official purpose and at the same time free up other funds for other, potentially corrupt, functions.Oftentimes, the donor community faces a dilemma. Giving development assistance to corrupt countries is fraught with risks, but cutting off aid would leave the poor even worse off. Indeed, without good governance, the effectiveness of assistance is at a very high risk of

decreasing. The resources might be given to inefficient or incompetent companies or spent in inappropriate projects or in the ones that provide the greatest opportunities for personal enrichment.

Corruption has a negative effect on the amount and the effectiveness of developmental assistance.

7- The Costs of Corruption

It is not easy to assess the economic costs of corruption. In principle, corruption acts like an unofficial tax on consumers and producers.

Aside from the economic costs of corruption, there are also social and cultural costs as corruption perpetuates the social inequalities and can even lead to violent conflicts because it promotes rivalries. In extreme cases, social cohesion breaks down and creates a culture of suspicion and distrust. It disempowers people and widens the gap between the political class and the rest of society. Many well-trained young people will prefer living in less corrupt countries to start their business. The phenomenon of brain drain[8] is another problem many developing countries have to cope with. Brain drain is the emigration of trained and talented individuals to other nations or jurisdictions. Those individuals expect better opportunities to make use of their achieved knowledge and experience. In Lebanon, the most educated individuals represent the highest percentage of emigrants. However, the people who leave the country are the ones who are most needed to help in the reconstruction of the economy, the creation of new jobs for others while starting their own businesses, and are responsible for the education of children and society at large.

8- To read more about the extent and severity of this phenomenon in Lebanon, see the article "Brain drain or brain grain? A Lebanese Perspective" by Dr. Assem Safieddine. The Daily Star, Monday, February 23, 2004.

One of the most significant moral costs of corruption is that it is considered normal when young people learn that nothing is more valuable than finding some way to cheat, that schooling is a form of lottery: the more tickets you buy, the greater is your chance of winning. This means that schooling is getting divorced from learning and that it is quite impossible to achieve the desired situation in an honest manner. Consequently, many young people will be unable to believe in their future and may want to leave their countries. In the end, those who succeed in cheating the most out of the system are considered the heroes[9]. If those who develop tricks to cheat and steal money from ordinary people and the government are considered heroes and speak with pride of their new tricks, this certainly does not help to build up a democratic and honest society. Furthermore, it widens the gender gap: corruption redistributes resources from the poor (who are disproportionately women), to office holders (in other words: men.) As a moral and cultural effect, corruption becomes considered normal and well rooted in the public culture, which makes it even more difficult to encourage the rule of law.

The political costs of corruption depend on historical and political circumstances and are difficult to measure in numbers. Corruption is clearly an obstacle to the development of open democratic political systems. For example, it ensures that the poor remain powerless, undermines public trust in institutions and politicians, perverts the conduct and results of elections, or it can contribute to political instability, etc.

On the other hand, it is important not to attribute every negative development whatsoever to corruption. It is certainly not the sole cause of poverty and dictatorship, but it offers a range of obstacles for those willing to create an open, competitive and transparent form of political activity.

9- Reference: 'Corruption in Education Systems in Developing Countries: What it is doing to the Young", Nicolas Bennett.

Third: Wasata

1- The Meaning of Wasata (Lebanon as an example)[10]

Wasata, or the use of connections, creates unequal opportunities. Those who enjoy socio-political connections are in a much better position than others, even if they are not as highly skilled. The concept of meritocracy is totally neglected.

Wasata is a type of corruption that is rooted in the tribal structure of society. Wasata was, and still is, practiced in tribes as the most legitimate method of organizing relations and ending conflicts. In modern societies, these family relations have become institutional relations, linked to modern institutions, such as political parties, employment agencies etc.

As classical family relations became limited, and patronage, favouritism and wasata are strengthened and vice versa. In Arab societies, the administration and rule of national institutions took place in the early 20th century. As the Arab states were formed very recently and the older structures remained established, this led to contradictions between various concepts, such as the state and the people, the public and private, the citizen and ruler. Often, private and public ownership are confused owing to the survival of wasata relations. Those relations have alienated citizens from public institutions. Earlier, most ownership was joint in nature and the general interest of the tribe was connected to the individual interest of each member. Written legal constraints were unnecessary as long as there was a moral commitment to the concepts of hon-

10- Charles Adwan, "Wasata, between young people and society".

our and internal hierarchy. Following independence, successive regimes were dependent on the participation of tribes to secure their legitimacy and to protect the regime.

