Social Marketing Strategies to Fight Corruption

G. S. Kindra and Rick Stapenhurst

Abstract

It is widely accepted that one of the most critical elements of a country's anti-corruption program is the involvement of civil society but there is less agreement on how such involvement can be encouraged. Social marketing can make an important contribution to the creation of an atmosphere in public life that discourages fraud and corruption. Drawing on lessons from the use of social marketing in public health campaigns (e.g., to reduce smoking and alcoholism, to encourage safe sex and to encourage physical fitness), environmental campaigns (e.g., to promote recycling), education campaigns (to encourage literacy) and the protection of individual/group rights (e.g., racial and gender equality, gay and lesbian rights) this paper argues that social marketing can also make an important contribution to the creation of an atmosphere in public life that discourages fraud and corruption. It can do so by: raising awareness about the costs of corruption to a country; mainstreaming a concern about corruption within national institutions, increasing the understanding of causal factors of corruption amongst the public and influencing behavior.

Corruption is a problem that all countries have to confront. Solutions, however, can only be home-grown. National leaders need to take a stand. Civil society plays a key role as well. Working with our partners, the Bank Group will help any of our member countries to implement national programs that discourage corrupt practices. And we will support international efforts to fight corruption and to establish voluntary standards of behavior for corporations and investors in the industrialized world.

The Bank Group cannot intervene in the political affairs of our member countries. But we can give advice, encouragement, and support to governments that wish to fight corruption—and it is these governments that will, over time, attract the larger volume of investment. Let me emphasize that the Bank Group will not tolerate corruption in the programs that we support; and we are taking steps to ensure that our own activities continue to meet the highest standards of probity.

—James D. Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank
1996 Bank-Fund Annual Meetings Speech

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Foreword

The link between governance and economic development is perhaps one of the most topical issue in the development arena today. The Economic Development Institute (EDI) is a leader in the practical applications of good governance principles to development policy. As part of its Governance Program, the Regulatory Reform and Private Enterprise Division (EDIRP) has facilitated a series of anti-corruption workshops, seminars and surveys in more than a dozen countries in Africa, the Middle East, Eastern Europe and Latin America. Participants in these workshops have included politicians, senior public officials, leaders from civil society and representatives from international and bilateral agencies. Workshop and seminar participants have outlined innovative ways to increase transparency and accountability, and reported the progress in more traditional reform activities in the civil service, budgeting, and financial management.

It is widely accepted that one of the most critical elements of a country's anti-corruption program is the involvement of civil society but there is less agreement on how such involvement can be encouraged. This paper contends that social marketing can make an important contribution to the creation of an atmosphere in public life that discourages fraud and corruption. Drawing on lessons from the use of social marketing in public health campaigns, environmental campaigns, education campaigns and the protection of individual/group rights, this paper argues that social marketing can also make an important contribution to the creation of an atmosphere in public life that discourages fraud and corruption.

Rick Stapenhurst is a Public Sector Management Specialist at the World Bank, and Gurprit Kindra is an Associate Professor at the University of Ottawa. The authors would like to acknowledge the comments of Ed Campos, Judith Zaikowsky and Jac Van Beek and the assistance of James Quigley and Elsa Pilichowski in production. The views expressed herein are entirely those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Economic Development Institute or the World Bank.

Danny Leipziger
Division Chief
Regulatory Reform and Private Enterprise Division
Economic Development Institute

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Corruption reports unfold in the news media on a daily basis and clearly demonstrate that it is not something that is exclusively, or even primarily, a problem of developing countries. Recent events in Europe and North America have shown all too clearly that corruption is not a topic on which the developed countries have any moral high ground.

Corruption is a complex issue. Its roots are grounded in a country's social and cultural history, political and economic development, bureaucratic traditions and policies. To generalize, corruption tends to flourish when institutions are weak and economic policies distort the marketplace.[1] It distorts economic and social development, by engendering wrong choices and by encouraging competition in bribery rather than in the quality and price of goods and services; nowhere does corruption cause greater damage than in developing countries.[2] Too often, corruption means that the world's poorest must pay for the corruption of their own officials and of companies from developed countries, although they are least able to afford its costs. Moreover, available evidence shows that if corruption is not contained, it will grow. Once a pattern of successful bribes is institutionalized, corrupt officials have an incentive to demand larger bribes, engendering a "culture" of illegality that in turn breeds market inefficiency.[3]

The argument is not simply a "moral" or "cultural" one. Corruption has been described as a "cancer." It violates public confidence in the state and endangers social cohesion. Grand corruption—where millions of dollars change hands, is reported with increasing frequency in rich and poor countries alike. Petty corruption is less reported, but can be equally damaging. A small bribe to a public servant for a government service may only seem a minor transgression, but when such bribes are multiplied a million times, their combined impact can be enormous. If left unchecked, the accumulation of seemingly minor transgressions can erode legitimacy of public institutions to the extent that even noncorrupt officials and members of the public see little point in remaining honest.[4]

Forms of corruption need to be contained for practical reasons. Faced with the challenge of maintaining or improving standards of public service delivery, no country can afford the inefficiency that accompanies corruption. While apologists for corruption may argue that corruption can help grease the wheels of a slow-moving and over-regulated economy, evidence indicates that it increases the costs of goods and services, promotes unproductive investments, and leads to a decline in the quality of public services.[5] Indeed, recent evidence suggests that rather than expedition public service, corruption may be more like "sand in the wheels" in Tanzania, a recent corruption survey showed that people paying bribes to public officials actually received slower service than those who did not.[6]

In its simplest terms, corruption can be defines as *the abuse of public power for personal gain or for the benefit of a group to which one owes allegiance*. It occurs at the intersection of public and private sectors, when public office is abused by an official accepting, soliciting, or exporting a bribe. As a single transaction, corruption takes place where there is a meeting of opportunity and inclination. Klitgard (Klitgard 1996) has developed a simple model to explain the dynamics of corruption:

$$C \text{ (Corruption)} = M \text{ (Monopoly Power)} + D \text{ (Discretion)} - A \text{ (Accountability)}$$

In other words, the extent of corruption depends on the amount of monopoly power and discretionary power that an official exercises. Monopoly power can be large in highly regulated economies; discretionary power is often large in developing countries and transition economies where administrative rules and regulations are often poorly defined. And finally, accountability may also be weak, either as a result of poorly defined ethical standards of public service, weak administrative and financial systems and ineffective watchdog agencies.

Such a taxonomy is important, as it points to interventions that can curb corruption in these settings. Successful strategies to curb corruption will have to simultaneously seek to educe an official's monopoly power (e.g., by market-oriented reforms), discretionary power (e.g., by administrative reform) and enhance accountability (e.g., through watchdog agencies).

Such mechanisms, when designed as part of a national effort to reduce corruption, comprise an integrity system. This system of checks and balances, designed to manage conflicts of interest in the public sector, limits situations in which conflicts of interest arise or have a negative impact on the common good. This involves both prevention and penalty. An integrity system embodies a comprehensive view of reform, addressing corruption in the public sector through civil society participation (the democratic process, private sector, media). Thus, reform is initiated and supported not only by politicians and policy makers, but also by members of civil society.

