



**What makes frontline duty-bearers act with integrity?
Conditions and approaches that influence teachers and health workers
to deliver services with integrity**

- FINAL REPORT -

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This research was commissioned by Integrity Action. It was led and written by Lucie Leclert and Carmen Fernández Fernández from blueTAP consult. Other research team members that contributed to this research include Ramesh Bohara, Catherine Wanjihia, Lilian Volat, Geke Kieft and Ruth Mwikali Nzioki. It was overseen by Daniel Burwood from Integrity Action.

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Cover photo: A sign in a school compound in Kericho County, Kenya (Source: Lucie Leclert)

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Structure of this report - Summary

Introduction and methodology

This research was commissioned by Integrity Action in May 2020, with funding from the Swedish International Development Cooperation (SIDA) and the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation. It aimed at identifying the most important conditions for enabling or inspiring duty-bearers to act with integrity as well as promising approaches or good practices that can help create or strengthen these conditions. It also aimed at assessing the country context and sectoral variability of these conditions and approaches' effectiveness.

Chapter 1 of this report explains the research's focus on frontline duty-bearers in the education and health sector in developing countries, i.e. teachers and health workers. This chapter also provides definitions for key terms, including how the concept of integrity has been understood.

Chapter 2 explains the conceptual framework used for this research and the principles for data collection. It clarifies how deductive and inductive approaches have been combined, and how the data collection and analysis framework was developed to both validate or reject existing theories, and collect new knowledge and perspectives.

Chapter 3 outlines the research phases and activities, and provides the specific objectives, methodology and outputs activity per activity.

Findings and lessons learned

Chapters 4 and 5 presents the compiled research findings from all research activities.

Chapter 4 focuses on the conditions that can enable or motivate duty-bearers to act with integrity. In section 4.1, the most important conditions are described, including general considerations from the literature, as well as specific examples and findings from the different research activities. Some insights into how these conditions vary with the country context and sectors are provided in section 4.2 and 4.3. Section 4.4 then discusses and compares the findings on the relative importance of each condition from each activity.

Chapter 5 focuses on the approaches that can help to create or strengthen these conditions. It provides a compilation of good practices or promising approaches that can be implemented at local level with limited capacities, power, or resources, and discusses key considerations to ensure the effectiveness of these approaches. The extent to which the success of these approaches varies with the context is then discussed in section 5.2. Section 5.3 presents findings concerning the levels at which duty-bearers think citizens' participation would be most beneficial, and the benefits that duty-bearers expect from citizen-centred accountability mechanisms. Finally, section 5.4 provides specific recommendations for integrity interventions, based on all research findings.

A brief summary document that outlines ten key takeaways of this research is available on Integrity Action's website, at <https://integrityaction.org/what-we-are-learning/learning/research-report-what-makes-frontline-duty-bearers-act-with-integrity/>. Here you will also find the full set of annexes to this report, which includes copies of the data collection tools that were used and details of all research participants.

Abbreviations

| | |
|----------|---|
| BoM | Board of Management |
| CAHURAST | Campaign for Human Rights and Social Transformation |
| CEDEJ | Cercle d’Echange pour le Développement des Jeunes dans la Région de Grands Lacs |
| CSO | Civil Society Organisation |
| DRC | Democratic Republic of the Congo |
| HCF | Health Care Facility |
| IR | Intermediary Report |
| KII | Key Informant Interview |
| NGO | Non-governmental organisation |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| O&M | Operation and Maintenance |
| PTA | Parents /Teachers Association |
| RQ | Research Question |
| SAI | Supreme Audit Institutions |
| SIDA | Swedish International Development Cooperation |
| SMC | School Management Committee |
| ToR | Terms of Reference |
| UNICEF | United Nations International Children's Fund |
| WASH | Water Hygiene and Sanitation |
| WIN | Water Integrity Network |
| WHO | World Health Organisation |

1 Introduction

1.1 Background and rationale

Integrity Action's mission is to help build societies in which all citizens can - and do - successfully demand integrity from the institutions they rely on. In May 2020, with funding from the Swedish International Development Cooperation (SIDA) and the Hewlett Foundation, Integrity Action published the Terms of References (ToR) for a research on 'Enabling and inspiring duty-bearer to act with integrity'. This is the final report of this research.

The primary objective of this research is to inform Integrity Action's future work, through strengthening the evidence base that informs the design of Integrity Action's programmes and their interactions with duty-bearers and other stakeholders. The research also aims to produce relevant information and evidence for any organisations or individuals working towards improving the integrity of basic service delivery. Table 1 summarises the different interest groups and how the findings of the research might be of interest to them.

| Interest groups | Relevance of the research findings |
|--|--|
| Integrity Action | To draw recommendations on how to improve future work i.e. inform programme design and interactions with duty-bearers. |
| International development organisations working on integrity | To draw recommendations for programme design. |
| Local Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) | To draw recommendations on how to best voice their concerns, participate in decisions and hold duty-bearers accountable. |
| Governmental institutions | To increase their understanding of the barriers faced by the frontline duty-bearers they have oversight of, and to draw recommendations on how they could support them best. |
| Frontline duty-bearers | To draw recommendations on how to improve their relationship with right-holders, and demand integrity from their peers or superiors. |

Table 1. Relevance and expected impact of the research for various interest groups.

1.2 Research questions

This research addresses the following Research Questions (RQ):

RQ1: What conditions are most important for enabling or inspiring duty-bearers to act with integrity?

- **RQ 1.1.** What conditions (both internal and external; formal rules and informal incentives) can influence duty-bearers' integrity?
- **RQ 1.2.** How do these conditions vary in different country contexts (cultural, political, economic, etc.)?
- **RQ 1.3.** How do these conditions vary for different types of duty-bearers and different sectors?

RQ2: What approaches have the most potential to create or strengthen these conditions?

- **RQ 2.1.** What good practices and/or promising approaches have proven to positively influence the way duty-bearers work?
- **RQ 2.2.** To what extent does the success of these approaches vary with the context?
- **RQ 2.3.** What value do duty-bearers place on different approaches in building integrity, and what benefit would they want or expect from an approach such as Integrity Action's?

1.3 Sectors of focus

This research concentrates on the education and health sectors. As Integrity Action's work mainly takes place at community level, this means that the research units agreed upon were schools and Health Care Facilities (HCFs) at the community level.

Poor service delivery in the primary health and education sector is a significant problem across the world, but particularly in developing countries. Common problems include schools and HCFs not being open when they are supposed to be, absenteeism among teachers and health workers, lack of adequate equipment and infrastructure, misuse of teaching materials or drugs, and expropriation of public funds (Bjorkman, 2009).

Specific to the education sector, the multiple tasks that are required to ensure effective and quality education (e.g. preparing, giving and grading lessons, assignments and tests; managing classrooms, developing teaching materials, and providing feedback to students and parents) can create conflicting demands on teachers' time and commitment, complicating efforts to hold them accountable for quality of instruction and learning outcomes (UNESCO, 2017). Education also constitutes the largest public sector service in many countries around the world, and hence the largest public expenditure. With huge amounts of public funding passing through complex administrative layers, school level power struggles between staff and even with citizens, as well as the high importance placed on education makes it an attractive target for manipulation (Transparency International, 2013).

Common challenges in the health sector include a weak adherence to clinical guidelines, a focus on donor-funded activities that offer access to per diems at the expense of regular duties, issues of disrespect of patients, informal payments, illegal dual practice or moonlighting, irregularities around drugs or theft of medicines, bribes and inappropriate referrals, among others (Raffler et al., 2019, Danhounoet et al., 2018). Responsiveness of health workers to citizens' concerns is also often constrained by the health system itself, with regards to the levels of autonomy, or existing policies towards accountability among many others. The local politics of participation, as well as providers' attitudes to and resources for citizens' engagement also affects levels of responsiveness (Lodenstein et al., 2016).

Crucial to any adequate service provision in schools and HCFs is functioning and well-maintained infrastructure, and in particular, Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) infrastructure. This research included a specific review of this topic as well.

1.4 Definition of key terms

Frontline duty-bearers

A duty-bearer is defined as any actor upon whom citizens rely in order to enjoy their rights and entitlements (Integrity Action's theory of change¹). In schools, frontline duty-bearers are teachers and head teachers. In HCFs, the focus is on nurses, doctors, and HCF managers. In this report, the term duty-bearers refers to these frontline duty-bearers.

Acting with integrity

In line with Integrity Action's theory of change, acting with integrity is understood as when there is consistency between a duty-bearer's words and actions, and when these actions reflect the best interests of all citizens who rely upon them in order to enjoy their rights and entitlements.

¹ <https://integrityaction.org/what-we-do/approach/theory-of-change>

Integrity can be broken down into the following pillars:

- Responsiveness: Keep promises that have been made to citizens and respond to citizens' feedback – which may include changing or retracting a promise where citizens' feedback suggests this is appropriate;
- Equity: Provide services to all citizens equitably as opposed to preferential treatment to specific interest groups or persons;
- Transparency: Make information on plans, budgets and actions available so that citizens know what they are promised; act openly.

Participation is understood as seeking and valuing all stakeholders' inputs in decision-making. It is another key pillar of integrity but is rather a mechanism to enable and strengthen the other pillars.

Enabling and inspiring

For the purpose of this research, 'enabling' is understood as 'giving power, means, competence, or ability to make it possible for duty-bearers to act with integrity'. 'Inspiring' is defined as 'motivating, encouraging or filling duty-bearers with the urge to act with integrity (Adapted from the Oxford English Dictionary). The term 'influencing' is used to encompass both 'enabling' and 'inspiring'.

2 Conceptual framework

2.1 Combining a deductive and inductive approach

Literature on integrity in the education and health sectors is plentiful, but the majority of it analyses integrity from the perspective of service seekers/right-holders, and often focuses on challenges. What is different in this research is that it takes the standpoint of the duty-bearers themselves and looks at the ‘enabling and motivating environment’ (conditions or combination of conditions that can influence duty-bearers’ integrity, and approaches to strengthen these conditions).

With this in mind, this research combined a deductive and an inductive approach as displayed in Figure 1. In Phase 1, existing knowledge at a global level was analysed and helped define an initial list of conditions and approaches. This was the basis for further development of a data collection and analysis framework for Phase 2, where data was collected from different respondents at different levels to allow either validation or rejection of existing theories, as well as collect new knowledge and perspectives. Phase 3 consisted in analysis and triangulation of findings in all activities, in order to refine existing theories.

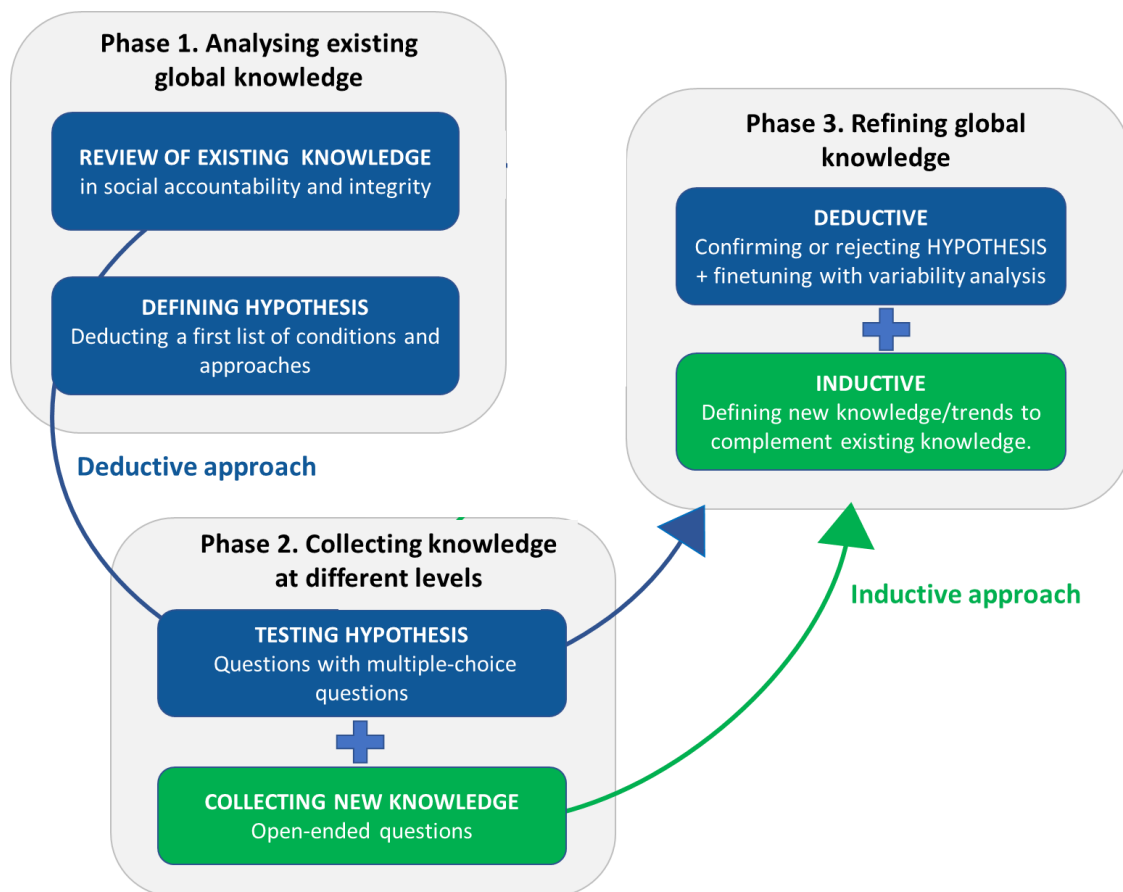


Figure 1. Proposed research approach.

2.2 Principles for data collection

Targeting different respondents

It can sometimes be challenging to reflect on oneself and answer questions related to one's behaviour critically and objectively. Therefore, the research targeted respondents beyond the duty-bearers themselves, including their direct managers, NGO/CSO staff that work closely with them, representatives of relevant governmental institutions, as well as global, regional and country-specific sectoral experts. This helped collect different perspectives and additional insights into the research questions.

Different data collection tools for different purposes

Overall, data was collected through literature review, Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and online minisurveys. Specific data collection tools were designed based on who the target respondents were, as well as the type of information and the level of details expected (deductive or inductive approach).

Considerations for designing the data collection tools

For each data collection tool, careful consideration was given to the formulation of each question. Below is a summary of these considerations.

Deductive versus inductive approach

For Phase 1, the question guides for KIIs consisted mainly of **open-ended** questions to collect existing knowledge. For Phase 2, all question guides were designed to allow:

- Testing findings from Phase 1 (deductive approach), using **multiple-choice** questions for the minisurveys or precise questions for KIIs;
- Collecting new conditions and approaches (inductive approach), using **open-ended** questions.

Initial situation versus ideal situation

Conditions that can enable and inspire duty-bearers' integrity encompasses conditions that can already be in place and that are influencing already (**initial** situation), and conditions that could be put in place (**ideal** situation). Similarly, approaches are a combination of good practices already in place in one institution and that could be replicated to others, and new ideas.

Negative versus positive formulation

As people tend to get more engaged and excited to talk about challenges rather than what is in place and works well, the **initial** situation was assessed using a **negative** formulation and by asking '*What is not in place that limits you?*'. The limiting conditions were then interpreted either as conditions that are already in place and enabling or inspiring them (thus not limiting them), or as conditions that would influence duty-bearers' integrity if they were in place. However, it is important to note that simply inferring such conditions from answers to negative-formulated questions is not that straightforward (Cartwright et al., 2020). This was given careful consideration in data analysis.

From there, possible 'solutions' were discussed ('*What can be done to help you address these challenges?*'). The solutions could be a combination of conditions not yet in place, or good practices and promising approaches to create or strengthen these conditions.

Starting by the 'problems' and then moving to 'solutions' was used as a guiding structure for the different data collection tools.

General versus specific questions

Questioning people about integrity is very general and can be interpreted in various ways. In some contexts, it can also be a very sensitive issue. Getting people to answer sincerely requires having a good understanding of cultural norms and creating an environment of trust (including offering confidentiality and data protection) and designing questions in a precise and **specific** way.

While in Phase 1, questions were asked in a **general** way (in order to collect a wide range of answers), the questions in Phase 2 were more **specific**. For the 'problems', the questions were formulated using the three pillars of integrity, i.e. responsiveness, equity and transparency:

'What limits you most...

To respond to the expectations from the community?'

To take care of every student/patient according to their specific needs?'

To share information on decisions and actions with the community?'

For the 'solutions', the questions referred to the level at which the solution can be implemented, as well as the role that external actors can play in supporting these processes:

'What (more) can be done....

External: To improve the interface between citizens and duty-bearers

Internal: At the level of the school

Internal: At the individual level (duty-bearer)

By the government

By other external actors such as the media

By the CSOs/NGOs sector

...to improve the integrity of duty-bearers?'

Participation

Regarding participation, the data collection tools included **specific** questions in order to:

- Assess the current levels of citizens' engagement;
- Assess the value that duty-bearers give to citizen participation and the areas where they think it would be most beneficial;
- Get insights into duty-bearers' expectations from citizen-centered accountability mechanisms.

3 Methodology – activity per activity

Based on the principles outlined above, a data collection and analysis framework was developed and is provided in Annex 1. It is summarised, activity per activity, in this chapter. Figure 2 below displays the different phases of the research, as well as the respective activities and Intermediary Reports (IR).

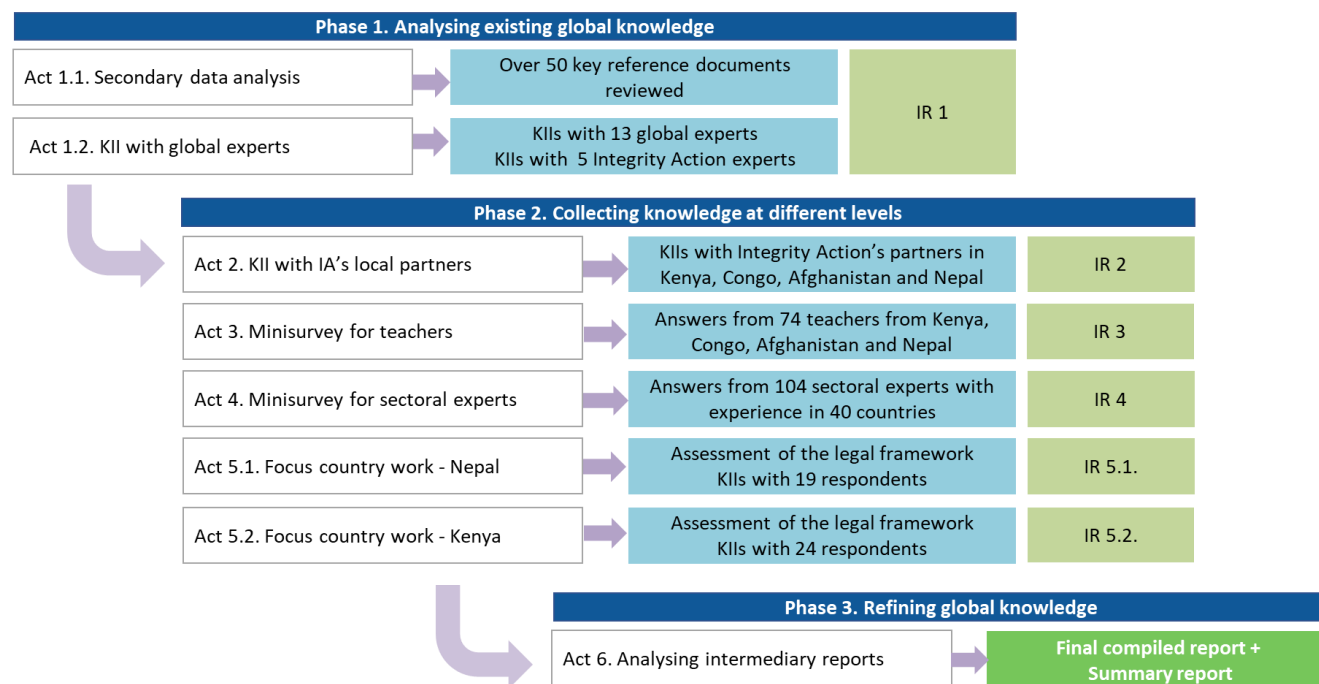


Figure 2. From global to country: different levels for data collection and analysis.

3.1 Phase 1. Analysing existing global knowledge

Objectives

The analysis of existing global knowledge consisted of a secondary data analysis (Activity 1.1.) and KIIs with experts at global level (Activity 1.2.). The main objectives of these activities were:

- To deduce a preliminary list of conditions that can influence duty-bearers to act with integrity and get insights into how these conditions vary with the country context and sectors (RQ 1.1.; RQ 1.2. and RQ 1.3.);
- To deduce a preliminary list of good practices or promising approaches that can help create or strengthen the conditions and get insights into the extent to which the success of these approaches vary with the context (RQ 2.1. and RQ 2.2.).

Methodology

For the secondary data analysis, over 50 key reference documents on the three sectors of focus (education, health, and WASH) were reviewed, including synthesis and systematic reviews on accountability from international organizations and research institutions, programme documentation from international organizations, information on a variety of integrity tools, and articles from specialized media. It is important to highlight that the literature review cannot be considered to be comprehensive as it did not include all information published and was intentionally biased towards documents directly or indirectly related to social accountability.

Respondents and outputs

Thirteen global experts and five team members from Integrity Action responded to a set of questions. Global experts were selected based on their experience on integrity in at least one of the focus sectors². Some were interviewed via online video conferencing platforms. Others responded in writing. Annex 2 provides the question guide for these KIIs. This was adapted to each group of experts depending on the sector of expertise. Questions were mainly **open-ended** and **general**, giving an open floor experience sharing. Annex 3 provides the list of the experts interviewed.

The analysis of conditions and approaches resulting from Phase 1 is compiled in IR 1. Annex 4 provides the list of the conditions resulting from Phase 1 and the pillars of integrity each condition influences most, as well as the main categories of approaches identified.

3.2 Phase 2. Collecting knowledge at different levels

In this section, the specific objectives, methodology and outputs are detailed, activity per activity. The results of the combined analysis of the activities' outputs are summarised in chapter 4 and 5.

Activity 2. KIIs with Integrity Action's partners

Objectives

KIIs with Integrity Action's partners targeted partners from the SHINE³ programme. These KIIs had two main purposes:

- To get inputs on the research questions and capture country variability; more specifically:
 - To get insights into country specificities (legal and institutional framework), and country variability of the main conditions (RQ 1.2.);
 - To validate and/or identify good practices or promising approaches that can help create or strengthen the conditions influencing duty-bearers' integrity (RQ 2.1.);
 - To get feedback on citizen-centred accountability approaches (RQ 2.3.);
- To ask their support to channel the minisurvey to teachers they worked with (Activity 3).

Methodology

These KIIs were carried out via phone or using online video conferencing platforms, either in English or in French. The question formulation was flexible and adapted to how the interview was carried out, and the respondent's understanding. In most cases, the interviews started by a discussion on the country context e.g. general conditions linked to the legal or institutional framework, or common conditions in place in most schools. From there, the discussion would often move towards the challenges faced by duty-bearers. Integrity Action's partners were then asked to share their views on possible solutions to improve duty-bearers' integrity and to share their experience with citizen-centred accountability approaches such as Integrity Action's. Annex 5 provides the question guide for the KIIs with Integrity Action's partners. This was adapted depending on the flow of the conversation. Annex 6 provides a list of the people interviewed.

