

# The Need for a New Expertise Profile in Anticorruption

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# Abstract

My starting point in the paper is that in order to fight complex and pervasive patterns of corruption and integrity violations within public organizations a processual dialogic approach is necessary: a dialogic processes of collective inquiry that can lead to a coordinated collective action process. In the paper I explain why establishing collective inquiry and action processes among organizational units and internal stakeholders can be similarly challenging as organizing anticorruption collective action process among independent stakeholders in a domain of business activities. Then, I argue that the quality of the process is a key determinant whether even committed leaders or coalitions can achieve results. My argument redirects attention from the usual focus on the commitment of leadership or the strengths of coalitions of stakeholders to the quality of the process. I also argue that for effective processes good facilitators are necessary, and process facilitation is a specific kind of expertise based on an approach, mechanisms and instruments that are very different from the standard technical anticorruption instruments that are educated in academic anti-corruption programs. In order to have effective facilitators for anticorruption/integrity development collective action processes we need hybrid professionals whose education integrate both the anticorruption and integrity theories and standard instruments, and a systematic training that prepare students to initiate and facilitate effective collective processes. At the end of the paper, in order to illustrate my argument, I present a concrete case: the collaborative process of a very diverse group of professionals that engendered a method for initiating anticorruption collective inquiry and action processes in Hungarian public sector organizations and a curriculum to train anticorruption/integrity professionals who can lead such collective processes. Reference will also be made to the recent re-regulation of public integrity management that happened due to the impact of the professional community that formed through the collective process.

Key words: integrity experts, dialogic method, collective action, anticorruption education, complex problems

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# 1 Introduction

The activity of the International Centre for Collective Action (ICCA) at the Basel Institute on Governance is focused on building strong coalitions among private sector, government and civil society actors in order to tackle shared corruption challenges related to business transactions. The ICCA applies the World Bank definition of collective action as “a collaborative and sustained process of cooperation amongst stakeholders. It increases the impact and credibility of individual action, brings vulnerable individual players into an alliance of like-minded organizations and levels the playing field between competitors”. (WBI, 2008: 4) In my paper I discuss challenges of anticorruption and integrity reform processes within public sector organizations and attempt to draw inferences to the education of anticorruption professionals: professionals who are trained to facilitate integrity reform processes. I propose that my claims are equally relevant for private sector organizations.

In the first part of my paper I will argue that in face of complex and pervasive patterns of corruption and integrity breaching within public sector organizations sustained and coordinated action, a transformative process, is necessary for building integrity. A process of collective inquiry and action that have many similarities to the anticorruption collective action processes in the business environment. In order to explain the need for and the nature of the transformative process I will introduce two metaphors: I will use the “stretched tangle” as a metaphor for systemic corruption and the “Panopticon” to capture the obstacles to collective action within public administration. I will use the two metaphors in my explanation of the challenges of the integrity reform process and in my argument for the need for processual dialogic approach of integrity development. I will also argue that, in order to train professionals who can facilitate collective reform processes, important changes have to happen in the approach how we educate anticorruption professionals. I will argue that, beside analysts and technical experts, hybrid professionals should also be educated who can take the role of facilitator of anticorruption collective processes. The good collective action cases discussed in the literature are led by extraordinary professionals who happened to have all the necessary competencies. But, if my argument is valid that in order to curb systemic corruption there is need for collective action in many areas of business and public administration, a few extraordinary professionals cannot do the job. Systematic education of facilitative anticorruption professionals should produce the necessary number of professionals to work in different areas and organizations that are burdened by corrupt practices. Professionals who can connect stakeholders from various domains of the society, its institutions and from various constituting units of an organization and facilitate their collective inquiry and action. The education of such professionals is a pressing need that is not met by actual anticorruption education programs. Both the content and method needs to be different than the actual.

The second part of my paper is a case study: it presents how we developed a curriculum at the National University for Public Service in Budapest, Hungary for the education of anticorruption professionals. The case I present emerged in the specific context of the Hungarian public administration and academia. As such it is a particular case about the education of Hungarian integrity professionals. At the same time it

is a case that shows how methods can evolve that fit the local environment and how the hybrid anticorruption professionals can be educated.

The curriculum and curriculum design process concept was developed within the specific context in Hungary. The two metaphors were created for explaining my argument to the various stakeholders who should be involved in the process or could become gatekeepers if they do not understand the problem. I share the metaphors and the case because I trust that the metaphors, the logic of the explanation and the solutions have relevance to other contexts as well. Readers will see whether they put new light to their challenges, or can help to explain challenges to other stakeholders whom they need to involve in their collective action.

## **2 Conceptual underpinnings: corruption theories, anticorruption praxis and metaphors**

### **2.1 Theories on corruption**

During the last decades a vast amount of theoretical and practical material has been produced on corruption. Different academic disciplines have created different conceptualizations of corruption and a wide variety of proposals for instruments to curb corruption. Rational choice and economic theory in corruption is focused on the interests of actors. They are built on the concept that corrupt behavior can be explained through material, interest-maximizing calculation of actors. According to this theory external material incentives, rewards and sanctions, are the instruments to change behavior. In consequence that experience and experiments equally showed that mathematical modelling of rational calculation has only limited explanatory power for the behavior of actors, the Nobel laureate Herbert Simon, remaining in the rational choice theory, developed his bounded rationality concept that takes account of the cognitive limitations of actors and the limited time for decisions. Scholars from social and organizational sciences focus on the social nature of behavior, the role of social norms, structures, networks and peers play in corrupt behavior (Presson et al., 2012, Jancsics, 2013) and role of social exchanges actors get involved in. (Shore & Haller, 2005, Torsello, 2016) The work of argumentative theorists give insights in how social discourse and narratives shape the social context by impacting our reflection. (Fischer & Gottweis, 2013) Psychologists focus on internal drivers of human behavior, exploring coping strategies with external pressure, cognitive biases and mechanisms of self-concept maintenance. (Mazar et al., 2008) This line of inquiry led to the concept of bounded ethicality, a concept encompassing the systematic and predictable ways in which humans act unethically beyond their own awareness (Cugh, Bazerman & Banjali, 2002), and to the concept of “nudging”, that is, the

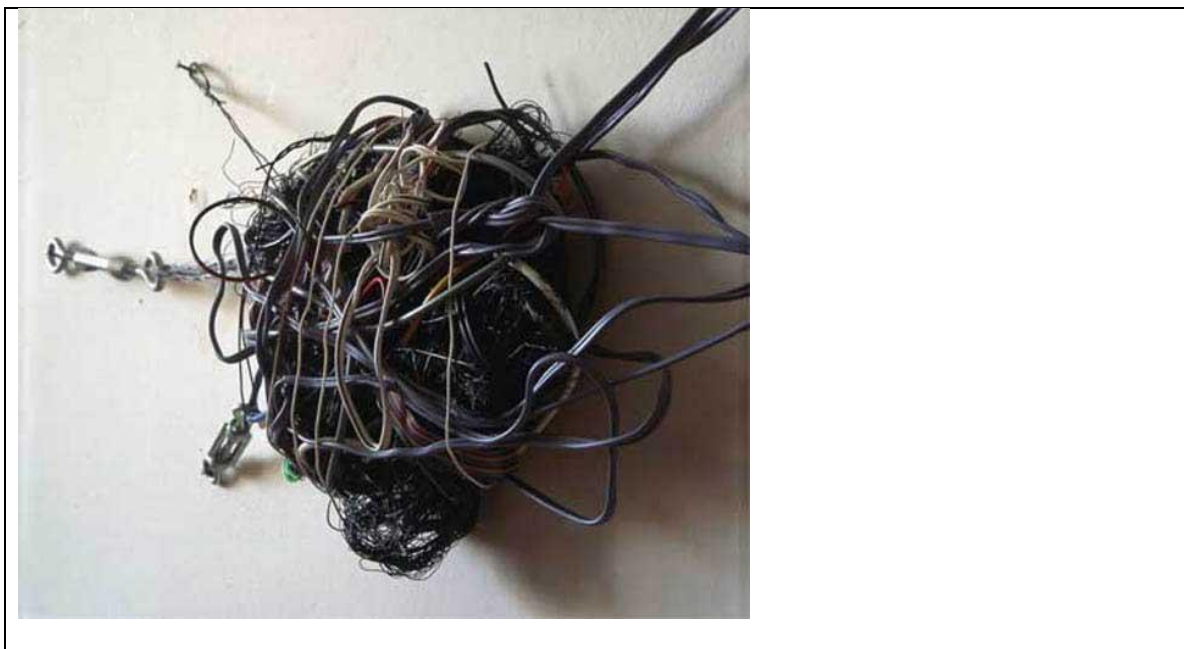
effectiveness of repeated impulses in influencing behavior and “nudging policies” to support ethics development. (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008)

Each of these theories, built on the assumptions underpinning the given discipline, reveal distinct aspects and drivers of behavior. They all give valid contributions to our understanding of corruption and integrity, and in some simple cases they may even explain behavior of actors. By the same token, when applied separately, they fail to explain complex phenomena. In environments with pervasive corruption, external influences and internal conscious and unconscious motives, together impact what stakeholders decide to do. These motives and drives are connected through a dense web of interdependencies. Inquiries underpinned by one theoretical frame cannot reveal the full system of interdependencies and understanding cannot either built on the simple aggregation of distinct inquiries.