To date, much focus has been placed on the strengthening of public institutions to help curb corruption, and on the political, economic and administrative reforms that can reduce corruption. It is generally recognized that civil society plays a critical role in curbing corruption, but to date little attention has been placed on *how* civil society can be brought into national efforts to curb corruption. The World Bank, through the Economic Development Institute, has implemented training courses for journalists in various countries, highlighting the importance of raising public awareness in anti-corruption strategies. This paper suggests an additional tool : the use of social marketing. Social marketing has been used to change people's attitudes and/or behaviour in different situations (e.g., the anti-smoking campaigns in Canada or the promotion of birth control in South Asia); this paper examines the applicability of social marketing techniques in anti-corruption strategies and programs.

I. Social Marketing

Marketing, as an academic discipline, is concerned with the study of exchange transactions. Exchanges have occurred since time immemorial and markets, where exchanges take place, have existed for thousands of years. Yet, marketing, as a field of study is relatively new. Until the time of the Industrial Revolution, exchanges were regarded as strictly an economic activity. But, the Industrial Revolution caused much social unrest and there was a growing feeling that there were also social consequences when exchanges occurred. This led to the enactment of many laws during the latter part of the nineteenth century to protect consumers. At the turn of the century, a group of economists who were a little more practi-

cally oriented split and started a new discipline which was later titled "marketing"[7].

For the first seven decades of the twentieth century, marketing was regards as strictly an activity performed by businesses. In fact, it was inconceivable to many that marketing could be regarded as anything but a business activity[8][9][10]. In the late 1960's, Eugene J. Kelley, editor of the Journal of Marketing, called for papers "…that should stimulate discussion of marketing's role in modern society and add to the existing fund of marketing knowledge." The result was two classic articles which appeared in the January 1969 issue of the above-mentioned journal.

The first article by William Lazer[11] examined how marketing affects society and demonstrated the need for business people to become more societally conscious. Failing to do this, Lazer argued, would lead to more government intervention and less control for organizations to run their own affairs. This was the beginning of a completely new school of thought which has been labeled both "Macromarketing" and "Societal Marketing."

The second article, by Philip Kotler and Sidney J. Levy[12] led to the broadening of the whole concept of marketing. They claimed that, "Marketing is a pervasive societal activity that goes considerably beyond the selling of toothpaste, soap, and steel. Traditional marketing principles are transferable to the marketing organizations, persons, and ideas." In the past, nonbusiness organizations did use some public relations and publicity activities, but students of marketing typically ignored the whole area. Since "every organization performs marketing like activities whether or not they are recognized as such," the authors see a great opportunity for marketing people to apply their skills to this increasingly interesting range of social activity. Examples of people or organizations who could benefit include: political candidates, colleges recruiting students, causes seeking funds, police departments attempting to improve their image,

museums looking for more patrons, public school systems seeking public support, nations looking to increase their exports or to attract investments, anticigarette groups, etc. "The choice facing those who manage nonbusiness organizations is not whether to market or not to market, for no organization can avoid marketing. The choice is whether to do it well or poorly, and on this necessity the case for organizational marketing is basically founded."

Kotler and Levy's article generated much discussion and for the next five years, a debate among academics ensued. On the one side, proponents of the new school of social marketing (also referred to as "nonbusiness marketing" and "not-for-profit marketing") argued as the above authors did, that since organizations and causes were performing marketing activities, they might as well do it properly. The opponents such as Luck and Bartels felt that the scope of marketing should be bounded. Bartels[13] felt that traditional marketing had enough problems and that attention should not be diverted in other directions. Marketing originated with major emphasis upon the physical movement and distribution of products and this is where the emphasis should remain. Luck claims, "The core concept of marketing is the transaction. A transaction is the exchange of values between two parties." The controversy was put to rest after a landmark article by Bagozzi[14] was published. He agreed that marketing was the study of exchange transactions but showed, very elegantly, that there are exchanges other than the typical one where A gives B and B gives A. His description of exchanges would include the situation where A gives B and B gives C and in return, A derives satisfaction with the whole transaction. For example, a donor gives blood to the Red Cross and this blood is given to someone in need. The donor's benefit is the sense of social satisfaction received from aiding someone who is in need of the blood. Following the debates before and

during 1974, it has been generally agreed that social marketing is here to stay and that it has many benefits to offer to society.

A. What is Social Marketing?

Social marketing has been defined in a number of ways. Lazer and Kelley[15] include the social consequences of marketing policies, decisions and activities, a perspective which looks at marketing's output as well as input. Most scholars would categorize this approach as societal marketing or macromarketing. Some authors include in their definitions the concept that the ultimate goal of social marketing is to improve personal and societal welfare[16] [17]. Although this is most often the case, it is not universally true. For example, family planning is a good idea to many but some religious groups might be opposed to it. Social marketing has been used successfully by both the pro-life and the pro-choice movements. The definition that appears to make the most sense, at least to us, is the one proposed by Kotler and Zaltman:[18]

> Social marketing is the design, implementation, and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas, and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution, and marketing research.

> Synonymous terms that might be used are *social cause marketing, idea marketing or public issue marketing.*[19]

Social marketing is fairly new and although there have been some very interesting success stories, it is far more difficult to get people to alter their behaviour than to get consumers to change their favourite brand of soap or toothpaste. The same basic principles, however, are used. In preparing a marketing plan, one must decide on what objective is being sought. There are various levels that one might seek to achieve and as one goes up to hierarchy each step becomes more difficult.[20]

The first level is where cognitive change is desired. Here the aim is to create awareness and knowledge and the marketing approach is quite straightforward. Marketing research is used to identify the groups that most need the information and their media habits are identified. The messages themselves are formulated on the basis of target audience analysis and are carried to the audience through advertising, publicity, personnel, displays, exhibitions and other means. Effectiveness of the campaign (increase in comprehension) can later be measured by postsampling members of the target groups.

At the second stage, we attempt to induce affect. This is more difficult because here, the target market has not only to comprehend something but must take a positive/negative position regarding the proposition. At the next level, the aim is to induce or help people to change some aspect of their behaviour, for example to stop smoking. This is much harder to achieve than cognitive affective or even one-shot action changes. People must unlearn old habits, learn new ones, and maintain the new pattern of behaviour. The most difficult task is when we attempt to alter deeply felt beliefs or values of a target group such as getting someone to change their beliefs about abortion. Here, the human psychological system resists information that is disorienting. A long and intense program of indoctrination is required and even then the chances for success are small.[21]

II. The Use of Marketing for Social Change

The most basic fact about social marketing is that it is universal in nature. Social campaigns are quite similar throughout the world although the emphasis placed on various causes will be different between one country and another. For example, physical fitness and the demarketing of cigarettes are very important causes in developed countries while family planning, basic hygiene , and corruption might be a bigger issue, in those countries that are less developed. In the following section we will

discuss specific applications of social marketing along with their related impacts.

A. Examples

Problem: To reduce consumption of tobacco products (Canada)

In recognizing the importance of marketing in implementing social programs, Canada's Department of Health recently commissioned a major study of the possible impact of "plain packaging" on the consumption of tobacco products. The report concluded that "plain packaging" as part of an overall social marketing campaign would have a significant impact in reducing the consumption of tobacco products, particularly among younger people.[22]

Problem: To improve traffic safety (OECD)

In recognition of the fact that every year 120,000 people are killed on the roads of OECD countries, a social marketing approach to traffic safety has been advanced. This approach was also used in Australia in the 1980s to promote the use of helmets for bicyclists.[23]

Problem: To improve "fair play" in sport (Canada)

In 1986, Otto Jelinek, then Minister of Amateur Sport in Canada was concerned about the violence that was occurring in sports in general and particularly in hockey. Consequently he set up the Fair Play Commission which consisted of famous Canadian sports celebrities such as Wayne Gretsky, Jean Bélinson and Diane Jones-Konigorsky. After developing an extensive marketing plan the program was instituted and many changes were made to make the sport safer. The program continues under the supervision of the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sports. Although the problem is ongoing it is generally agreed that much progress has been made.