Respondents and outputs

Team members from Integrity Watch (Afghanistan), CEDEJ (Democratic Republic of the Congo – the DRC), Kesho (Kenya), CAHURAST (Nepal) and Youth Initiative (Nepal) were interviewed. Each KII took

² Global experts were selected from the research team's network and recommendations of the steering group members and Integrity Action.

³ <https://integrityaction.org/what-we-do/initiatives/students-acting-for-honesty-integrity-and-equality>

SHINE is an Integrity Action programme running from January 2017 to December 2021, which has supported over 11,000 school students to identify and solve integrity problems in their schools. Within this programme, 500 *Integrity Clubs* have been established in secondary schools by Integrity Action's partner organisations in Afghanistan, the DRC, Kenya, Nepal, and the occupied Palestinian territory.

about one hour. The findings from these KIIs are provided in IR 2. For Kenya and Nepal, the data collected was then triangulated with the findings from the focus country work (Activity 5).

Activity 3. Minisurvey for teachers⁴

Objectives

The objectives of the minisurvey for teachers were to:

- Get teachers' views on the relevance and the relative importance of the conditions from Phase 1 (RQ 1.1.);
- Assess the country variability of the extent to which teachers are currently able to work with integrity and the relative importance of the conditions (RQ 1.2.);
- Capture the current practices around participation (RQ 2.3.);
- Get feedback on the level where teachers think interventions are most needed (RQ 2.2.);
- Get teachers' views on what more could be done at school level and by the government to help them work with more integrity (RQ 2.1.).

Methodology

The minisurvey questions can be found in Annex 7. They were designed following the principles described in section 2.2. and as detailed in the data collection and analysis framework in Annex 1.

The minisurvey started by a set of questions to capture teachers' profile. This included: country, gender, age group, position, as well as type and location of the school. The next questions were then structured in three parts: the 'problems', the 'solutions' and specific questions on participation.

For the 'problems', to get a sense of the **initial** situation, teachers were first asked to self-assess the extent to which their school⁵ is currently able to:

Respond to the expectations from the community (Q7⁶);

Serve every student according to their specific needs (Q9);

Share information on decisions and actions with the community (Q11).

The score range to select from was from 1 (never) to 5 (always). Teachers were then asked to reflect on what limits them most to be responsive (Q8), equitable (Q10) and transparent (Q12). Using **multiple-choice** questions, they were asked to select a maximum of three answers among a choice of six⁷. The choice of answers for each pillar was designed based on the conditions that influence each specific pillar most (As per Annex 4). The answers would appear in a random order to avoid biases.

For the 'solutions', teachers were asked to share their experience and views on what more could be done to help them work with more integrity, at the school level and by the government, using **open-ended** questions.

Regarding participation, while some answers to the previous questions would already give a feeling on the value that teachers give to participation, the minisurvey included two **specific** and **multiple-choice** questions to evaluate the current levels of citizens' engagement and assess the teachers' opinion on the type of activities where citizen participation is/would be considered most useful.

⁴ This minisurvey was initially intended for both teachers and health workers that have been part of one of Integrity Action's projects (VOICE or SHINE). However, Kenya is the only country where Integrity Action has worked (indirectly) in HCF (VOICE) and due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it was hard to access these health workers. It was therefore agreed to only target teachers from countries of the SHINE programme (on education), i.e. Kenya, the DRC, Nepal and Afghanistan.

⁵ The questions purposely referred to 'the school' and not 'you', to avoid making teachers feel that they could be blamed for a low score and to highlight that 'integrity' should be a shared responsibility.

⁶ These numbers refer to the coding used in the minisurvey. Please refer to the respective annexes.

⁷ The condition 'support from government institutions' was not included as a possible answer for each pillar, but as a separate question to harvest more detailed information on what support is actually expected from these institutions (see below). Condition 'incentives' and condition 'salary and employment benefits' were combined.

Channels for sharing the minisurvey for teachers

The minisurvey was translated to the most appropriate languages for the target teachers (French for the DRC, Dari for Afghanistan, Nepali for Nepal and English for Kenya) and was shared as a link to an online form (Kobo toolbox). Depending on the country, the data was collected in different ways:

- In the DRC, CEDEJ team shared the minisurvey via WhatsApp to some teachers. Other teachers that do not have an internet connection filled a paper version. This was then scanned and shared with the research team for entry;
- In Afghanistan, due to lack of internet and smart phone access, the Integrity Watch team made phone calls to the teachers and filled the online forms on their behalf;
- In Nepal, the minisurvey was shared on SHINE Facebook groups and in WhatsApp groups by CAHURAST and Youth Initiative teams;
- In Kenya, the minisurvey was shared via WhatsApp to some teachers. To reach teachers who did not have internet access, the Kesho team carried out interviews via the phone and entered the information in the online forms on their behalf.

Respondents and outputs

74 teachers responded to the minisurvey: 13 from Nepal, 24 from the DRC, 21 from Afghanistan and 16 from Kenya. Only 23% were female. The respondents' profile is provided in Annex 6.

For the self-assessment questions and for the **multiple-choice** questions on the most limiting factors for each pillar of integrity (conditions) as well as for participation, a global analysis was done (all answers from all countries), as well as an analysis disaggregating the results per country, gender, age group, position in the school, type of school, and location of the school.

Regarding the solutions that can be implemented at school level or by the governmental authorities, the answers were clustered into categories, using the findings from Phase 1 as a starting point. The full analysis of the results from the minisurvey for teachers is provided in IR 3. The results from the self-assessment are presented in graphics in Annex 16; results on the most limiting conditions are presented in graphics in Annex 17 (comparing experts' and teachers' answers) and in Annex 18 (disaggregated per country). Annex 20 displays some graphs from the results on participation, disaggregated per country).

Activity 4. Minisurvey for sectoral experts

The minisurvey for sectoral experts targeted experts and practitioners that have country-specific practical experience in the field of health, education and WASH in institutions, and experience working at the level of frontline duty-bearers. This includes staff members of international organisations, NGO, CSOs, or research centres, as well as consultants or representatives of governmental institutions.

Objectives

The objectives of this minisurvey were to:

- Get experts' views on the relevance and relative importance of the conditions from Phase 1 (RQ 1.1.) and analyse sector variabilities (RQ 1.3.);
- Validate and/or identify good practices or promising approaches (RQ 2.1.);
- Get experts' views on the extent to which the conditions influencing duty-bearers' integrity and/or the approaches' effectiveness vary with the context (RQ 1.2 and RQ 2.2.).

Methodology

The minisurvey questions can be found in Annex 7. They were designed following the principles described in section 2.2. and as detailed in the data collection and analysis framework in Annex 1.

To start with, respondents were asked to indicate in which institution (schools or HCF) and in which country they have the most experience. The survey was then divided into two parts: the 'problems' and the 'solutions'.

For the 'problems', as in the minisurvey for teachers, respondents were asked to share their views on the three most limiting conditions (out of six) for teachers/health workers to be responsive (Q8), equitable (Q9) and transparent (Q10) using **multiple-choice** questions. The answers' choice was similar to the ones in the minisurvey for teachers for purpose of comparison.

Under 'solutions', using a set of **open-ended** questions, respondents could share their experience and ideas on what could be done at different levels: at citizens level, school level, individual level, or by the relevant institutions, CSOs/NGOs and the media or other lobby groups.

Channels for sharing the minisurvey for sectoral experts

The minisurvey for sectoral experts was shared as an online form (Kobo toolbox) and was available in English and French. It was channelled through various health, education and WASH sector networks, as well as to individuals from the research team's networks. The list of networks where the minisurvey was channelled is provided in Annex 10.

Respondents and outputs

A total of 104 experts responded to the minisurvey (33 women and 71 men). 66% of respondents had experience working with schools and 34 % with HCFs, with a combined experience in 40 different countries, with a majority from Africa (74%). Most respondents (70%) worked for NGOs (either national or international) and others worked either for governmental institutions, academia or the private sector. More information on the respondents' profile is provided in Annex 10. Respondents were given the possibility to share their names and details if they wanted to be acknowledged for participating in this research. These are provided in Annex 11.

For the **multiple-choice** questions on the most limiting conditions for each pillar of integrity, a global analysis was done, as well as an analysis per sector and per region. Only the regions where there were more than 20 respondents were selected for analysis, namely: West Africa, East Africa, South Africa, and Asia.

Regarding the **open-ended** questions on the solutions at different levels of intervention, each answer was classified using labels. This labelling enabled quantification of the number of times a condition/ approach/ good practice was mentioned. Then, the more elaborated, innovative or surprising quotes were highlighted. The full analysis of the minisurvey for sectoral experts is provided in IR 4 and key graphs on the most limiting conditions are in graphics in Annex 17 (comparing experts' and teachers' answers) and in Annex 19 (disaggregated per sector).

Activity 5. Focus country work

Objectives

Kenya and Nepal were selected for focus country work. The objectives of the focus country work were to collect in-depth information on the research questions, and more specifically to:

- Assess the current situation in schools and HCFs, the relevance and relative importance of the conditions from Phase 1 (RQ 1.1.) and how it varies per country context and sector (RQ 1.2. and RQ 1.3.);
- Validate and/or identify good practices and /or promising approaches (RQ 2.1.);
- Get feedback from duty-bearers on citizen-centred accountability approaches (RQ 2.3.).

Methodology

In both focus countries, the main tools for data collection consisted of:

- A review of key policy documents;
- KIIs with duty-bearers, representatives from key organisations in the health and education sectors and other integrity initiatives in country, actors working in the construction sector, as well as governmental representatives at the local level.

A question guide was designed to support KIIs with the different stakeholders in focus country and is provided in Annex 13. This was used in both countries. The KIIs were carried out in Nepali, Kiswahili or English, by our native speaker research team members.

With representatives of key organisations, the KIIs followed a similar logic as those for Integrity Action's partners (Activity 2.) and started by discussing the extent of the problem before moving towards solutions, and finally discussing citizen-centred accountability approaches.

For the KIIs with governmental representatives at local level, the focus was mainly to understand the support they currently provide to duty-bearers, whether they think it is adequate, what more could be done and what limits them to do more.

With duty-bearers, the KIIs followed the same logic as the other KIIs, starting with discussions on the challenges and then moving to possible solutions. To capture more detailed information on the **initial** situation in schools and HCFs, a set of **specific** questions for each condition was provided, such as:

Are there specific platforms for engagement of citizens (students, parents, patients)?

If so: which ones? Are these platforms efficient? Who is engaged in which activities?

If not: do you think it would help to engage citizens more? And if so, what would you suggest?

Are parents-students/citizens usually happy or reluctant to be engaged? Please specify.

Not all questions needed to be asked in each interview. Each interview was adapted to the respondent and the direction of the discussion.

Respondents and outputs - Nepal

19 interviews were carried out in total:

- Five with teachers and three with head teachers;
- Four with health workers: one doctor from a primary health care centre and three health workers in charge of health posts;
- Five with sectoral experts from Nepal Red Cross Society, Swiss Red Cross, UNICEF Nepal, Terre des Hommes Nepal and Nepal National Teachers' Association⁸;
- Two with municipal unit coordinators for education and health in two different provinces.

The respondents were selected with Integrity Action's partners (CAHURAST and Youth Initiative) and based on the research team's network. For teachers, the location of the school was considered (two in each district of interventions: Sindhupalchowk, Kathmandu and Lalitpur; and urban/rural locations). Two teachers from other schools supported by Caritas Switzerland in Sindhupalchowk were also interviewed. For the HCF, the respondents were from HCF supported by Terre des Hommes. Due to in-country travel limitation, all interviews were conducted through online video conferencing platforms or through telephone. The details of the people interviewed are provided in Annex 14. The results of the work in Nepal are summarised in IR 5.

Respondents and outputs – Kenya

24 interviews were carried out in total:

- Three with teachers, two with deputy head teachers, four with head teachers and one with a school Board of Management (BoM) chairman;
- Three with health workers;
- Three with governmental representatives at county level;
- Two with sectoral experts from Rural Focus (engineering company in Kenya) and one from Mercy Corps;
- Two with representatives from the Kenya National Union of Teachers⁹;
- Four with construction contractors and artisans.

⁸ The Nepal National Teachers' Association is the most influential organization of teachers in Nepal. It has more than 70,000 members. It is also affiliated or has working relationships with the trade unions and professional organizations in Nepal and around the world. Its main task is to safeguard and protect teachers' rights and ensure integrity and service conditions.

⁹ <https://www.knut.or.ke>

As in-country travel was possible, face to face interviews took place with duty-bearers and governmental representatives in Kericho, Nakuru and Kiambu county. The county selection and respondents was based on where the research team had previously worked and had direct contacts. Only KIIs with representatives from the Kenya National Union of Teachers were carried out by phone. The details of the people interviewed are provided in Annex 15.

3.3 Phase 3. Refining existing knowledge

Findings from the different activities summarised in the IRs have been cleaned, triangulated and analysed as described in the data collection and analysis framework. Results, conclusions and recommendations described in the following chapters are the result of this combined analysis of all the data described above.

4 Research findings

RQ 1. Most important conditions for enabling or inspiring duty-bearers to act with integrity

When asking duty-bearers ‘what can help or motivate you to act with integrity?’, the most common answer was ‘to improve our working environment’. ‘Working environment’ is a broad term encompassing many aspects including employment conditions, physical workplace, and the basic resources to be able to work. It is also linked to internal and external relationships and accountability lines.

‘Better working environment will allow us to solely focus on our duty as teachers and act with more integrity.’

- A teacher in Afghanistan -

Figure 3 summarises the main conditions identified as part of this research, which all contribute to the working environment. They are all important and intrinsic to the system of rights-holders, duty-bearers, and the relevant government institutions or ministries. These have been classified into five categories (‘institutional – internal’, ‘institutional – external’, ‘resources’, ‘social’ and ‘individual’), using an adapted Flower Framework (Scharbatke-Church and Chigas, 2019; Cislighi and Heise, 2018). Each Flower Framework category is a piece of the puzzle that influences duty-bearers’ integrity. The categories overlap, and conditions can interact with each other to influence individual behaviour. It is also notable that these conditions often overlap or interrelate with the approaches that can create or strengthen them.

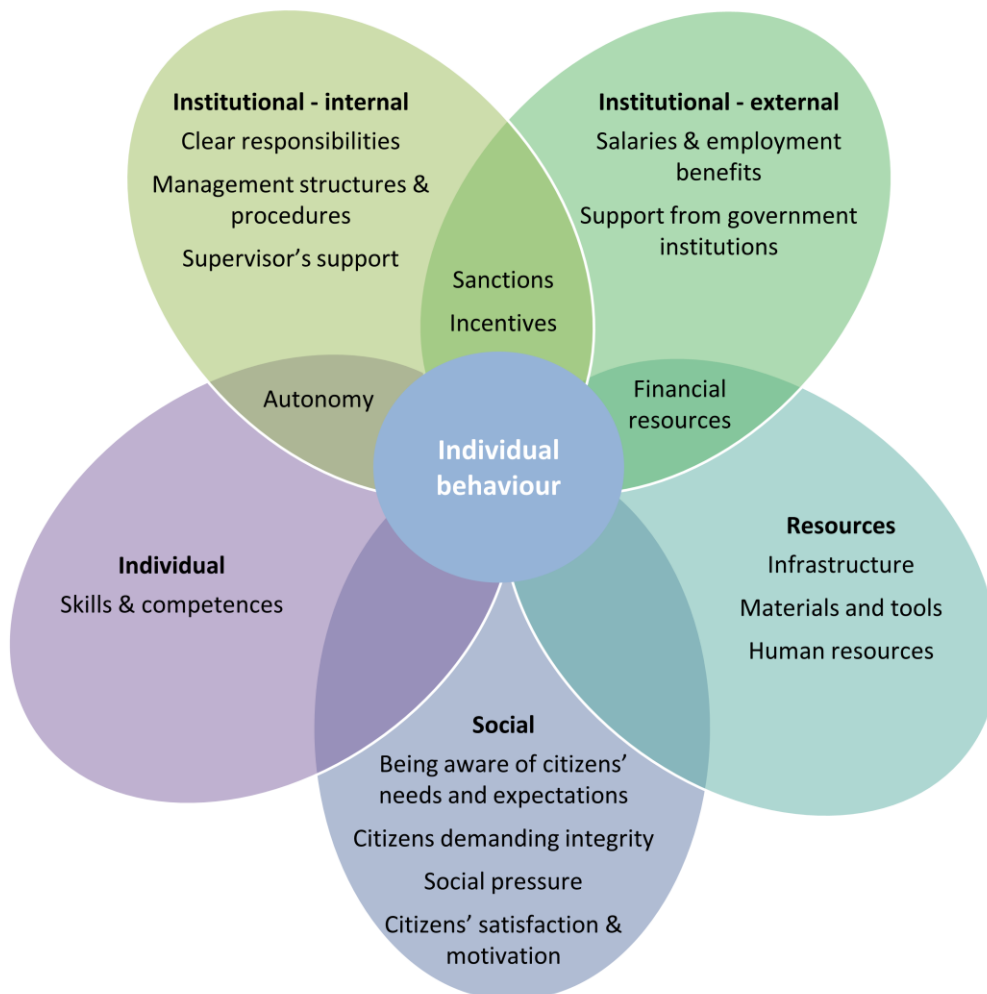


Figure 3. Five categories of conditions that can influence duty-bearers to act with integrity.

Note the term ‘Incentives’, in Figure 3, refers to *positive* incentives (as opposed to sanctions). As incentives can take many different forms, and can be both conditions or approaches, chapter 4 focuses on ‘salary and employment benefits’. Other incentives are described in chapter 5.

Section 4.1. provides more details on the most important conditions for enabling and inspiring duty-bearers to act with integrity. Section 4.2. and 4.3. give some insights into how these conditions respectively vary with the country context and sectors. A summary of the main findings regarding the relative importance of these conditions is provided in section 4.4.

4.1 What conditions can influence duty-bearers’ integrity? (RQ 1.1.)

In this section, each condition is described, including specific examples, general considerations from the literature, as well as a situational analysis from the two focus countries and insights from Integrity Action’s partners. Results from the minisurveys for sectoral experts and duty-bearers relating to each condition are displayed in a text box under each condition’s description. Details of the minisurveys’ results can be found in IR 3 and 4, and in graphs in Annex 16 -20.

It is important to note that, some conditions were clustered into one ‘broader’ condition. Also, while structured as per the Flower Framework categories, the order of the conditions within these categories is arbitrary.

4.1.1 ‘Institutional’ conditions

This section refers to institutional conditions, both internal and external. ‘Institutional – Internal’ conditions mean internal to the school or the HCF. ‘Institutional – external’ conditions refer to conditions depending on the relevant governmental institutions including local government, line ministries and oversight institutions. The role and influence of other external stakeholders such as CSOs/NGOs or the media is discussed in section 5.1.7 and 5.1.8.

Condition 1. Effective sanctions and disciplinary actions

This includes warning letters, denials of promotion, salary cuts, fines, court cases etc.

The importance of sanctions to drive duty-bearers to fulfil their duties with integrity was repeatedly mentioned in the literature (Tsai et al., 2019; WIN, 2016; Woodhouse, 2005) and by the global experts interviewed. Contrary to the other motivating conditions mentioned below, it is the fear of sanctions that ‘motivates’ duty-bearers to act with integrity.

Sanctions can come either from within the institution (internal) or from higher-level institutions (external) and can take different forms. In the education sector, teacher sanctions based on students’ test scores or evaluations are increasingly popular, but have had multiple negative consequences for instruction, learning and equity (UNESCO, 2017). Reputational costs can also be seen as a particular type of sanctions (Grandvoinet et al., 2015), and may even be more sustainable in the long-term than monetary ones (expert interviewed). This is linked to the condition ‘social pressure’ below.

For sanctions to be effective, a certain degree of transparency is required, including clearly stipulated sanctions for corrupt acts (Baez Camargo and Stahl, 2016), mechanisms to implement these sanctions (Tsai et al., 2019), and especially enforcement of sanctions (McGee and Gaventa, 2011; Baez Camargo and Stahl, 2016; WIN, 2016). The existence of independent regulatory agencies and audits institutions can also make sanction mechanisms more effective (Barreto-Dillon et al., 2019; Andrés et al., 2013; WIN, 2016). However, formal grievance systems generally imply long procedural processes and sometimes high costs (e.g. court litigation), leading to citizens being often reluctant to use them (global experts interviewed).

Results from the minisurveys¹⁰

Response from experts: Experts rarely selected 'lack of sanctions' as a condition limiting duty-bearers to act with integrity (ranked 5 or 6 out of 6, depending on the integrity pillar).

Response from teachers: For teachers, 'lack of sanctions' seems to be the condition that limits them the least in any of its three integrity pillars.

When it comes to solutions, one teacher in Nepal suggested to put in place sanctions at the level of a school and to find ways to address the issue of impunity. Another teacher added that sanctions should be the same for all and 'should not be influenced by politics or other factors'. Teachers from other countries did not mention 'sanctions' as a condition that could help or motivate them to work with more integrity.

Condition 2. Salary and employment benefits

Salary and employment benefits is a formal incentive mostly determined by the country legal and regulatory framework (external). Benefits include leave, health insurance, transport or house allowance, housing, career promotions, salary bonuses and employment security.

Decent salary is frequently cited as one of the main conditions to influence duty-bearers to be more responsive at work (Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015; and global experts interviewed). This is actually a basic requirement for any duty-bearers to be able to perform her/his duties. It is key to mitigate situations where staff look for alternatives to sustain their livelihoods, for example choosing to work in the private sector or engaging in irregular activities, such as charging citizens for services that are intended to be free (Hutchinson et al., 2019).

'It is important to ensure a "living wage" to health workers. If this cannot be guaranteed due to national health policy limitations, ensure that a set of secondary incentives (e.g. career prospects) are clear and adhered to.'

- A health expert from South Sudan -

Additional employment benefits are incentives that can also help to increase motivation of duty-bearers (global experts interviewed). As mentioned by Integrity Action's partner **in the DRC**, this can be particularly needed when salary is low and/or not paid timely, or in remote or insecure areas (global expert interviewed).

Depending on whether these employment benefits are accessible to all, or provided based on other factors (performance, years of experience, attendance), they can have either positive or negative consequences. In some cases, for example, employment benefits provided for public servants such as employment security and access to pension, can negatively impact the quality of the services provided, as some duty-bearers can stay in public jobs for these benefits despite low performance or no attendance (global expert interviewed).

In Kenya, duty-bearers did not discuss their salary, but complained about the lack of employment benefits. In the health sector, the unequal distribution of employment benefits was highlighted.

In Nepal, it was reported that salaries of teachers in public schools were very low compared to those in private schools, and that employment benefits were limited. Interestingly, health workers did not complain about salaries being low (maybe because the health sector in Nepal is based on a culture of voluntarism, especially at local level).

¹⁰ The results from the **multiple-choice** questions on the most limiting conditions to act with integrity from the minisurveys for teachers and experts are provided in graphs in Annex 16 - 20. Regarding the solutions put forward by teachers or experts, they are detailed in IR 3 and IR 4.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts and teachers: ‘Lack of incentives’ is the most important condition limiting duty-bearers to respond to the expectations from the community according to both teachers and experts.

The need for higher salary and better employment benefits was also the most mentioned ‘solution’ by teachers: 18 teachers in the DRC, 16 in Afghanistan, six in Kenya, and three in Nepal (indirectly). The need to receive the salary on time was also mentioned by one teacher in Afghanistan. Specific employment benefits mentioned that would be motivating include provision of housing, access to the national social security system, retreats, medical systems and credits. One teacher in Nepal referred to the need to ‘get access to services and facilities normally allocated to civil servants’. Similarly, in Kenya, two teachers suggested ‘promoting teachers on a regular basis instead of having to wait more than 5-10 years’.