The participation of the tribes in the administration of national institutions led to transferring the merger of private and public benefit in these new institutions. The leaders of the ruling regimes believed that distributing state benefits through tribal channels would secure the support of these tribes and convince them of the new entities to whose rule they were unaccustomed. That is how the popular will that did not spring from tribal channels was kept distanced from participation and this resulted in alienation from these new entities and the distance between state and citizen became wider and wider.

In general, it can be said that wasata is widespread in Arab societies. The word wasata derives from the Arabic root 'wisata', meaning 'mediation', as a means of communication and conflict resolution in tribes. A person requires wasata to avoid being deceived in the market, to obtain a job, to solve disputes, to deal with lawsuits, to win a court verdict, to speed up any paper-work, to build and retain political influence or even, in extreme cases, to find a spouse. The concept of wasata often occurs alongside corruption, However, wasata also comes along with some positive types of social relations such as mediation and developing public relations.

In sum, the manner of exercising wasata of a negative nature is very similar to the international concepts that define clientelism, patronage and favouritism. Perhaps the closest western expression to the phenomenon

of wasata is 'pulling string', meaning using one's influence to change the course of events.

The most dangerous aspects of wasata does not lie in the phenomenon itself, but rather in how widespread it is, where it has become one of the most basic requirements for getting anything done. If wasata becomes a daily practicea large part of the society is discriminated against, namely those who do not enjoy access to it. Wasata is therefore a way to accumulate benefits by those possessing privileges at the expense of a fair distribution within society.

Regarding employment, the distribution of the spoils takes place in two ways within the Lebanese public administration. One involves allocating the vacant posts to influential individuals, who divide them up according to the influence of a sect and the need for a certain post. The second method began to be employed with the creation of the Civil Service Council in 1959, when examinations for candidates started to be required.

The Council would then select among the successful candidates who fit sectarian qualifications and enjoyed strong connections. Over time, the element of the examination weakened and the importance of the element of connections and sectarian positions grew.

2- Wasata in Universities

There is a great difference between public and private universities in Lebanon, and in some cases differences are witnessed among the various branches of the same institution. The system of relations has been completely built on wasata and corruption within a faculty at the state-run university. A political group controls this faculty on all levels, from professors to administrators and employees, and consequently students as well. Followers of this group have created an administrative system that requires students to support them.

## 3- Wasata between the university and the work place

After graduation, it is rare to obtain a job without wasata; this takes place in all sectors, from the public to the private to the civil. As a result, wasata becomes an obsession for young people prior to their gradua-tion, equalled by unemployment or even emigration. Young people find themselves in a difficult dilemma. They have to choose between their interests and their principles. Maybe the most important consequence of these problems is the massive emigration of Lebanese youth. To illustrate this point, let us look at a concrete example. A young Lebanese, after having emmigrated to Canada and obtained a Masters degree in International Relations with distinction, returned to Lebanon. Back to the country, the fresh graduate took the Foreign Ministry examination. After reading his name on the list of successful candidates on the first day, he was surprised to see a new list lacking his name on the following day. The reason was that this individual did not enjoy connections with the leader

of his sect. He explained: "I did not leave Lebanon in search of a new nationality as much as I was looking for a respectable and suitable life. Whoever wants to live in this county must give up his convictions and principles and become an opportunist." The percentage of graduates who do not find works stands at 69%, an extremely high number[11] . Statistics show that the situation is tragic among intellectuals and university graduates. In suitable conditions, intellectuals help in building the economy and creating new job opportunities for others. Of course, corruption and wasata are not the only reasons for emigration; there are certainly other elements, such the loss of trust in the existing political system. In any case, by the emigration of skilled young people, the capacities needed for post-war reconstruction are lost!