Problem: To increase the prevalence and duration of breast feeding (Brazil)

Brazil, in areas where the lowest income groups live, is known to have unclean conditions, inadequate medical services, poor nutrition, and unclean water. Bottle feeding, under these conditions is not safe and in fact was the cause of the premature deaths of many babies. The Brazilian Ministry of Health with the collaboration of UNICEF resolved to take up the issue. A massive social marketing program was introduced during the 1980's. Relevant segments were identified and targeted. These included the doctors, the health services, the hospital, industry, government officials, and of course, mothers. The campaign was an overwhelming success. Increases in the duration and practice of breast-feeding were recorded in all income groups and the declining trend in breast-feeding had been stayed and reversed.[24]

Problem: To reduce unintended pregnancy, particularly among teenagers (United States)

Each year in the United States more than 1.1 million teenage girls become pregnant; more than 80 percent of them do so unintentionally. The Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA) has been committed to eradicate unintended pregnancy since its inception in 1916. A program devised in 1984 proposed various solutions including sex education, changing society's attitudes about sexuality, contraceptive practices, available abortions, etc. Despite criticism from some quarters, PPFA has achieved many of their goals and continues campaigning to help all Americans, adults and adolescents alike, become "sexually literate."[25]

Problem: CIDA Program to increase public support for international development (Canada)

As approved by Parliament, the official development assistance (ODA) program is one of the

main instruments with which Canada advances the goal of international social justice. Most Canadians agree with spending public moneys for humanitarian aid. However, the Public Affairs Branch of CIDA want to also generate public support for its long-term development efforts. A program was developed to communicate the message to the public. A large part of this program was actually social marketing, even if it wasn't labeled as such.[26]

Problem: To provide members of a singles group with a program that would be appealing to them (United States)

The growth of singles groups is an American phenomenon of the post-World War II period. With the erosion of the nuclear and extended family these groups developed to address the concerns of adult singles in a couple oriented society. Thousands of these groups now operate throughout North America and the competition to attract members is quite intense. Considerable insight into these types of groups was gained from marketing research that was performed for the Westport Unitarian Singles Group, one of the most successful singles organizations in the United States.[27]

Problem: To encourage safe and sober driving (USA)

The Reader's Digest Foundation, in partnership with the National Association of Secondary School Principals launched a two year, US$1 million social marketing campaign to deliver a sober message to teenagers all across America. One thousand teams from top advertising agencies competed in creating posters for the campaign, with the winners receiving a trip for two to Paris. Copies of the winning posters were sent to 20,000 schools nationwide and 700 schools competed for college scholarships by devising programs to promote sober driving.[28]

Problem: To encourage church attendance (United States)

Neff[29] illustrates how social marketing campaigns have had a dramatic affect on increasing attendance at churches.

Problem: To encourage recycling

Recycling of solid wastes can be treated as a marketing problem. Shrum et. al.,[30] proposed a marketing framework for selling "recycling" to consumers.

Problem: To encourage family planning and safe sex (Viet Nam)

DKT International is a U.S.A. based non-profit, humanitarian organization implementing social marketing and communication programs for family planning, AIDS prevention and public health. It is active in over 25 countries in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and South America. The first major activity that DKT undertook in Viet Nam was a social marketing program designed to complement and support the program of the Ministry of Health. DKT designed a program to promote, distribute and sell condoms at a small fraction of their cost. A detailed social marketing plan was prepared in 1996.[31]

All of the above examples have shown or expected to show successful results, although the process is slow and the problems never completely resolved. Although not all inclusive, other examples of causes where social marketing has been used are shown in Table 1.

As difficult as it is to bring about successful social marketing to fruitration, it is even tougher to do so in some of the lesser developed countries, particularly those with a strong socialist orientation. In these countries marketing often has a bad image and is a misunderstood managerial philosophy[32]. Typically, the people here have little or no marketing or professional management training, and they operate in a rigid, bureaucratic, and frequently corrupt environment.

Table 1: Causes That Have Used Social Marketing

Public health campaigns to:
– reduce smoking
– reduce alcoholism
– encourage physical fitness
– discourage use of hard drugs
– control overeating
– encourage proper nutrition
– encourage immunization
– encourage sanitation practices
– encourage safe sex
– eliminate birth defects

Education campaigns to:
– encourage literacy
– be better prepared for the
   work force
– retrain for different types of jobs
– encourage culture
   (music, art, etc.)

Image campaigns for:
– cities, nations, fundraisers, and
   nonbusiness organizations that
   market causes (museums,
   universities, unions, police
   departments, churches, etc.)

Environmental campaigns to:
– encourage clean air and water
– energy and water conservation
– recycling
– protect plants and animals

**Protecting rights of
individuals and groups:**
– gays and lesbians
– racial equality
– children from being abused

Other issues:
– family planning
– abortions (pro-life and
   pro-choice)
– prison reform
– gun control
– drinking and driving
   intervention
– fair play in sports
– auto driver safety

In the following sections of this paper, we will attempt to apply the principles of social marketing to a corruption intervention program.

III. Corruption and Intervention

Social marketing might provide one approach to curb corruption by promoting awareness and attitudinal change. Anti-corruption attitudes, in turn, translate into a variety of mechanisms that reward appropriate or punish inappropriate behaviour—thus reducing the level of societal acceptance of such practices.

In order to discuss the relevance of social marketing for fighting corruption, it is first necessary to understand the complexity of the corruption itself.

A. Understanding Corruption

1. WHAT IS CORRUPTION?

> Those who talk about the peoples of our day being given up to robbery and similar vices, will find that they are all due to the fact that those who ruled them behaved in like manner.
>
> *Niccolo Machiavelli,*
> *The Discourses, III(29)*

A fundamental principle underlying the efficient functioning of any organization is that no personal or family relationship should play a role in economic decision-making—whether by private economic agents or by government officials. The assumption under-

Table 2: Types of Bribes

Category	Bribes may be paid for:
A	• Access to a scarce benefit • Avoidance of a cost
B	• Receipt of a benefit (or avoidance of a cost) that is not scarce, but where discretion must be exercised by state officials
C	• Services connected with obtaining a benefit (or avoiding a cost) such as inside information
D	• To prevent others from sharing in a benefit • To impose a cost on someone else

Source: Transparency International, *National Integrity Systems, The TI Source Book, 1996.*

lying the role of public sector officials is that they know what they are doing and are neutral and impersonal in their pursuit of the social welfare.[33] Within this context, *corruption in the public sector can be viewed as occurring when politicians and/or public servants improperly and unlawfully enrich themselves or those close to them by the misuse of the public power entrusted to them—"the misuse of public power for private profit."*[34] This definition is consistent with a variety of sources including the World Bank (For example, the World Bank Corruption Action Plan Working Group definition is "the abuse of public office for private gain"[35]). Two categories of corruption are recognized in the literature:

- "Petty," practiced by underpaid civil servants who come to depend on small 'contributions' from the public to meet basic needs or to help pay a perverse form of tithe to their superiors for the right to hold a public sector job and profit from the many opportunities for extortion that it offers.
- "Grand," practised by high public officials who, in the process of making decisions of significant economic value, routinely demand bribes, kickbacks, percentages or other "gifts" from those seeking government tenders and sales.