Condition 3. Clear roles and responsibilities

A key condition for duty-bearers to be able to fulfil their duties with integrity is that these are clear to them, their colleagues, and their supervisors but also to right-holders. Clear roles and responsibilities helps clarifying mutual expectations and allows everyone (duty-bearers and right-holders) to know who they can refer to for each specific demand (global experts interviewed). It also promotes team spirit, transparency and accountability (Tsai et al., 2019; Westhorp et al., 2014) and can lead to a better management of the available resources (Otieno, 2012; global experts interviewed). The lack of it can lead to communication problems amongst peers or with managers, low responsiveness or arbitrary recruiting processes (WIN, 2019a).

For roles and responsibilities to be clear, they first need to be outlined in written form and include lines of supervision and accountability (Albisu, 2019; Barreto-Dillon et al., 2018), therefore requiring ‘clear management structures and internal procedures’ (condition below). Clear roles and responsibilities can also help clarify the level of ‘autonomy’ of a duty-bearer and their relationship with management (linked to condition 6, ‘support from direct supervisor’).

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts: Experts very rarely selected ‘unclear responsibilities’ as a condition limiting duty-bearers to respond to the community’s expectations (ranked last).

Response from teachers: Teachers commonly cited ‘unclear responsibilities’ as an important condition limiting them to be responsive (ranked 3 out of 6).

Condition 4. Clear management structure and internal procedures

Management structures refer to how the hierarchy and the authority is organised within an institution, from which accountability and communication lines are derived. It also includes the levels and platforms where decisions are made. Management structures exist in any public institutions. They are key to define the level of ‘autonomy’ of a duty-bearer as well as the internal accountability lines and therefore the level of support that can be expected from the direct supervisor (see conditions ‘autonomy’ and ‘support from direct supervisor’). Management structures also define the role of citizens in the management of the institution, and the platforms for engagement.

For management structures to be efficient, clear internal procedures are required. Internal procedures are internal documentations that outline internal processes, rules and regulations and operating protocols. It provides duty-bearers with the information on how to perform their duties, including their ‘roles and responsibilities’ (see condition above). They help facilitate consistency and standardisation of the quality of the services provided, resulting to reduced work effort, along with

improved comparability, credibility, and legal defensibility (WIN, 2019b). They also help ensure accessibility and transparency of information and help minimise risks of miscommunication and non-transparent activities. Examples include job descriptions, ToRs, code of conduct, guidelines, documentation and reporting processes, tariffs for specific services, concrete plans and budgets. Feedback mechanisms are specific types of procedures. Together, management structures and internal procedures provide the framework in which a duty-bearer can operate.

In Kenya, all schools have a BoM¹¹. Compared to the previously called ‘school committee’, the BoM is composed of more educated community representatives and elites¹². BoM meetings were reported to be common and regular (especially in schools where there are on-going infrastructure projects). Parents are mainly engaged through a Parents/Teachers Association (PTA). For information sharing, teachers interviewed reported using a wide variety of methods including notice boards, letters to parents, school diaries, report books, announcements in parades or in the classroom. Students are also sometimes sent home with written or verbal information to take to their parents. Most schools have suggestion boxes and complaint register books, but these are not really used.

HCFs in Kenya are also managed by a BoM¹³ that meets four times a year or when the need arises. For citizens’ engagement, HCFs conduct regular public general meetings. Most HCFs also have a phone number displayed on the information board or on the wall and an information desk with a complaint register book. These information desks can sometimes be a very simple structure, such as one chair and a desk outside.

In Nepal, most schools have a School Management Committees¹⁴ (SMC) and a PTA as official platform for parents’ engagement. In addition, each school also has a social auditing committee made of teachers and parents, in charge of auditing yearly expenses and income.

Each HCF is managed by a ‘Health Facility Operation and Management Committee¹⁵’. This committee holds monthly meetings. Each HCF also has a formal structure called the ‘Quality Assurance Team’ responsible for overseeing and ensuring services quality. When it comes to citizens’ engagement, annual public general meetings are held for information dissemination.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts: According to experts, the ‘lack of platform for dialogue’ is the most limiting condition for duty-bearers to be able to share information on decision and actions with the community. Experts also selected ‘unclear protocols and procedures’ as the second most limiting condition for duty-bearers to be able to share information.

Response from teachers: The ‘lack of platform for dialogue’ was selected as the second most limiting conditions towards transparency. ‘Unclear protocols and procedures’ seems to have a medium importance as a limiting condition for teachers to be able to share information (ranked 3 out of 6).

¹¹ This is a new management structure for schools as per the Kenya Comprehensive School Health Implementation Handbook (2018). It was set up to replace the previously called ‘school committee’ that used to be composed of mainly parents (and the head teacher). The BoM can set up sub-committees with different responsibilities. In addition to the usual finance, audit or academic sub-committees, possible others are the Human Rights and students’ welfare sub-committee, and the discipline, ethics and Integrity sub-committee. However, the first one is rarely established, and the second one mainly focuses on discipline.

¹² It is composed of two direct nominees of the patron (each school in Kenya is linked to a sponsoring institution, often a church). The patron is a responsible person from this institution), two representatives of parents, the head teacher, one teacher elected by the teaching staff, and two other elected members.

¹³ BoM is composed of youth representatives, ward administrator, chief, nurse in charge, women representative, people with special needs representative and village representatives.

¹⁴ It is usually composed of composed of teachers, parents, social workers, educators, and donors.

¹⁵ It is chaired by the ward chairperson (people’s elected ward chief; ex-officio). Its member secretary is also ex-officio, and is the concerned HCF in-charge. The team normally is comprised of seven members including social elite and citizens, representatives of health workers, local teachers (especially in rural areas, as they are socially respected and also considered as educated persons) and representatives from local trade and commerce committee (Udhyog Banijya Samiti).

Condition 5. Autonomy

This condition is at the intersection between the categories ‘institutional – internal’ and ‘individual’. It refers to duty-bearers’ level of responsibility and influence in decision-making.

Being involved in decision-making processes related to their work (rather than just being informed) can have a positive impact on duty-bearers’ motivation and ownership over decisions made (global experts interviewed). It is empowering towards supervisors, peers and the community at large, and can inspire duty-bearers to act as role models. A certain degree of autonomy also enables duty-bearers to cope with unpredictable situations (Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015; Barreto-Dillon, 2018). In other cases, however, it may lead to misuse of power and temptation to engage in untransparent behaviours.

‘Clear roles and responsibilities’ as well as ‘clear management structures and procedures’ (see conditions above) are key to define and frame the level of autonomy of a duty-bearer. Depending on the level of autonomy, the ‘level of support from the direct supervisor’ can vary (see condition below).

In Nepal and Kenya, duty-bearers did not directly express the need to get more responsibilities or be more autonomous. However, what came out is the need for more trust and respect.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from teachers: There was no specific answer choice to assess the extent to which the level of autonomy of duty-bearers was limiting them to act with integrity¹⁶. However, regarding ‘what can be done at different levels to help or motivate teachers to act with integrity’, teachers sometimes referred to the need to get more responsibilities, to take part in decision-making and get more trust from the management. One teacher in Kenya highlighted that school management should ‘allow teachers to give their views’.

Condition 6. Support from direct supervisor

This includes trust, guidance, advice, encouragement, constructive feedback, etc.

At the internal level, support from direct supervisors and an institutional commitment towards integrity are key inspiring conditions for duty-bearers to fulfil their duty with integrity (Barreto-Dillon, 2018). These also lead to a good team spirit, friendlier working environment and better internal communication (Barreto-Dillon, 2019). Indeed, governance is at the heart of many challenges in the education and health sectors in developing countries, despite the common mistake of framing such challenges as technical ones (Honig and Pritchett, 2019).

‘More constructive communication and more regular meetings between teachers and the management will help us achieve the vision and goals of the school.’

- A teacher in Kenya -

A good supervisor should be able to provide the right balance between support and delegation of responsibilities (not undermining the autonomy of the teacher/health worker). Encouragement, rewards for good work are examples of positives that can be initiated by the direct supervisor and that have a strong potential to motivate duty-bearers (see section 5.1.1.).

As already mentioned, ‘clear management structures and procedures’ are key to clarify for both the duty-bearer and her/his direct management, the type of support that can be provided. It also depends on the specific ‘roles and responsibilities’ and the level of ‘autonomy’ of the duty-bearer.

¹⁶ The reason is that it would have been quite similar to the option ‘unclear roles and responsibilities’ (‘It is not my responsibility’ with ‘I am not sure whose responsibility it is’, were combined under ‘unclear responsibilities’).

In Kenya, most teachers interviewed mentioned the need to improve the working relationship between teachers and school management, and particularly the level of trust and respect.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from teachers and experts: ‘Lack of guidance from manager’ was sometimes mentioned by experts and teachers as a condition limiting duty-bearers to share information on decisions and actions with the community (ranked 4 out of 6).

Condition 7. Support from government institutions

This includes accountability and responsiveness of institutions directly managing the services in question, for example to address queries from individual schools/HCFs, as well as to provide technical or financial support. These institutions are the direct counterparts for the frontline duty-bearers. In most cases, this is referred to as the local government, but it can change depending on the level of decentralisation and the sector.

Relevant government institutions can also play an important role in influencing the conditions under the ‘resources’ category, including ‘financial resources’. They can also facilitate relationships and accountability between duty-bearers and rights-holders (Westhorp, 2014).

‘First, the government should give value to teachers. All teachers and head teachers should have full authority in their schools.’

- A teacher in Afghanistan -

Demonstrating government commitment to enhance public integrity also inspires duty-bearers to act with transparency and inclusiveness (OECD, 2017; Otieno, 2012; Westhorp et al., 2014).

Supreme Audit Institutions (SAIs) also have a powerful role in holding public sector institutions to account. However, their linkage with citizens’ engagement is often quite weak and they can suffer from political pressure that may affect their independency (WIN, 2016; Mendiburu, 2020; IBP and INTOSAI, 2020)

In Kenya, the lack of responsiveness and accountability from the county government was mentioned to be a challenge. Most nurses interviewed reported that their supervisors at sub-county level are supposed to come at least four times in a year, but they come at most twice per year.

In Nepal, teachers and health workers had reservations regarding the support they currently get from the municipality and wish it could be more.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts and teachers: There was purposely no answer choice in the **multiple-choice** questions to assess the extent to which the lack of support from the relevant institutions limits duty-bearers to act with integrity. For teachers, the risk was that most teachers would have selected it. To get more constructive perspective on this condition, there was a **specific open-ended** question: ‘What (more) can be done by the local or national government to help or motivate teachers/health workers to act with more integrity?’. Overall, the need for more support from these institutions was one of the most mentioned solutions. More information is provided in chapter 5.1.6.

Condition 8. Financial resources¹⁷

This condition is at the intersection between the category ‘institutional – external’ and ‘resources’. It is mostly determined by the country legal and regulatory framework (external) and highly influences the conditions under the ‘resources’ category below.

Adequate budget allocation is a pre-condition to ensure that the school or HCF is adequately staffed, has the required infrastructure (and is able to maintain it) and operates with the needed materials. While it is a condition that concerns the school or the HCF as a whole, the lack of it can negatively influence the working environment and the individual duty-bearers (global experts interviewed).

‘The lack of funds for maintenance means that a broken window sometimes takes a year to get addressed by the government.’

- Integrity Action’s partner in Afghanistan -

Integrity Action’s partner **in Afghanistan**, for example, referred to how the lack of funds and budget allocation from the government can open doors for integrity issues and can also affect their reputation and the relationships between the teachers and the community.

Also key is a certain degree of autonomy by the institution to decide how to use the allocated funds. This can influence duty-bearers’ ability to be responsive.

On that, Integrity Action’s partners in **the DRC** explained how the reform of 2018 towards Free Primary Education negatively influenced the financial autonomy of schools. Not only did it have a negative impact on teachers’ salary, but also on the overall relationship and accountability between the school stakeholders and the parents. Indeed, it was reported that when parents used to pay the tuition fees, they were more engaged in schools’ activities, and in turn, teachers felt more accountable to parents.

‘When schools’ budget depended on the parents’ tuition fees, the school stakeholders would feel more accountable towards parents. Now, they have to ‘struggle’ with unclear and irregular funds from the government. Parents, also, feel less engaged.’

- Integrity Action’s partner in the DRC -

In Kenya, the lack of budget seems to be a major challenge in both schools and HCFs. Most teachers mentioned that the allocated funds are not enough to cover for the basic school needs. It was also reported that, since the introduction of Free Primary Education, parents are no longer willing to contribute financially to support the school. Similarly, in the health sector, basic public health is supposed to be free of charge since the new Constitution (2010). However, due to lack of budget, public HCFs are only able to provide basic medicines and treatments. Complicated cases need to be referred to other bigger and private hospitals.

In Nepal, approved budget lines from the municipal governments were reported to be just enough for management costs (staff salaries and basic needs) so that spending is to be made strictly as per the approved budget lines, leaving little room for unforeseen costs.

Results from the minisurveys

Same as for ‘salary and employment benefits’ or ‘support from government institutions’, there was purposely no specific answer choice to assess the extent to which the lack of financial resources is perceived as a limiting condition. As it is indisputably a pre-condition, it might have overshadowed the other conditions.

¹⁷ This condition was first considered to be a pre-condition and was therefore not highlighted in the list of conditions. However, from the findings of this research, we realised that it might still be important to mention it and to unpack it.

4.1.2 'Resources' conditions

Conditions under the 'resources' category are internal conditions, although they highly depend on decisions and financial allocations from external stakeholders such as governmental institutions or NGOs (Westthorp et al., 2014 and global experts interviewed), as well as the 'financial resources' of the school or HCF.

These 'resources' conditions can be considered as basic requirements for any duty-bearer to be able to perform her/his duties, and to be responsive and to serve every citizen without preferences (Hutchinson et al., 2019; Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015; Tsai et al. 2019). They are also essential to provide a good working environment, and can increase the level of respect from the community (global experts interviewed).

'We need enough financial resources in schools so that teachers do not have to go into their pockets or ask parents to cater for the school' needs.'

- A teacher in Kenya -

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts: The three most limiting conditions for duty-bearers to be able to take care of everyone according to their specific needs were the 'resources' conditions: 'lack of materials and tools', 'lack of adequate infrastructure' and 'workload being too high'.

Response from teachers: Teachers also mentioned the 'lack of materials and tools' and 'lack of adequate infrastructure' as the two most limiting conditions for them to be able to take care of every student according to their specific needs. Comparatively, 'high workload' seems to be less limiting (ranked 4 out of 6).

Condition 9. Adequate physical infrastructure

This includes consultation and treatment rooms, classrooms, office space, WASH facilities etc. These are indispensable for duty-bearers to be able work. The lack of it can have a strong impact on the quality of the services provided, and on duty-bearers' motivation.

Clear mechanisms for maintenance of these facilities are also essential (WIN, 2016; Westthorp et al., 2014; Leclert et al., 2018a, and global experts interviewed). This is linked to the conditions 'clear roles and responsibilities' and 'clear management structures and procedures'.

In Kenya, most teachers and health workers reported lacking basic physical infrastructures to perform their work, including basic WASH facilities (mainly latrines and handwashing facilities). They did however acknowledge that the overall situation in the country has improved since devolution¹⁸. Yet there remain issues with the maintenance of existing infrastructure.

In Nepal, teachers and health workers reported having adequate basic physical infrastructure. The main issue was regarding the level of WASH services: problems with water quality, high students/toilet ratio, poor hygiene practices and issues of cleaning¹⁹ and maintenance.

¹⁸ This was mainly thanks to the County Development Fund, which is a financing mechanism from the county government for infrastructure development.

¹⁹ The issue of the toilets not being cleaned in public institutions seem to be linked to social and cultural norms. Support staff mostly belong to the higher caste (Brahmin/Chhetri) and do not think it is their duty to clean toilets.

Condition 10. Adequate materials and tools

This includes medical instruments, medicine, textbooks, furniture, computers, internet connection, transport, water etc. Scarcity of valuable resources can lead to preferential treatment of or favours to some patients or students (resulting from 'social pressure' or corrupt offers) or illegal distribution of materials through informal networks (Hutchinson et al., 2019).

The Textbook Count project²⁰ is an interesting example from the Philippines where monitoring of procurement and delivery of textbooks was very effective in holding duty-bearers and suppliers accountable and making textbooks cheaper, of better quality and timely delivered (Majeed, 2011; Acheron and Isaac, 2016).

In Kenya, teachers reported that materials and tools are often lacking, especially desks, black boards, textbooks and stationery, and that most schools had no libraries, book corners or book boxes. However, all acknowledged the recent improvements resulting to devolution and thanks to the Laptop Programme²¹ from the national government initiated in 2013. Regarding the HCFs, not all newly constructed HCFs have been properly equipped. Linked to the COVID-19 pandemic, all health workers mentioned that the lack of protective materials and equipment is a major challenge.

In Nepal, all teachers interviewed mentioned that the quantity of the available reading materials and resources in the school was not enough, despite donations.

Condition 11. Adequate human resources

Sufficient and skilled staff is also a basic requirement, especially toward equity and responsiveness (Hutchinson et al., 2019). This is unfortunately often affected by lack of budget, but also by the quality and quantity of professionals available on the job market, especially when recruitment is done at the local level (Carr-Hill et al., 2016). Skilled staff is linked to condition below 'adequate skills and competence'.

In Kenya, under-staffing in the education sector is a major challenge. While the Free Primary Education Program puts into place the basic right of education for all children, it has also led to congestion in public schools and an increase in the students/teacher ratio (an average of 52 students/1 teacher in the schools interviewed), making it difficult for teachers to give the required attention to each student. This issue has been amplified by the fact that many teachers are retiring but are not being replaced²². In most schools, the BoM has no other alternative but to hire additional teachers that are not always qualified.

'Staff should be hired based on competences rather than based on political or social relations.'

- A teacher in the DRC -

In Nepal, the lack of skilled teachers was an issue mentioned repeatedly. Yet, compared to other countries, the students/teacher ratio is quite low (20/1 in 2019²³). While permanent teaching positions are under the federal government pay roll, temporary positions²⁴ not often being approved by the municipal government due to lack of funds. In the health sector, all health workers mentioned the limited number of health staff compared to the population they need to serve. This seems to be a longstanding issue and an important condition limiting health workers to act with integrity.

²⁰ The Textbook Count project was a nationwide project that took place in the Philippines from 2002 to 2005 to ensure timely procurement and delivery of textbooks to the country's 40,000 public schools.

²¹ This programme aimed to provide electricity and laptops to all primary schools in the country. Almost all schools got power but there are still challenges in the procurement of laptops.

²² In 2020, only 5,000 teachers were employed against a demand of 80,000 teachers.

²³ Global Economy. Business and economic data for 200 countries website https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Nepal/student_teacher_ratio_primary_school/

²⁴ Temporary teachers not being on the government payroll is an issue of high priority currently being taken up by the Nepal National Teachers' Association. The organization demands that all temporary teachers are given a permanent status through internal competition. Various agreements with the government have been signed, but not implemented so far.

4.1.3 'Social' conditions

The conditions under the 'social' category are external conditions strongly linked to the level of citizen participation and the effectiveness of social accountability mechanisms.

Condition 12. Being aware of citizens' needs and expectations

Knowing what right-holders need and expect is the starting point for duty-bearers to deliver services in the public interest (Carr-Hill et al., 2016; Waddington et al., 2020; Kuppens, 2016). There are a number of requirements for this condition to be effective, including all parties being aware of their rights and duties, existence of platforms for engagement, clear procedures for engagement, feedback collection and resolution mechanisms, transparency of information, etc. This is further detailed in chapter 5.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts: Experts gave a medium importance to 'unaware of the expectations from the community' as a limiting condition for duty-bearers' responsiveness (ranked 4 out of 6). Similarly, 'unaware of the specific needs of some individuals' was also given a medium importance as a limiting condition for equity (ranked 4 out of 6).

Response from teachers: Teachers considered that being 'unaware of expectations from the community' as a major limiting condition for them to respond to the expectations from the community (ranked 2 out of 6). 'Unaware of the specific needs' was also considered to be an important limiting condition for teachers to treat everyone with equity (ranked 3 out of 6).

Condition 13. Citizens demanding integrity

Engaging citizens in different activities from management to monitoring has the potential to positively influence the way duty-bearers fulfil their duties (Kuppens, 2016). Particularly noteworthy are cases of citizens defending and monitoring their basic rights, such as maternal health rights (Aston, 2015). Such citizen-driven processes have the potential to effectively increase accountability even in non-democratic regimes (Tsai, 2007).

Citizens demanding integrity can motivate duty-bearers to actually share information and act transparently. It is also key for duty-bearers to become 'aware of citizens' needs and expectations' (condition above).

Duty-bearers may also find answering to these demands inspiring: it is a form of 'social pressure' (see condition below). When duty-bearers address citizens' demand, that can lead to increased 'citizens' satisfaction and motivation' (see condition below), trust and eventually higher demand for the service. However, citizens need to be willing to do so.

In Kenya, on the contrary, most teachers reported that parents are usually happy to be engaged in decision-making processes, as 'this makes them feel important'. However, the issue is that their engagement is not always meaningful.

In Nepal, according to teachers, the interest of parents to take part in engagement platforms is very minimal. They also indicated that PTA meetings are merely a ritual and do not have much value.

'Parents tend to think that what goes on in the school is the sole responsibility of the school.'

- A teacher in Nepal -

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts: Experts gave a medium importance to the fact that ‘the community does not ask for such information’ as a limiting condition for duty-bearers to be able to share information on decision and actions (ranked 3 out of 6).

Response from teachers: According to teachers, the fact that ‘the community does not ask for such information’ is the most limiting condition for them to act transparently.

Condition 14. Citizens’ satisfaction and motivation

‘Citizens’ satisfaction and motivation’ is a new condition was not initially identified that fits under the category ‘social’. Teachers in different countries frequently mentioned that having motivated students highly motivates them to go the extra mile. This can be seen as a positive feedback loop: when students are motivated, teachers become motivated to work with more responsiveness, equity and transparency, which in turn motivates students.

While ‘students’ motivation’ is specific to the education sector, it becomes ‘citizens’ satisfaction and motivation’ when extrapolated to other public services. Satisfied patients or students can directly motivate health workers or teachers as it can lead to promotion, higher demand for the service or increased respect and social recognition (strengthening condition ‘social pressure’). It creates a positive feedback loop where duty-bearers are encouraged to act as role model, which leads to more satisfied patients or students. It can also positively influence citizens’ willingness to participate and cooperate, which, in some ways, links to condition 13 ‘citizens demanding integrity’.

‘When students have a high motivation to learn, teachers become more inspired to teach properly.’

- A teacher in Afghanistan -

In Kenya, teachers acknowledged that, due to high number of students in schools, they tend to focus on children who are well performing, and who have a good personality and show interest. They also highlighted some prevailing challenges concerning students that strongly demotivates them towards acting with integrity. The lack of discipline was the main one. A teacher shared that since corporal punishment is no longer allowed there are increased cases of indiscipline. The issue of students’ absenteeism was also raised (often due to engagement in manual jobs) as well as the lack of interest from parents in the education of their children. Low self-esteem of students is also common, resulting from the lack of a role model at home, lack of support from parents, difficult upbringing, poverty at home, mistreatment, etc.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from teachers: Many teachers from all countries highlighted the importance of student’s motivation and behaviour in motivating them to act with integrity.