## 2.2 The stretched tangle – a metaphor for corruption

Systemic corruption is like a tangle on the picture below that shows an art work of Roza el Hassan created in 1995. (Figure 1) It is a knot of iron cables and nets that are not only hopelessly tangled but also solidly anchored to some external fixtures. The artist did not think about corruption. She created a powerful and universal depiction of entanglement.

Figure 1 – The stretched tangle, sculpture of Roza el Hassan, 1995



Source: <http://www.roza-el-hassan.hu/1995.htm>

With her permission I borrowed her work to use it for the visualization of my corruption metaphor. I propose systemic corruption is a stretched tangle, like the one Roza el Hassan created. On Figure 2 I attached some concepts to the constituting wires, like norms, information, loyalties and interests. If we want to understand what sustain corrupt practices in an organization, the material interests underpinning rational theories is a natural starting point. We must explore the formal rules, structures and processes and how they succeed or fail to align interests and appropriately coordinate, reward and sanction behavior. The integrity approach to anticorruption adds the softer component of values and norms to our inquiry. Values of stakeholders and moral incentives also strongly impact how they act, thus, the effectiveness of the rules that the organizations create. This is the level of complexity underpinning the OECD integrity framework that says that “integrity management can be seen as a complex and never-ending balancing exercise between the rules-based and the values-based approaches” (OECD, 2009: 13) I created the stretched tangle metaphor because I propose that the reality we face is more complex. The implementation of the integrity system is heavily dependent on political will, the formal power structures and formal alliances behind it, and the generalized trust of the stakeholders in the organization. Beside the formal arrangements there are informal networks and alliances, based on informal connections, personalized trust and loyalties. In corrupt environments they heavily influence the political will and decisions. They can also effectively reach to those stakeholders who are not in decision making positions. When an important part of information and interactions is controlled by such informal structures, the informal system of incentives and sanctions they control can produce pressures stronger than the ones produced by the formal institutions. (Presson et al., 2012) This is the rational part of the corruption and the collective action problem. The part positivist theories explore.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, there is a deep, personal layer of the complexity, the one that post-positivist<sup>2</sup> inquiries in social and argumentative theory and psychology explored and conceptualized for us through the concepts of social construction of reality and the bounded nature of cognition and ethicality. This body of insights reveals that we cannot trust that good, bad or clear mean the same for stakeholders. People can come to very different conclusions about certain events according to their insight and experience. What people perceive and understand form the same situation can be very different because our perception and cognition has serious limits. Our eyes see the events and the ears hear but only fragments of these impulses arrive to our conscious brain, and then our brain decodes the fragments through the assumptions and concepts it already has. This bounded nature of our cognition allows us only limited insight to situations. Besides our personal experiences and perceptions, the narratives that reach us also have heavy impact on our cognition. Narratives also contribute to what we see and how. They construct meanings for us and others: they shape the local knowledge about events.

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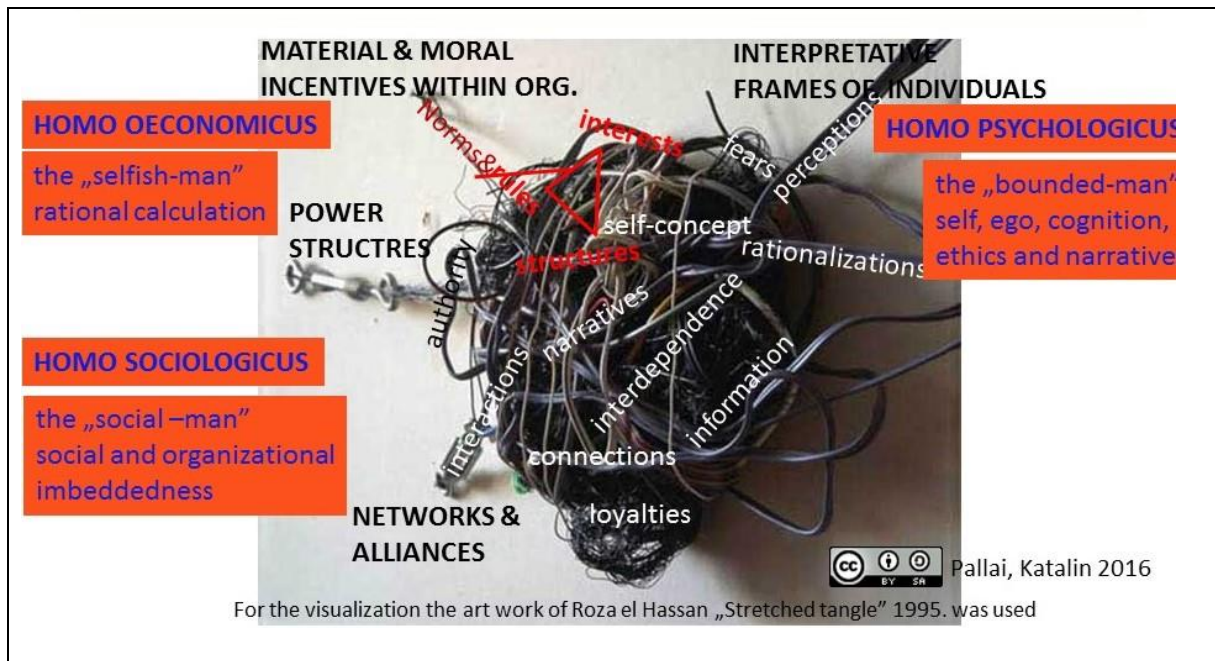
<sup>1</sup> The positivist theories are built on the proposition that scientific method means objective, rational analysis that is transcultural and produces results that are independent from the analyst. In public administration the approach is underpinned by the concept of the rational actor and the trust in regulatory control. In the policy process a key player is the technical expert whose task is to produce objective analysis, predictions and solutions that bring optimal results, and can be objectively measured.

<sup>2</sup> Post-positivist theory goes beyond logical positivism and technical rationality. It proposes that human knowledge does not rest exclusively on unchallengeable foundations but perceptions, personal and cultural interpretations are also part. Knowledge and truth are social and individual products and reality is socially and individually constructed. Discourses, narratives produce meanings and play a role in the production of the reality that we experience.

They have immense power on all stakeholders. (Fischer & Gottweis, 2013) They can equally influence honest and dishonest people and impact the decision and rationalization of their behavior. The new insights from psychology have clearly showed that not only material interests but our psychological needs also play a key role in decisions about our behavior. We need to maintain a positive self-concept: we want to see ourselves both honest and accepted. In a corrupt environment contributing to corrupt practices and rationalizing the corruption behavior can be a strategy to reduce stress between personal values and the expectations of peers and the environment. (Vries & Sobis 2016) This explains how honest people become dishonest in corrupt environments. (Mazar et al., 2008) To understand organizations we need to understand these processes as well.



Figure 2 – The stretched tangle – a metaphor for corruption



Source: depiction of Rosa el Hassans’ art work adapted by the author (Pallai 2016)

On figure 2 I attached to the tangled wires within the stretched tangle the key words referring to the concepts mentioned above. The resulting picture is meant to capture the complex and intertwined nature of the factors discussed above. It visualizes the psycho-social-cognitive complexity. It attempts to capture the nature of contexts with pervasive corruption where corrupt practices are resilient because they are interconnected with many other practices and fulfill many interdependent functions. Together they create a system, a corrupt equilibrium.