Such practices occur in all countries to varying degrees, regardless of levels of social and economic development. They are most likely to occur where public and private sectors interact—especially where public officials have a direct responsibility for the provision of a public service or the application of specific regulations or levies. For corruption to take place, there must be a public official, discretionary power, a misuse of that public power by the public official and a benefit (in money or in kind). Two general cases occur—the provision of services or contracts according to the rule ("grease" payments to expedite a procedure that should have been carried out anyway) and the second, where transactions are against the rule (a *bribe* is paid to obtain services which the official is prohibited from providing). Types of bribes are outlined in Table 2.

The areas of government activity most vulnerable to corruption include:

- Public procurement and contracting.
- Licensing (the granting of import or export permits, for example)
- Rezoning of land.
- Revenue collection (taxation or customs duties).
- Government appointments.
- Local government (granting of drivers licenses, passports and business or build-

ing permits).

Such practices can become pervasive within a country when it is widely accepted as an integral part of a bureaucracy's corporate culture. Often, rather than acceptance, citizens come to tolerate demands for small payments as a workable way of obtaining necessary or desired services (which is eroded if payments rise too high or perceptions of scarcity prove to be incorrect).

Table 3: Examples of Corruption Practices

Petty corruption practices	*Grand corruption practices (associated with bureaucratic discretionary power)*
• Revenue officials practicing extortion by threatening to levy surcharges on taxpayers and importers unless bribes are paid, in which case unjustifiably low tax assessments are made or goods are passed for importation without payment of any duty at all	• Ministers 'selling' their discretionary powers
	• Officials taking percentages on government contracts, which are often then paid into foreign bank accounts
• Law enforcement officials extorting money for their own benefit by threatening to impose penalties unless bribes are paid—which are frequently less than the penalty the offense would attract if it went to court	• Officials receiving excessive hospitality from government contractors and benefits in kind, such as scholarships for the education of children at foreign universities
• Providers of public services (i.e., drivers' licenses, market stall permits, passport control) insisting on payments to speed up service or prevent delays	• Officials contracting government business to themselves, either through front companies and partners or even openly to themselves as consultants
• Superiors in the public service charging their subordinates, requiring them to raise set sums each week or month and to pass these upwards	• Political parties using the prospect of power, or its continuation, to levy large 'fees' on international businesses in return for government contracts

Source: Langseth, Stapenhurst, and Pope, *The Role of a National Integrity System in Fighting Corruption*, World Bank, 1997.

In some cases, corrupt practices may have been introduced by external influences—evident in some former colonies.

Each culture has different perceptions and practices with respect to corruption—acceptance of what is reasonable and appropriate differs widely. Differences often have more to do with how business is conducted (giving presents and hospitality, for example) than with attempts to 'buy' favourable decisions. Examples of petty and grand corruption are provided in Table 3.

2.   THE COSTS OF CORRUPTION

Corruption is damaging because it distorts choice. Many decisions in the public realm that should be taken for the public good, with due regard for norms of public sector efficiency and sound governance, are instead based upon considerations of private gain, with little attention paid to their effects on the wider community. Consider, for example:

- The *public procurement process, if corrupted, leads to the funding of inappropriate projects with taxpayers' money*—sold to the highest, best-connected bidder (diverting public funds from more efficient uses and reducing the amount of resources available for legitimate and more productive public use).
- *Economic life is damaged* by increasing the cost of goods and services, promoting unproductive investment in projects that are not economically viable or sustainable, contributing to a decline in standards and can even increase a country's indebtedness and impoverishment. Recent econometric research suggests, for example, that there is a negative association between high levels of corruption and economic growth[36] and other case studies indicate that illegal payoffs can increase the cost and lower the quality of public works projects up to 30 to 50%[37]. Some other

estimated economic and efficiency costs include[38]

- An additional 3–10% increase for the price of a given transaction to speed up the delivery of a government service.
- Inflated prices for goods—as much as 15–20%—as a result of illicit gains through government-imposed monopolies.
- Diverted tax revenues because of graft and corruption that can cost the government as much as 50% of its tax revenues.
- Overbilling on procurement contracts or the purchase of expensive and unnecessary goods and services with the result that governments can pay prices anywhere from 20-100% higher than necessary.
- *Gains obtained through corruption are unlikely to be transferred to the investment sector*, but rather are transferred to foreign bank accounts or consumed for personal enjoyment.

In summary the costs of corruption accrue in three main areas.

- Waste of resources
  - if corruption takes the form of a kickback, it serves to diminish the total amount available for public purposes.
  - corruption results in a substantial loss in productive effort (the prospect of payoffs can lead officials to create artificial scarcity and red tape).
  - corruption represents a rise in the price of administration.
- Distortion of allocation
  - corruption causes decisions to be weighed in terms of money, not human need (public housing, for example, is designed for the poorest families , not those who can pay the most)
  - a corrupt act represents a failure to achieve public sector objectives.
- Failure to lead by example
  - perceived by the people, corruption in

government lowers respect for constituted authority and so the legitimacy of government.

– if the elite politicians and senior civil servants are widely believed to be corrupt, the public will see little reason why they, too, should not mis-behave.[39]

CAUSES OF CORRUPTION

According to the World Bank's 1997 *World Development Report*, causes of corruption include:

- Where public officials have wide discretion and little accountability.
- Inappropriate policy environment: e.g., distorted prices.
- Lack of checks and balances (e.g., weak "watchdog" agencies and institutions, including Parliament).
- Weak enforcement mechanisms (e.g., lack of judicial independence; weak prosecutorial institutions).
- Where the benefits of corruption are greater than the consequences of being caught and disciplined (e.g., where public sector salaries are low).

B. Strategies to Deal with Corruption

The pervasive nature of systematic corruption suggests that the strategies needed to combat malfeasance must be broadly based and involve action on many fronts. In documented experiences, successful campaigns against corruption incorporate measures that reduce the opportunities for—and benefits of—corruption, increase the likelihood that it will be detected and make it more likely that a transgressor will be punished.

A broad approach to dealing with corruption has emerged from case studies of and attempts to remedy systematic corruption. Problems in the past include: limits of power or commitment at the top; overly ambitious promises leading to unrealistic and unachievable expectations and a loss of public con-

fidence; piecemeal and uncoordinated reforms; reforms that are overly reliant on laws and regulations; reforms that overlook those at the top; failure to establish institutional mechanisms that outlive the reformers; and failure of the government to draw in private sector opinion leaders and device effective communications programs.

Anti-corruption campaigns cannot succeed without public support. A change in attitudes is essential if systematic change is to occur. Two broad complementary strategies can have an impact—

- **Public awareness** programs focused on the harm done by corruption, the misuse of public money, denied access to public services, and the public duty to complain when public officials act corruptly.
- **Empowering civil organizations** to monitor, detect and reverse the activities of the public officials in their midst—drawing on the expertise of accountants, lawyers, academics, non-government organizations, the private sector, religious leaders and ordinary citizens.

It is the raising of public awareness that can be directly affected and reinforced by the proposed social marketing program.