Condition 15. Social pressure

Social pressure is a broad term and it can take different forms, and have either a positive or a negative impact on duty-bearers’ integrity.

Social pressure is strongly connected with social norms. Social norms are the mutual expectations held by members of a group about the right way to behave in a particular situation. According to literature, this can greatly influence the way duty-bearers fulfil their work (Scharbatke-Church and Chigas, 2019). Understanding which social norms are important and how they motivate certain behaviours is therefore key for any integrity interventions.

Social pressure can take different forms and lead to positive or negative outcomes in terms of integrity. When social norms promote ethical values, it creates a positive environment where duty-

bearers strive for social recognition and respect from their community. In this case, social pressure motivates duty-bearers to work for the public good (Lieberman et al., 2017; Scharbatke-Church and Chigas, 2019; Baez Camargo and Stahl, 2016; Tsai, 2007; and global experts interviewed). ‘Citizens demanding integrity’ and ‘citizens’ satisfaction and motivation’ are two examples of social pressure that motivate duty-bearers to act with integrity.

However, in some cases, this increased social recognition and the perception of a higher status can result in duty-bearers abusing their power, which can negatively affect outcomes of services (Hutchinson et al., 2019; Baez Camargo and Stahl, 2016).

In other contexts, some social norms can push duty-bearers to deviate from serving everyone equally. Some examples are: encouraging illegal payments for expedited or even regular service, obligations to prioritize care for family members, pressure to participate in social networks or favouritism, bargaining norms, culture of gifts and bribes, establishment of parallel private access to basic services (Scharbatke-Church and Chigas, 2019; Hutchinson et al., 2019; Gaduh et al., 2020; Lieberman et al., 2017).

Global experts interviewed also highlighted that when duty-bearers come from the surrounding community, they are more likely to be influenced by social pressure.

In Kenya, some duty-bearers gave some examples of negative social pressures, including bribing to get special treatment or to be served first exist in all sectors and is considered relatively normal. A health worker also revealed that it is common for relatives to request to get special treatment when they come to a HCF e.g. jumping long queues or asking to see the best doctor. A teacher mentioned that family members, relatives or friends expect preferential treatment for their children at school, such as accessing a school while the student’s grades would not normally be good enough.

‘Social pressure can be so strong that it becomes extremely hard when one works in her/his own locality.’

- A health worker in Kenya -

Results from the minisurveys

Response from teachers and experts: Interestingly, both experts and teachers rarely mentioned ‘social pressure’ as an important limiting condition for duty-bearers to act transparently and with equity.

4.1.4 ‘Individual’ condition

Eventually, integrity of a duty-bearer ‘all comes down to the individuals’. The main condition that came out as influencing duty-bearers’ integrity in the category ‘individual’ is ‘adequate skills and competences’, though social norms and ethical values are important conditions.

Condition 16. Adequate skills and competences

Adequate skills and competences is an essential condition for duty-bearers to be able to provide quality services and work with integrity (Baez Camargo and Stahl, 2016; Waddington et al., 2020). It is linked to condition ‘adequate human resources’ and can also influence condition ‘autonomy’.

In Nepal, some health workers mentioned that it can be challenging to find qualified staff to operate in rural municipalities²⁵. One health worker shared the example of an x-ray machine that was

²⁵ Recruitment of health workers is the responsibility of the municipal government. The municipality can however request support from the federal government to allocate the required qualified staff and deduct this from their budget allocation.

installed two years ago but never used due to lack of skilled personnel to operate it. Health workers in all HCFs reported that the lack of trainings on issues such as cleanliness, handling infectious waste, or management was highly demotivating, especially in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic.

In Kenya, teachers did not mention the issue of skills. They explained that they have gone through formal training and get opportunities to deepen their competences through trainings. Health workers reported that seminars and workshops on technical and managerial topics are organised regularly (by the government or NGOs, and that this is highly motivating.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts: Experts selected 'lack of specific skills' as the second most limiting conditions for duty-bearers to respond to the expectations from the community.

Response from teachers: Contrary to experts, teachers considered 'lack of specific skills' of low importance in limiting them to be responsive (ranked 5 out of 6).

4.2 How do these conditions vary in different country contexts? (RQ 1.2.)

'How do the conditions vary with different country contexts?' covers two aspects: How the influence of these conditions on duty-bearers' integrity varies with the country context, and how the country context influences the extent to which these conditions are in place.

This chapter highlights some findings on both aspects for each Flower Framework category, including the findings from the minisurvey for teachers. In 4.2.4., a deeper analysis on the factors that can influence the conditions is provided.

4.2.1 Context variability of the conditions considered as 'basic requirements'

There is a consensus that (minimal levels of) the 'resources' conditions and the condition 'salary and employment benefits', are basic requirements for any employee to be able to work, and therefore are essential, no matter the context.

What seems to vary most with the country context is the extent to which these conditions are in place, and this is strongly linked to the 'financial resources' of the institution as well as the socio-economic and political status of each country. The findings from the focus country work also highlighted that the extent to which the 'resources' conditions are in place varies with the location of the institutions, with urban schools or HCF being generally better equipped.

The results from the minisurvey for teachers presented below give an idea of the extent to which these basic requirements are in place in the four countries considered (Kenya, Nepal, Afghanistan and the DRC) ²⁶.

'Basic factors do not vary irrespective of socio-economic, political and cultural settings. For instance, take the issues of prompt salary payment, incentives, trainings, basic infrastructure, and general staff welfare; these are basic prerequisite for any worker to function effectively. When these are lacking, it negatively affects the health workers output irrespective of context.'

- A health expert in Nigeria -

²⁶ For the detailed results of the minisurvey for teachers, please refer to IR 3. Graphics on the country variabilities are provided in Annex 18.

Results from the minisurveys - Response from teachers

- In all four countries, teachers considered the ‘lack of infrastructure’ and ‘lack of materials’ as the two most limiting conditions to take care of every student according to their specific needs.
- In all four countries, teachers ranked ‘high workload’ with a medium importance in limiting them to take care of every student according to their specific needs (ranked 4 out of 6). However, when it comes to conditions limiting teachers to be responsive, this was the most limiting condition identified by teachers in Kenya. It was considered of medium importance in Afghanistan and in the DRC (ranked 3 out of 6), and less important in Nepal (ranked 5 out of 6). In Nepal, this might probably be due to the lower students/teacher ratio, compared to the other countries.
- When it comes to the differences between rural and urban schools, the extent to which the ‘resources’ conditions are limiting is almost the same, except for ‘lack of infrastructure’, which is more limiting for schools in rural areas than in urban areas (ranked 1 out of 6 for rural schools and 3 out of 6 for urban schools).
- As mentioned under the condition ‘salary and employment benefits’, the importance of better salary and employment conditions was strongly highlighted by teachers in all four countries.

4.2.2 Context variability of ‘institutional – internal’ and ‘individual’ conditions

Regarding the ‘institutional – internal’ conditions or ‘adequate skills and competences’ (‘individual’ condition), these are enabling conditions and can be seen as the framework for a duty-bearer to be able to work effectively and provide quality services. They are thus important no matter the context. From the findings of the focus country work, the extent to which these conditions are in place seem to vary per institution, depending on a combination of factors, including the commitment of the management to integrity as well as the location of the institution.

‘Worldwide, good salary and adequate working conditions (availability of resources, clear protocols, trainings, safety and security, transparent and strong management, etc.) are enabling conditions that should automatically lead to more integrity.’

- A health expert in Ghana -

Results from the minisurveys - Response from teachers

- Teachers in Nepal, Kenya and the DRC consider ‘unclear responsibilities’ as a very limiting condition (ranked 2 out of 6), while this seems much less limiting for teachers in Afghanistan (ranked 5 out of 6).
- Teachers gave a high importance to ‘unclear protocols’ in limiting them to be transparent in Kenya and the DRC (ranked 2 out of 6), a medium importance in Nepal (ranked 3 out of 6) and a low importance in Afghanistan (ranked 5 out of 6).
- ‘Lack of manager guidance’ seems to be more limiting in Nepal and in the DRC (ranked 2 out of 6) than in Kenya and Afghanistan (respectively ranked 5 and 4 out of 6).
- Regarding ‘sanctions’, teachers from all countries gave it a low importance, no matter the pillar of integrity (ranked either 5 or 6 out of 6), except in Nepal, where teachers considered the ‘sanctions’ of medium importance (ranked 4 out of 6).
- Teachers in Nepal and Afghanistan considered the ‘lack of specific skills’ as one of the most limiting conditions (respectively ranked 1 and 2 out of 6) for them to be able to respond to the expectations from students and parents. For teachers in Kenya and the DRC, this was considered less limiting (respectively ranked 5 and 6 out of 6).

4.2.3 Context variability of the conditions linked to accountability mechanisms

The ‘social’ conditions and the ‘institutional – external’ conditions are linked to the influence of external stakeholders on the duty-bearers and the effectiveness of accountability mechanisms. The extent to which these conditions are in place and their influence on duty-bearers’ integrity is complex and is the result of a combination of intertwined factors, from socio-economic and political to cultural and historical factors, as well as the location of the institution (rural or urban). These are further explained under section 4.2.4.

Results from the minisurveys - Response from teachers

- Teachers from all countries considered being ‘unaware of specific needs’ as an important limiting condition towards equity (ranked either 2 or 3 out of 6). When it comes to responsiveness, being ‘unaware of citizens’ expectations’ was considered the most limiting condition for teachers in Afghanistan, and was less important for teachers in other countries (ranked 3 out of 6 in the DRC, 4 out of 6 in Kenya and 5 out of 6 in Nepal).
- In all four countries, the fact that ‘community do not ask for information’ was considered the most limiting condition towards transparency.
- Regarding ‘social pressure’, teachers in Afghanistan considered it as the second most limiting condition for transparency, while it was given a medium importance by teachers in Kenya and Nepal (ranking 4 out of 6) and a low importance in the DRC (ranked 5 out of 6).
- Lack of ‘platform for dialogue’ is the second most limiting condition in Afghanistan and Kenya. It seems to be less limiting in Nepal and the DRC (ranked 4 out of 6).
- Regarding the location of schools²⁷, being ‘unaware of expectations’ is considered the most limiting condition in rural and peri-urban contexts towards responsiveness, while it is less limiting in urban areas (ranked 4 out of 6). Regarding transparency, teachers in urban areas considered ‘lack of dialogue platform’ as less limiting (ranked 4 out of 6) than teachers in rural and peri-urban areas (ranked 2 out of 6).

4.2.4 Going deeper into country context factors that can influence the conditions

While it is clear that the socio-economic status of a country highly influences the extent to which most of the conditions are in place, this section aims to go beyond and highlight a few factors that might be worth taking into account to better understand the relative importance of these conditions in influencing duty-bearers’ integrity²⁸.

Political commitment to integrity

The level of support that can be expected from relevant governmental institutions, as well as their capacities, reach and legitimacy is highly related to the country regulatory, legal and institutional frameworks that define the sectoral accountability mechanisms (e.g. responsibilities, budget, performance indicators, controls, reporting, etc.) (Waddington et al., 2020; Holland et al., 2012). This will also impact the condition ‘financial resources’ and ‘salary and employment benefits’.

The extent to which citizens’ input is solicited and how duty-bearers value citizen participation is influenced by state structures and processes, and particularly by the government’s priorities and commitment to integrity and human rights (Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015; Lieberman et al., 2017; Westhorp et al., 2014).

²⁷ Analysis of the influence of factors such as location of the school as well as age group and gender of respondents was not disaggregated per country, as the number would be too low to draw any conclusions.

²⁸ Due to the limited number of respondents in the minisurvey for teachers and the lack of background information on Afghanistan and the DRC, it was not always possible to link the results of the minisurveys with the factors described below.

In Nepal, several efforts have been made in recent years to forge a political commitment to accountable and transparent governance. Starting from the Constitution that commits to good governance, accountability and transparency, there is an extensive corpus of laws that promote integrity and direct citizen oversight and participation in public services, as well as strong control institutions such as the national SAI. In schools and HCFs, this is reflected by the multitudes of platforms in place for citizens' engagement. This might explain why the 'lack of platforms for engagement' (for transparency) as well as being 'unaware of citizens expectations' (for responsiveness) was considered comparatively less limiting than in other countries in the minisurvey.

Level of democracy and political history

The level of freedom, civil liberties and political rights in a country has an effect on accountability mechanisms, the level of citizen participation and the level of transparency (Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015; Zuñiga, 2018). In some post-colonial countries people do not view government institutions as legitimate (Scharbatke-Church and Chigas, 2019). Moreover, some of these countries get a large part of their revenues from the private sector and not from citizen taxes, resulting in political agendas that do not prioritize the public good and accountability of duty-bearers towards local communities (Mkandawire, 2001; global experts interviewed).

The attitudes of citizens and duty-bearers toward each other are shaped by factors such as regime type, previous experiences in citizen/duty-bearer interactions and entrenched power structures (Baez Camargo and Stahl, 2016; Zuñiga, 2018; Waddington et al., 2020). These impact social pressure and the extent to which citizens are willing to engage and demand integrity (therefore impacting the conditions 'social pressure', 'citizens demanding integrity', and 'citizens' satisfaction and motivation'). In some cases, hierarchical states may welcome and motivate citizens' engagement as long as it is circumscribed and state-directed, or they may actively repress 'contentious' forms of participation, such as demonstrations or political organizing. Such strong state control may still allow for active engagement of citizens in service delivery, but it is also likely to circumscribe citizens' actions and learning (Brinkerhoff et al., 2009).

Level of decentralization/devolution

The degree to which a given public service is decentralized or devolved has a strong impact on many of the conditions influencing integrity, and particularly on the 'social' and the 'institutional - external' conditions. It affects the level of citizen participation and the value given to it (Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015; Kuppens, 2016), therefore influencing conditions such as 'citizens demand integrity' and 'being aware of citizens' needs and expectations'. It also has an effect on the extent to which and how the local government can (and has the mandate to) support duty-bearers, therefore impacting the condition 'support from government institutions', and potentially the conditions 'financial resources', 'salary and employment benefits', as well as the 'resources' condition.

The effect of decentralization can vary widely. In some cases, the synergies between local governments and their constituents increase, while in others, corruption rises (Albisu, 2019). In countries where decentralization is relatively recent and where engagement platforms are newly established, duty-bearers' motivation/ability to respond to citizens' needs and expectations may still be weak (Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015), or the intention can be there, but not the means. Research also showed that, for public services, decentralisation efforts had a more positive impact in higher income areas and a reverse effect in lower income areas (Carr-Hill et al., 2016; Westhrop et al. 2014).

In Nepal, the two municipal coordinators interviewed acknowledged that they struggle to fulfil their new mandate since the federal government structure was introduced in the 2015 Constitution, and they pointed out their own internal constraints such as inadequate staffing, low resource allocation, small workspaces, unclear responsibilities and lack of communication between government levels. However, they indicated their belief that that these issues would be improved with time.

In Kenya, the devolution initiated in 2012 had a strong impact on the education and health sectors (despite the fact that the education sector is not devolved). A clear positive impact has been on infrastructure development²⁹. Another one has been in terms of creating citizens' engagement platforms in different public sectors and the increased value given to participation by public institutions. Different respondents highlighted this as a positive change, but some mentioned that it has the potential to be misused. Devolution however has led to some negative consequences, especially in terms of skilled human resources in the health sector³⁰. As mentioned by some health workers, the fact that health staff are now recruited at county level has created geographic inequities in the quality of services, as it is hard to get competent staff to work in remote counties. Additionally, the recruitment process is not always transparent, and recruitment based on political affiliation is common. Other challenges since devolution include less opportunities for further education and less transparent and less structured promotion mechanisms.

Collective (vs. individual) societies

Countries with more collective societies are more open to participation and engagement with duty-bearers (Baez Camargo and Stahl, 2016). On the one hand, more collective attitudes are linked with stronger civil societies, although this also depends on citizens' capacities and competences (Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015). On the other hand, this may also strengthen the importance of family or friendship networks and increase clientelism (impacting the condition 'social pressure').

In some cases, communities in countries with a difficult recent history display more energy to work together for 'rising back' (global experts interviewed).

Level of respect

Some global experts interviewed mentioned that the level of respect from the community to professionals in the education and health sector vary country to country and also over time. One respondent indicated that there seems to be more respect towards duty-bearers in the Middle East and Africa than in Latin America. Yet people in Latin America were reported to voice their needs and dare to question decisions more easily.

Employment protections

Baez Camargo and Stahl (2016) highlighted how the protected nature of employment in some countries (e.g. Serbia and Mexico) can limit the effectiveness of citizen participation and feedback mechanisms, and the fair implementation of sanctions and incentives.

Ethnic differences

In some countries, ethnicity and race can impact the relationships between duty-bearers and citizens or even among working colleagues (Lieberman et al., 2017; global experts interviewed), and can especially hinder the extent to which a duty-bearer can work with equity. These can strongly affect the conditions in the 'social' category as well as conditions such as 'autonomy' and 'support from direct supervisor'.

'Health workers should put sentiments aside when dealing with patients, understanding that all human beings are equal regardless to economic status, tribe, religious or racial status.'

- A health expert in Nigeria -

²⁹ This was mainly due to the County Development Fund, which is a financing mechanism for county government for infrastructure development.

³⁰ There was no change in terms of human resources in the education sector as teachers are still under the responsibility of the national government.

Poverty and literacy level

Strongly linked to the socio-economic status of a country, poverty and low literacy levels of citizens can negatively influence the impact of participatory decision-making process (Carr-Hill et al., 2016, Westhrop et.al 2014) and the extent to which engagement is meaningful. As mentioned by a teacher **in Kenya**, parents that are more educated (often living in urban areas) seem to be more interested in the education of their children and make more efforts to ensure that their children perform well. They are also generally more willing to engage constructively in schools' activities and support the school financially.

Fragile contexts

Many of the conditions that need to be in place for duty-bearers to act with integrity can be very distorted in fragile contexts, some key factors include shrunk civic space, perceptions of threat and potential for impunity (Joshi, 2019). In such scenarios, resources are limited or difficult to access, and governance structures are weakened, impacting the level of autonomy of public institutions that rely on public funds, as well as the support that can be expected from relevant government institutions (therefore influencing the conditions under the 'resources' category, as well as 'financial resources' and 'support from government institutions'). Often, informal social networks become key to solve problems for both duty-bearers and citizens (Scharbatke-Church and Chigas, 2019; Hutchinson et al., 2019; global experts interviewed).

Integrity Action's partner **in the DRC** explained that, in addition to low salary, there is also no transparency on who is actually on the government payroll, and even if they are listed, their salary is not always paid, or at least not in a timely fashion. In such fragile context, such as in the DRC, the issues around salary can even more easily open doors for corrupt behaviours.

Integrity Action's partners **in Afghanistan and Kenya** highlighted how, in fragile contexts, security/stability can become an important condition that influence duty-bearers' integrity. Teachers can feel forced to acquiesce to student demands or alter their way of teaching to ensure their own safety when gangs, insurrectionists or other armed groups enter the community.

Rural and urban areas

The research findings in the focus countries as well as the minisurveys highlighted some differences between rural and urban areas. Firstly, in both Kenya and Nepal, the 'resources' conditions are clearly more in place in urban schools than in rural schools. Regarding 'human resources' and 'skills and competence', the challenge to find qualified staff to work in rural municipalities was mentioned **in Nepal**. **In Kenya**, it seems that working in a bigger town is considered as a positive career move for some health workers, and that this is now made more difficult with devolution with the fact that recruitment is done at county level.

When it comes to the 'social' conditions, as reported in the focus country work, 'social pressure' seems to be less impactful in urban than in rural areas, probably due to weaker social capital in urban areas. With regards to the parent/teacher relationship, parents in urban areas are generally more educated, and therefore more aware of the importance of education and more engaged in school activities. In Kenya, platforms for engagement in urban areas were reported to be more active and PTA meetings more constructive. This results in duty-bearers being more aware of the needs and expectations of the community. Parents in urban areas also have more financial means to support the school when needed.

Specific to the health sector, citizens have more options in urban areas when it comes to choosing where they will get treated, and therefore health workers need to perform better to ensure citizens' satisfaction (global experts interviewed).

Other non-context specific factors influencing the conditions for duty-bearers to act with integrity

Gender

There is a longstanding debate on whether men and women behave with different levels of integrity. One of the factors that led some researchers to think that women have more integrity is that they usually experience weaker demands from their families for financial support in comparison to men (Scharbatke-Church and Chigas, 2019). From this research, what came out is that women seem to be less influenced by financial incentives than men and more limited by lack of 'clear roles and responsibilities'.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from teachers: Women were more critical than men on their assessment of the current level of integrity in their school. This is stronger when it comes to sharing information on decisions and actions with the community (transparency). When it comes to the limiting conditions, gender did not have a major influence on teachers' perceptions, only 'lack of incentives' for responsiveness seems to be more limiting for men than women, while women find 'unclear responsibilities' more limiting than men. In terms of transparency, women considered 'unclear protocols' slightly more limiting than men, and men considered 'lack of dialogue platform' slightly more limiting than women.

Age

Only the findings from the minisurvey for teachers could provide an insight on how the conditions might vary with duty-bearers' age.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from teachers: The age of the teachers seems to have little effect on what teachers consider the most limiting conditions to act with integrity. The only differences worth mentioning are:

- For responsiveness, the 'lack of incentives' seems to be less limiting for older teachers (ranked 4 out of 6) than for younger ones (ranked 1 out of 6); while the 'lack of specific skills' is perceived as a more limiting condition for older teachers (ranked 2 out of 6) than for younger ones (ranked 5 out of 6).
- In terms of transparency, the middle age group (35 to 44 years old) does not consider the 'lack of dialogue platform' as a very limiting condition (ranked 4 out of 6), while this was considered the most and second most limiting condition for younger and older colleagues.
- 'Lack of manager guidance' seems to be much more limiting for the younger age group (ranked 2 out of 6), while this was considered less limiting for the middle age group (ranked 5 out of 6) and the older age group (ranked 4 out of 6).
- For transparency, 'social pressure' was perceived as more limiting for the middle age group (ranked 2 out of 6) than for the younger and older age groups (ranked 5 and 4 out of 6).

4.3 How do these conditions vary for different types of duty-bearers and sectors? (RQ 1.3.)

4.3.1 Differences per type of duty-bearer

While there was not enough data from teachers versus head teachers, or health workers versus their managers to draw any conclusions on their respective perception of the conditions' importance³¹, some respondents during the focus country work **in Kenya** argued that the higher the position of the duty-bearer, the higher the degree of corruption 'as they have the authority to bypass the rules and regulations'.

4.3.2 Differences per sector

Comparison of the health and the education sectors interestingly showed little variability in the relative importance of the conditions. This might be explained by the fact that, in both sectors, frontline duty-bearers have face-to-face relationships with the citizens they serve and are providing basic services. The situation might be quite different for services accessed independently of service provider staff, such as roads (Waddington et al., 2020).

While there are a lot of similarities, this section highlights some differences between the health and education sectors in terms of the extent to which these conditions are in place, and of the level of influence of the conditions.

Results from the minisurveys³²

Response from experts – Summary of the most limiting conditions per sector

When it comes to conditions that are most limiting, the results between the health and education sector show only minor differences between the health and the education sector. The ones worth noting are:

- For responsiveness: 'Unaware of expectations' seems to be more limiting in the education (ranked 3 out of 6) than in the health sector (ranked 5 out of 6).
- For equity: Being 'unaware of the specific needs of some individuals' seems more limiting in the education (ranked 3 out of 6) while it is the least limiting condition in the health sector.
- The lack of sanctions seem to be more limiting in the health than in the education sector for all three pillars of integrity.