11- Shartuni, Charles, The Taif State: Why does it drive young people to emigrate?, p. 30. incomplete!
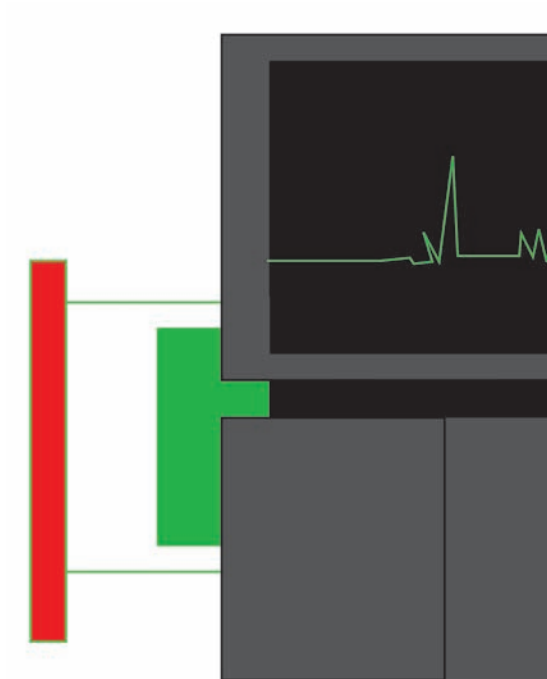
Part II: Concrete Initiatives to Fight Corruption?

Frist: How to fight it?

1- Legal Tools to Fighting Corruption

Acknowledging the need for an effective legal mechanism against corruption, the UN General Assembly initiated a process that resulted in a convention against corruption. The United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) was adopted by the General Assembly resolution 58/4 of 31 October 2003. The Convention focuses on three main areas: Prevention, Criminalization and International Cooperation and Asset-Recovery. The Convention places a high emphasis on establishing prevention measures in both the public and private sectors. Preventive measures include adopting "model preventative policies" like establishing independent bodies to fight corruption and by making the financing of elections and political parties more transparent. Furthermore, the Convention also recommends the adoption of codes of conduct by public servants and the inclusion of civil society organizations and NGOs in the fight against corruption.With regard to Criminalization, the Convention expects countries to create laws against the various forms corruption-not just bribery and embezzlement-with some articles making the establishment of such laws mandatory. In adopting the Convention, states are obliged to cooperate with one another in the fight against corruption. Article 43 of the convention requires states to do their utmost to fully cooperate with each other in the investigation and prosecution of offences found in the Convention.

Particular interest is given to cooperation on Asset-Recovery, or the process of returning stolen public property to the country of origin. In an attempt to discourage corrupt government officials from sending public funds into private offshore accounts,article 51 of the Convention states that property deemed to be stolen will be returned to the country of origin. At least 30 ratifications are needed in order for the convention to take effect.

To effectively combat corruption and its causes, different societal forces must come together:

On the one side the state i.e. the government and its administration are the area most prone to corruption. High state officials and politicians are involved in grand corruption scandals, while the state's bureaucracy with its everyday bribes to speed up administrative transactions is known as petty corruption. Corruption appears to be both a cause and an effect of inefficient and unaccountable institutions. Only the government can change the laws, reform the administration and guarantee that corruption is stamped out of the system.

On the other side enterprises and corporations are the basis of the dominant market economy. As they gain importance as national and global actors, so does their responsibility towards society and the environment. Transparency in private enterprises is therefore as important as good governance on the state level and only the refusal to pay bribes can ensure that the private sector is free of corruption.

2- Civil Society Participation and International Frameworks

Civil society is also an essential component among the efforts to combat corruption because there are a number of roles that civil society can play more effectively than any other actor. For example, civil society can carry out a monitoring role, criticizing and lobbying for change, disseminating and publishing information, and ensuring that those who are supposedly acting in the best interest of society are held accountable for their work.

Corruption is, by nature, secret and non-transparent. Accessing Information is the only way to know the real dimensions of the problem and devise solutions. The media therefore has an important role to play in the fight against corruption and its independence is crucial for a democratic society. Journalists can unearth corruption scandals and draw attention to the importance of anti-corruption work. In extreme cases, individuals risk their lives because of corruption.

To tackle the problem of corruption every citizen has a role to play. Therefore you are responsible for fighting corruption.