IV. Social Marketing and Corruption Intervention

The three key aspects of the recommended World Bank strategy are Economic and Sector Policy Reform, Institutional Strengthening and International Cooperation. The ambitious program addresses issues arising from the National Integrity System framework, including public sector wages, legal and judicial review, government procurement and financial management, and civil service reform. Social marketing can make an important contribution to the creation of *an atmosphere in public life that discourages fraud and corruption* through achievement of the following objectives:

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of the Dynamics of Corruption and Proposed Response System

Factors Driving Corruption

Indicators (costs of corruption)

National Integrity System

- Opportunity
  – Lack of strong judiciary
  – Police inaction
  – Political opportunism
- Inclination
  – Levels of income
  – Attitudes
  – Perceptions
  – Learning
  – "Cultural tolerance"

- Inefficient public expenditures
- Private gains
- Distortion of values
- Reduced governmental legitimacy
- Inappropriate technology acquisition
- Labour force inefficiencies
- Reduced competition
- Money transfers

- Prevention
  – watchdog agencies
  – strong judiciaries
  – independent media
- Enforcement
  – private sector cooperation
  – public participation
  – public sector action
- Institution building
- Public awareness

Negative Outcomes

Public awareness
↓
Knowledge evaluation
↓
Aversion
↓
Demand for change

Positive Outcomes

- Quality of life
- Income levels
- Reduced economic growth and trade
- Adverse effect on welfare
- Poor morale

- Conducive environment
- Cognitive, affective, and behavioural changes

Public Decision Making Process

Social Marketing for Corruption Intervention

- Marketing strategy*
- Product
- Price
- Distribution channels
- Promotion and segmentation
- Client analysis
- Positioning

Dynamics of Corruption   Response Mechanism

* For details, see Annexes 1 and 2

- Raising awareness of the costs of corruption to a country, its organizations and its citizens.
- Mainstreaming a concern for corruption within national institutions.
- Increasing understanding of causal factors and the variety of manifestations of corruption amongst the staff of national institutions and the public.
- Influencing behaviour of corrupt and potentially corrupt individuals.

The prerequisites for a successful social marketing campaign reside in effective execution of the many other proposed actions outlined in the World Bank Action Plan. Furthermore, and of critical importance to successful social marketing, the host society must have an environment that enables a free press to expose corruption. The critical measures to support this environment are freedom of information laws, defamation and 'insult' laws that cannot be used unreasonably to threaten and fetter the press, increased professional standards, no discrimination against newspapers by withdrawing government advertising, insurance of professional standards of independence and responsibility, and no censorship. Within this context, a social marketing campaign contributes by creating a receptive attitude to the many structural, procedural and administrative changes that will have to take place throughout the public institutions of the host country. Reform will be forthcoming if there is internal pressure for change. Application of social marketing approaches aim to generate that pressure by creating new norms of acceptable behaviour.

Please refer to Annex A for a Summary look at various social marketing Concepts/Principles, and how these might be applied to a hypothetical Corrupt Practices Intervention Program.

A. Social Marketing Lessons for Corruption Intervention

Experience in social marketing indicates that people must be shown what they can do to produce re-sults in a supportive, collaborative and positively reinforcing manner. People want facts before they are prepared to act. Thus, a successful campaign begins with the recognition of the scope of the problem and a clear understanding of its causes. Reformers have to be able to identify those areas of public administration where corruption is most likely to occur and be able to isolate and remedy the conditions that have helped it flourish. At the working level, measures may include improved supervision of civil servants to ensure that they are not abusing their positions for personal gain.

Campaigns should commence with awareness initiatives that stress both the importance of good government to economic prosperity and the impact of corruption on good government. This message will not strike a responsive cord unless specific examples of corruption are used to punctuate the problem being presented. Effective execution depends upon appropriate positioning, congruent and achievable objectives, tailored appeals, people empowerment, use of a broad promotional mix, and immediate reinforcement.

1. POSITIONING

The sponsor of reform must have credibility within government and amongst the public. Since corruption occurs within government, an outside sponsor would effectively instill public confidence in the motives and resolve of reformers. Newly elected parties with reform mandates often serve such purpose. The additional weight of the World Bank will likely contribute to credibility and help to launch any program of reform.

The overall strategy must have strong commitment from political leaders to combat corruption wherever it occurs. It also means that they must submit to very careful scrutiny. Prevention and changing systems should be the primary focus of the actions as outlined in the Action Plan. One logical approach to execution of the Action Plan would be to adopt comprehensive anti-corruption legislation

Table 4: The Evolution of the Communications Task

Stages of taking and maintaining action	Communications objective
Awareness	• Create awareness and interest, change values
Knowledge, evaluation	• Persuage, motivate
Aversion, action	• Create action
Maintenance	• Maintain change

to then be implemented by agencies perceived to have integrity. Local reformers may have to consider establishing one or two key anti-corruption agencies at the outset of the reform program.

The reformers must respond to a general cynicism by preparing a detailed marketing program, relying on concerted, multi-channel efforts directed at attitudinal and structural change. Government activities and procedures most prone to corruption should be identified and reform strategies initiated. Measures might include:[40]

- Ensuring that the salaries of political leaders, civil servants adequately reflect the responsibilities of the posts and are as comparable as possible with those in the private sector.
- Purging payrolls of ghost employees and instituting safeguards to prevent their reappearance.
- Adjusting legal and administrative remedies to include deterrence mechanisms (revocation of illegally awarded contracts, for example).
- Forging a creative partnership between government and civil society to conceptualize reforms in the areas of prevention, enforcement, public awareness and institution building.

As indicated in Annex 1, positioning of the message for purposes of combating corruption is driven to a large extent by target group perceptions of the seriousness of the problem, levels of empowerment and associated guilt, etc. Clearly, perceptions would be different for those in very senior positions of authority to those further removed from power. Positioning of specific segments would have to be determined within the country of interest. "Marketing" research would be an appropriate starting point.

2. CAREFUL FORMULATION OF OBJECTIVES

The World Bank's document *Helping Countries Curb Corruption* addresses many aspects of prevention, enforcement and institution building. The Bank can also play a role in raising public awareness through assistance in designing and executing a campaign in partnership with local reformers based upon the lessons learned through social marketing. Formative listening and subsequent planning will ensure a holistic, congruent and honest program. Such an outcome will be possible if undertaken within the context of a model or framework for understanding how public servants are making decisions and taking actions.

Understanding derived social marketing suggests, for example, that a campaign should focus primarily upon:

- The harm done by corruption.
- The fact that the corrupt are stealing the public's money.

- The public's rights to services—at a given price or at no cost at all.
- The public's duty (and the proper procedure) to report corrupt activities and specific individuals.

The focal point of a campaign would most logically be the public servant and stakeholders with whom they interact. Campaign objectives will evolve with the changes in attitudes and behaviours of target groups. One way of conceptualizing the evolution of communications objectives is provided in Table 4.

Social marketing strategies must be adapted for the stage of development for each target market. The major challenges at each stage are:

- *Precontemplation* stage challenges are to overcome public servants tendencies to selectively ignore or screen out social messages. Education, propaganda and media advocacy

Table 5: Social Marketing Message Strategies

Fear—especially appropriate for health promotion programs. *Worth considering.*

Guilt—while many campaigns rely on guilt to grab attention and solicit support, the trend is shifting to more positive, inspiring messages because of the recognition that guilt messages tend to foster feelings of apathy, frustration and helplessness.