Sanctions and disciplinary actions

From the focus country work and the minisurvey results, it seems that 'sanctions' play a more important role and are more commonly applied and effective in HCFs than in schools, likely due to the nature of the services, and the potential consequences that a lack of integrity can have. **In Kenya**, teachers interviewed indicated that actions

'If a patient has complications due to negligence, or if some citizens report that you are not coming to work, the supervisor can give you a warning letter, or send you to the disciplinary committee.'

- A nurse in Kenya -

³¹In the minisurvey for teachers, entries from head teachers compared to teachers were not enough to make conclusions: 61 out of 74 respondents were teachers'.

³²For the detailed results of the minisurvey for teachers, please refer to IR 4. Graphics on the sector variabilities are provided in Annex 19.

taken against teachers who are corrupt or dishonest are generally not transparent. Also, it was reported that if a teacher is found to have conducted an integrity offence, it takes a long time before they are prosecuted, and they can sometimes evade the rule of law altogether by offering bribes.

Salary and employment benefits

Duty-bearers from both sectors indicated issues with low salaries and lack of employment benefits, but, from the focus country work, it seems that these employment benefits are more important for health workers, though there are high variation depending on the type of work performed and the position held. In the health sector **in Nepal**, employment conditions seem to vary substantially depending on the type of HCF. In primary health care centres, there are special incentives for those performing certain tasks and all workers get access to health insurance. However, health workers at community level (such as the female community health volunteers) do not receive such benefits. **In Kenya**, a nurse specifically mentioned that she did not find fair that her risk and housing allowances were four times less than those of doctors.

Clarity of roles and responsibilities

Compared to health workers, teachers generally seemed to have better defined roles and responsibilities, with clearer expectations on the part of communities. The most limited by this condition are community health workers, who are often expected to be able to solve a wide range of problems. This sometimes leads to health workers finding it harder to make their roles known and appreciated by communities (global health expert interviewed). However, in rural areas where income levels are low and parents are hard pressed for time and energy, schools are facing the task of teaching not only the curriculum but also the basic principles of respect, living in community and discipline, which would otherwise be passed on by parents.

Management structures and protocols

According to the focus country work, operating procedures seem to be better outlined for the health sector. However, when it comes to procedures for feedback mechanisms and citizens' engagement, both schools and HCFs seem to face similar challenges (i.e. lack of meaningful engagement of citizens and feedback not being addressed).

We are dealing with the life of people, so of course we have to follow protocols and procedures.'

- A nurse in Kenya -

Citizen participation

According to Tsai et al. (2019), citizens' willingness to engage is higher in the health sector, as citizens often have a stronger interest in improved health than in improved educational outcomes. However, according to the focus country work in Nepal and in Kenya, the role that citizens are expected to play is more important in schools than in HCFs and this is reflected by the numerous means available to engage parents.

Social recognition

Social recognition of duty-bearers is strongly linked to the country context and the social norms. It also seem to have evolved with time. **In Nepal**, teachers complained about the lack of social recognition and value given towards the teaching profession. One teacher clearly stated that his duty is considered as a low-profile profession in the society, unlike doctors, engineers and other technical

professions, and that this is highly demotivating. **In Kenya**, some teachers mentioned that students and parents used to respect the teachers more in the past, and that now, teachers spend a big share of their time having to discipline children.

4.4 Relative importance of the conditions – Summary of findings

The above sections list and describe the most important conditions that can influence duty-bearers to work with integrity, and the extent to which they vary with the country context and sector. Table 2 below is a ‘heat map’ displaying the findings from each research activity concerning the relative importance of each condition. Note the KIIs with Integrity Action’s partners are not included here as a research activity, as they did not feature assessment of this question as an objective. Also, the multiple-choice questions in the minisurveys did not explore all conditions (see Section 3.2 for details), and those that were included were explored in the context of one or more of the pillars of integrity³³.

This table indicates the level of influence of each condition relative to the others. Therefore, a rating of ‘low influence’ needs to be understood as referring to a lesser degree of influence compared to the other conditions, rather than a condition being considered ‘not important’. These ratings were assessed as follows:

- For the literature and the focus countries, the ratings are based on the extent to which a condition was identified either as a condition already in place and having influence, or as a condition that is lacking and should be put in place.
- Also for the literature, the ratings are highly dependent on the selection of articles analysed. The literature review was not comprehensive, but intentionally biased towards documents that were directly or indirectly related to social accountability. Therefore, the relative importance shown in the table should not be interpreted as general for all existing literature.
- For the minisurveys, the multiple-choice questions asked respondents to rank the most limiting conditions for each integrity pillar. A rating of 'High', in this table, refers to the conditions that were ranked among the two most limiting conditions for that pillar. Similarly, 'Medium' is for rankings 3 and 4 and 'Low' is for rankings 5 and 6. Note that a respondent not selecting an option as one of their three most limiting conditions could mean that it is already in place in their context and is thus not perceived as a limiting factor.

³³ Some conditions were listed as options for more than one pillar, and some were listed for none. While the minisurveys did include open-ended questions that offered new insights into the relative influence of each condition, merging the answers from these questions with the multiple-choice questions would have led to some additional biases. Also note that, for transparency, there was an additional answer choice not included here in the list of conditions: ‘lack of platform for dialogue’.

| Conditions | Literature | Minisurvey - teachers | | Minisurvey - experts | | Focus country - Kenya | Focus country - Nepal |
|--|------------|-----------------------|---|----------------------|-------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Effective sanctions and disciplinary actions | | E R T | | E R T | | | |
| 2. Salary and employment benefits | | / | R | / | / | R | / |
| 3. Clear roles & responsibilities | | / | R | / | / | R | / |
| 4. Clear management structures & internal procedures | | / | T | / | / | T | |
| 5. Autonomy | | / | | / | | | |
| 6. Support from direct supervisor | | / | T | / | / | T | |
| 7. Support from government institutions | | / | | / | | | |
| 8. Financial resources of the institution | | / | | / | | | |
| 9. Adequate physical infrastructure | | E | / | E | / | | |
| 10. Adequate materials and tools | | E | / | E | / | | |
| 11. Adequate human resources | | E R | / | E R | / | | |
| 12. Being aware of citizens' needs and expectations | | E | R | / | E R | / | |
| 13. Citizens demanding integrity | | / | T | / | / | T | |
| 14. Citizens' satisfaction and motivation | // | / | | / | | | |
| 15. Social pressure | | E | / | T | E | / | T |
| 16. Adequate skills and competences | | / | R | / | / | R | / |

| | |
|----|--|
| | Pre-condition /basic requirement |
| | High influence |
| | Medium influence |
| | Low influence |
| / | Not included in multiple-choice response options |
| // | Not found in literature |

| <u>Pillars of integrity (in minisurveys)</u> |
|--|
| E = equity |
| R = responsiveness |
| T = transparency |

Table 2. Summary of the relative importance given to each condition in each activity.

Overall, each Flower Framework category is a piece of the puzzle to influence duty-bearers' integrity, and all conditions were identified as important in one way or another. Together, they form a complex and interrelated matrix: some conditions influence one pillar of integrity more than others, and some are required to enable others. A comparative analysis of the findings from all research activities is provided below, following the Flower Framework structure. Following the approach of the heat map, an assessment of the relative importance of conditions from all activities combined is then provided in Figure 4 at the end of this section.

Resources, and 'salary and employment benefits'

While it was not the purpose of this research to rank the conditions in order of importance, what came out is that some conditions are **basic requirements** for any duty-bearer to be able to perform her/his duties, no matter the country or the sector. This counts for 'salary and employment benefits', as well as the 'resources' conditions, i.e. access to adequate 'physical infrastructure', 'materials and tools', and 'human resources'. The need to have adequate budget or 'financial resources' at the institution's level is a **pre-condition** for these conditions to be in place. What varies with the country context (and particularly socio-economic and political factors) is the extent to which these conditions are in place. The location of the institution also has an impact, especially on the level of infrastructure in place, with rural schools and HCF being less equipped than those in urban areas.

Institutional – internal

- *'Sanctions'*: Interestingly, while the literature and the global experts interviewed strongly highlighted the importance of 'sanctions', especially referring to the harmful consequences of working on an environment of impunity, the 'lack of sanctions' was hardly selected as a limiting condition to act with integrity in the minisurveys. This, however, does not undermine the importance of 'sanctions' to forge an enabling environment for integrity. The discrepancy can be linked to the **negative** question formation ('what limits you to...?'). For teachers, it is understandable that they may prefer not to admit the effectiveness of sanctions or punishment for them to act in a certain way. It could have also been interesting to compare the views from frontline duty-bearers and their managers on the role that effective sanctions could play to influence duty-bearers' integrity. However, not enough data was collected to make such comparative analysis. The focus country work also highlighted that 'sanctions' seem to be more commonly applied and effective in HCFs than in schools.
- *'Incentives'*: Findings from all activities concur that 'incentives' is a very important enabling and inspiring condition for duty-bearers to act with integrity (again, this can be due to the positive orientation of this research and the question formulation). In the minisurveys, experts and teachers considered the lack of incentives as the main limiting condition for duty-bearers to respond to expectations from citizens. Incentives, however, is a general term and can take different forms. In the focus country work, 'salary and employment benefits' clearly came up as a basic requirement. Other forms of incentives were also mentioned, with a focus on 'positive' incentives such as rewards and other performance-based incentives. These are further described in section 5.1.
- The distinction between *'sanctions'* and *'incentives'* can be blur. Positive incentives can also work as 'sanctions' as it can be the fear of not accessing or losing a certain benefit that can influence duty-bearers' behaviour. Often, pressure from the fear of sanctions can only be sustained for a limited period of time, and positive incentives stop being incentives when everyone has access to them. Overall, both sanctions and positive incentives are needed to create a culture of integrity.
- *'Clear management structures & internal procedures' versus 'clear roles and responsibilities'*: The findings from the research activities highlighted that management structures as well as

engagement platforms are often present, but they are not always fully-functional, therefore the importance of revising or putting in place clear protocols and procedure. While the literature tends to focus on the importance of clear mandates, the fact that there were specific questions related to these management structures and internal protocols might have helped respondents to realise that these are pre-requirements for clearer mandates. Clear protocols and procedures are particularly important in the health sector.

- *'Autonomy versus support from supervisor'*: The importance of good relationships between duty-bearers and their management was frequently cited to be good to enable and motivate duty-bearers to act with integrity. This is linked to the conditions 'support from direct supervisor' and 'autonomy'. While the importance of support from the direct supervisor was often mentioned, the need for more 'autonomy' appeared to be comparatively less important. This might be explained by the fact that 'autonomy' can be misunderstood as getting more responsibilities (and thus higher workload), instead of as having the official mandate to carry out certain actions (or take certain decisions) independently. What came out more strongly, though, is the importance of mutual understanding, trust and respect.

Institutional – external

- *'Support from government institutions'*: This was identified as a highly motivating and enabling condition in all research activities. However, in most cases, duty-bearers and experts referred to how this support is lacking. As this is a sensitive topic, and to avoid finger pointing, the data collection tools were purposely designed to encourage duty-bearers to think constructively on what (more) could be done by the governmental institutions. Suggestions to improve the interactions between duty-bearers and their governmental counterparts are provided in section 5.1.

Social

- *'Citizens demanding integrity' and 'being aware of citizens' needs and expectations'*: The need for citizens to be more engaged in the activities of the institutions clearly came out (especially for teachers). While the 'lack of platforms for dialogue with citizens' was considered as one of the most limiting condition for transparency in the minisurveys, the focus country work highlighted that the problem is not the lack of platforms, but rather their functionality and the resulting lack of dialogue. An important finding of this research, and that is not much covered in the literature is that, from the duty-bearers' viewpoint, the fact that citizens do not ask for information (from the minisurvey) or do not take part in engagement platforms (from the focus country work) is one of the main conditions preventing them from sharing information with citizens and from being responsive, as this hinders duty-bearers' ability to be aware of citizens' needs and expectations. These was found to vary depending on the location of the school: parents seem to be more eager and able to engage meaningfully in urban areas, leading to teachers being more aware of their needs and expectations.
- *'Citizen' satisfaction and motivation'*: Teachers frequently cited the importance of 'having motivated students' in the **open-ended** questions of the minisurveys as well as in the focus country work, especially in Kenya. While specific to the education sector, 'citizens' satisfaction' seems to be important in other sectors too. In the health sector, citizens' satisfaction is indeed key and can impact not only the duty-bearers' reputation but also the citizens' demand for the service.
- *'Social pressure'*: While very much highlighted in the literature, 'social pressure' was rarely selected in the minisurveys as a limiting condition to act with integrity, again most likely due to the way the questions were formulated. However, during the KIIs, respondents frequently

gave examples of the influence of social pressure on duty-bearers' integrity. Social pressure is strongly related to social norms and was found to be stronger in rural areas than in urban areas.

Individual

- *'Adequate skills and competences'*: This was identified as an important condition in the literature. However, understandably, teachers did not consider that 'lack of skills' was particularly limiting them to act with integrity. Again, this may be linked to the question formulation, where teachers might not be ready to acknowledge their own lack of skills. Indeed, in apparent contradiction, 'more trainings and capacity building' was one of the most mentioned suggestions to what more could be done to motivate them (more in section 5.1.).

Figure 4, below, is a graphic representation of the relationships between all conditions, and their relative importance from the findings of all research activities combined.

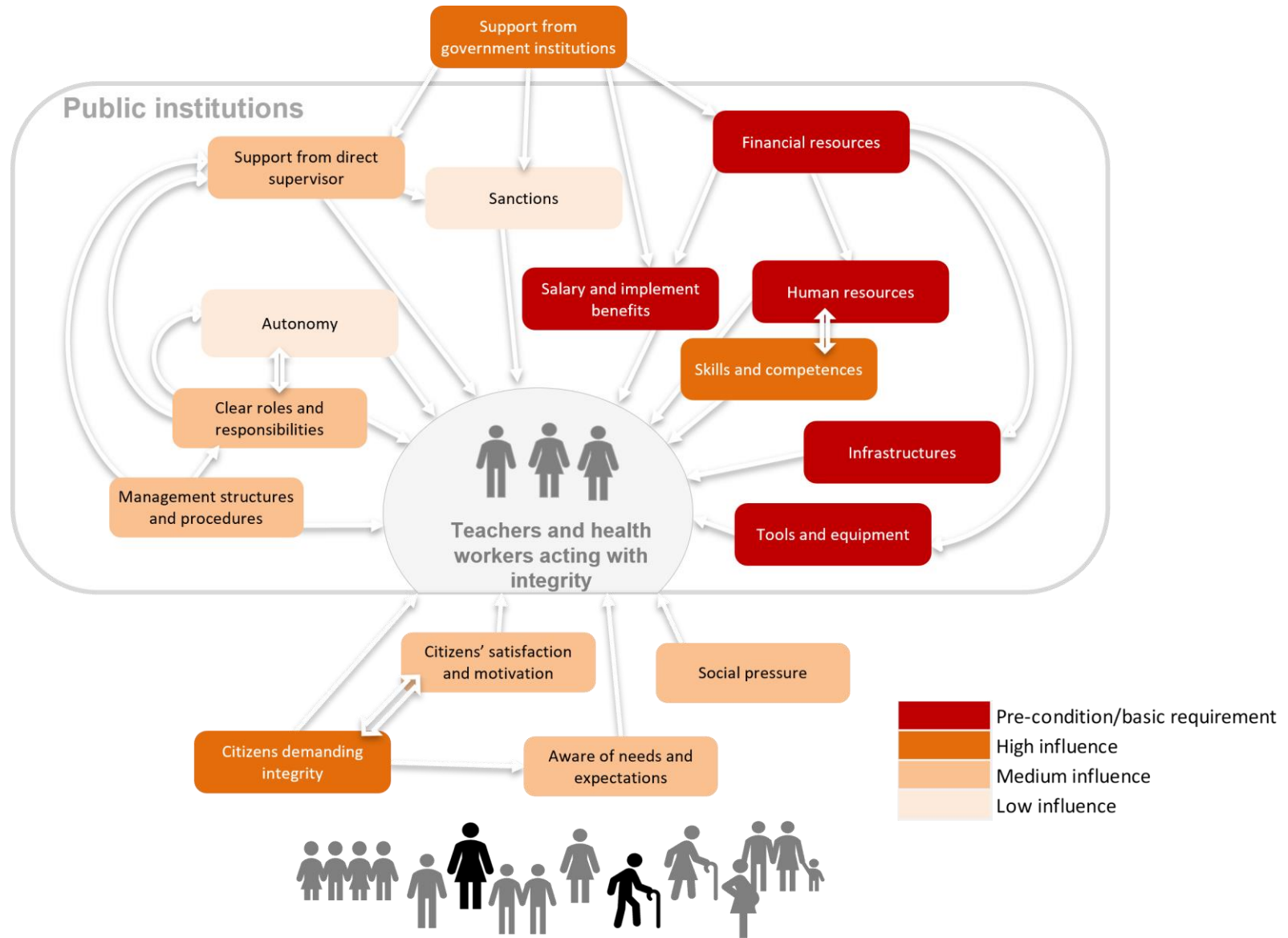


Figure 4. Conditions that influence duty-bearers' integrity and their relative importance.

5 Research findings

RQ2. Approaches with the most potential to create or strengthen these conditions

What can help create or strengthen the conditions described in chapter 4 depends on each condition and might require interventions at different levels. In section 5.1., selected good practices or promising approaches identified as part of this research are described. In section 5.2., the extent to which the success of these approaches vary with the context is discussed. Section 5.3. presents the findings on the levels where duty-bearers think citizen participation would be most beneficial and the expected benefits from duty-bearers on citizen-centred accountability mechanisms. Finally, section 5.4. provides specific recommendations for integrity interventions, based on all research findings. Figure 11 provides a graphical representation of the most important conditions influencing duty-bearers' integrity and the promising approaches that can help create or strengthen them.

5.1 What approaches can positively influence the way duty-bearers work? (RQ 2.1.)

This section provides a compilation of approaches that can be implemented at local level with limited capacities, power or resources. They are the results of all research activities, and more specifically from the literature review, the responses to the **open-ended** questions of the minisurveys, and the KIIs. In the minisurvey and in the KIIs, there were specific questions asking the respondent to reflect on what can be done at different levels: at the individual level, within the institutions and externally.

The approaches have been clustered as followed:

- Specific examples of incentives that can motivate duty-bearers, and that are easier to introduce than changing salary levels and employment conditions (5.1.1.);
- The levels where awareness raising on duties and rights is required (5.1.2.);
- Examples of approaches and key considerations for effective and sustainable social accountability processes, including how to foster meaningful engagement of citizens and motivate duty-bearers to be responsive (5.1.3.);
- Good practices that schools or HCF can implement internally to improve transparency and accountability (5.1.4.);
- Good practices to foster better use of existing resources (5.1.5.);
- Suggestions to improve accountability of relevant government institutions (5.1.6.);
- A discussion on the role that the media and other lobby groups can play (5.1.7.);
- A reflection on the level where NGOs/CSOs' support would be most beneficial (5.1.8.).

Table 3 below summarises which approaches can influence which conditions.

If you want to improve...

Try to introduce or support...

| | Good practices regarding incentives | Awareness raising on rights and duties | Social accountability approaches | Good practices to improve integrity internally | Fostering a better use of existing resources | Improving accountability of government institutions |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|--|--|---|
| Effective sanctions and disciplinary actions | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ |
| Salary and employment benefits | | ✓ | | | | ✓ |
| Clear roles and responsibilities | | ✓ | | ✓ | | |
| Clear management structures & internal procedures | | ✓ | | ✓ | | |
| Autonomy | | ✓ | | ✓ | | ✓ |
| Support from supervisor | | ✓ | | ✓ | | |
| Support from government institutions | | ✓ | | | | ✓ |
| Financial resources of the institution | | ✓ | | | | ✓ |
| Adequate physical infrastructure | | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Adequate materials and tools | | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Adequate human resources | | ✓ | ✓ | | | ✓ |
| Being aware of citizens' needs and expectations | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ |
| Citizens demanding integrity | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| Citizens' satisfaction and motivation | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| Social pressure | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| Adequate skills and competences | ✓ | ✓ | | | | |

Table 3. Summary of which approaches can influence which conditions.

5.1.1 Specific examples of incentives



Figure 5. Word cloud of the responses to ‘At the individual level: What can be done to motivate individual teachers/health workers to be more responsive, equitable and transparent towards the community they serve?’ after clustering (minisurvey for sectoral experts)³⁴.

The need for ‘incentives’ was the most mentioned solution to motivate individual duty-bearers to act with integrity. In addition to better salary and employment benefits, this section describes other types of incentives that can strengthen the ‘social’ conditions as well as ‘adequate skills and competence’.

The effect of incentives on duty-bearers’ performance (or even attendance) is often discussed in the literature. Some randomized experiments have also showed that direct monitoring combined with simple and credible financial incentives, led to increase in attendance among teachers in schools (Duflo et al., 2010; Gaduh et al., 2020). However, other studies dispute the effectiveness of monetary incentives and have found that higher paid teacher positions do not always correlate with lower absence (Kremer et al., 2005) or nurses (Banerjee et al., 2008). It is important to note that some randomized experiments have failed to take into account the effect of other variants (e.g. different job positions differ in various aspects beyond salary level). It is also common that studies are presented as analysing incentives while these incentives are actually sanctions (this is the case when the baseline situation is to get the incentive and, therefore, not getting it becomes a sanction) (expert interviewed).

³⁴ This question was meant to get duty-bearers to think on what they could do themselves. However, it was more understood as what could be done to help them.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts: Regarding what can be done to motivate duty-bearers at an individual level, and what more can be done by the government, 'more incentives' and 'more trainings and capacity building' were the most suggested solutions. Regarding incentives, this included salary and employment benefits, but also rewards and encouragement for good performance. Training opportunities can be considered as one form of incentives.

Responses from teachers: In addition to better salary and employment benefits (the most mentioned solution), two teachers in Nepal, two in Kenya, one in the DRC and five in Afghanistan specifically mentioned that 'promotion of good work', 'encouragement', 'praise for achievements' and 'rewards for those that perform well' would motivate them to work with more integrity. One teacher in Nepal suggested that the government could support 'by putting in place reward systems based on performance'.

More trainings and capacity building was also frequently mentioned, and, in most cases, it was suggested that this should be the government's responsibility. It was mentioned by a total of 24 teachers from all four countries surveyed. Teachers in Nepal mainly referred to more technical trainings. In Kenya, some teachers gave examples such as 'in-service training to be able to deal with learners with special needs', 'training on responsiveness, transparency and equality' and 'refresher trainings for those who have taught for many years'. Teachers in Afghanistan suggested focusing on 'building awareness on the area of integrity'.

Performance-based rewards

Rewards based on good performance³⁵ strongly motivate duty-bearers to act with integrity (Baez Camargo and Stahl, 2016) and can be implemented at national, sub-national or school/HCF level. These can be based on indicators/targets related to how a duty-bearer does her/his work (e.g. number of patients treated, years of experience), or the outcomes of her/his work (e.g. grade of children at national exams). They can also be linked to integrity processes, such as reports from citizen monitoring or results from satisfaction surveys. Other possibilities are to reward a model behaviour or duty-bearers who voluntarily make extra steps to serve their community. Rewards can be financial but, as mentioned by Integrity Action's partner **in the DRC**, even symbolic awards such as medals or certificates can motivate individual duty-bearers and can help increase social recognition.