I created this metaphor and use it in my teaching and advising work, and in professional discussions because most civil servants and experts I work with are schooled mostly in rational theories and they sometimes neglect the social dimension, and even more often the psychological dimension. Many do not even think of the argumentative power of narratives, and have little understanding of cognitive limitations and psychological processes. Without these factors understanding is necessarily restricted and it is a logical choice to focus analysis on material interests and cold calculation and policy work on drivers like rules and orders. There are also many anticorruption and compliance experts who know about these “softer” theories but they have not integrated their conclusions in their active, functional knowledge. This result in equally partial understanding and can lead to equally wrong responses.

On the stretched tangle the different roots are depicted beside each other: the possible motives of the rational, selfish ‘Homo Economicus’, those of the ‘Homo Sociologicus’ who is deeply connected to peers and social milieus, and the drivers of the dumber but nicer ‘Homo Psychologics’. The viewer is reminded to the multiple components and to their entangled nature. If visuals have power, this picture

must convey that, if we want to curb corruption, we cannot avoid understanding the complexity of the phenomenon we are confronted with.

The stretched tangle also shows that the knot is stable. It would not fall apart if one wire were cut. The systemic nature of a phenomenon means that if we change one element by an intervention the system safely mends itself. (Senge, 1995) When an intervention removes one component by a new rule for example, stability can be recreated either by hollowing out the rule during implementation (the typical strategy-implementation-gap) or by another intervention that rebalances the system.

### **2.3 Fragmented nature of anticorruption theory and praxis**

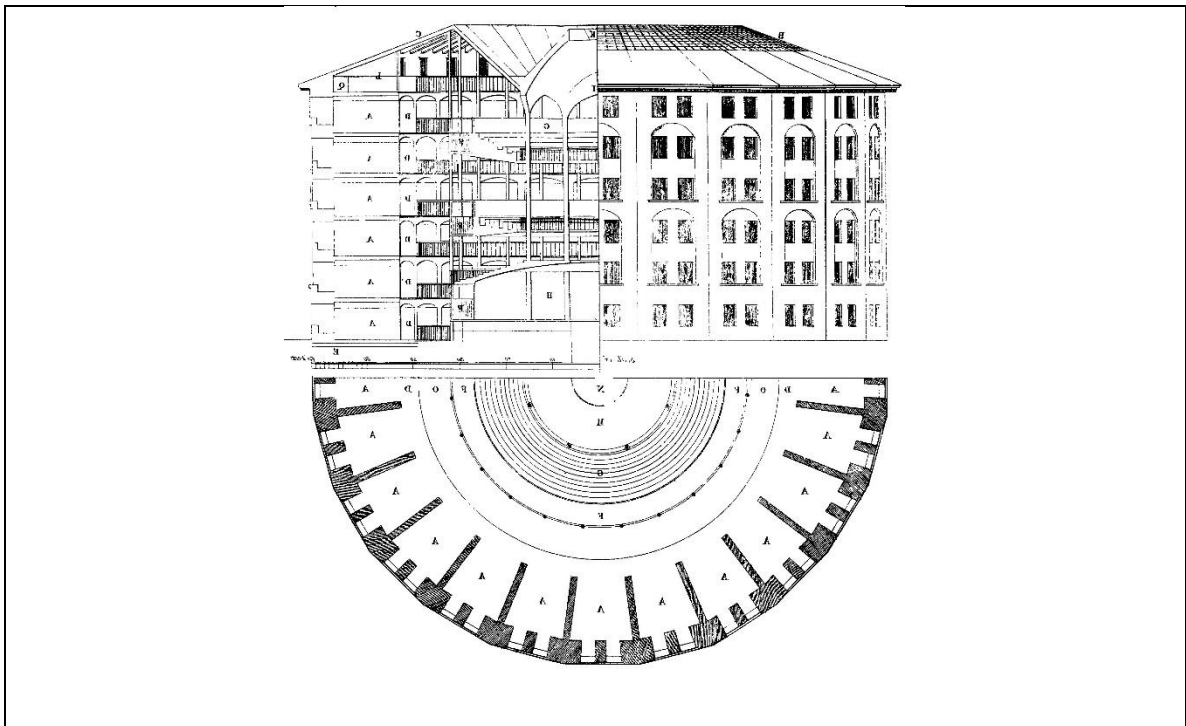
The neglect of the complexity is a logical consequence of how we work. Scholars are expected to relate their work to disciplines. Each theory is built on a distinct scientific paradigm and capture processes according to the underpinning assumptions, concepts and rules of the given paradigm. One theory has sophisticated analysis of the rational drivers, the other about the social drivers or the psychological needs. But scholars rarely venture to others' territories, or when they do, they rarely can go into a depth similar to their own domains. It is also very rare when scholars from different domains sustain dialogue with each other long enough to align their ideas. Professionals also develop expertise in different fields. The professional who has expertise to design a financing scheme cannot analyze all possible risks for abuse and cannot discuss all his decisions with all possible other experts. We all sit in the little cells of our own fields, in the fake intellectual security lent to us by the internal consistence of our paradigms. We often do not realize that ours is only one viewpoint and a necessarily partial one. This professional hubris builds walls among us.

The institutional realities where we work can also contribute to the separation in our thinking. The fragmented approach, focused on specific problems and driven by specific approaches, is prevalent not only in the theoretical study of corruption but in organizations as well. Different units of an organization, driven by their own professional paradigms focus on different parts of the stretched tangle and develop different explanations for the problems their profession sees. Units honestly believe in their problem framings because they are logically constructed within their professional concepts/paradigms. They attempt to defend their own approach in debates instead of attempting to integrate them with other concepts. The winner will lead the strategy development and implement his/her approach. This process is problematic because the explanatory framework is not neutral. It logically leads to a specific kind of problem awareness and to specific instruments and solutions to curb corruption. That is, to instruments that target one component of a complex problem. This fragmented approach leads to the well-known policy-implementation problem. A seemingly adequate policy response is developed for the analyzed problem but when it is implemented it fails to bring the desired outcome because the other neglected processes work against it. Anticorruption policies become "empty shells" (Dimitrova, 2010) and the "anticorruption industry" flourishes along with corruption. (Sampson, 2010)

## 2.4 The Panopticon – a metaphor for the fragmentation

To capture the nature of this fragmentation I introduce one more metaphor: the Panopticon. (Figure 3) The plan of the Panopticon was designed by Jeremy Bentham in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as an ideal-type building to separate inmates of an institution (prisoners, sick or insane) and organize effective surveillance. It consists of an annular outer wing divided to separated cells and a tower in the middle.

Figure 3 – The Panopticon: [Elevation, section](#) and [plan](#) of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon penitentiary, drawn by [Willey Reveley](#), 1791.



Source: Wikipedia (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panopticon> retrieved on 25.08.2016)

Inmates live in the cells. They cannot see each other or communicate with others as the cells are separated by walls. At the same time cells have bared windows on the exterior wall from where light comes into the cell. The side facing to the middle space is closed also with bars like cages. Inmates cannot come out of the cells but can be surveilled from the central tower where the guard stands. As light comes from both sides to the cell inmates have limited vision to the space in the middle space. The inmates know the guard is there but do not have precise view of him or the tower.

Although the Panopticon is most often used as a symbol for the power of surveillance and control<sup>3</sup>, and as such has a strong political message, at this point I want to use only its power to depict the separateness of the inmates. The concept of the cells adds a strong feeling to the idea of the separated nature of theoretical and professional thinking. We can imagine that scholars from different disciplines and professionals from different fields are sitting in the cells, in the light of their own theoretical or professional wisdom. (The guards may be the CEOs in organizations or academic and professional boards and associations) We can also imagine that the stretched tangle is in the middle space, under the tower. All scholars can look at the tangle but have a dim view in the counter-light. They attempt to come up with a solution on the basis of their fragmented and vague view. I think, with this picture, we are pretty close to the “anticorruption industry” depicted by Sampson (2010). I also think that this picture can help us to think: what is our own Panopticon? What are the walls made of? Each can think about walls of his/her own cell. Are they built by the institutions? Organizational rules? Or by the culture of organizations? Are walls among us also as a consequence of the lack of openness to others’ ideas? Is our professional “tunnel vision” also part of the wall? Or the competitive culture of professions? Lack, fear or incompetence to communicate across boundaries? Or the absence of a language for interdisciplinary communication?

The Panopticon metaphor directs focus on the question: what separate us from aligning our ideas? What are the obstacles to connecting and aligning the views of different professionals and creating more effective intervention packages? Strategies that can capture the complexity through collective analysis from multiple perspectives, and can untangle the stretched tangle through collective and transformative action.