Consistency—after committing to a given position, people are more likely to behave in a manner consistent with that position (thus once behaviour has been changed, it is often appropriate to have people wear buttons or use bumper stickers to support a cause). *Suggested strategy for later stages of the campaign.*

Authority—Using a figure of authority (knowledge or trustworthiness) to provide a more poignant and believable message. *Suggested for early stages of a campaign.*

Social Validation—people are more likely to act or subscribe to a belief when they see that others are doing so. *This bandwagon effect might be appropriate once target groups have entered Contemplative stages or to reinforce behaviours once they have been changed.*

Moral Messages—appeals that are directed to the target group's sense of what is right and wrong. *This appeal is appropriate to the issue of anti-corruption.*

Peer Influence—often, target groups are most easily influenced by members of their own age, race, cultural or socio-economic background because they can identify with them. *Appropriate to the tailoring and delivery of messages to different target groups.*

Testimonial—messages based upon the assumption that audiences will respond to those who have changed behaviours and are benefiting. *Suggested for later stages in the campaign.*

Humour—positive emotional appeals, such as humour, love, pride, and joy are often used by communicators. *Should only be used with care in this context.*

Benefits—messages designed to appeal to rational thought and decision-making (messages that serve the audience's self-interest). *Suggested for higher level target groups such as senior officials, judges etc.*

Celebrity—using celebrities to promote ideas based on the notion that target groups identify with certain public personalities and thus will want to adopt the endorsed behaviour. *Suggested for lower level target groups.*

are particularly effective techniques.

- *Contemplative stage* challenges are to understand and shape perceptions of perceived benefits and costs, perceived social influences and behavioural control. Clearly messages have to coincide with structural changes identified in the World Bank Action Plan.
- *Action and Maintenance* stage challenges are to increase perceived benefits and costs, increase perceived social pressure and behavioural control.
- To *maintain new behavioural patterns*, public servants must feel rewarded and subject to regular reminders until new behaviours become an ingrained way of life.

3. TAILORED APPEALS FOR DIFFERENTIATED SEGMENTS

A broad appeal is apt to be lost in the clutter of the mass media. A more focused approach is likely to affect targeted groups in the desired way. Targeted players are not all the same and so segmenting markets will improve campaign effectiveness and efficiency. Segments could include Public Servants in the Judiciary, Politicians, Senior Bureaucrats, Public Servants, those in the Private Sector that frequently interact with the public sector, the Media, and the General Public, for example. Or more appropriately, segments might be based on attitudinal or psychographic measures (see Annex A).

A clear understanding of segment demographic characteristics, potential roles in contributing to corrupt practices, attitudes to corruption, media habits, activities, interests and opinions provides opportunity for formulating appealing messages and suggestions for improvement.

The messages to be directed at different targeted groups will differ as will the underlying strategy to elicit changed behaviour. Alternative message strategies that could be considered to reinforce the anti-corruption reform actions being developed in a country are outlined in Table 5.

4. EMPOWERING PEOPLE IS IMPORTANT

An often overlooked element of effective social change communications is the importance of increasing people's sense of control. If people do not believe that they can make a difference, attempts to raise their level of awareness of corruption or provide arguments for behaviour change are not likely to translate into behaviour change.

To encourage a sense of control, action should be called for in the message and that action should be reasonable and relatively easily

Table 6: A Typical Promotion Mix

	Advocate	*Independent*
Impersonal	• Paid media advertisements • Public service announcements • Events	• Newspaper columns • Insight and analysis articles in recognized authoritative journals • Popular magazine articles
Personal	• Worksite lectures • Village theatre • In-office 'sales' visits	• Peers • Newscasters • Family members • Religious figures

Table 7: Promotional Mix for Influencing Corrupt Behaviour

	High perceived empowerment	*Low perceived empowerment*
High perceived seriousness of the problem	• Action checks • Audits • Group meetings • Town hall/village squate discussions	• "Pacts" • Group meetings encouraging the discussion of the issues • Generating concern • Publicity • Using opinion leaders • Encouraging greater search for information
Low perceived seriousness of the problem	• Increasing awareness of the problem • Informing about the seriousness of the problem • Increasing the level of anxiety • Describing the available sources of information • Correcting false impressions	

achievable. Furthermore, to facilitate decision-making, reformers must provide simple, readily digestible pieces of information. Positive messages, centred on what each target group can do to help solve corruption problems will reduce feelings of powerlessness. Compilation of "success stories," promoted through "reformed" opinion leaders can be an important instrument of empowerment and change.

5.   USE A BROAD, COUNTRY-SPECIFIC PROMOTIONAL MIX

Prior to full-scale or more concerted promotion, reformers must take care of a variety of practical considerations such as ensuring that promotional programs are being developed with host governments, institutions, or agencies; successes can be made visible; alternative funding can be secured before the end of the program; careful and extensive training can be provided to people who will be working in the new or revised structures before the formal end of the reform program.

The selection of communications channels will be important to the overall effectiveness of the campaign. Alternative channels could be viewed as either personal or impersonal and as advocate or independent (see Table 6).

Complementary promotional tools can also contribute to influencing behaviour. The appropriateness of different tools is driven by the perceived seriousness of the problem and the sense of empowerment of the target segment. Table 7 provides some guidelines.

In addition to making use of the media, the use of a variety of personal approaches would require the establishment of new 'media' such as the creation of organizations that enlist ordinary citizens or government staff to become part of a broad-based crusade against corruption. Through such a 'vigilante' or 'homefront' organization, structured into cells, the public could be provided more specific instruction and training, guided towards directed action and feedback and could be engaged in constructive and ongoing discussions at local levels.

6. Immediate Reinforcement

One empowering strategy is to provide some feedback or a demonstration of the desired outcome that the actions of individuals has produced. A simple measure could be developed that communicates progress or the impact of corruption (an index of costs for a service in comparison to the same service delivered by a country considered to be relatively uncorrupt, for example).

7. Other Success Facters

- *Focus*
  - Focus on targeted audience segments chosen on the basis of age, psychographic profile, knowledge level, literacy/numeracy level, level of social skills and their role in contributing to corruption in the public sector.
  - Use a positive message and focus on prevention and structural change.
  - Specify the issues in simple terms, allowing the target audiences to reach their own conclusions.
  - Focus on the personal relevance of the issue to each member of the audience segment by making it human and relating it to directly to their situation.
  - Specify in very simple terms the desired action required to be taken by members of an audience segment and make sure that the action itself is simple.
  - Use the desired outcome as a visual proxy means of reinforcement.
  - Focus on the most effective communication channel for each segment.
- *Partnership*—for a campaign to gain momentum, many other sectors have to be engaged and involved. Some parties include the general public, the media, the private sector, interest groups, professional associations, academia and opinion leaders. Strong links to these groups will provide a means

to check consistency and improve credibility, and supply of resources.
- *Education*—Social marketing is most effective when done on a preventative basis, suggesting that an anti-corruption education program should be an integral part of a standardized orientation and training program. Introduced at an early stage, anti-corruption arguments have a greater likelihood of influencing the beliefs, attitudes and values of selected target groups. The broader dissemination of the message within the public domain creates higher expectations for standards of conduct.
- *Training of new recruits*—When recruiting new public servants or making new appointments within the public service, national public service commissions are well positioned to assess attitudes towards corruption and to provide anti-corruption promotion and training. The focus of a broader education program is to make target groups aware of the costs of corruption, the roles they are expected to play and the responsibilities that come with their jobs. Prevention education of this sort is more cost effective and lasting than detection and enforcement approaches.
- *Build body of knowledge*—A final education element is to provide training programs that support and complement those identified in the Action Plan (see "Report of the Corruption Action Plan Working Group—Country and International Strategies," May 1997, p.45). An integral part of such training is to build a body of best practice knowledge for public institutions and disseminate such information through local networks.