However, there is also a risk that performance-based pay affect equity in service provision. It can promote an unhealthy competitive environment and lead to some teachers aiming at high test results, therefore focusing on well-performing students at the expense of weaker students (UNESCO, 2017).

In Kenya, some teachers mentioned that additional stipend for well-performing teachers can sometimes be allocated based on decisions of the head teacher or BoM. Example was given of schools where teachers get 500 KES³⁶ for each student that gets an A at the final national exam. At county level, the local government can also provide monetary incentives to the best performing teachers based on the national exam results. In one primary school, one teacher shared that he once got a financial reward of 2,000 KES. Best teachers have in some cases received a goat as a public reward. These incentives are however often not part of a structured reward system, but mainly one-off and sometimes linked to governmental officials who try to attract attention during election time.

³⁵ Text that is underlined corresponds to good practices or promising approaches that are then displayed in Figure 11.

³⁶ 100 KES is about 1 USD.

Performance monitoring and evaluation at country level

Performance monitoring and evaluation systems at national or sub-national level, can be effective means to trigger actions by public institutions, and can be done in different ways and by different actors. When linked to benchmarking mechanisms with clearly defined indicators, it allows comparison between neighbouring schools, HCFs or districts. Several studies in China show evidence that a combination of sanctions and incentives following performance benchmarking can be used to foster performance, sustainability and social stability (Tsai et al., 2019; Zheng et al., 2014; Chen et al., 2015). While lessons from China may not be highly transferable, it is widely accepted that performance monitoring and evaluation are more effective when linked to some type of consequence. However, it is surprisingly hard to find evidence in the literature on the causal mechanisms and the effectiveness that different types of consequences may have in improving governance outcomes or increasing performance (Aston, 2020).

Performance monitoring can also be the result of a self-assessment by duty-bearers themselves, using government-approved reporting mechanisms. It can be an effective way to trigger actions within an institution and create a healthy competition between schools, especially when successes and good practices of particular institutions are documented and shared publicly (Westhorp et al., 2014). The *Three Stars Approach* from the *Fit for School Programme* is based on this principle.

The Three Stars Approach³⁷

The Three Stars Approach is a concept of recognition-based incentive system to measure the status of WASH facilities in schools in any given country using a nationally defined benchmarking system for self-reporting/monitoring. It uses a checklist and includes a feedback loop that informs the entire school community about the performance of their school compared to others and reward mechanisms for accomplishment. Compliance with standards and reaching benchmarks become social norms and trigger actions at different levels.

In Kenya, the ranking of schools is based on the Kenya National Examination Council, an examining body under the Ministry of Education. Schools are ranked depending on the results of their students in the annual national exam. The best 100 schools are announced publicly in different media outlets. However, as mentioned by most teachers interviewed, only schools in cities or bigger towns can hope to be among the 100. Still, most teachers mentioned that this is highly motivating as it creates an incentive to perform well.

Training opportunities

Offering training opportunities is one specific type of incentives. Access to professional training is key to guarantee higher standards of service delivery and for duty-bearers to be able to respond to specific demands from students or patients. Duty-bearers may also feel more motivated if they have access to additional learning and growth possibilities (Barreto-Dillon, 2019; and global experts interviewed). Training on management and communication can also be useful to establish a positive working environment with peers and a good relationship with citizens and relevant government institutions (Barreto-Dillon,

‘Most teachers in Tanzania lack knowledge on transparency and approaches to information sharing. This leads teachers to underperform their duties. Capacitating those teachers will help them to put it in practice in their own schools.’

- An education expert in Tanzania -

³⁷ <http://www.fitforschool.international>

2018; global experts interviewed). Specific training on integrity can also be helpful, however, this often requires the involvement of external actors such as NGOs. Unfortunately, in some cases, the reasons why duty-bearers are motivated to take part in trainings can be distorted by skewed allocation of per diems given on attendance (Serneels et al., 2016).

In Kenya, stakeholders interviewed suggested organizing more comprehensive general management trainings for the BoM, including on finances, planning and budgeting, leadership skills, communication and integrity. Such BoM trainings have been organised by some NGOs in the country on request of the BoM themselves as a way to complement the BoM trainings offered by the government (which are often judged as insufficient and ad hoc) (Leclert et al, 2018a).

In Nepal, both teachers and health workers mentioned that getting quality training and opportunities to grow is highly motivating, but also highlighted the issue of training quality when offered by the government. The health workers interviewed all argued that the municipality should initiate some programmes to update Continued Medical Education³⁸ and provide frequent training opportunities in the areas of hygiene and handling of medical equipment.

When it comes to integrity trainings, the *Integrity Management toolbox* approach is an example of approach that support (water) organizations in making integrity a part of their strategic and working plans to reduce risks and improve performance, integrity and compliance (Hermann-Friede et al., 2014; Leclert et al. 2016; Barreto-Dillon, 2019).

The Integrity Management Toolbox³⁹

The Integrity Management Toolbox is a stepwise change process during which stakeholders are brought together to jointly analyze their current practices, identify their problems and select concrete tools to address them. It includes as a long-term accompaniment and support by a coach to guide the decision-making and implementation process. Tools are designed to address problems on topics as broad as Operation and Maintenance (O&M), customer relations, financial management, human resources, procurement and contract management, etc. It is called a toolbox because it does not impose one predefine solutions but offers a bundle of tools to select from depending on the problems to address. Some tools can directly relate to integrity, while others are more general tools aiming to increase management capacities. Each tool contains information on how to put it into practice.

Different toolboxes exist depending on the organization they are targeting. One toolbox that contains tools relevant for community level interventions and that could be adapted to schools is *the Integrity Management Toolbox for small water supply systems*⁴⁰ (Leclert et al. 2018b). One strong principle of this toolbox is that it brings together right-holders, duty-bearers, and their counterpart from the government into one platform. From the lessons from its implementation in Kenya and Ethiopia, this has proven to help reach a mutual understanding of the respective rights and duties, and to come to a common agreement on actions to improve integrity. It also has a strong focus on compliance and alignment with the country regulatory framework.

Peer learning

Peer learning is a powerful tool that can be even more effective than conventional trainings (Rao, 2013). Peer learning can take place in official fora, e.g. inviting role model teachers or health workers

³⁸ Continued Medical Education is a tool that holds the latest advancement in medical sector.

³⁹ WIN, cewas and Caritas Switzerland have been developing toolboxes for water utilities, small water supply systems, organizations implementing WASH projects and multi-stakeholder processes in river-basins since 2012.

⁴⁰ <https://youtu.be/gaaq5Pqws40>

to share their lessons learned and successes as part of a training. It can also take the form of informal exchanges between institutions, such as exchange visits, multi-schools sports day, schools competitions etc.

Integrity Action's partners **in the DRC** highlighted the power of peer learning. The State Partnership for Accountability, Responsiveness and Capability (SPARC) programme⁴¹ in Nigeria is also a good example. In this case, duty-bearers visiting their colleagues learnt, not only what they are entitled to and responsible for (e.g. their roles and responsibilities), but also what is realistically feasible consideration context limitations (Chambers et al., 2015).

'From positive stories in the supported schools, other neighbouring schools have started to replicate the 'integrity club' approach.'

- Integrity Action's partner in the DRC -

In Kenya, some teachers suggested that the government could help foster peer exchange by organising conferences and learning exchanges between teachers at county level, where challenges and progress can be discussed, and to exchange on the performance from different schools.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts: Some experts mentioned that school exchange visit is a powerful tool to trigger change by means of peer exchange and healthy competition. It was also reported that the media can play a key role in sharing examples of successes.

Response from teachers: A teacher from the DRC suggested that 'setting up exchange platforms for teachers of a similar topic to promote peer learning' could help motivate individual duty-bearers to act with integrity.

Integrity role models

The power of role models for inspiring duty-bearers to act with integrity was mentioned repeatedly and has different dimensions. Role models influence others (including students in the case of teachers) to replicate good behaviours. Linked with the above, reward mechanisms for role models can also motivate individual duty-bearers to act with integrity.

'To motivate citizens to play a more active role in the management and activities of the school, the school should first demonstrate that it can work transparently and use resources efficiently'.

- A teachers in Kenya -

Integrity Action's partner in **the DRC** mentioned an inspiring approach called *Integrity Icon* that praises duty-bearers that demonstrate model behaviour, document their story and make the results public. Citizens play a key role in the process, as they are the ones voting for their icon. This approach is particularly successful in countries where social capital and the value of social recognition are strong. It is also a good example on how media can help promote integrity.

⁴¹ The SPARC programme (2008-2016) was launch by the U.K. Department for International Development (DFID) to support the Nigerian government in better managing resources and providing more responsive and accountable services.

Integrity Icon⁴²

The 'Integrity Icon' approach is a movement to celebrate, encourage and connect honest civil servants who demonstrate exemplary integrity in their work. It is based on the basic principle that, rather than blaming corruption, integrity should be praised. The process starts with different stakeholders at provincial or national level discussing what integrity means and defining the selection criteria for the icons. Then, the community is asked to nominate their 'icons'. Based on the votes, final candidates are identified and invited in different media and other platforms. Their profile is then documented with a focus on what does she/he does for the community. The process ends by a celebration of the Icons.

Another way to 'use' role models as part of an intervention is by identifying potential champions, working through/with them and empowering them. When it comes to corruption, there is also often a tendency to fatalism, and to believe that individual behaviour would not make any difference unless there is drastic change in the whole system. However, as mentioned by Integrity Action's partner **in the DRC**, while institutional commitment to integrity is key, it all comes down to the individuals.

A champion can be a student, a community member, a duty-bearer, or a government official. They can be given a special role (even informally) such as mobilising community members, organising trainings, collecting information, etc. Getting their buy-in can also motivate them to take initiatives by themselves. A champion at government level can, for example, initiate reward mechanisms for best teachers or experience sharing events between schools. The needs for role models at the level of the leaders and government came out clearly, especially **in Kenya**.

'If leaders, local and national government official would act as role models in terms of integrity, that could motivate teachers to do the same.'

- A teacher in Kenya -

Some success stories are clearly born from the efforts of individuals and would have never been possible without such champions. One specific example is from an Undersecretary in the Philippines' Department of Education leading the Textbook Count project (Majeed, 2011; Acheron and Isaac, 2016) or the Chief Minister of the state of Andhra Pradesh who was receptive to including social audits in the National Rural Employment Program (Veeraraghavan, 2015).

As part of the *Making Rights Real toolkit* (further explained in section 5.1.2, a framework of 'personas' was developed to help practitioners identify the potential champions at governmental level (called 'superheroes') to focus on and to drive change (Pati and Neumeyer, 2018).

⁴² <https://integrityicon.org> from Accountability Lab (<https://accountabilitylab.org>)

5.1.2 Awareness raising on rights and duties at different levels

To strengthen the effectiveness of the public integrity system, clarifying responsibilities across the public sector is one of the key recommendations of the Intergovernmental Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2017). It also requires that each party is aware of what to expect from one another (Leclert et al., 2016). This applies to the relationship between citizens and duty-bearers, but also between duty-bearers and government institutions. Awareness raising can result from the provision of a specific training but can also be achieved through discussions or informal exchanges. It can help strengthen all the conditions in chapter 4 directly or indirectly.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts: Experts frequently suggested to ‘raise citizens’ awareness on their rights’ as a solution to increase citizens’ engagement and the value given to participation.

Response from teachers: One teacher in Kenya mentioned the need for ‘clear cut lines of responsibility’, and one teacher in Nepal indicated the need to be ‘clear on their rights and duties, and that there should be allowances/incentives for doing such additional tasks’.

Raising citizens’ awareness on their rights and responsibilities

For citizens to be able to engage meaningfully in a dialogue with duty-bearers, they need to be aware of what rights they have, what they can expect from duty-bearers, as well as what is expected from them. This can help strengthen their willingness to engage more actively in a dialogue with duty-bearers and demand integrity. It is also key that citizens are aware of the limitations of duty-bearers’ scope of control (Albisu, 2019; global experts interviewed), so that citizens can communicate realistic and fair demands. This will also help holding duty-bearers to account for what is in their control and therefore might increase the likelihood of duty-bearers’ responsiveness.

Interventions focusing on raising citizens’ awareness on their rights and responsibilities require a good understanding of the local context. Lack of consideration and adaptation to social norms may backfire and result in unintended consequences. Understanding power dynamics is also critical, including knowing who inside a given group is influential and how to plan for their active engagement in order to improve outcomes (Scharbatke-Church and Chigas, 2019).

‘It would be helpful to work at the community level and encourage parents to participate, by clarifying what their rights are, and what their roles could be.’

- A teacher in Nepal -

In Kenya, some teachers suggested sensitizing citizens on their rights using policy documents as reference, and organising awareness raising sessions via the PTAs and by actively engaging community leaders. It was also mentioned that the BoM could be more proactive in clarifying what is expected from parents, especially in rural areas.

In Nepal, most teachers stated that they believe in the benefits of involving parents and students in the school’s activities, but that parents’ interest to engage is often limited, especially in rural areas.

Raising awareness of duty-bearers on their duties

It is not uncommon that duty-bearers perceive the efforts required to work with integrity as additional tasks, especially in contexts where incentives are low. Raising awareness of duty-bearers on what their public duties entail (beyond their technical job), with a focus on integrity principles, might help them to better appreciate the importance and benefits of listening and responding to citizens’ needs and expectations (Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015). In addition to increased

citizens' satisfaction with the services, it might also be worth highlighting the personal benefits that they can gain from acting with integrity, such as increased social recognition and reputation.

Organizing such awareness raising event with both citizens and duty-bearers in one single platform can help gaining a mutual understanding of limitations on both sides and help reaching higher levels of respects. As explained in *the Integrity Management toolbox approach* (section 4.1.1), it can also lead to collaborative action planning and problem solving.

Raising awareness among local government and relevant government institutions

Awareness raising on roles and responsibilities at the level of the local government should also be considered in interventions focusing on integrity. It can help reactivate accountability lines between duty-bearers and their counterpart at governmental level, this way clarifying the support that they are supposed to provide to duty-bearers (but also sanctions). It also has the potential to increase resources allocation. As stated by Keatman et al. (2016), many local governmental officers do not see themselves as duty-bearers of human rights, and their roles and responsibilities remain unclear. The *Making Rights Real Kit* was developed to tackle this issue. What is interesting about this approach is that it uses human rights as an entry point to help clarify the respective rights and duties from different parties, rather than talking about needs.

Awareness raising at higher level is also important, though more challenging. Oversight institutions can act as facilitators for citizens to interact with governments (Aston, 2015). Unfortunately, two of the main weaknesses of oversight institutions seem to be few opportunities for public engagement in audits and the lack of executive responses to audit findings (IBP and INTOSAI, 2020).

Making Rights Real Kit⁴³

The Making Rights Real Kit is an example of approaches designed to guide practitioners to engage local government officials in a constructive and systemic dialogue on challenges and solutions to ensure the realisation of water and sanitation services for all. While it focuses on the human rights to water and sanitation and targets local governments, the main principles behind it can be replicated to other sectors and other duty-bearers.

Raising students' motivation

A particular case of awareness raising repeatedly mentioned in this research is the need to raise students' motivation. Some suggestions included motivational talks organised by the government, scholarships, or more engagement of parents in the education of their children.

Results from the minisurveys:

Response from teachers: One teacher in Afghanistan mentioned the need to 'raise students' awareness that studying is important regardless of the widespread unemployment'. One teacher in the DRC, one in Kenya and two in Afghanistan raised the issue of discipline, and suggested to 'avoid cell phones', 'put in place sanctions for the students' and 'engage parents more'. Some teachers also proposed actions to be implemented by the government. One teacher in Afghanistan commented that 'the government should find ways to motivate students to study'. Other suggestions include 'holding motivational talks to help student be receptive to teachers and be more motivated at school', 'supporting bright, needy students to stay in school', and providing scholarships.

⁴³ The Making Rights Real toolkit was jointly developed by WASH United, WaterAid, the Institute for Sustainable Futures (University of Technology Sydney), End Water Poverty, UNICEF and the Rural Water Supply Network. It is available in a number of languages at www.righttowater.info/making-rights-real

5.1.3 Approaches to strengthen social accountability and citizens' engagement



Figure 6. Word cloud of the responses to 'What good practices can help increase citizens' engagement in the school/HCF and the value given to citizen participation?' after clustering (minisurvey for sectoral experts).

Most approaches discussed in this section can be labelled as social accountability approaches. Social accountability refers to an approach to accountability that 'relies on civic engagement, i.e. in which it is ordinary citizens and/or civil society organizations that participate directly or indirectly in exacting accountability' (Malena et al., 2004).

There are many different types of social accountability approaches, ranging from awareness raising on rights and duties for citizens and duty-bearers (covered in section 5.1.2. above), to helping citizens provide constructive and actionable feedback (based on a review of their experience, monitoring of promises made, or transparency of information on plans and budget) and ensuring that this feedback is responded to (Baez Camargo and Stahl, 2016).

Sustainable and effective social accountability processes emerge from long-term interactions between and capacity building of citizens and duty-bearers and institutionalisation of these processes, as opposed to one-off accountability meetings (which may be seen as confrontational) (Waddington et al., 2020; Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015; Joshi and Houtzager, 2012). It requires working on the demand and supply-sides: duty-bearers need to be sensitized on the value of engaging citizens, while community members need to be trained and guided to participate in the process (Waddington et al., 2020). To be effective, specific procedures to better structure the dialogue and foster citizens' engagement (section 5.1.4. below), including a clear definition of citizens' roles and what is expected of them is also required and might also help increase citizens' willingness to engage.

Global experts added that there are more chances of success when social accountability approaches build on existing community structures that are respected, well-organized and trusted, such as faith groups, or when there are incentives associated with it (e.g. making it a prerequisite to have functioning social accountability structures in place in order to access funding). It is key not to over emphasize the demand side (citizens) and make sure to consider the constraints faced on the supply side (duty-bearers).

Many of the conditions outlined in chapter 4 can be influenced by social accountability approaches, in particular the 'social' conditions and the 'resources' conditions.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts: When asking experts about ‘good practices that can help increase citizens’ engagement and the value given to citizen participation’, the three most mentioned suggestions were ‘platforms for dialogue’, ‘participatory planning and budgeting’ (especially for schools), and ‘engaging citizens in monitoring the quality of services’. When asked ‘what good practices can be implemented at the level of an institution to improve transparency’, ‘platform for dialogue’ was also the most mentioned. Suggestions linked to joint planning and decision-making were also put forward.

Experts also shared examples of other platforms for engagement such as general assembly meetings, school open days ‘where the community gets a chance to get involved in some school activities and gets to appreciate what goes on in the school’, regular school-community dialogues especially those that touch on the operation of school structures and use of resources, or community outreach campaigns by school clubs.

Response from teachers: When it comes to solutions, teachers often mentioned the need to increase community’s engagement.

Strengthening existing engagement platforms

While ‘lack of platform for dialogue’ was one of the most mentioned limiting conditions for duty-bearers to act transparently, what seems to lack is not the ‘platforms’ but rather the ‘dialogue’. Before creating new ones, interventions should therefore look at what platforms exist and how these can be strengthened, focusing on reaching a more meaningful level of engagement and dialogue. Meaningful citizens’ engagement goes beyond just inviting citizens to take part in a meeting. Citizens should be enabled to participate and make decisions that affect their lives⁴⁴.

In schools and HCFs, it is common that some elected community members have a seat in management structures such as SMC or BoM where decisions (e.g. budget, planning, human resources) are made. There are other formal platforms specifically meant for citizens’ engagement (and often required by the regulatory framework), such as PTAs in schools or general consultation meetings in HCFs. However, they are mostly used to share top-down information and rarely lead to meaningful engagement and feedback (Lieberman et al., 2017; Baez Camargo and Stahl, 2016; Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015).

In these platforms, duty-bearers should also feel free to share their challenges and clarify what is within their duties from what is the responsibility from relevant governmental institutions. This might help moving from conflictive towards more constructive and collaborative interactions (Albisu, 2019). This can also help gain mutual understanding and trust and have an impact on the social recognition of individual duty-bearers.

Integrity Action’s partner in **Afghanistan** shared a success story resulting from streamlining citizen participation in schools. Thanks to an increased understanding of the challenges faced by the school, the well-connected parents approached the governmental institutions and highlighted these issues, which facilitated them getting resolved. Parents also installed ‘charity boxes’ to collect donations from the community to cover costs for O&M of infrastructure.

In Kenya, PTAs were reported to play a key role in improving the mutual understanding between parents and teachers. However, teachers reported that parents’ participation is not always effective. In the health sector,

‘During public consultation meetings, people tend to sit back and let the more literate and influential people talk.’

- A nurse in Kenya -

⁴⁴ Definition adapted from the participation ladder:

<https://opus.lib.uts.edu.au/bitstream/10453/17300/1/2010006663OK.pdf>

general meetings for all citizens are mainly used to pass information (e.g. for vaccination campaigns or sensitization events).

In Nepal, PTA meetings were also reported to be merely rituals. Another issue brought up by teachers, and especially where there are donor-funded projects, is that projects tend to create new structures rather than strengthening existing ones, with a scope that is sometimes limited to the project's objectives, rather than to the real needs of the school. It was specifically mentioned that it is common to see many children clubs, committees and sub-committees in one single school, with duplication of functions.

Participatory planning and budgeting

One specific role that can be given to citizens is to take part in planning and budgeting for a new public service delivery programme. Connecting duty-bearers and citizens from the planning phase can be key to ensure that the intervention responds to the needs and priorities of the future users. Engaging citizens in participatory budgeting processes is also frequently cited as a very effective tool to improve relationships between duty-bearers and citizens (Cabannes, 2015; Wampler et al. 2018;).

The *Girls Education in South Sudan Programme* is a good example of how citizens participated in the development of joint work plans with duty-bearers. The programme created conditions for local communities to identify and prioritize their needs, and to develop these into work plans and budgets, based on clear accountability roles with teachers, parents and others (global expert interviewed).⁴⁵

In Kenya, for citizens to be more aware of the challenges faced by the school and to feel a shared responsibility, some teachers suggested that the BoM should share information on the school budget and should involve citizens on decisions regarding resources allocation. Another suggestion was to involve citizens in the auditing processes of school plans and budget, and that this should be done with support from the quality assurance officers from the Ministry of Education.

Engaging citizens in monitoring and evaluation

Engaging citizens in monitoring is meant to reduce discretion in decision-making and corruption. It generally a long-term and continuous way to support integrity in service delivery (Barreto-Dillon et al., 2018). One key requirement for it to increase accountability and responsiveness is to ensure transparent and constructive communication between duty-bearers and citizens around the monitoring results (Waddington et al., 2020) and collaborative problem solving. Connecting citizens' satisfaction with incentives, such as tying performance pay to community monitoring reports can also make citizen monitoring more effective (Baez Camargo and Stahl, 2016; Gaduh et al., 2020). The use of a third party or a designated facilitator in developing citizen monitoring tools also proved to help catalysing the process (Gaduh et al., 2020).

Of importance is the need for a realistic and clearly defined monitoring scope for citizens. They can, for example, play a role in monitoring whether promises that concern them and that were made in PTA or general meetings are implemented. This can be related to infrastructure maintenance or construction (e.g. construction of a new latrine block), or regarding resources allocation (e.g. ensuring that the classroom is reorganised to allow physical distancing and that face masks are provided). It could also be linked to the price of a service in a HCF, or something simple like organising a sports day at school.