## **2.5 Untangling the stretched tangle – the processual dialogic approach**

I argued above that policy responses that target only specific components of a complex problem cannot effectively solve the problem. If we cut one wire in the stretched tangle, the tangle may change its shape a bit but will not fall apart. If we sit in our separate cells in the Panopticon, and have only our own vision to the stretched tangle – a necessarily partial vision – the remedies we see are also partial. If we want to untangle the stretched tangle, the walls of the cells have to be demolished. Those who want to contribute to complex solutions should go around the tangle, look at it from all sides and engage in a dialogue. They have to find a language that all understand, listen to each other and get in a long and substantive dialogue to align their ideas: in a collective inquiry that can lead to collective wisdom. This is a very different process than the actual communication among fields and disciplines where ideas of each are downloaded into publications, proposals and lectures in conferences, and then competing ideas are debated in various professional and scientific circles.

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<sup>3</sup> The design of Bentham was guided by the intention to create an ideal architectural form for centralized surveillance and control over inmates. Michel Foucault (1977), in his essay on penitentiary institutions ‘Discipline and Punish’, gave a powerful analysis of the Panopticon as „the mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form”. Orwell’s book ‘1984’ is a literary vision of a Panoptic political system. The concept has also been used in the public administration literature, e.g. the panoptic vision of corruption-proof government and panoptic anticorruption that is of focused on control. (Anechiarico-Jacobs, 1994)

In a recent publication, based on their analysis of anticorruption approaches and the ineffectiveness of the anticorruption industry, Marquett and Peiffer (2015) came to similar conclusions. They also named the fragmented nature of corruption analysis as the key problem. They framed it as the problem-focused approach of anticorruption initiatives. Based on a different argumentation as mine above, they also proposed that in contexts seriously infected with corruption or systemic corruption, corrupt practices can be symptoms rather than the root of the problem to be solved. They also proposed that the contextual factors need to be deeply understood and addressed by a transformational change process. The difference is only in our conclusions: they propose that “the most pressing collective action problem may not be corruption itself, but the formation of a strong coalition that can coordinate efforts to tackle it.” (Marquette & Pfeiffer, 2015: 5) In a recent publication William Nero from ICCA also put the focus on the clear commitment and role of leadership in collaborative action. (Nero, 2015) Both are rationalist propositions with a focus on formal power: the power of leaders, their coalitions and the power these coalition can exercise on other stakeholders.

I definitely do not want to deny the importance of strong anticorruption coalitions but I want to argue that the quality of the process and dialogue that the coalition partners can establish is even more important because the dialogic process creates the internal energy of the group: alignment of ideas and coordination among stakeholders. The propositions of Marquette and Pfeiffer (2015) and Nero (2015) are valid starting points for environments where multiple independent actors, driven by clear rational interests, need to align forces and start by building a formal alliance. In this paper I focus on public administration: integrity development in public organizations. My experience is that support and commitment of key actors are crucial for transformative processes but a strong decision maker or internal coalition is not enough for effective results. Results will depend on how the process that they initiate can align stakeholders. When decision makers are committed but do not know how to involve and coordinate others they have little chance to solve complex problems. By the same token, if commitment is not strong at the start, but there are some with common aspirations and openness to collaboration, good communication and process facilitation will strengthen the alliance.

I argue that for curbing complex patterns of corruption the dialogic process and good process facilitation is the key determinant because strong binding and collective action can also be an evolving process. It depends on the quality of the process leadership whether the starting commitment evaporates or trust and stronger binding evolves. Good process facilitation that can sustain substantive dialogue, a collective inquiry that leads to shared ideas. A processual, dialogic approach is the best instrument to build trusting relation among parties and to sustain the effort as long as it can bring results.

## **2.6 The space and process of “untangling”**

For underpinnings to this proposition that puts process in the center, I go beyond the standard anticorruption theories and concepts, and turn to concepts from the field of system thinking within organizational and strategy development, referring to ideas from Peter Senge’s *Fifths Discipline* (1995), to Kees van der Heijden’s *The Art of Strategic Conversations* (2005), the method he developed in the

Strategy Unit of Shell, to dialogic theories on action, the concept of ‘Presence’ (Senge 2013) and to Otto Scharmer’s Theory U (2016). According to these scholars, in order to solve complex problems, exploration from multiple perspectives should reveal the underlying patterns and interdependencies that generate the problems. The exploration needs to happen in a dialogue<sup>4</sup> in which all partners can not only share their views but insights can also be aligned. Such conversations can lead organizational stakeholders to understand what is behind the events, to develop a structural understanding of the whole of the system that produces the problems. (Heijden, 2005: 104) From the conversations a ‘shared mental map of the reality’ can emerge. (Senge, 1995) The conversations can also prepare stakeholders to see the risks, ‘the accidents waiting to happen’, and to develop shared ideas about solutions. This unity can be the safe basis for coordinated collective action. (Heijden, 2005: 77) This dialogic process to collective wisdom is the core idea of Senge’s Fifth Discipline (Senge, 1995) and Scharmer’s Theory U. (2016)

The theory of Marquette and Pfeiffer (2015) about the central role of the strong alliance that can coordinate collective action and the constitutive role of dialogue of these system theorists are not mutually exclusive ideas. The first is a logical conclusion based on positivist, rationalist thinking, the second is based on post-positivist practice and experience. The difference between them is a difference in focus. In the dialogic approach the focus is not on formal power and alliance but on the constitutive power of ideas and narratives that Senge considers to be the most solid foundations for coalitions in action. Peter Senge expressed this recently, speaking about the dialogic theory of action and change: “the harmonization of thinking can be the foundation of connectedness in action.”<sup>5</sup> (Senge, 2013)

The argument here is not meant to deny the necessity of supporting formal power. I propose only that without the dialogue, and alignment of aspirations, insights and expertise of stakeholders, there is a risk that partial technical solutions will be implemented that cannot solve complex problems. And there is also a risk of free riding and cheating. I propose that system thinking and substantive dialogue are the missing components of the organizational integrity development approach. We need a systemic and processual dialogic approach.

## 3 Role and competence of integrity professionals

It is a logical consequence of the argument in the previous sections that in environments with complex patterns of corruption we need anticorruption professionals who can plan and facilitate collective inquiry

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<sup>4</sup> The term dialogue by Senge and Scharmer has very similar meaning as the strategic conversation of Heijden.

<sup>5</sup> Some destructive processes that actually stress the EU are the results of strong political alliance with much weaker results in the harmonization of thinking.

and action processes. That is, who can initiate and facilitate a processual, dialogic approach to corruption prevention.

The process is the solution for the complexity of the problem. One person cannot have the capacity to see and fix all aspects. Anticorruption facilitators who support groups of stakeholders working on complex problems, cannot have deep expertise of all fields involved. They need to have a general knowledge and overview of anticorruption work and know how group processes evolve. They have to be 'hybrid professionals'.<sup>6</sup> On the one hand, they need to have competence in the application of standard positivist anticorruption instruments, like rationalist risk analysis, and the design and implementation of formal regulatory and value building instruments, and, on the other hand, they also need to have openness to others, capacity to translate ideas and an understanding of group dynamics. Beside the confidence of the educated technical expert in anticorruption, for being able to facilitate collective processes, the integrity professional also has to have the humility of the incomplete leader<sup>7</sup> who knows that he needs partners. (Ancona, et al., 2007) He/she have to have the competence to formulate questions and narratives that can inspire partners, when a group is formed she/he need to guide the development of a shared language that can accommodate inquiry and engender shared solutions, and the necessary coordination for the implementation. (Senge, 2013) These facilitative and argumentative aspects of such an enterprise, are in most cases not known or mastered by technical professionals. Neglect of the group dynamic and the argumentative strategy is one source of failure in multi-stakeholder processes dealing with complex problems. Mastering it is a key to success in gaining partners and leading effective cooperation. (Fisher & Gottweis, 2013)

### 3.1 Education of anticorruption professionals

In view of the argument above I see two major and interrelated problems in the field of education of anticorruption experts. One is that anticorruption programs offered by academic institutions are focused on positivist anticorruption theories and technical instruments. They aim to educate technical professionals who know the related theories, are aware of the professional debates and can apply the standard anticorruption methods and instruments. This is one component of the hybrid expertise. The other component, the competence to support and facilitate the work of others is not part of the curricula, as if the anticorruption work would be an independent activity within the organization. As if corruption, or integrity breaching practices would appear in organizations only as isolated, distinct problems. The most important message of the paper is that for initiating and leading collective anticorruption processes facilitative competence of experts also needs to be trained.