The reason why young people should fight corruption has to do with the fact that it destroys the system of values in society. Youth is part of civil society and carries the future in its hand and the fact that you are able to look at society in a refreshing way allows you to find alternative solutions for abstract problems. This part of the booklet is about concrete initiatives on how to fight corruption. In the whole world, there are many young people who stand firm and choose not take part of the vicious circle of corruption.

But still too many young people are not well aware or think that they cannot make a difference.

There are many success stories in fighting corruption: it is not an impossible thing! Of course we cannot expect it to disappear overnight, but every step we undertake contributes to limit its harmful effects! In Hong Kong for instance, through a School Education Program, students are now better aware of the problem of corruption and do not tolerate it any longer.

In the following chapters, a summary of various anti-corruption initiatives, from around the world, is presented. It gives you an overview on different projects and publications to fight corruption as well as a series of ideas for your own initiatives.

Every description includes a contact address for you to get further information about the project or where you could join an initiative.

a- The International Youth Network against Corruption (YNAC)

1- Brief Description: This network links you to other young people worldwide and gives you the possibilities to air your concerns, to disseminate knowledge about corruption and to share ideas about the best ways to fight corruption. For its purposes, the Youth Network has a website with an interactive e-forum to discuss corruption related questions and to link together with youth from around world. This forum is openly accessible to everyone. The internet portal is designed for students and maintained by their input and content.

2- Responsible organizations: In 2003, an international platform for youth was created in Seoul, Republic of Korea. The IACC[12] Youth Forum integrates young people into the international movement for transparency and accountability in public and private spheres. In 2001, the Youth Network Against Corruption, YNAC, was founded in The Hague.

Final declaration of the IACC Youth Forum: The participants of the IACC 2003 Youth Forum formulated a final declaration about their vision. After several days of workshops and discussions, they were able to identi-

12- IACC stands for International Anti-Corruption Conference.

fy the key issues concerning young people and to draw an Action Plan for their future commitment.

Those young people envision "A World without Corruption" and are convinced of the need for an international youth anti-corruption movement.

The Youth Action Plan drawn in Seoul includes among the main point that the organization of anti-corruption workshops, presentations and discussions have a predominant position. Sharing an action plan with other youth, developing the current website to conduct online surveys and share documents, approaching governments to ensure effective civic education programs and implementing the concepts of our network in local institutions are other key issues. The participants also recommend the creation of a corruption index of educational institutions.

Perhaps the most important point is the strong will to build linkages with other youth networks so as to be able to work together efficiently and to share experiences and ideas on fighting corruption. Together, the unique contribution and participation of young people will help enhance good governance through raising both local and global awareness.

For Additional Information, Contact:
Transparency International (TI)
c/o Mr. Reinhold Elges
Alt- Moabit 96
D-10559 Berlin, Germany
E-mail: relges@transparency.org

b- bicharaf.org

1- Brief Description: Tony Feghali, Assistant Professor in the School of Business at the American University of Beirut launched, with an academic team, an initiative called "Bicharaf" ("with Honor")