B. Strategic Planning in Social Marketing

In designing effective social-change strategies, social marketers go through a normal marketing planning process.[41] Like any marketing strategy, the

basic elements consist of (1) the target market and (2) the marketing mix variables of product, price, promotion, and distribution that are directed towards satisfying the needs of the target market. Environmental factors provide the framework within which marketing strategies are planned.

Although the same process of planning is used by both marketers of goods and social causes, there are some basic differences. Lamb, Hair and McDaniel[42] describe the unique aspects of social marketing:

- *Target markets:* Instead of targeting the most receptive segments of the market, non business organizations must often select apathetic or strongly opposed targets. The mission is often to stop people from engaging in activities that appeal to them.
- *Nature of products:* The concern is with services and social behaviour and not with manufactured goods.
- *Nonfinancial objectives:* Financial profit is not a motivation.
- *Need to attract resources:* Cannot recover costs from sales revenue and thus must secure outside funds from donations, grants, etc.
- *Multiple constituencies:* Often depend on third party payers and so must deal with two or more sets of "customer" constituents.
- *Public scrutiny:* Subjected to on-going public scrutiny from government, media and the general public. They are often expected to uphold higher standards of behaviour than private firms.
- *Nonmarket pressures:* Face more regulation and direction from external sources.
- *Free or inexpensive support:* More able to attract donations of money, labour, and services.
- *Management in duplicate or triplicate:* Politicians, volunteers, and board members often exert managerial influence over paid professionals.

Please refer to Annex 2 for a sample outline of a typical Social Marketing Plan, applied to a hypothetical Corruption Intervention Program.

V. Conclusions

Anti-corruption programs cannot succeed without public support. A change in attitudes is essential if systemic change is to occur. This paper argues that two complementary strategies can help achieve this : raising public awareness about the harm caused by corruption and empowering civil organizations to monitor, detect and help reverse corrupt activities of public officials. This paper has shown that concepts of social marketing can be useful in both of these strategies.

All four elements of the marketing mix are relevant to such strategies: the four P's (positioning, price (or reward), promotion, place (or distribution) and product) as well as market segmentation. Two issues are critical:

- that people be shown that what they do *can* achieve results and that they are shown this in a supportive, collaborative and reinforcing manner;
- that social marketing activities be tailored to country-specific circumstances.

This paper summarizes how social marketing activities might be developed, incorporating these various elements and issues. In terms of raising public awareness, lessons from social marketing campaigns elsewhere suggest that a focus should be on : the harm done by corruption; the fact that the corrupt are stealing the public's money; that it is the public's right to receive public services at the prescribed price; and that it is the public's duty to report corrupt activities and individuals. In terms of empowering civil organizations, it is important to increase people's sense of control; here, the compilation of "success stories," promoted through opinion leaders can be important. It is important to note that such activities need to be part of a larger, holistic anti-corruption program which in-

cludes both appropriate economic and administrative reforms and the strengthening of government and civil institutions.

The World Bank has long-advocated appropriate economic and administrative policies as part of their policy dialogue with client countries. In addition, EDI has assisted countries in the design and implementation of anti-corruption programs; to date, such assistance has focused on action planning through National Integrity Workshops, awareness raising through media training and working with such institutions as Parliament, Supreme Audit Institutions and the Judiciary. In terms of raising public awareness and strengthening civic institutions through social marketing, the involvement of EDI as advisor, educator and, in some cases, partner in social marketing design and execution could be appropriate. In this regard, the authors are developing a pilot "Social Marketing Strategies for Curbing Corruption" workshop which will be included in EDI's portfolio of "products." In addition, *a substantial contribution that the World Bank could make is to develop a body of knowledge and experiences in awareness raising and civic institutional strengthening and make them available to countries that developing anti-corruption programs.* In addition, greater awareness raising through *training in social marketing and broad communications* campaigns would stimulate interest within countries to explore the merits of a corruption intervention program. ❧

Annex A: Social Marketing Application to a Corrupt Practices Intervention Program

Marketing is the process of establishing mutually satisfying product exchange relationships between any two interested parties. "Product," in this context, refers to tangible products, services, social message, attitudes, or behaviours.

Social marketing attempts to change the perception, attitudes, opinions, or behaviours that underlie an identified target groups corrupt behaviour or lifestyle habits.

The marketing process always begins with an analysis of the target group—their attitudes, motives, needs, and perceptions, versus corruption. The results will ultimately determine how the intervention message will be promoted and packaged. At this point, a number of marketing ingredients (the so-called marketing mix) are selected to produce the maximum impact. Typically, the marketing mix contains four elements: product, price, place (distribution), and promotion. A social marketing plan product usually translates to an idea, belief, or intervention. Distribution or place involves selection of effective opinion leaders, media, and decisions regarding how the message is to be delivered.

Price refers to the reward. The target market receives in exchange for altering its behaviour or attitude. Social marketing programs often refer to "sat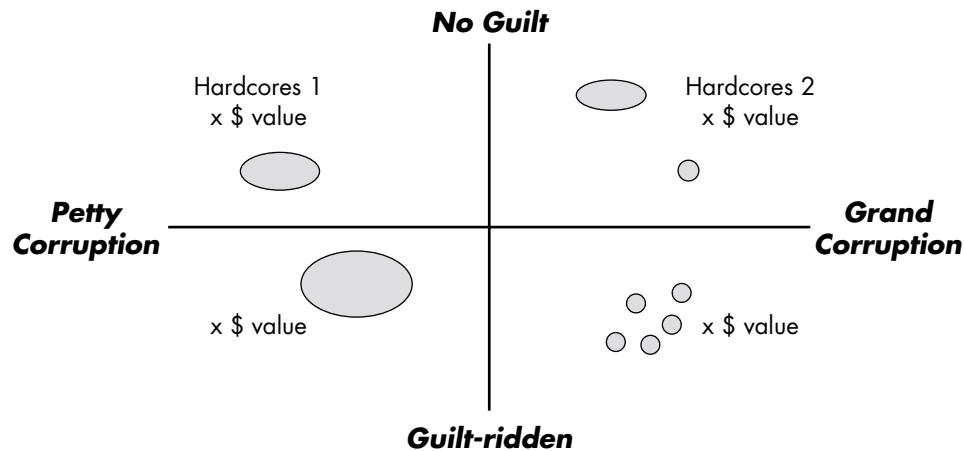isfaction," cash incentives, "honesty," a "better future for your children," a "healthy lifestyle," etc. as program incentives. The choice of incentive(s) should be clear, specific, personalized, and provide immediate benefits for maximum effectiveness.

Promotion is the communication element of the social marketing program. A well articulated promotional progam (in harmony with the other programs) should inform, remind, and persuade. In the context of a corruption intervention program, the promotional mix might include village meetings, in-office presentations, public service training programs, billboards, advertisements in media, as well as press conferences, publicity, and direct marketing methods.

A corruption intervention program will likely involve more than one blend of the marketing mix (the four Ps) or program elements. The selection of the right blend is critical, and involves creativity, analytical skills, and market research.