The second major problem I see in the field of education is that most academic institutions use traditional teaching methods that are adequate to transmit hegemonic knowledge but not adequate to build the complex competence necessary for the facilitation of collective processes. Frontal lecturing,

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<sup>6</sup> The term hybrid professional is borrowed from Meyer et al., (2014) who discussed the importance of *hybrid identities* that integrate multiple frames of reference into their worldview and value system in the case of faculty for mid-career programs.

<sup>7</sup> The incomplete leader is aware of his own limitations and aligns forces with partners who can complete his competencies.

even if combined with imbedded discussions, is focused on cognitive processes, like analysis and argumentation. Even if short exercises are also imbedded to navigate students towards the deeper understanding of the professor's argument, its main current is still a one-way, "down-loading" type of communication<sup>8</sup>. (Pallai, 2016: 111) Competency-based education brought a more practice focused approach to academic programs but did not change the down-loading method. It shifted only the purpose from theory to praxis. It aims to train professionals to effectively execute the hegemonic practices of their field. (Pallai, 2016: 111) In the academic environment only state-of-the-art leadership education programs aim to create such a facilitated dialogic learning space where the facilitative dimension of the anticorruption work can be educated. Such leadership programs create spaces and processes where students experience and reflect on group dynamics, themselves in the group, their roles and contributions, and how collective wisdom and action evolves in groups. (Pallai, 2016: 112) In this transformative education method the key role of the teacher is to involve students and guide the evolving learning process, support it with conceptual framing and structuring. (Fischer & Mandell, 2012) The underpinning concept of the best leadership programs is that through the transformative teaching process students experience a leadership model and its impact on group members and group process, and the self-reflection imbedded in the process help them find their own approach. (Parks, 2005) This leads to my second claim: for supporting the development of students' facilitative competence, at least part of the faculty must move beyond traditional academic teaching methods and use the transformative, dialogic method for education. The education program must offer a transformative component and experience for students. (Pallai, 2016: 112)

Till this point, in the first part of the paper, the following claims were argued: a processual dialogic approach is of key importance for collective action processes, hybrid anticorruption professionals should be trained who can effectively plan and facilitate collective processes, for the education of hybrid professionals not only content of anticorruption education programs should be extended but new teaching methods are also necessary. The second part is a case study that presents the approach to curriculum development and teaching that has been designed to train anticorruption professionals for public organizations according to these expectations. It is a short summary<sup>9</sup> of an already two-year long process that has been implemented at the National University for Public Service (NUSP) in Budapest, Hungary since 2014. The presentation of this process allows me to explain more about my propositions through the illustrative example and it will also bring some evidence of the effectiveness of the approach.

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<sup>8</sup> A term often used in the conflict management and presencing literature for the communication approach in competitive debate when a speaker focus on expressing his/her own idea and defending them against the others. The term is generally used as the opposition to openness and active listening to others that underpin substantive, constructive dialogue.

<sup>9</sup> A more detailed explanation of the method is available in Pallai, 2016 and in Pallai, 2015.



## 4 An illustrative case – education program for integrity advisors in Hungary

This second part of the paper presents the curriculum concept and the education process within the post-graduate program for integrity advisors at NUSP, as an example of an effort to train ‘hybrid’ integrity professionals who have both technical and facilitative competence. The description of the educational approach and the content of the curriculum can be taken, on the one hand, as an illustration for what I meant above by the training of hybrid professionals. On the other hand, the case study also shows different applications of the processual dialogic approach that I have argued for on the previous pages. It shows how it was used for curriculum development and for teaching and how it led to the design of a new method for integrity development in public sector organizations. Because the method we elaborated is new, the case is not about its application results but its evolution. At the same time the curriculum dialogue process and the evolution of the method, the process I describe, beautifully captures the essence of the processual dialogic method.

In the first part I wrote ‘anticorruption professionals’ in general. In this case study I write about the education and work of a specific kind of anticorruption professionals, the integrity advisors who are employed in Hungarian public organizations. The position of the integrity advisor was legislated in 2013 in Hungary as an attempt to create a new and effective anticorruption agent within each public administration organization. Integrity advisors directly report to the head of the organizations about the condition of the integrity of the organization, and advise him/her in his/her integrity development activities. They also have a list of concrete tasks: integrity risk analysis, intervention planning, whistle blower protection, ethical advice and education of staff. This part of their job is the implementation of the standard anticorruption instruments. Integrity advising is a new profession in Hungary. The contextually appropriate profile of the expertise evolved during the last years.

The introduction of the integrity approach to Hungary started with Dutch technical assistance. The actual risk analysis method, that is a core activity in integrity development, was adopted from “the Dutch-method”<sup>10</sup> a decade ago but during the adaptation, due to the Hungarian legalistic tradition, the strong value-based component of the Dutch approach somehow disappeared. What remained is a questionnaire that organizations fill out, and the State Audit Office (SAO) calculates three figures from the answers: the Inherent Vulnerability Factor, Factors Enhancing Corruption and Factors of Risk Reducing Controls. On the basis of these figures the SAO produces a correct macro analysis of the

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<sup>10</sup> The „Dutch method” is the term many experts who were involved in the adaptation use. I will discuss later that Dutch experts argue that their contribution is an approach and not a specific Dutch-method. (Hoekstra-Huber 2016) The fact that instead of the evolving approach only a quantitative analytic tool got adapted in Hungary is a symptom of the local environment.

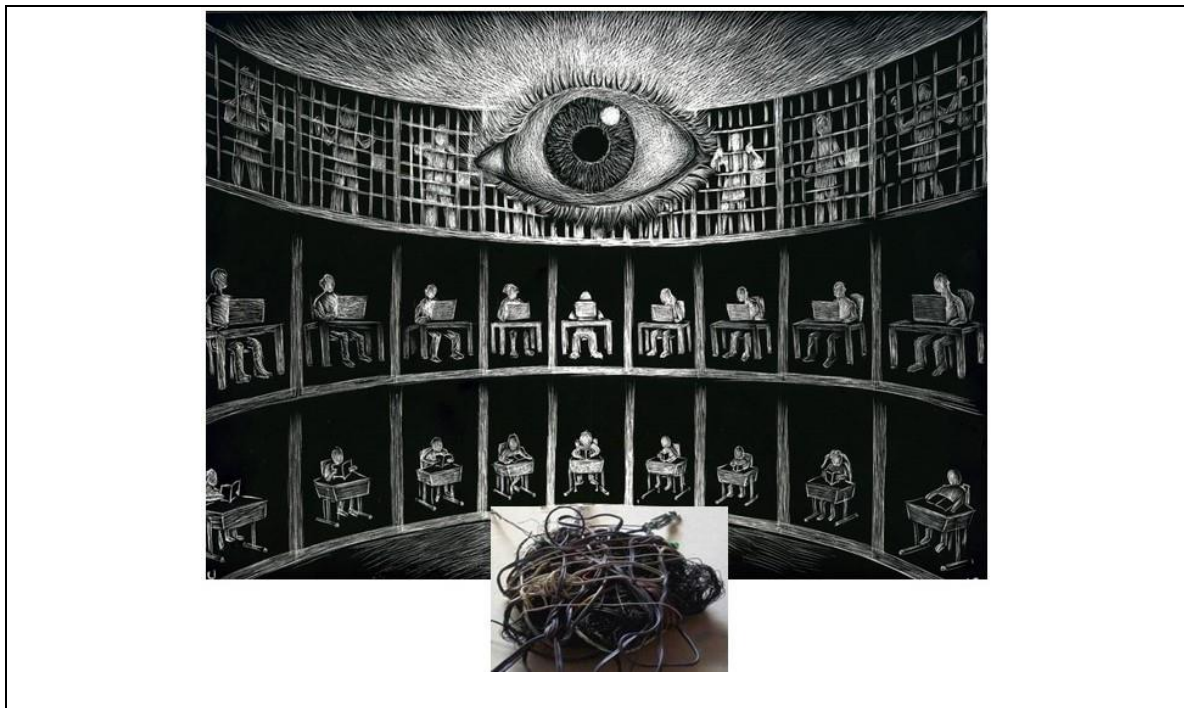
integrity of organizations, and send the three figures back to the organization as an evaluation of its condition. These figures give little information or support for the organization. The reason for this weakness is that SAO has an external audit expertise and did not focus on the organizational use of this process. In 2013, when the position of the integrity adviser was designed the task to fill out this questionnaire was allocated to this position as the form of the obligatory risk analysis. The organizational risk analysis in this form is a hollowed out, formalistic exercise that has minimal impact on the organizational operation. For producing meaningful impact integrity advisors needed methodological support to introduce risk analysis and management into the organizational processes and integrity into the internal dialogue. The case study describes how a new method was designed that created a dialogic process for collective risk analysis and management within public administration organizations and a curriculum to educate the hybrid professionals who have competence to implement the method. The beauty of the case is that the design process itself was also a collective dialogic process.