2- Goals: As part of a nationwide drive to promote academic integrity, Bicharaf was launched with the following objectives:
- create academic integrity awareness among students, faculty, and administrators covering Lebanese universities and high schools
- support academic institutions in their quest to build academic integrity cultures on their respective campuses
- produce one coherent document from which students, professors and university administrators can start developing and enhancing their own codes of ethics
- invoke cultural issues that will make the honor system "Made in Lebanon"
- involve the private sector, government and non-government organizations in order to contribute to better ethics in the business community
- promote intra-university collaboration
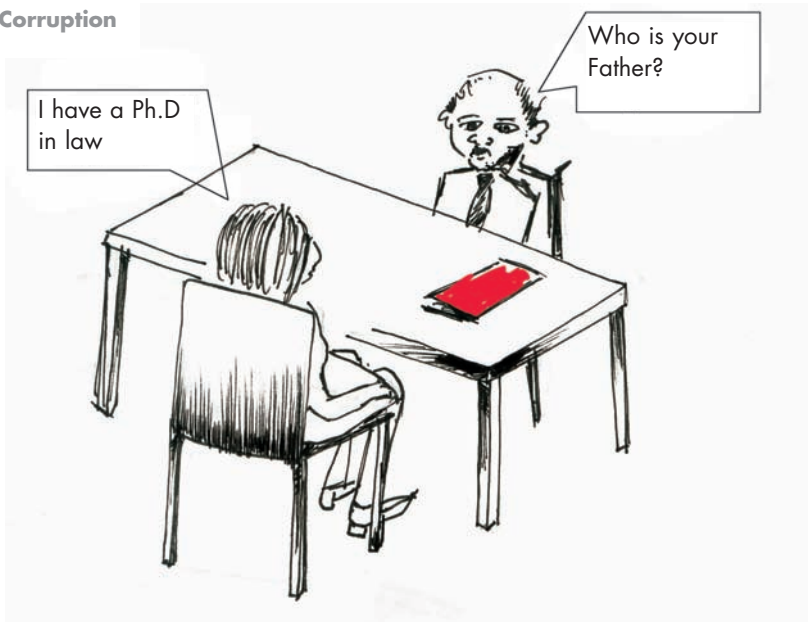
For Additional Information, Contact:
Tony Feghali
School of Business, American University of Beirut, Bliss Street
P.O. Box 11-0236 - Beirut
Tel. 01 350 000 (3936)
Feghali@aub.edu.lb

c- The Youth Charter on Combating Corruption

Brief Description: The Charter was developed under the framework of the technical assistance project implemented by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the Office of the Minister of State for Administrative Reform (OMSAR). The trilingual educational program aims at combating corruption for the benefit of Lebanon and the world at large. The course aims at providing children with intellectual and ethical immunity against corruption.

Responsible organizations: Office of the Minister of State for Administrative Reform (OMSAR), and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC).

For Additional Information, Contact:
Office of the Minister of State for Administrative Reform, OMSAR, Starco Bldg 5th floor, Omar el Daouk Street, Beirut Lebanon
01/371510
fax: 01/ 371 599
www.omsar.gov.lb (go to publications)
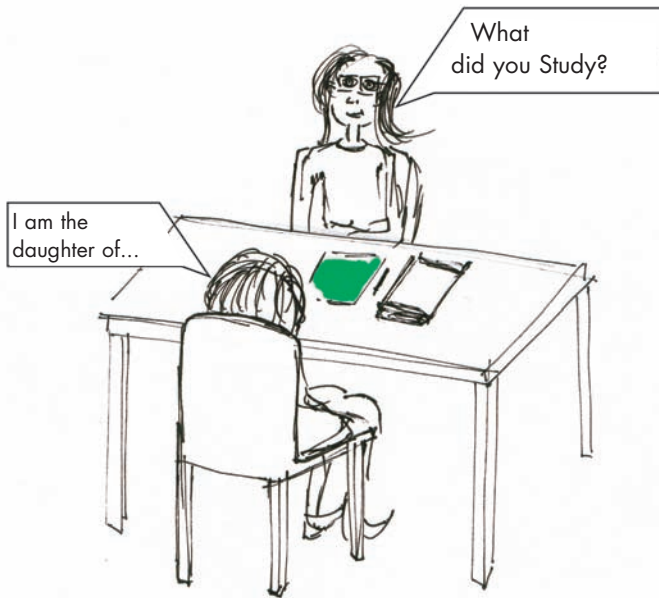
d- Youth for Good Governance, the World Bank Institute's nine modules

Brief Description: During this distance learning program, students from various countries study important principles of political and economic organization and how those ideas relate to governance and anti-corruption strategies. The program highlights the important role that young people can play in improving governance in their countries. Ultimately, participants develop locally relevant and feasible plans of action that will enable them to apply the knowledge and skills they acquire to their immediate society.

Responsible organization: The World Bank Institute

Implementation: The learning program was implemented in three phases between fall 2002 and the end of 2003. Schools in eight countries participated, namely: Ghana, Uganda, Ukraine, United States, Russia, Tanzania, Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

For Additional Information, Contact:
Svetlana Marjanovic
World Bank Institute
Washington, DC 20433 USA,
Email: smarjanovic@worldbank.org

Second: The Right Choices to Fight Corruption

Corruption will not stop unless we choose to stop it. Make the right choices:
- Choose not to give or receive bribes
- Choose to achieve things on the basis of personal integrity
- Choose to speak out when you see instances of corruption around you

1- When in Doubt[13] ...