Examples of citizen monitoring approaches include Integrity Action's approach through trained monitors from the community and *school's Integrity Clubs*. Integrity Action's partner **in Nepal** also

⁴⁵ See Capitation Grants: <https://girlseducationsouthsudan.org/activity/capitation-grants/>

gave an example of using scoreboards where they engage students to monitor and evaluate indicators such as teacher attendance, methodologies used, or behaviour with students.

Integrity Clubs⁴⁶

Integrity Clubs are students' club whose role is to monitor and report problems in their own schools linked to the quality of the services. This is a way for students to learn about integrity and on how to claim their rights. These clubs receive a training that includes how (and to whom) to report the problems and have a dedicated teacher mentoring them. Problems can be linked to teachers, supplies, facilities. Examples include issues with teachers' attendance, dirty latrines, not able to hear a certain class, girls being bullied by a teacher, etc. Representative student monitors bring up the problems during a joint meeting with all school stakeholders and engage in a dialogue for problem solving and action planning.

Citizens can also be engaged in more one-off assessment or evaluation. An interesting approach applied for schools where parents (through the PTA) and other stakeholders are engaged to assess the status of (water) integrity is the *Annotated Water Integrity Scan (AWIS)*.

AWIS⁴⁷

AWIS is a tool designed to quickly assess the integrity situation in the water sector through a one-day multi-stakeholders workshop, helping raise stakeholders awareness on the main issues relating to specific risks areas and leading to prioritization of actions by stakeholders themselves. This approach has been applied for WASH in schools. The tool focuses on transparency, accountability and participation, and assesses five risk areas: quality of WASH facilities, gender, menstrual hygiene, inclusion, and budget and expenditure. The assessment is done through scores, including an explanatory note for the scores given (called annotations). Scores are then discussed among workshop participants. As a result, the stakeholders jointly identify priority areas for action.

Social audit is another example of how citizens can be engaged in evaluating the quality of services delivery and duty-bearers' performance. Social audits can be done in different ways and be more or less structured. The main idea behind social audit is to give an opportunity for citizens to ask for specific information, review it, give feedback and have a stake in action planning. Social audits are especially common in India (Pande and Dubbudu, 2017).

'The use of social accountability monitoring, especially the community score cards, can be helpful to measure the satisfaction of service delivery from community members living close to the school.'

- An education expert from Tanzania -

The use of score cards is a specific example of an assessment/evaluation tool, often introduced by NGOs as a way to support other social accountability approaches such as social audits. While the way score cards have been introduced can vary (depending on the supporting NGO and the context), its main purpose is to appraise standards, translate the findings into concrete action plans to resolve those issues and then reappraising again. An expert from Malawi specifically highlighted the importance to link the use of community scorecards with an exchange to share strengths and challenges from each side, and jointly come up with solutions. Indeed, a cluster-randomized controlled evaluation in Malawi also found that score cards contributed to important improvements

⁴⁶ <https://integrityaction.org/what-we-do/approach/integrity-clubs>

⁴⁷ Developed by the Water Integrity Network (WIN) together with IRC: <https://www.waterintegritynetwork.net/2015/02/26/awis>

in reproductive health-related outcomes by facilitating the relationship between community members, health service providers, and local government officials (Gullo et al., 2017).

In Nepal, the social auditing committee in schools is a prime example of structure in place, as per the regulatory framework, to engage citizens in auditing.

Citizens' engagement in lobbying and advocacy

Citizens can engage in lobbying and advocacy at different levels and in different ways, depending on the purpose and the conditions they want to influence. They can advocate for their rights 'against' duty-bearers (with support from NGOs/CSOs, the media or other lobby groups), especially when this is relating to 'internal' conditions that can be addressed by the school's stakeholders themselves.

'In such platforms, taking a human right perspective rather than expressing 'needs' can also help make oversight institutions more inclined to be responsive.'

- A health expert in Mali --

Most studies focus on the dichotomy between confrontation and constructive engagement of citizens with duty-bearers. However, citizens can also join forces with duty-bearers and advocate or lobby towards the relevant government institutions. Such co-advocating strategies encourage enabling environments for collective action and can bolster state capacity to respond to citizen voice in the long-term (Fox 2014; Fox, 2016). This might be particularly needed where citizens' rights are hindered by the absence of conditions that are dependent on governmental financial allocations (such as the 'resources' and 'institutional – external' conditions).

A health and WASH expert from Mali mentioned an interesting example called: '*Espaces communaux citoyens d'interpellation democratique*' (Communal spaces for democratic interpellation of citizens). In this case, the focus was on WASH services in the municipality, including in public institutions such as schools and HCFs. A public consultation meeting was organised at municipal level (in Markala) to bring together community members, government representatives, duty-bearers, NGOs, and the media. This also led to integrating priorities raised by the communities into the municipal development plan. It raised the communities' awareness on their rights as well as their responsibilities (e.g. payment for water services). The success of this meeting at the municipal level helped lobby for the creation of a public consultation platform at national level as part of the review process of the National Water Act.

Espaces communaux citoyens d'interpellation democratique (communal spaces for democratic interpellation of citizens)⁴⁸

This approach was implemented following key steps:

- A preparatory phase, with consultation sessions at different levels to prepare for the official public consultation meeting. The purpose of these sessions was to collect concerns in different villages and from different stakeholders. Collecting these ahead gave a chance for everyone to express themselves;
- The official public consultation meeting, for which a clear agenda was set and shared beforehand, starting by a summary of the collected concerns, time for discussions and engagement of all parties, deliberation, and finally the presentation of a clear plan for actions including commitments. This was disseminated live on the radio;
- A follow-up phase, consisting of a presentation of the plan of actions in all villages and setting up a committee to ensure follow-up on the promises made.

⁴⁸ This approach was supported by Terre des Hommes as part of the Swiss Water and Sanitation Consortium: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X7sECQLOFSg>

5.1.4 Good practices that can be implemented internally to improve integrity



Figure 7. Word cloud of the responses to ‘What good practices can be implemented at the level of a school/HCF to improve transparency?’ (minisurvey for sectoral experts).

Approaches such as performance-based incentives (section 5.1.1.) and social accountability approaches (section 5.1.3.) can be made more effective with some degree of internalization of transparency, accountability, and responsiveness as processes but also as norms and values.

Key conditions for procedures to be effective is that they are made clearly available (transparency), disseminated and are well implemented (Barreto-Dillon et al., 2018), thus the need for an institutional commitment to integrity.

Below are some examples of procedures/measures to foster integrity that can be introduced internally, within a school or a HCF. These can help strengthen the ‘institutional -internal’ conditions as well as the ‘social’ conditions.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts: When asked about ‘good practices that can be implemented to improve transparency’, the three most mentioned suggestions were related to platforms for engagement, improving transparency of information, and protocols and procedures to improve integrity.

Response from teachers: Two teachers in Kenya pointed out that the school administration should show ‘goodwill’ and ‘be good role models for other teachers to follow’, particularly on ‘the importance of being transparent’. Three teachers in Afghanistan suggested the need for ‘unconditional implementation of rules and regulations in the school’ and ensuring that ‘everyone adheres to them’ as solutions to improve their integrity. One teacher in the DRC highlighted the need for more transparency in the way the school is managed. Specific examples were the need to ‘stop unjustified disciplinary actions’ and ‘the need to avoid sanctions that are based on rumours’.

Codes of conduct

These can be called codes of ethics, codes of good governance, disciplinary codes, etc. Establishing codes of conduct at the level of the institution and communicating them internally and externally helps promote transparency and accountability and demonstrate commitment to the public interest

(OECD, 2017). Particularly important is to establish such standards at the leadership level so that managers and supervisors become examples of honesty and accountability (OECD, 2017; Otieno, 2012; Barreto-Dillon et al., 2018; global experts interviewed).

Procedures to facilitate a meaningful engagement of citizens

To make citizens' engagement more meaningful, some specific procedures can be set up/ revised such as citizens charters, guidelines on how to organise meetings, clear agendas, meeting minutes, ToRs for SMC, PTA or BoM, communication guidelines, confidentiality agreements or protection measures.

'Sometimes, the meetings are not well coordinated and we can spend the whole day on one agenda point because parents often have a lot of questions.'

- A teacher from Kenya -

Improving how feedback is analysed and addressed

The establishment of clear procedures to provide feedback, but also to report integrity violations or corruption is needed to show institutional commitment to integrity and maintain a culture of openness (OECD, 2017; Barreto-Dillon et al., 2018). It is also key that they are adapted to the ability of all rights-holders to use them. For example, illiterate people need to have access to in person or telephone options.

In most schools and HCFs, while there are many ways for citizens to provide feedback, this feedback is too often not addressed or has no effect. Some of the main difficulties include people not knowing how to properly formulate their queries, or requests being unrealistic, which leads to duty-bearers ignoring it (global experts interviewed). This can be improved by awareness raising on rights and duties (section 4.1.2.) and by ensuring more meaningful dialogue between citizens and duty-bearers (section 4.1.3.). Other issues that can hinder the effectiveness of feedback mechanisms are that duty-bearers either do not analyse the feedback or do not know how to address it (or it is not clear whose responsibility it is).

Specific procedures to ensure that feedback is analysed and addressed may include designating a staff member to collect feedback, having a clear meeting agenda point in management meetings to go through the feedback and a dedicated slot for all to express their views, coming up with clear actions on how to address it (or reasons why it cannot be addressed), keeping meeting minutes, sharing the action plans or meeting outcomes, reviewing meeting minutes in next meeting and providing updates on progress of action plans implementation. Engaging citizens in monitoring, can also motivate duty-bearers to be responsive (section 4.1.3.).

In Kenya, while most teachers seem to be satisfied about the work of the BoM, they indicated that improvements are required in how the BoM addresses citizens' feedback. Some suggestions include training for BoM members on management and communication, improving the way parents are engaged in meetings, and giving parents a role in monitoring.

'If feedback cannot be addressed, the BoM should at least communicate to the parents the reasons why it might not be possible.'

- A teacher in Kenya -

In Nepal, despite the high number of citizens' engagement platforms, the key issue reported for both schools and HCFs was also about how feedback and complaints are addressed.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts: A suggestion for the health sector was to set up regular client surveys and specific evaluation meetings, 'with a balance between client appreciation and critical performance feedback'.

Procedures to report and address violations

Procedures to report and address violations are one type of feedback mechanisms for which confidentiality aspects need to be considered in the reporting mechanisms. Though also true for all types of feedback, these procedures can be made more effective when there is a third party that verifies the reported violation and when linked to sanctions.

In Kenya, violations and complaints from students are mostly reported orally via the discipline master, class teacher, or the student 'president' from the student council. Most schools also have a so-called 'guidance and counselling teacher', often a well-respected female teacher. As mentioned before, the suggestion boxes and complaint register books (in place in most schools) were reported as not being used.

When it comes to higher-level violation, teachers **in Kenya and Nepal** mentioned that parents are often reluctant to report serious issues, as this can lead to intimidation. This is also the case when a teacher voices misconduct coming from management.

Improving transparency of information and processes

Studies have shown that interventions to help improve transparency within public institutions can lower corruption of duty-bearers, enhance the quantity and quality of public services, and improve citizen well-being (Tsai et al., 2019). There seems to be a link between the adoption of transparency practices (e.g. adoption of systems for data and information management and customer relations, public tendering, transparency portals and publication of external audits) and an increased efficiency of service providers and regulators (Barreto-Dillon et al., 2018). Moreover, the documenting of good and bad practices can provide valuable lessons for the future (global experts interviewed).

There are examples where the mere disclosure of information has led to actions (Zuñiga, 2018) and led to citizens holding duty-bearers to account. However, in most cases, simply providing information is not enough (Thorne, 2020) and when too much is provided, it can be overwhelming. Information disclosed to citizens should be 'actionable', that is, specific and clear information linked to promises (Albisu, 2019; Fox, 2015, Thorne, 2020). Involving independent and trustworthy third parties to analyse and scrutinise information before it is presented can help improve its usefulness, increase citizens' trust, and guide duty-bearers on how to respond (Albisu, 2019; Porumbescu, 2015).

In Kenya, some teachers suggested to develop a communication strategy and have a regular school newsletter to share information on what is happening in the schools with parents.

Exploring digital options for information sharing and feedback

Online options are increasingly being used to share information and for feedback, such as interactive websites, social media and online forums (Barreto-Dillon et al., 2018). These digital platforms can be used by duty-bearers to build more constructive relationships with their right-holders.

Social media, for example, has become an accessible and straightforward way of raising complaints and reporting corruption. They can easily bring together many voices that share the same complaint and amplify it. But again, to lead to the intended effect, it requires mechanisms to analyse and address the feedback. Private messaging were also reported to help, particularly in contexts where people behave more individualistically (Albisu, 2019; Baez Camargo and Stahl, 2016).

In Kenya, it was mentioned that Whatsapp, messages or even phone calls were used quite successfully to facilitate communication between parents and teachers, and among teachers themselves.

In Nepal, in recent years, the use of social media has also become common among teachers of the same school, but also between a municipal government and all head teachers in that municipality. It has proven to be an effective means to circulate information coming from the government and has

helped improve the relationship between duty-bearers and municipalities. However, it is mostly a top-down exchange, and not used to bring up challenges and requests from duty-bearers. Similar communication channels exist for the health sector.

Monitoring and evaluation systems at school/HCF level

While monitoring can be done by external stakeholders, such as citizens or oversight institutions, it can also take place internally by a supervisor, among colleagues, or even via self-monitoring. This can help ensure that procedures are well implemented, and that information is transparent.

In Nepal, in the absence of monitoring from the municipality, experts interviewed highlighted the need for the school to introduce school level monitoring systems and to link it to mechanisms for rewards and sanctions. This can include monitoring teacher or health worker attendance, performance, methodologies used to teach/provide health care, or their behaviour with students/patients.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from teachers: In Afghanistan, six teachers mentioned the need for monitoring, and two suggested 'self-monitoring among teachers'. In Nepal, two teachers suggested to 'monitor attendance of teachers and students', and 'performance evaluation'.

5.1.5 Fostering a better use of existing resources

While the 'resources' conditions are basic requirements for duty-bearers to be able to perform their duties, schools or HCFs in developing contexts too often struggle with inadequate materials and infrastructure. Infrastructure construction and materials provision often depend on decisions and financial support from external stakeholders such as governmental institutions or NGOs.

Rather than focusing on what is missing, there are some good practices and procedures that can help improve the maintenance and use of existing materials or infrastructures and therefore influence the 'resources' conditions. This can be particularly important for the medical equipment, teaching materials as well as WASH facilities. **In Nepal**, for example, some teachers mentioned that they are developing their own teaching materials themselves. The Textbook Count project described in chapter 4 under condition 'adequate materials and tools' is also a good example of how good monitoring procedures can result in effective delivery of materials, such as textbooks.

When it comes to WASH facilities, Leclert et al (2018a) describes some good practices from experiences in Kenya. First, it provides some recommendations to improve the construction quality, including the need for close construction supervision by an independent and professional supervisor. **In Kenya**, construction workers, artisans, and duty-bearers interviewed suggested to request the services of quality assurance officers from the county government for supervision and involve the community for unskilled labour needs and provision of simple materials (stones, water etc.).

Then, regarding the choice of the technology, Leclert et al (2018a) highlights the importance that hardware technology is locally appropriate and considers the needs of the school and the financial and technical capacity of the school stakeholders to carry out O&M. It encourages to opt for solutions that are low cost, available in the local markets and easy to operate (such as masonry tanks or tippy-tap). For ownership and sustainability, it recommends engaging schools' stakeholders in these decisions, and to organise an O&M training with the relevant school stakeholders. Procedures such as O&M schedule, cleaning schedule and other checklists, with clear tasks allocation, can be developed in this training.

Most of the recommendations mentioned for WASH facilities can actually be extrapolated for other infrastructures required in schools and HCFs. Specific to HCFs, an interesting approach to improve WASH services is *WASH FIT* (WHO, 2019).

WASH FIT⁴⁹

WASH FIT is a risk-based, continuous improvement framework for undertaking WASH improvements as part of general quality improvement in HCFs. It targets community level HCF in low- and middle-income countries. WASH FIT's five-step cycle is a participatory process with a strong focus on prioritization, leadership, and community engagement. It can be adapted to suit the local context (e.g. by focusing on a disease priority such as cholera or topics such as health care waste management). The tool is designed for facility-level action, although data collected through the assessment can be used for monitoring and national-level planning.

5.1.6 Improving accountability of relevant government institutions



Figure 8. Word cloud of the responses to 'What (more) can be done by local or national governmental authorities to help or motivate teachers/health workers to act with more integrity?' after clustering'(minisurvey for sectoral experts).

Duty-bearers expect a lot from government: better salary and employment benefits, more resources, more trainings, etc. While some of these would require policy level interventions, other suggestions on how to increase the linkages between government institutions and duty-bearers are also highlighted. The approaches in this section can help strengthen the conditions: 'effective sanctions', 'salary and employment conditions', 'support from government institutions' and the 'resources' conditions.

⁴⁹ Developed by the World Health Organization (WHO):
<https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/311618/9789241515511-eng.pdf>

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts: Regarding ‘what more can be done by the government to enable or inspire duty-bearers to act with integrity’, the need for reforms to allow better salary and employment benefits was at the top of the list. More trainings was also very often mentioned. Government are also expected to support more in terms of resources to help create a better working environment. Some experts suggested developing solutions related to sanctions by the government and external oversight and control.

Response from teachers: Regarding the type of interventions that would help them most to work with integrity, teachers most mentioned ‘support from government’. In most countries, the specific needs for support mainly related to better salary and employment benefits, infrastructure and materials as well as human resources.

Governance reforms

Governance reforms can take place at three levels: 1) influencing how the broader political system functions, 2) influencing how a specific public service or institution functions internally, and 3) influencing how a specific public service or institution engages externally with service users (Waddington et al., 2020). Ideally, governance reforms should be directed at specific problems, focus on improvements that will have high impact but which are also feasible to address within the current distribution of power/resources, and seek improvements in governance and anti-corruption that are specific to time and place rather than applying existing blueprints (Hutchinson et al., 2019).

Research in the education sector has shown that governance reforms, such as devolving decision-making to schools, have generally improved educational outcomes, although it strongly depends on the context and the entity that implements the reform (e.g. government or NGO) (Carr-Hill, 2016). Countries having a strong bill of rights usually provide better public services, as government institutions and duty-bearers feel more obliged to be more responsive (global experts interviewed). Constitutional reforms can be an important driver to push for change towards more integrity in public services. Adding concrete provisions on issues such as anti-corruption, public integrity, freedom of expression and of the media can be of great help (Otieno, 2012).

Governance interventions, by reviewing who has access to what power and how accountability works, attempt to influence the social contract that mediates the relationship between government, duty-bearers and citizens.

The need for governance reforms is often mentioned as the solution to many issues, however, it does not always lead to the intended impact. **In the DRC** for example, the introduction of the Free Primary Education in 2018 was meant to be a positive reform towards ensuring the rights of all children to education. However, in practice, this has created new ‘integrity’ challenges. As previously mentioned, it negatively impacted the ‘financial resources’ of schools and the accountability lines. It also negatively impacted teachers’ salary and increased the issue of teachers’ absenteeism (or only ‘passing by’), as teachers end up cumulating work in different schools. The increase in children’ enrolment also put additional pressure on ‘human resources’. In Kenya, it was also mentioned that the introduction of Free Primary Education led to congestion in schools and parents being less willing to engage, as education is now perceived as the government’s responsibility (mainly in rural schools).

In Kenya, some health workers and experts interviewed had specific suggestions on what could be improved at the institutional level, such as the need for alignment between counties (to avoid that health workers try to be transferred to a better-off county) as well as putting in place a national health service commission that represent all health workers and advocate for their rights.

Improving access to legal information

In many countries, it is quite common that policy documents are not easily accessible and cannot even be found in the official ministry website. The issue of access to legal information concerns

citizens, but also duty-bearers and local government themselves. Ensuring access, accompanied with awareness raising activities at different levels, would be a simple step that can help clarify citizens' rights, but also help duty-bearers and local government to better understand their duties and the respective accountability lines. This is particularly relevant in countries where there have been recent reforms. **In Nepal**, for example, the municipal coordinators reported that they sometimes lack clarity on the sharing of responsibilities between the different levels of governments.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from teachers: Five teachers in Afghanistan specifically referred to the need for 'building awareness on the laws and procedures' and 'access to information on the law'.

Improving the interaction between duty-bearers and local government

Frequent and constructive Interactions between duty-bearers and the relevant institutions are key to motivate and enable duty-bearers to act with integrity. It can help these institutions to be better informed on the actual needs, build mutual trust and respect and (hopefully) trigger the institutions to be accountable. However, these interactions are often limited.

'There should be joint monitoring, evaluation and reporting. Between the three parties: Government, community and health workers.'

- A health expert from Nigeria -

In Kenya, health workers described how organizing more regular technical support supervision and meetings with their supervisor at sub-county level would make them feel supported and would allow the local government to become more aware of the challenges that duty-bearers face.

In Nepal, while the municipal government is often blamed for being inefficient and influenced by politics, some duty-bearers put forward interesting initiatives, such as organising municipal sectoral coordination meetings that take place on monthly basis to discuss concrete challenges from the ground and how to address them.

Results from the minisurveys:

Response from teachers: In the DRC, seven teachers mentioned the need for the government to 'feel more responsible and accountable'. The issue of accountability also came up in Kenya. In addition to the (high) expectations for more resources, the need for 'moral and psychological support' from the government was mentioned by two teachers in Kenya and by one in Afghanistan, highlighting a feeling of not being recognised and heard.

Seven teachers suggested to 'improve the relationship between teachers and the government' by 'increasing interactions with the local government'. Suggestions included 'organising meetings with the teachers', 'having guides from the government on the ground', and 'frequent supervision visits' so that the government becomes 'more aware of the needs of schools on the ground'. In Nepal, three teachers said that it would help if 'their voice could be more heard and if the government could then be more responsive and support them in solving their problems'.

External oversight and control

Another type of interactions take place through formal systems and institutions, such as SAIs, regulatory bodies, ombudsman, ethics and anti-corruption committees, public court litigations, as well as oversight and control activities by CSOs and other interest groups.

Auditing and control by higher-level institutions usually focuses on transparency and compliance to a national monitoring system. The same as for the condition 'sanctions', the fear of the negative

consequences from an audit can motivate duty-bearers to act with integrity. Corrective actions identified as a result of the audit can lead to better processes and can help improving transparency. The need for more regulations and control was mentioned by Integrity Action's partner **in the DRC**. They specifically mentioned that budget control could help reduce risks of misuse of (very limited) funds.

5.1.7 Role of the media and other lobby groups to influence duty-bearers' integrity



Figure 9. Word cloud of the responses to 'What role could the media or other lobby groups play to help or motivate teachers/health workers to act with more integrity?' after clustering (minisurvey for sectoral experts).

Research shows a long-term association between a free and independent media and reduced corruption (DFID, 2015). The media presence makes authorities more responsive and communities more confident (WIN, 2019c) and has the power to bring an issue to the public arena for debate and therefore be a mechanism for quality control and to increase transparency and accountability (Holloway, 2006; Albisu, 2019; WIN, 2016).

'Public education awareness through various media such as the radio, workshops, national television and newspapers, can help health workers to better communicate with their communities.'

- A health expert from Botswana -

From the different research activities, it came out that the media (such as radio, TV and newspapers) can be a powerful means for awareness raising at different levels, sharing of information, praising integrity successes, giving a voice to disadvantaged social groups, and also for lobbying and advocacy. The literature also highlighted the role of the media for denouncing bad behaviour and corrupt practices (Holloway, 2006; WIN, 2016). Interestingly, this was not much mentioned by duty-bearers, probably due to the way the question was formulated.