#### **4.1 The context**

In the Hungarian political life and public administration complex patterns of systemic corruption have evolved. Interdependent structural and personal factors, and material and moral incentives make corrupt practices resilient. This is the context where I developed the ‘stretched tangle’ metaphor. It has already been discussed above that technical fixes and individuals’ fragmented actions have little chance to initiate meaningful changes in such a context. Collective transformative processes would be necessary for untangling the ‘stretched tangle’.

The problem is that the Hungarian public administration not only strongly hierarchic and legalistic, it is increasingly ‘panoptic’. (It gave the inspiration for the use of the second metaphor.) The self-limiting, technical socialization of civil servants starts already during education and is continued in the organizations where strong top down command and control mechanisms rule, and allow very weak horizontal and bottom-up communication. Decision processes and activities are fragmented into silos where the prevalent self-image of most civil servants is the disciplined implementer of orders from above. The expectation from civil servants is to think only within the limits of own desks (scope of task and authority) and to deliver the desired results with technical expertise. Within the organizations not only traditional leadership strategies, strongly hierarchic structures and norms, but the self-concept and socialization of staff also build solid walls in-between stakeholders. Civil servants are like prisoners, sitting in a Panopticon, isolated in unconnected “cells”, paralyzed not only by the structures but also by their learned helplessness. Not only trust in the possibility of change is absent but system thinking and the competencies for managing sustained collective processes are also missing. (Figure 4)

Figure 4 – Picture composed of a depiction of the Panopticon and the picture of the stretched tangle



Source: adaptation of the picture at: <http://ideanomics.ru/articles/4907> retrieved on 25.08.2016

This is obviously a short generalized description that aims to capture the majority of organizations and the actual tendencies of changes. It does not imply that there are no exceptions.

The above described partial adaptation and “hollowed out” organizational implementation of the Dutch risk analysis method was perfectly understandable within the actual operational culture. In 2013, when the position of the integrity adviser was designed the tasks listed above, and among them the questionnaire as the form of the obligatory risk analysis, was allocated to this position. In 2014, when I was commissioned with the redesign of the education program for integrity advisors, it was already obvious that the integrity advisor alone is powerless and the fragmented implementation of the legislated instruments have little impact. At the same time, the legislation did not prohibit more substantive processes. This was my starting point for the curriculum concept.

#### 4.2 The curriculum concept

The stated aim of the legislation was to create a new and effective anticorruption agent in each public organization. The problem I saw was that the obligatory tasks of integrity advisors were not sufficient for meaningful results in the given context. For more impact integrity work had to connect to other stakeholders in the organization through processes that involve partners and coordinate activities. At the same time, it depended on the head of the organization whether he expected or allowed the integrity advisor to do more than the obligatory tasks. The problem was that most leaders, socialized in the panoptic system, did not see any reason to allow more. Convinced of the need for hybrid professionals, and of the importance of dialogue around the themes related to integrity, the power of

the processual approach and inclusive organizational processes, for me the key question was how the education could prepare integrity advisors to build trust in themselves, persuade their bosses of the need for better communication and for initiating internal collective processes.

In 2014 I saw two big challenges: one was that I had to include the processual dialogic approach and the argumentative component into the curriculum and in public integrity the debate in an utterly positivist environment where both the key integrity experts and the majority of academics did not understand or accept the importance of the process and the constitutive nature of dialogue. This was partly due to the fact that there was no precedence for similar processes in organizations, consequently, potential faculty members and students could not have relevant experiences, and partly due to the fact that education at NUSP also has a strong legal focus and a traditional academic approach. The second challenge was that I had only a vision about the hybrid professional, but did not know his/her precise profile and what could be the adequate method, i.e. the integrity reform process, in different organizations. I knew only that if I want to train hybrid professionals and design an integrity development method according to my vision, and that also fits the Hungarian public environment, I needed to involve a diverse team of experts in the design process:

- academics who have the conceptual clarity and overview of the field of anticorruption and public integrity, and some who are also familiar with system and argumentative theories,
- practitioners (anticorruption experts and active civil servants) who know the actual practices and are aware of the possibilities and constraints of organizations,
- process experts ('deliberative professionals' (Forester 1999)) who can develop faculty members' and students' process awareness and skills,
- and communication trainers who change students communicative attitudes and develop their skills.<sup>11</sup>

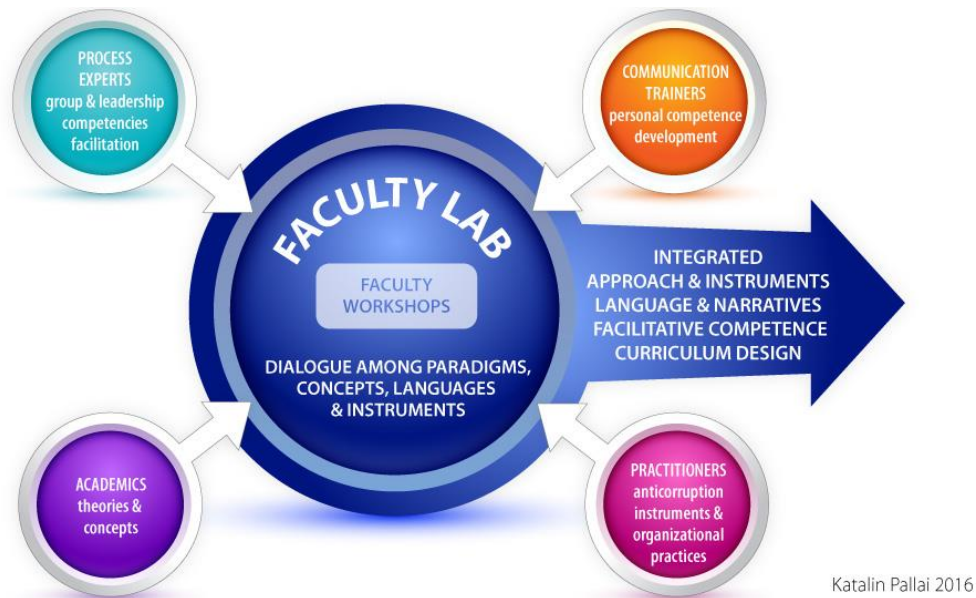
These professionals had different views and saw different components of the stretched tangle. The paradigms of the professional domains represented by these four types of professionals are at different distances from each other. There was a divide between academics and practitioners but both acknowledged the validity of the other's insights. Process and communication experts are two partly overlapping professional groups. At the same time, the paradigms from where anticorruption professionals (academic and technical) and deliberative experts saw the world could hardly be more different. Only the conviction was identical that the approach of the other groups is insufficient. It was obvious that reaching openness, understanding and collaboration in such a diverse faculty group was a challenge. My plan was to establish a Faculty-lab, in the form of a series of Faculty Workshops in order to initiate a creative dialogue that can engender an integrated approach and method to develop integrity within Hungarian public organizations and a curriculum that prepare students for the

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<sup>11</sup> These four bullet points refer rather to types of expertise than persons. Luckily there were many hybrid professionals among faculty members already at the start of the process. Their capacity to connect multiple frames have greatly helped my work as a process facilitator.

implementation of the method. The idea was that the process will also engender the language and narratives that are adequate to support the education and implementation of the method. (Figure 5)