Whenever you are unsure if you are confronted with a corrupt
practice, ask yourself the following questions:

"Are my actions legal?"
"Am I being fair and honest?"
"Will my actions stand the test of time?"
"How will I feel about myself afterwards?"
"Will I sleep soundly tonight?"
"Would I like my friends and my family to know what I have done?"

Corruption warning signs[14]

13- Idea from "No to corruption, yes to integrity", Publication by TI Mauritius, august 1999.

Whenever you identify such warning signs, take great care to maintain ethical behavior based on sound principles and know that you are being asked to adopt corrupt practices.

- "Presently, your file is right at the bottom of this stack, but…"
- "Well, maybe just this once…"
- "Just between you and me…"
- "No one will ever know…"
- "No matter how it gets done as long as it is done."
- "It will be a lengthy procedure, unless…"
- "Don't worry, everyone does it."
- "We can come to some arrangement, if you are willing…"
- "This is normal practice here."
- "Would it help if I send him a box of…"
- "We can hide it."
- "No one will get hurt."
- "You will not regret it…"
- "What's in it for me?"
- "We did not have this conversation."

Whenever you hear those or similar warning signs, say no to corruption, yes to integrity.

Prepare yourself as best as you can for examinations in order not to be tempted to cheat. Resist any attempt of cheating by anyone else towards you and reject any desire to cheat in any situation. Refuse any unauthorised collaboration (for example in the preparation of a home work or a competition etc.). Make sure always to mention sources of any information and data you use for your own papers.

You can also:

Lobby your government for changes in the current system and to create laws to protect whistle blowers.

Organize yourselves, create clubs and networks: Your school, your college or your university will surely profit from an anti-corruption club, where likeminded individuals can come together to initiate projects on the issue. Contact local groups working on this or similar issues. Encourage them to take this issue up if they have not already done so. If you cannot find such a group close to you, you might consider starting one yourself. Promote integrity among students.

Stimulate group discussions, request that courses on anti-corruption, good governance and ethics be included in the school curriculum, publicly declare schools a "corruption-free zone" and monitor and report any violations.

Inform and raise awareness about corruption: Corruption has to be fought on many grounds. Most importantly there is a need to inform and raise awareness on the importance of the issue. Inform other young people on how many ways corruption affects them. Request that courses on anti-corruption, good governance and ethics be included in your school curriculum.

Research and disseminate information on corruption:
Corruption is about the misuse of power for private gain. This can include favouritism from teachers, unclear and unfair grading systems -where bribes decide the grades, not merit-, buying access to education and cheating in exams. Is your school, college,

or university free of such behaviour? Research and find out. You could also write a school newsletter to publicize the effects of corruption.

Launch your own codes of conduct: Your class, your school, your university, your club, or the NGO you contribute to can benefit from these initiatives to map out a set of ethical rules[15] that you are all willing to follow in school, in university or at work. In the annex of this booklet, you find writing tips for creating codes of conduct.

Use the media available to you: Write about Corruption. Send articles to the media (newspapers, journals, magazines), phone in to radio shows, and ask your school newspaper to write on the issue, create a newsletter. Start an essay competition. Participate in conferences, public hearings, meetings…

Create: Art is a great tool to convey a message and to attract attention to social problems. Launch a poster or comic competition; perform street theater or a Puppet Theater… You might want to create an interactive drama performance. A drama group could illustrate the evils and consequences of corruption and the actors could invite students to express their views on different scenarios and participate in the performance of a selected section. Your imagination and talents are required…

15- Brown, Jerry: Ten Writing Tips for Creating an Effective Code of Conduct. http://www.ethics.org/code_writing.html - see Appendix A.