Social marketing programs are more effective when efforts are focused and appropriately positioned. Clearly, it is not possible to reach everybody and expect measurable impact. Many programs fail because they try to reach too many groups with a generic program.

Effective market segmentation (often based on strength of attitudes) can increase the possibility of success in a campaign. For example, in developing the Really Me campaign against alcohol and

No Guilt

Hardcores 1
x $ value

Hardcores 2
x $ value

Petty Corruption

Grand Corruption

x $ value

x $ value

Guilt-ridden

drugs, Health Canada targeted the 11–13 age group because research had shown that around this age children begin to develop strong relationships outside of the family and are most vulnerable.

Furthermore, research confirms the fact that intervention and prevention are far more cost-effective than cessation of a habit. In other words, corruption intervention may have a greater impact on public service recruits during training that at a later time in their career path. Segmentation variables include demographics (age, sex, income, occupation, region, nationality, etc.), product related (usage rate, brand loyalty, time/occasion of usage), or psychographics (values, attitudes, and lifestyles). A corruption intervention program might segment and target its effort in a differentiated manner.

Conceivable segments for the program might include:

- *Petty hardcores:* habitual, repeat offenders, the entrenched, "why not?" type
- *Grand hardcores:* habitual, repeat, large-scale, politically entrenched, "normal practice" type
- *Guilt-ridden infrequent abusers:* economic hardships, crisis, "no choice" type

- *No-guilt infrequent abusers:* foreign trips, a car, appliances, "so what?" type
- *Contemplators:* college students and public service recruits (most susceptive and a prime target group for prevention)

Clearly each target group merits a different marketing mix. When it comes to implementing the marketing program for a specific target market, the concept of positioning can be a powerful tool. Positioning is a psychological concept and refers to the creation and maintenance of the intended product (message or idea) in the target group's mind. It is a device for getting your message heard in a communications environment cluttered with conflicting and competing messages.

For th contemplators target group, for example, the message might be objective, simple, hopeful, and positive, and the message targeted at the "guilt-ridden" might be emotional, supporting, and reinforcing.

A positioning map envisions a duo-dimensional space that provides insights into action strategies for different target markets. The size of the circles (see map) is proportional to the size (numbers) of the target market. The two dimensions represent the two key determinant attributes of the product. ❧

So:
- Marketing Strategy=Articulation of 4 Ps + Segmentation + Positioning
- Market Plan=The above + Time-related Details
- Marketing Program=The above + Measurement and Control

For further details, see G. S. Kindra et al. in *Consumer Behavior* (1995).

Annex B: Outline of a Seven-Step Marketing Plan for a Corruption Intervention Program

1. Problem Definition

For the longest time, anti-smoking programs focused all their attention on convincing smokers about the harmful effects of tobacco smoking. While their rational and emotional messages generated a lot of awareness, smokers continued to use tobacco. Later research indicated that although many smokers wanted to quit they did not know how. Many others, typically younger, continued due to peer pressure. Anti-smoking programs in the 1980s redefined the problem and projected smoking as "uncool," and provided assistance with quitting strategies.

2. Setting Goals and Objectives

At this stage, realistic, quantifiable, and measurable goals must be set. These goals not only provide a benchmark for evaluating success, but also assist with planning and budgeting. For example, an objective such as "Among the contemplators, reducing numbers of individuals who agree with the statement 'corruption is a way of life in our country' from 18 percent to 11 percent by December 31, 1999," is necessay for program evaluation and effectiveness.

3. Target Market Segmentation

As discussed in Annex 1, key segments for the Corruption Intervention Program might include: Petty Hardcores, Grand Hardcores, Guilt-ridden

Infrequent Abusers, No-guilt Infrequent Abusers, and Contemplators. Each group might be further segmented by demographic by variables like occupation, legal income, and education.
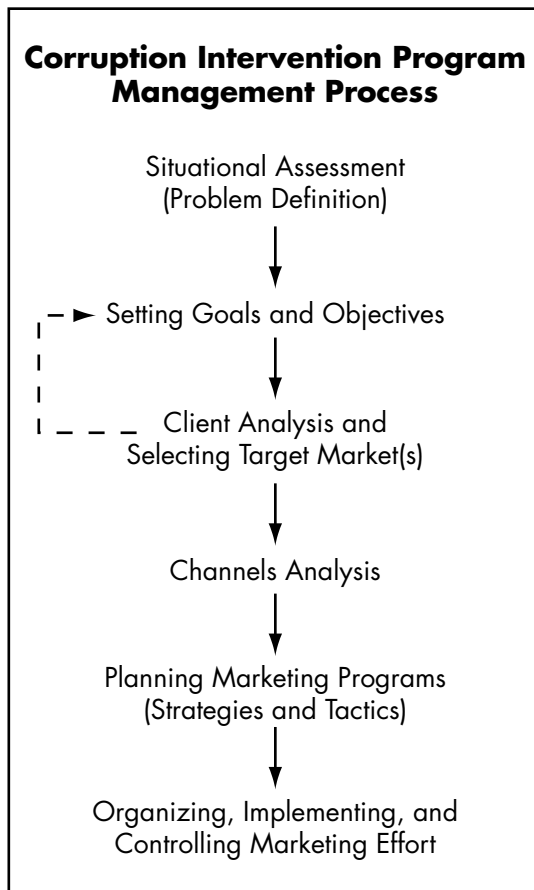
4. Client Analysis

Each target market (mentioned above) should be researche in terms of their motives, needs, perceptions, attitudes, and resistance to change, as well as most effective intervention strategies (including identification of reference groups and opinion leaders).

5. Channel Analysis

The Corruption Intervention Program will likely need the cooperation of several influence channels to be effective. The mass media might by induced to donate public service time and space (newspapers and magazines), business establishments and NGOs might be urged to form pacts and alliances, public schools and governmental organizations could be asked to provide fora for discussions and group meetings. Not all channels are equally viable and must be selected and coordinated carefully.

Clearly, for the Corruption Intervention Program, campaigns should be conducted at the grassroots levels. It may prove desirable to set up "Intervention Teams" in village and urban communities. Members of such teams should be provided with skills in motivation, public

Corruption Intervention Program Management Process

Situational Assessment
(Problem Definition)

↓

▶ Setting Goals and Objectives

↓

Client Analysis and
Selecting Target Market(s)

↓

Channels Analysis

↓

Planning Marketing Programs
(Strategies and Tactics)

↓

Organizing, Implementing, and
Controlling Marketing Effort

grassroots consultations, brainstorming among experts, and by reviewing and adapting the 4Ps framework to the task at hand. At this point, the program should also examine the cost-effectiveness of two or three proposed "mixes" of the 4Ps framework. The choice should be spelled out in an actionable and measurable marketing plan.

7. Program Implementation and Evaluation

At this stage various proposed actions have to be assigned to specific persons to carry out according to a realistic and agreed upon timetable. The program is now supported by a clear budget and controls that would be used to monitor, evaluate, and finetune the program. ଚ

speaking, and identifying opinion leaders within each community.

The most appropriate channel mix will also depend on the sociopolitical environment of the country. In some instances, the intervention program might prove more successful by first convincing legislators to pass anti-corruption measures (push strategy). In other instances, the program might first have to influence the general public to support and demand action from policymakers (pull strategy).

6. Marketing Strategies and Tactics

The Corruption Intervention Program can now consider possible change strategies for one or more of the targeted groups. This can be done by

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