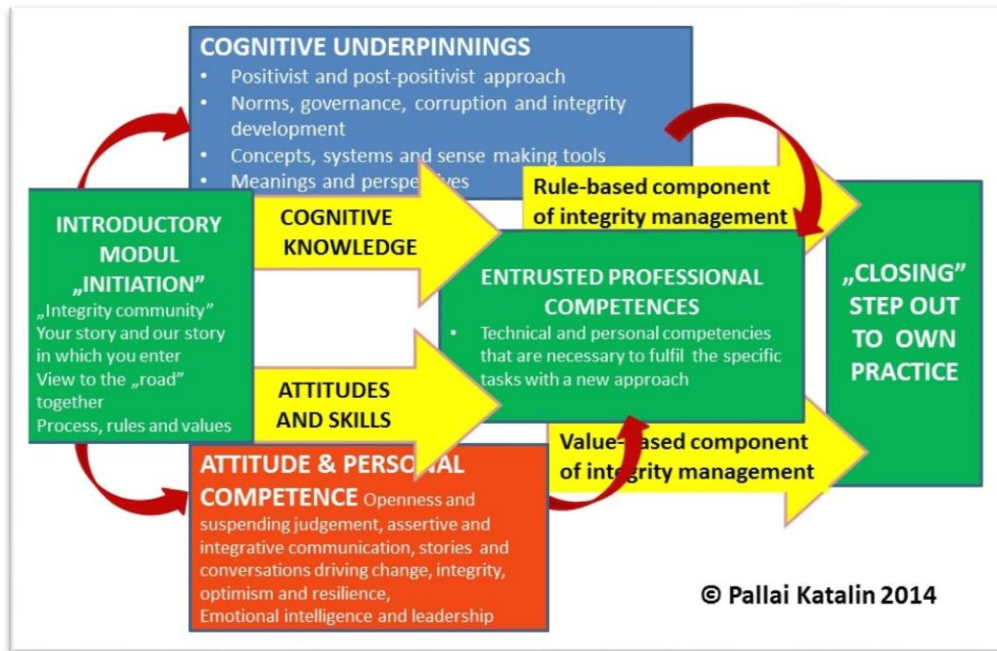
Figure 5 – The composition of the Faculty-lab and the aim of the curriculum development process



Source: created by the author. Pallai 2016

In order to have the best available professionals from all four domains, and who were also willing to take part in the planned collective process, faculty was recruited through an open tender. For the tender a curriculum concept was formulated in the language accessible for all: this was the widely accepted OECD concept (2009) of the rule- and value-based components of the integrity work. (Figure 6) The tender also contained a preliminary list of subjects with broad description of their objectives. Faculty members competed for subjects on the basis of their concepts on how they would fill up the subjects with content and method.

Figure 6. – The structure of the curriculum



### 4.3 The work process in the faculty-lab and in the classrooms

The faculty-lab was organized as a series of 2-3 days long workshops that gave space for faculty members to engage in a dialogue on the adequate professional approach to integrity development within the local context and on the education of the approach. This meant a parallel dialogue on professional methods and their education.

At the start the aspiration to advance public integrity and create a good program was more or less shared, but the communication was the usual type of professional debate and surely not a creative dialogue.<sup>12</sup> This is the condition where any similarly multidisciplinary groups start. We experienced “strong walls” among professional groups built not only of lack of openness and curiosity towards others’ ideas but also of lack of trust and lack of experience in integrative interdisciplinary communication. Nobody had an effective solution for curbing corruption but did not look at others for solutions either. (The most interesting element of this condition was that not only academics and technicians were closed towards the deliberative professionals but the process and communication experts did not feel the need to deeper understand the technical matters either.) At the same time, all faculty members had strong positions on what should students learn from the knowledge of their own fields. When these expectations were collected the group had to face that the result was that a “superman” should be educated. This was an obviously ‘mission impossible’ for a one year program.

After months, when through the discussions faculty members began to develop more solid commitment, some personal connections, began to realize that fields previously neglected by them can

<sup>12</sup> I use the word debate for the competitive and adversary exchange of ideas whose usual aim to decide what is right or wrong, and the dialogue for a collaborative and integrative mode of communication whose aim is to explore and create shared understanding and ideas.

contribute to finding better responses to problems that they alone could not solve. Nearly a year passed till the first moment of ‘presence’ (Senge, 2013) evolved: when walls collapsed and ideas suddenly got aligned and integrated. This condition of “group flow” gave the formative experience for many group members of how effective responses to complex patterns of problems evolve from dialogue across professional boundaries. This also opened the door to integrate ideas in a locally applicable integrity approach and curriculum.

Faculty as a group could also grasp at this point that the curriculum should include only that where the ideas meet: a few key elements from each field. The core concepts and instruments began to crystallize. This allowed the curriculum development process to focus on the selection of these concepts and instruments and to discuss how their application on praxis could be taught, and how inferences and interdependencies of these key conceptual and instrumental elements could be explained to students. That meant a shift from theory towards the creating of a conceptual framework and language for the structured discussion of praxis.

The next step in the process was that a technical expert, an active integrity adviser who, after experiencing the power of dialogue and understanding the process he was taking part in, began to weld the steps of technical work and group process together into a special collective risk analysis and management process. A deliberative faculty member, who already developed enough understanding of the technical challenges, could contribute to the design of the collective process and help with facilitation during its pilots. An innovation that evolved from the dialogue: a collective, processual, dialogic method to integrity development, a method that involve internal stakeholders in a collective inquiry and action process. The design was not additive from different technical and dialogic tools but a new approach, born across traditional professional boundaries, and designed for the specific local context. A method that at this point could be accepted by the stakeholders within the faculty group.

It was a relief for the faculty to finally have a shared idea of the possible work method and of the profile for the hybrid professional. The hybrid professional, who exploits the insights, knowledge and resources of others, was a plausible solution that replaced the earlier unrealistic “superman concept”. On the basis of the shared understanding of the new method the faculty group could agree in the content of the curriculum. Because the focus became clear and the teaching objectives were shared by faculty members, faculty could see what is relevant from their knowledge and could omit unnecessary elements from the subjects. This is how the training of the hybrid professional could be squeezed in the one year long program. The integrated curriculum is certainly leaner and more effective for mid-career professionals’ training than the usual ‘solo performances’ of individual faculty members could have been. It is a curriculum that faculty members could create only together.

#### **4.4 The education of the dialogue process**

The previous paragraphs focused on the constitutive dialogue within the faculty-lab and the evolution of the method and the content of the curriculum. The content that builds the understanding and technical competence of the hybrid professional is one component of the education. The other component is the



facilitative competence that is a combination of knowledge about process planning and management, communication and moderation skills, an attitude of openness and support and a deep confidence that the method can work. This competence entails elements that are beyond the cognitive content of the curriculum.

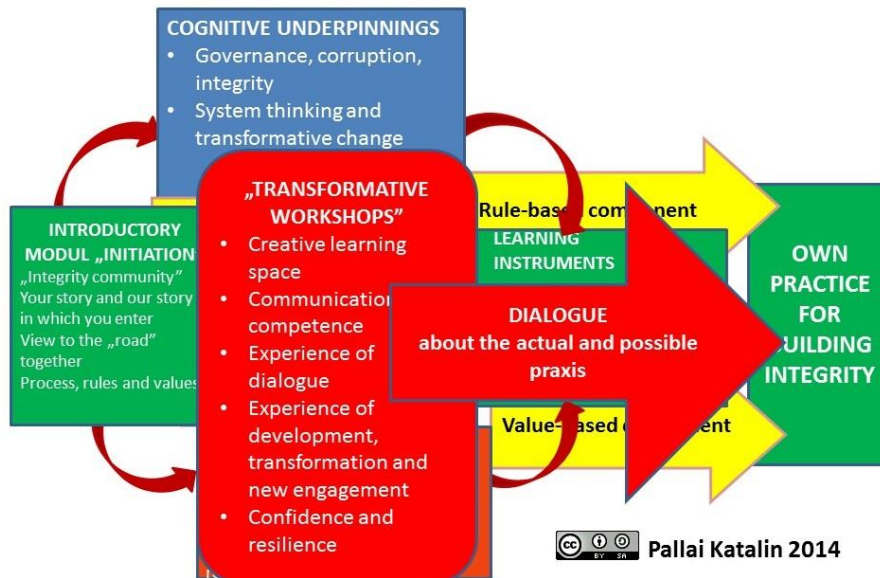
The turning point in the above discussed faculty-lab process was the moment of ‘presence’, when the faculty-lab suddenly transformed in a creative space where insights could connect and collective wisdom could be generated. I called this moment a formative experience for faculty because many had never experienced such a collective flow state where the ideas suddenly clicked together. Those faculty members who were touched by the connection became more open not only towards each other but to learn more about dialogic and experiential learning and teaching. This is important because traditional cognitive teaching in itself is not sufficient to train good facilitators.