2- Additional Sources of Information

Anti-Corruption Resources

For more information on corruption and its conse-
quences, you can consult the following websites:

http://www.corisweb.org
Corruption Online Research and Information System

http://www.transparency.org
The international anti-corruption movement,
Transparency International The Website contains
a huge amount of information, e.g. Corruption
Surveys and Indices including the bribe payers'
survey and corruption perceptions index, annual
reports, and the Source Book, and a handbook for
anti-corruption practitioners.

http://www.transparency-lebanon.org
The Lebanese chapter of Transparency International.

http://www.globalcorruptionreport.org/
Global Corruption Report, The annual corruption
report published by Transparency International

http://www.u4.no/
Utstein Anti-Corruption Resource Centre. This website
guides users to relevant anti-corruption resources
including digests of frequently asked questions on
a wide range of anti-corruption themes, and has
a comprehensive and searchable database of
partners' anti-corruption projects and initiatives.

http://www.worldbank.org/html/schools/issues/corrupt.htm

World Bank Corruption Page for Youth. This website helps disseminate information on corruption and the World Bank's stance that promotes combating corruption.

http://www.undp.org/governance/account.htm

The United Nations Development Program
This is UNDP's page that concentrates on good governance, and more specifically on transparency and accountability.

http://www1.oecd.org/daf/nocorruption-web/index.htm

OECD AnCorR Net.
The OECD's Anti-Corruption Ring information centre has a comprehensive collection on corruption and bribery.

http://www.nobribes.org/

The Anti-Corruption Gateway for Europe and Eurasia is a significant entranceway to information about combating corruption. It offers primary materials and direct links to major information sources for anti-corruption practitioners and analysts engaged in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union.

3 Ethics and Codes of Conduct

http://ethics.iit.edu/codes
A collection of over 850 codes of ethics. Included are codes of ethics of professional societies, corporations, governments, and academic institutions. A literature review, an introduction to the codes, and a user guide are also available.

http://www.oneworld.net/
OneWorld is a community of over 950 organizations working for social justice. The portal provides access to partner organizations, web sites, along with news, special reports, campaigns and perspectives on development issues.

http://www.devinit.org
Development Initiatives provides access to a wide range of information on poverty, aid and co-operation.

http://www.rsf.fr/
Reporters without borders.

http://www.newseum.org/cybernewseum/index.htm
This website contains different virtual exhibitions concentrating on the media and freedom of expression.

http://www.indymedia.org
An uncensored and independent news centre with youth news from all over the world. Their motto: Don't criticize the media - be the media!

http://www.article19.org/
The name of this NGO refers to Article 19 in the

Human Rights Charter that implies freedom of speech and information universally.

http://www.freedominfo.org
One-stop portal that describes best practices, consolidates lessons learned, explains campaign strategies and tactics, and links the efforts of freedom of information advocates around the world.

www.arabaccess.org
It is a regional initiative for the Middle East and North Africa Region to promote an Access to Information legislation. It is a forum for regional activists working for this cause. Contains downloadable articles and links on the subject

More on the Lebanese Transparency Association (LTA)

The Lebanese Transparency Association (LTA) was founded in May, 1999.

Concerned with the lack of will or ability of politicians to take decisive measures in tackling corruption, the founders of LTA-business people, academics, economists and lawyers-decided that civil society should lead the way. LTA became the first Lebanese non-governmental organization dedicated to fighting corruption and promoting transparency, accountability and good governance.

Today, LTA is Lebanon's leading non-governmental organization devoted to fighting corruption. As part of the global network of Transparency International, LTA benefits from international anti-corruption research and from this research retain up to date knowledge and good practices.

A- The Mission
The Lebanese Transparency Association aims to curb corruption in its various forms in different sectors of society and state. It also aims to promote the principles of transparency and accountability, establish the rule of law, and strengthen respect of basic rights as declared in international charters and the Lebanese Constitution.

B- The Approach
LTA resorts to any means necessary to improve the quality of public life and to empower civil society in promoting the values of integrity and transparency. Examples of LTA methods include:

- Raising citizens' awareness about their rights, corrup-

tion, its causes, consequences and its cost at all levels within society
- Empowering the youth to reject corruption and participate in promoting transparency and accountability
- Improving the Lebanese legislation related to transparency, accountability, and corruption
- Coalition building with similar organizations whether international, public or private institutions committed to combating corruption
- Cooperation with the media encouraging it to unveil the truths, strengthen integrity and promote transparency in the practices of public and private institutions