Examples of how social media and other digital communication platforms can be used for information sharing and feedback mechanisms were also mentioned in this research. Integrity Action's partner **in Kenya** highlighted that a free press and uncensored social media can be powerful lobby groups. In one instance, Facebook

'The local media can now come all the way to the local village.'

- A teacher from Kenya -

had been used successfully by a teacher to voice her grievances. She made a public post about an issue she was facing, and it subsequently went viral and was raised to the level of national conversation. Community members with access to social media were also able to follow the comments and posts, and participate in the conversation around the issue, but the post was soon censored and removed by the Kenyan Regulatory Commission.

In Kenya, both teachers and health workers interviewed suggested using the radio to improve transparency, to communicate information on best performing institution or duty-bearers, and to broadcast civic education messaging.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts: Experts stated that the media or other lobby groups can help by means of raising citizens' awareness and information sharing. They can also 'call out' duty-bearers that have shown bad behaviour, to serve as 'warning for others'. 'Lobbying and advocacy' were also mentioned as important roles (e.g. speaking up to the government about working conditions and general staff welfare).

5.1.8 How could CSOs/NGOs best support?



Figure 10. Word cloud of the responses to 'What role could CSOs/NGOs play to help or motivate teachers/health workers to act with more integrity?' after clustering (minisurvey for sectoral experts).

From the research findings, the main role that the NGOs sector can play to influence duty-bearers' integrity is mainly through capacity building. As NGOs' focus is often on citizens, they can help in raising citizens' awareness on their rights and empowering them to raise their voice through different social accountability approaches. Being an external party, they can also facilitate constructive dialogue between citizens and duty-bearers and strengthening accountability mechanisms.

NGOs can also intervene (more) at duty-bearers' level with capacity building. This was specifically highlighted by the duty-bearers interviewed. This can start by raising awareness of duty-bearers on their duties and providing trainings and capacity building on topics that are usually not covered by official duty-bearers' trainings (such as governance and integrity). Other types of capacity building support include guidance to improve internal processes, strengthen existing engagement platforms, and put in place procedures to foster integrity and a better use of existing resources.

NGO's role on lobbying and advocacy is also worth highlighting, as they often have (more) direct access to influential stakeholders. As an external party, NGOs are also often well placed to inspire

duty-bearers through piloting (and financing) innovative approaches such as *Integrity Icon*, or rewards for best schools.

While NGOs can support the implementation of most approaches mentioned in this chapter, their role is not to interfere with the existing accountability lines and responsibilities, but rather to empower the stakeholders in the system. This is an important nuance as too often, NGOs are expected to step in and fill in for the government, particularly when it comes to infrastructure construction and provision of materials. This is contra-productive and can lead to loss of government's accountability. What the NGOs sector brings to the system is neutrality, specific expertise, and leverage for lobbying and advocacy.

In Kenya, respondents mentioned that NGOs/CSOs could support by organising trainings for BoM members. Other suggested trainings include civic education training for the public on their rights and responsibilities, and integrity and civic engagement training for duty-bearers.

In Nepal, some respondents mentioned that NGOs' support in strengthening existing social accountability tools is usually well appreciated, as it helps to bring citizens' concerns to the right institutions and to ensure promises made are kept.

Results from the minisurveys

Response from experts: In addition to 'capacity building' and 'lobbying and advocacy', experts highlighted that NGOs/CSOs can help facilitate the dialogue between duty-bearers and citizens. Performance monitoring (e.g. supporting in organising satisfaction surveys at community level or putting in place a monitoring committee to ensure that recommendations are put in practice), or encouraging excellence (e.g. organizing contests/competitions, awarding the best teacher/school/HCF) were other solutions mentioned.

5.2 To what extent does the success of these approaches vary with the context? (RQ 2.2.)

Many different factors influence the success of an approach, but in general, an approach is effective when it is specifically designed to address the specific problems from a given context and when it takes into consideration the factors described in chapter 4.2. The sector of focus and the value that society gives to a particular service also has an impact. For example, in some contexts formal education may not be highly valued by the community (global experts interviewed).

The success of a social accountability approach requires a high degree of sensitivity to the social and cultural environment in which citizens and duty-bearers interact, such as the characteristics and mindsets of both parties (Lieberman et al. 2017) as well as social norms. It also requires a good understanding and consideration for socio-economic and political factors. As mentioned by Integrity Action's partners, the *Integrity Clubs* approach was more successful in higher income areas or boarding schools than in schools that were struggling financially. Social accountability approaches may also work better in countries where civil society is organized and active (Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015) or in rural areas where social capital is more important and therefore social pressure stronger (global expert interviewed).

It is also key to understand the degree and nature of risk such approaches may be exposing participants to, and to take steps to mitigate the potential harm (Scharbatke-Church and Chigas, 2019). For example, in authoritarian regimes, a closed forum for debate may represent a safe place in which participants have more freedom to criticize regime leaders and for the latter to accept it, facilitating the debate and solution-seeking among authorities and other actors (Zuñiga, 2018).

Accountability mechanisms also change profoundly on the basis of how decisions are made, what resources are available and how decisions are enforced (Albisu, 2019). Therefore, approaches aiming at strengthening accountability lines, both social accountability and between duty-bearers and the relevant government institutions, need to be fully embedded in the country's institutional, legal and

regulatory framework (Leclert, 2016). This helps duty-bearers to see the implementation of social accountability as helping them to fulfil their duties, rather than as additional work imposed on them by an external actor. This also increases the chances of endorsement by higher-level authorities and replication within the country.

One global expert elaborated on the use of the *Logics of Appropriateness Framework*, a perspective that is being used to research what impacts decision-making and behaviour within the lens of integrity. It can help to focus on the ‘uncodified’ rules that determine what actually gets done by duty-bearers. These uncodified rules include the political administrative interface, as well as peoples’ own perceptions of what they are expected to prioritise.

Logics of Appropriateness framework⁵⁰

A useful way of predicting how duty-bearers will act is with the *Logics of Appropriateness* framework, which uses an ‘identity’ based approach. It asks, ‘What are the rules, both codified and uncodified, that impact behaviour?’ It is based on the principles that all the actions and decisions made by duty-bearers are related to their sense of identity in a job.

In order to get an understanding of how people view their identities, a primary question to ask might be, ‘How do people view the identity of a teacher or health worker in your community?’. Typical answers might include: A teacher is supposed to be strict, or a supervisor does not do any work, etc. Their understanding of their ideal role as a public servant, bread winner, specific social standing or position of authority is helpful in determining how they will act. The rules that duty-bearers follow are related to these ideas of identities, historical socialization, or power dynamics in a society and can help inform and better develop incentives that will ultimately have the intended effect on the behaviour of duty-bearers. Interventions working on improving integrity and behaviour change would benefit from asking questions that identify these narrative identities.

5.3 What value do duty-bearers place on different approaches in building integrity, and what benefit would they want or expect from an approach such as Integrity Action’s? (RQ 2.3.)

Levels where duty-bearers think citizen participation would be most beneficial

The findings of all activities came to the same conclusion: duty-bearers do give value to the engagement of citizens. While ‘lack of platforms for dialogue’ was one of the most limiting conditions for duty-bearers to be able to share information on decisions and actions with the community (from the minisurveys), the focus country work and other KIIs highlighted that the biggest challenge is not necessarily the lack of platforms but the lack of constructive dialogue and follow-up on what has been agreed upon. Citizens also are not always willing to engage for different reasons (e.g. lack of time, fear of reprisals), or if they do attend the meetings, their engagement is often not meaningful.

When it comes to levels where citizens’ engagement would be most useful, the different respondents put many suggestions forward, but what most came out is engagement in monitoring and decision-making. As mentioned in section 5.1.3., it is key that the scope of the monitoring and the type of decisions that require citizens’ engagement is clearly defined and realistic. Citizens’ engagement in construction or maintenance of infrastructure was also mentioned, especially in more challenging contexts where the ‘resources’ conditions are limited.

⁵⁰ Weber et al., 2004

Results from the minisurveys – Annex 20

Response from teachers: To the **multiple-choice** question ‘in which activities is community engagement most useful?’, a number of options were given: in monitoring of services, taking part in management meetings, infrastructure construction and O&M, voicing expectations and needs, providing feedback, planning and budgeting (Figure 20.3. in Annex 20.).

Overall, all answers seemed relevant to some extent. On average, engagement is perceived to be most useful in ‘monitoring of the quality of the services’, and less important in planning and budgeting. Some country differences worth noting include:

- In Afghanistan, teachers’ answers showed the highest variation. Teachers considered that citizens’ engagement is especially useful in monitoring of services, and secondly, in providing feedback. Compared to other countries, teachers in Afghanistan gave a very low importance to engaging citizens in providing feedback, planning and budgeting (all ranked last).
- In the DRC, teachers considered that citizens’ engagement is most beneficial in taking part in management meeting and infrastructure construction and O&M. Especially regarding engaging citizens in infrastructure construction and O&M, teachers from other countries considered it as less important. Compared to other countries, teachers considered citizens’ engagement in management meeting as less important.
- In Nepal and the DRC, teachers considered that community engagement is most beneficial in ‘taking part in management meetings’. Teachers in Nepal also cited ‘planning’ as an activity where community engagement would be very useful.
- In Kenya, all options were considered almost equally important, with slightly more importance given to engaging citizens in ‘monitoring of services’.

In terms of which ‘group’ is currently most engaged in schools (Figure 20.2. in Annex 20.), it seems that ‘community leaders’, ‘all community members’ and ‘local government’ are the three most engaged groups. Differences between countries are minor. Some that are worth noting include:

- In Afghanistan, it is ‘all community members’ that is the most mentioned, while local governments were reported as hardly present.
- In Kenya, it seems to be more the ‘local leaders’ and the ‘local government’ that are actively engaged, more than the ‘community as a whole’.
- In the DRC, it seems that ‘community leaders’ are more active than ‘the community as a whole’ or the ‘local government’.
- In Nepal, while the differences are not significant, it is the ‘community as a whole’ that is most active.

Regarding the location of the school, it seems that ‘all community members’ are more engaged, while in urban area it is more the ‘local government’.

Expected benefits from duty-bearers on citizen-centred accountability mechanisms

Approaches such as Integrity Action’s focus on supporting citizens to engage in constructive dialogue with duty-bearers on commitments that have been made and not delivered, and on how these shortfalls can be collaboratively overcome. It is a step-by-step process that requires:

- Duty-bearers to make information available so that citizens know what is promised (transparency);
- Citizens to monitor that promises are delivered, and engage in a dialogue on collaborative action planning and problem solving (participation);
- Duty-bearers to address feedback, respond to specific needs and act on promises made (responsiveness and equity).

In Nepal, citizen-centred approaches focusing on accountability are well aligned with the federal government’s political commitment to accountable and transparent governance, as well as efforts to foster direct citizens’ oversight and participation through social accountability mechanisms. Due to

reforms made in recent years, every citizen now has the right to monitor and get information related to public works and provide feedback. In schools and HCFs specifically, it is the citizens' responsibility to monitor and check on what is being delivered and what is missing. Not unsurprisingly, people interviewed during the focus country work (so both duty-bearers that were part of the SHINE but also other duty-bearers) showed a strong interest for approaches such as Integrity Action's, as it aligns with the ways they have been working or would like to work. According to the duty-bearers interviewed, the expected benefits of such approaches included improving the quality of services, getting a stronger bonding with local communities, and reaching higher levels of ownership from the communities towards these institutions. Some suggestions were also put forward such as the need to work both at citizens' and duty-bearers' level, as well as to focus on strengthening already-established structures and mechanisms, rather than creating new ones.

In Kenya, representatives from the Kenya National Union of Teachers declared that increasing citizen participation and feedback can definitely help improve the integrity of teachers. According to them, this can help ensure that parents hold teachers accountable and are given a voice. One teacher interviewed particularly agreed with this opinion and added that this would really help citizens better understand what the school can or cannot do (due to limited resources or capacities), increase citizens' ownership of decisions made at the school, and (hopefully) increase parents' willingness to support the school, including financially.

'If citizens are more involved, this will make it easier for us to ask for contributions from parents [...] and that there will be more understanding on what the school can or cannot do. This should help reduce finger pointing and complaints and make parents' expectations more realistic.'

- A teacher from Kenya -

However, other teachers and health workers interviewed did not share this opinion. Instead, they were reluctant to involve citizens in supervising them. Some teachers and health workers shared a worry of having citizens interfering with their work. They mentioned that citizens' monitoring too often focuses on criticisms, and that some citizens dramatize the whole process of giving feedback e.g. organising strikes, frog marching etc. Others mentioned that it is anyway unlikely to happen as citizens generally do not have the time to engage, or might not dare to report serious issues.

As ways forward, some teachers suggested the need for the school management to start acting as role model, the need for capacity building and civic education at all levels, and the fact finger pointing should be stopped.

'How can a professional be supervised by non-professionals?'

-A health worker in Kenya -

Results from the minisurveys

Response from teachers: Some teachers gave further explanations on the benefits they would expect from increasing citizens' engagement. As one teacher in the DRC highlighted, it would 'allow the community to be more aware of the challenges faced by teachers'. A teacher in Afghanistan commented that, teachers need 'to be supported by community members, and to feel confident that people would support them in case of challenges' and 'for parents to be cooperative to help teachers be more enthusiastic toward their classes'.

Specific feedback on Integrity Action's approach in schools

The feedback from Integrity Action's partners on the *Integrity Clubs* approach was generally positive, with outcomes ranging from improved attendance and increased enrolment of female students to increased trust and harmony within the community. Some challenges and contextual differences were identified, as well as suggestions for future programming. These included:

- *Accessibility:* Integrity Action's partners **in Afghanistan, Kenya and Nepal** emphasized the challenges linked with having to rely on internet and smartphone access for reporting issues. It could help and be more inclusive if there would be an offline version of the reporting tool.
- *Buy-in from school stakeholders:* Integrity Action's partners **in the DRC and in Nepal** mentioned that the best results were found in schools where there was ownership from the SMC, and motivated and eager teachers supporting students. Where this was not the case, some children ended up suffering from bad reputation from trying to report problems (**in the DRC**). It was suggested that involving teachers in problem identification together with the students could increase acceptance by the SMC and help link the feedback to actionable resolution mechanisms.
- *Alignment with the country's efforts and policy framework:* **In Kenya**, the Ministry of Education issued a Circular in 2018 to direct all schools and colleges to establish *Integrity Clubs* 'with the aim of inculcating values among the youth as a way of enhancing responsible citizenship and promote intolerance to corruption and unethical conduct'. However, it seems that this has not yet trickled down to the school level. While Integrity Action's partner was aware of it, none of the teachers interviewed⁵¹ had received this information. As much as possible, Integrity Action's approach in schools should be embedded in the broader efforts of the government to promote *Integrity Clubs* and should be introduced as such to the different stakeholders so that it can be perceived as a means for the government to achieve its purpose rather than (another) NGO initiative. At school level, this can help increase stakeholders' buy in and internalisation of the approach within the school's practices. It will also be key for further institutionalisation and scaling up.
- *Individual motivation and values:* Integrity Action's partners **in Nepal** mentioned that teachers that do not live in the community where the school is located tend to be less responsive and less motivated to solving the identified problems. It was also reported that some teachers refused or were reluctant to provide the requested project documents to the monitors (such as bills of quantity), ostensibly because of the fear of information misuse. In Afghanistan, Integrity Action's partners mentioned that it was sometimes challenging to get experienced teachers to acknowledge their shortcomings and change their behaviour or adapt their methods. However, with the continued activities of the *Integrity Clubs*, a stronger sense of friendship and trust has developed between teachers and the community because of the focus on sharing the weight of fixing the problems.

5.4 Recommendations for integrity interventions – in a nutshell

Based on the research findings, the following recommendations can be considered for any interventions aiming at improving integrity of duty-bearers, and social accountability processes in particular.

- *All conditions are important:* The research highlighted that each category of the Flower Framework is important, and that all conditions, in one way or another, play a role in influencing duty-bearers' integrity. Integrity interventions might therefore rather focus on influencing a range of conditions, rather than only one (most NGOs tend to focus on influencing the conditions in the category 'social' and 'resources').
- *Both citizens and duty-bearers have rights and responsibilities/duties:* Within organisations working on social accountability, there is a tendency to see the shortcomings for social accountability as the sole responsibility of the duty-bearers. The fact that this research looked at integrity from the duty-bearers' lens (and not from the citizens' lens) helped to break away from the dichotomy that 'rights-holders have rights and duty-bearers have

⁵¹ Teachers interviewed were not part of the SHINE project and not linked to Integrity Action's partners.

duties'. Rights-holders also have responsibilities; and duty-bearers have expectations within their role which are often not realised. As highlighted in this research, from the duty-bearers' viewpoint, citizens not asking for information or not taking part in existing engagement platforms limits duty-bearers' ability to act with integrity. This might be seen as an important responsibility of citizens. In addition to this, a key finding of this research was that the 'resources' conditions are the main limiting conditions for duty-bearers to act with integrity. These expectations of duty-bearers might be viewed as a form of 'rights' in the workplace that duty-bearers expect from the institutions above them in the governance hierarchy. An important recommendation for integrity and accountability interventions is to not over-emphasize the 'demand' side, but rather to consider the whole right-holders/duty-bearers/government institutions system, and to highlight duties and responsibilities from all sides.

- *Awareness raising at all levels:* Linked to the above, awareness raising on rights and duties is required at both the demand and the supply sides. Citizens should understand their rights, including what they can realistically claim, and how they can claim it. They also need to be aware of what is expected from them. Duty-bearers should, in turn, understand that listening and responding to feedback is part of their public duties and value citizens' engagement and feedback. Awareness raising at the level of the governmental institutions can also help reactivate governmental accountability lines. Bringing both citizens and duty-bearers together to discuss rights and duties might help reach a mutual understanding of limitations so that citizens can hold duty-bearers to account for what is in their control. It can also help reaching higher levels of respects.
- *Engaging governmental counterparts in project activity from the design phase:* Easier to implement and to influence than reforms, engaging local government counterparts in all stages of an intervention can help improve their relationship with duty-bearers. It can also be the starting point for improved accountability lines.
- *Duty-bearers appreciate carrots more than sticks:* Despite the bias coming from the positive orientation of the research questions, a key finding of this research is that positive approaches encouraging integrity seem to be more appreciated and effective than negative ones.
- *There is no one-size-fits-all solution:* Many different factors influence the success of an approach, but in general, an approach is effective when it is specifically designed to address the specific problems from a given context. Approaches should also be agreed upon by both citizens and duty-bearers based on an assessment of the main limiting conditions. NGOs' role is to facilitate this process and share experience and recommendations on different approaches.
- *Good understanding of the local context is key:* Understanding the extent to which the conditions that influence duty-bearers' integrity are in place, as well as the factors that impact them and their relative influence, is key for programme design. While it is clear that the socio-economic and political factors have a strong influence, this research also highlighted other important factors to consider. These include the political commitment to integrity, the level of decentralization, the location of the institution, and other historical and cultural factors such as social norms.
- *The role of NGOs is to empower stakeholders and facilitate processes:* NGOs should not interfere with existing accountability lines and responsibilities. Their role is to empower the stakeholders in the system, to facilitate dialogue by bringing neutrality and specific expertise, and to provide leverage to lobbying and advocacy initiatives. Similarly, interventions should focus on strengthening existing structures and systems before introducing new ones, and should be fully embedded in the country's institutional, legal and regulatory framework.

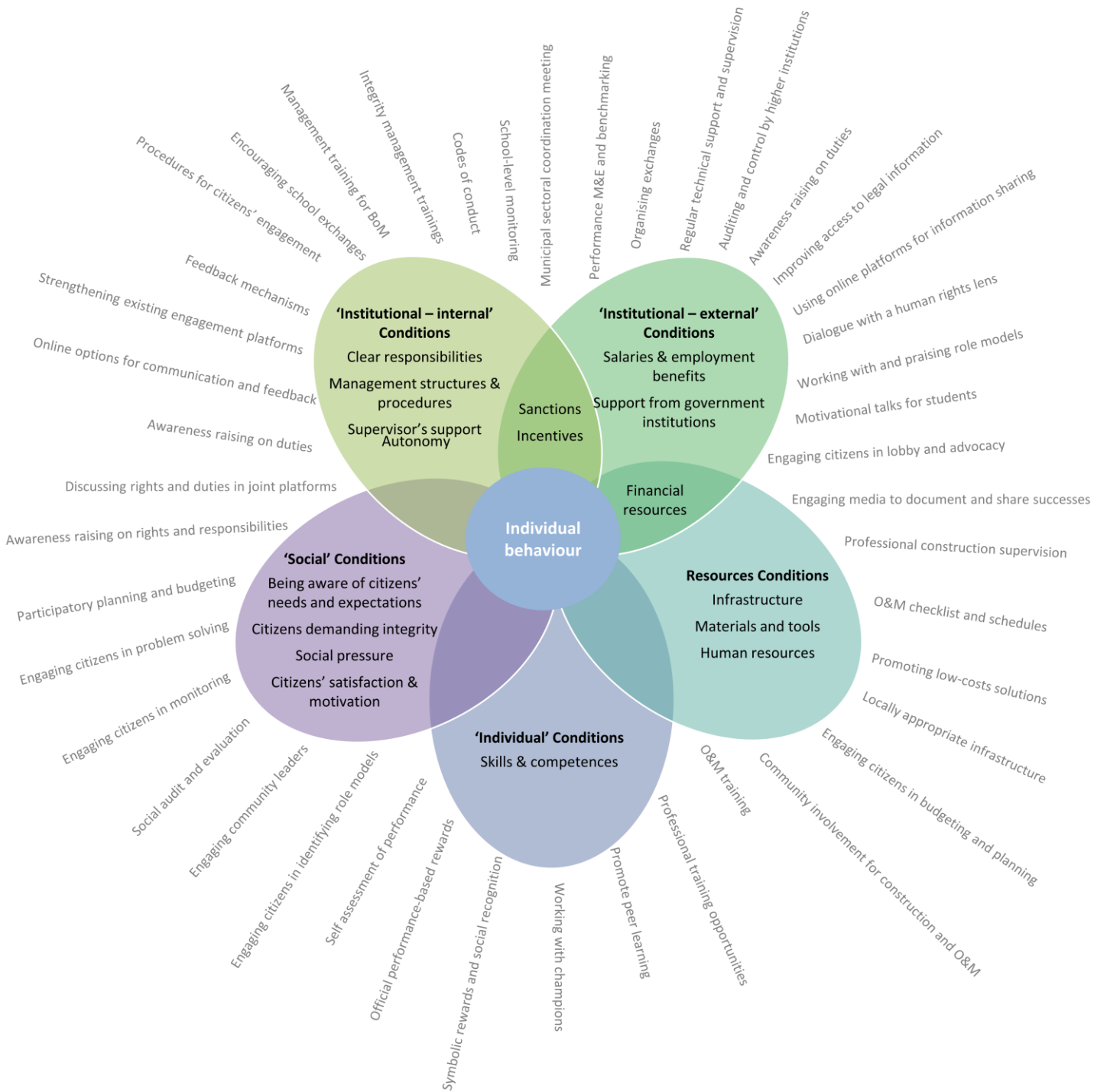


Figure 11. Graphic representation of the most important conditions influencing duty-bearers' integrity (inside the flower) and the good practices/promising approaches that can help create or strengthen them (around the flower).

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