In order to enhance the facilitative competence of students a similar transformative experience had to be built in the curriculum. Students during the first semester spend a large part of their contact hours in personal competence training workshops that are designed on the model of the earlier mentioned leadership trainings. Students experience and reflect on how constructive communication and group processes can be generated, learn communicative tools and also reflect on their own concepts and organizational practices. One aim of this process is to develop a shared understanding of integrity and the challenges of integrity management as a foundation for the technical subjects of the second semester. The second and even more important aim is to give an experience how concordance can evolve from dialogue.<sup>13</sup> That is, to give students a formative experience that can serve as “the memory of the future” (Heijden, 2005) for their own dialogic processes that they will initiate in their organizations. (Figure 7)

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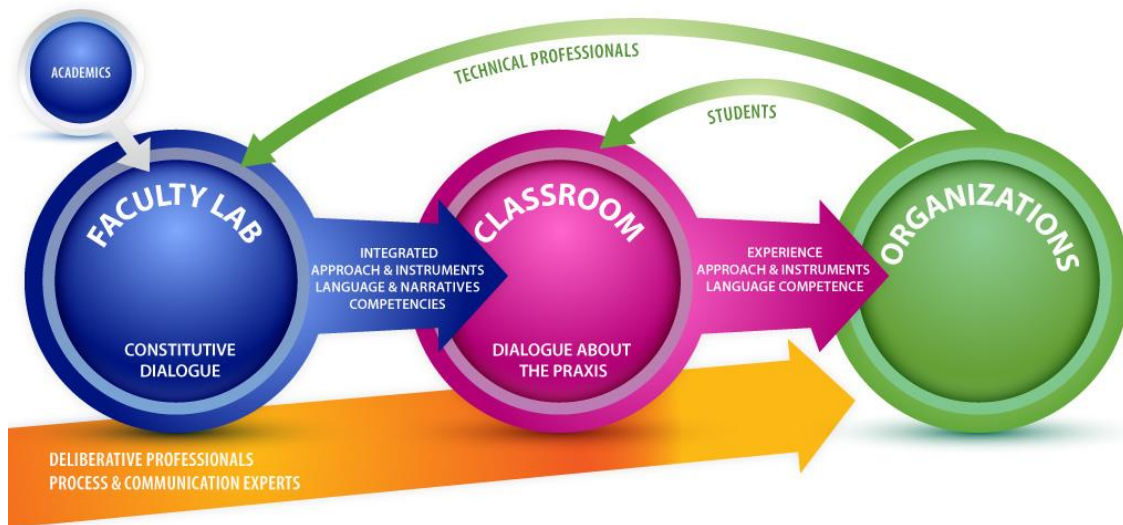
<sup>13</sup> Obviously students go through this process in different depths and in each group there are some who does not get touched and some others who deeply grasp.

Figure 7. – Building the dialogue experience



Students meet most of the technical professionals who educate the technical competencies after the transformative personal competence workshops. After the faculty-lab and the transformative workshops a large segment of both students and faculty enter in the classroom with openness to ideas and discussions. There is an attempt not to simply explain or prescribe methods and instruments to students but embed the learning in a dialogue about the actual and possible praxis. This dialogue is a next step in the “resocialization” of the students and thus, the education of hybrid professionals. It is a process that aims to develop the mastery and confidence of students in dialogue, a mastery necessary for initiating dialogue in institutions lacking a dialogic culture.

Figure 6 – The overview of the process



Katalin Pallai 2016

Source: created by the author. Pallai 2016

#### 4.5 Implementation of the processual dialogic approach

Parallel to the dialogue in the faculty workshop the evolving new method was also piloted in an organization and many of the students have also experimented with dialogic methods in their organizations. We did not have resources for research to evaluate the impact of these multi-stakeholder dialogues within the complex operation of the organizations. The only indicative data we have about the result is that the organization where the new method was piloted has improved the measure of Factors of Risk Reducing Controls according the SAO survey much more rapidly than the average in the same group of organizations.<sup>14</sup>

The more important result of the process is that in July 2016, the Hungarian regulation was changed: the collective risk analysis and management process that evolved from the faculty dialogue has been included in the regulation of the internal control and integrity systems of public organizations<sup>15</sup> in the form of an integrated risk management process. From 1 October 2016 the duties of the integrity advisors are enlarged: they will be responsible for involving stakeholders and for facilitating this integrated risk management process within their organizations. This new integrated risk management is a cyclical dialogic process of collective risk analysis, intervention planning, coordinated implementation and monitoring. By my terminology this is a collective analysis and action process. A process that is expected to result in more effective strategies than the earlier risk analysis that was, in most cases, executed by the integrity advisor as a technical task. I consider this a huge step in the development of the Hungarian Integrity System because it creates space and possibility is for the processual, dialogic approach that I argued for. Moreover, this paradigmatic change, was initiated from below in a

<sup>14</sup> The average improvement from 2014 to 2015 in public organizations was 1,5 %. The organization where the first pilot was executed improved by 13 %.

<sup>15</sup> Government Decision 187/2016 (VII.13) amending the Government Decision 50/2013. (II. 25.) and Government Decision 370/2011. (XII. 31.)

pronouncedly top-down decision making culture. It was the fruit another collective process, the dialogic process of curriculum development. The some 18 months long dialogue produced the method for organizational integrity development that fit in the local context and built also a professionals community who could advance it to the decision making process and support at various forums till the re-regulation.<sup>16</sup> The fact that a method, that is so different than the regular operation, was institutionalized contests the power of dialogue not only in innovation but in building support for results. The parallel introduction of the method into the education and its institutionalization is the most effective way to change practices. All these components of the story speak about the power of constructive dialogue in producing innovation and in leading to effective implementation.

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<sup>16</sup> The story how this method could be advanced from below, could be the theme of another interesting case study. Many things had to click together: the faculty member, who started the design, was an integrity advisor, and in this position could pilot the method his organization; when a window of opportunity opened for a short time, the method already clear and the program director could advance it as a proposal; the group of professionals form the faculty were prepared to take part in the regulatory design; they could also influence different stakeholders in the regulatory decision making process till the method was accepted.

## 5 Conclusions

In the paper I argued for the importance of a processual dialogic approach in anticorruption collective action processes, for the need for the training of hybrid anticorruption professionals and proposed that for the education of hybrid professionals not only the content of anticorruption education programs should be extended but new teaching methods are also necessary. After the general argument I presented a case to explain the nature and workings of the processual dialogic method and showed its power to bring results.

In the case study I attempted to show how difficult is to establish constructive dialogue among different professional fields by describing the process how aspirations of diverse stakeholders was used to start collaboration, how the initial competitive debate and intellectual cacophony could be transformed into a dialogue, a “coming together and thinking together” (Senge, 2013), how through the facilitated work process shared ideas and strategies could evolve and allow coordination of action. I described the dialogic process through our faculty-lab because this is the process that already arrived to important results. The process I described is relevant for the anticorruption debate because the nature and essence of the anticorruption dialogue process is the same. It equally starts from difference and distrust, and facilitators should guide stakeholders towards dialogue, shared ideas and coordinated collective action. Good facilitation of such dialogic processes play a key role in whether through the process the stakeholders can demolish the walls among them and can untangle the stretched tangles, like my faculty group did.

In the anticorruption collective action literature most authors focus on the role and power of leadership (Nero 2015), coalitions (Marquett & Pfeiffer, 2015) or the role of civil society (Nero, 2016). In many depictions collective action is depicted as a puzzle. (Storey, 2016, Nero, 2016) The message of such depictions is that we need to assemble different stakeholders and sometimes even different fields beside each other. These are rationalistic, positivist framings of the challenge. I focus on the dialogic process. In my concept building collective action capacity to solve complex problems is not about assembling the components of a puzzle but creating and new alignment. This concept has a strong post-positivist component. The result of the dialogue is not necessarily additive, a group of stakeholders, or a package of ideas assembled from the old elements. The result of a dialogic process can be a substantially new approach, idea, alliance born across traditional professional boundaries, designed for the specific local context and shared by the stakeholders involved. One of the most beautiful story of such a creative process was described by Adam Kahane in his book *Solving Tough Problems: An Open Way of Talking, Listening, and Creating New Realities*. (2007) where he speaks about his work during the South-African transition from apartheid. (Kahane, 2007: 19-113)

It is a nice play of history that in the year when our new integrity method was legislated, that was designed in the Hungarian context by local experts to complete the earlier partially implemented “Dutch-method”, leading Dutch integrity experts wrote a book about the development of the Dutch-

method during the last two decades. (Huberts & Hoekstra, 2016) In the book there are case studies that present partly similar developments, but for us it is even more important, that authors argue that integrity reform cannot be a “plug-in play” but contextualized solutions need to be embedded in the specific environment. (Demmke, 2016: 199) While authors still argue for the international relevance of the Dutch practices they also see that their practices should not be copied as best practices. Others need to find their new practice that best fit in the specific local environment. (Huberts, 2016:190) This is what we did in the case presented here.

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