

Integrity Action's role in China-based integrity education

An evaluation of Integrity Action's China Project 2007-2012

Part 1 — Main report

Commissioned by Integrity Action

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Executive summary

Integrity Action's China project has seeded fertile ground. Its work has helped foster rising sensitivity among student communities to corruption issues in China. Our survey of three universities confirms growing integration of integrity education into curricula and strong demand for integrity training. Should Integrity Action decide to withdraw from China, it will have successfully achieved its goals.

Ren Jianming, then Director of Tsinghua University's Anti-Corruption and Governance Research Centre, took part in Integrity Action's first international conference in 2004. He was subsequently instrumental in founding the China Integrity Education Network (CIEN) in 2005—an Integrity Education Network (IEN) partner.

In 2007, supported by the Ford Foundation, Integrity Action launched a five-year program to develop CIEN in the People's Republic of China. China Policy conducted an evaluation of the program at its close in 2012.

Integrity Action directly transfers Ford Foundation funding to Ren Jianming, now at the Clean Government Research Centre within the Beijing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics ('Beihang' or BUAA) who administers the network budget.

Due to a lack of on-the-ground presence in China, Integrity Action is poorly recognised among CIEN members, but the nation-wide CIEN activities that it supports are well received. Its flagship events (CIEN annual conferences, annual Leadership Summer Camps), teacher training (both China-based, and at the Central European University, Budapest) and course development, are major activities. Most research and teaching support comes from the universities and local government.

As CIEN representative, Ren Jianming welcomes current Integrity Action funding and expertise, and would appreciate continuing funding for his programs. Unlike Transparency International (TI), which spreads its attention to a wide range of issues, Integrity Action focuses on core matters of integrity pedagogy, teacher training best practice, and curriculum development.



Three CIEN member universities participated in China Policy's evaluation:

- Beijing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics (BUAA, Beihang)
- Zhengzhou University, Zhengzhou, Henan
- Hunan University, Changsha, Hunan

Of these three universities, integrity education is most developed at Hunan. The university's research centre, Hunan University Anti-corruption Research Centre (HUARC), has a large number of scholars who are primarily focused on integrity, transparency and accountability issues, and who publish frequently. Hunan University offers graduate courses, doctoral supervision and provides integrity components for other disciplines. Although there is no major at undergraduate level, undergraduates can take courses and undertake integrity-related dissertations. The relevant campus association, the Huxiang Integrity Society, actively organises well-attended activities. Students have a greater awareness of integrity issues, and are more articulate in expressing their ideas than those at the other two universities.

The research centre at Zhengzhou University, the Henan Research Centre for Public Integrity Assessment, has a strong relationship with Henan Province Party Discipline and Inspection Commission, as well as local corporations that encourage and support the centre's research. The School of Political Science and Public Administration had planned to deliver compulsory university-wide integrity courses, but has abandoned them in favour of electives. Zhengzhou staff have worked with government led programs incorporating integrity teaching into primary and secondary education. Student society members are eager for more integrity education. They have requested more activities, expert lectures, and formal teaching.

Beihang's program is relatively new, its launch accompanying Ren Jianming's arrival in 2011. Research and teaching is centred around Ren Jianming and a key professor, Du Zhizhou. Most academic staff come to the Centre and field of integrity education with expertise in other fields, and are gradually integrating clean government principles into their existing courses across a range of disciplines. Students here appeared apathetic. Some gave the impression they felt corralled into joining the campus society, the Knowledge and Action Integrity Advocacy Society on the other hand senior Beihang students responses to hypothetical scenario questions were more complete than students' at Hunan and Zhengzhou.

Students attending integrity training are, on their own account, not looking for moral rearmament. They seek professional training offering strategic, practical skills.



Integrity education in China

Integrity Action's entered China following its first annual integrity education advisory conference in August 2004 held at Central European University in Budapest, Hungary. One university from each of more than twenty countries were invited to become members of the new Integrity Action Public Integrity Education Network (PIEN, now IEN). Tsinghua University Anti-Corruption and Governance Research Centre (represented by Professor Ren Jianming) was a founding member.

Integrity education had by then been offered to university research students in China for some four years. In November 2000, Tsinghua established the first anti-corruption research institute in mainland China: the Tsinghua University Anti-Corruption and Governance Research Centre. Clean government research centres followed at Peking, Hunan, Xi'an Jiaotong Universities and several others. At the end of 2000, Tsinghua University's Centre became Transparency International's (TI) Asia-Pacific Department official contact in China. TI's mandate ranges widely across education, government and commerce. Integrity Action's sharper focus on integrity pedagogy, teacher training best practice, and curriculum development make it an appropriate partner for integrity education in universities.

In June 2005 Tsinghua University Anti-Corruption and Governance Research Centre hosted Integrity Action's second Integrity Education Advisory Conference in Beijing. The China Public Integrity Education Network (CPIEN, now CIEN) was established. CPIEN had seven founding members:

- Tsinghua University Anti-Corruption and Governance Research Centre
- Peking University Anti-Corruption Research Centre
- Xi'an Jiaotong University Anti-Corruption Research Institute
- Hunan University Anti-Corruption Research Centre
- University of Hong Kong School of Professional and Continuing Education (SPACE)
- Renmin University
(anti-corruption research institute coming soon)
- Wuhan University
(anti-corruption research institute coming soon)

Mainland China's first integrity education course was launched at Tsinghua University in fall 2005. The graduate student course, entitled 'Clean Government: Theory and Practice', was run by Ren Jianming, and used case studies and seminars.

With Integrity Action's support, CIEN, led by Ren Jianming, won a Ford Foundation project grant to support university integrity education in the PRC from May 2007 to June 2012. This was divided into two phases: two of two-years and one of one-year.

These funds enabled the rapid development and establishment of practical university-level integrity education in the PRC via:

- Three integrity educational seminars convened in September 2007 (which included professors from three foreign universities), July 2008 and August 2010.
- 57 university teachers trained at teacher training seminars held in July 2008 and August 2010.
- Nine young teachers granted full or partial financial support to train at Central European University in July 2010 and June 2011.
- Two integrity textbooks accompanied by 19 case studies published.
- Certified integrity officer (CIO) programmes trained 291 officers over four training sessions in June 2008, and April of each year between 2010-12.¹
- An annual Student Leadership Summer Camp first held for a week in July 2012 in Hunan. CIEN members, Peking University, Hunan University, Beihang, Nantong University and Zhengzhou University sent student representatives from their respective societies. Ren Jianming gave lectures, and there were opportunities to exchange ideas and share experiences of activities in their respective schools. Activities include expert lectures, seminars, training, general discussion, debates, a swearing-in ceremony, hiking and excursions.

University level integrity education in China has, in an analysis by Ren Jianming, six pillars: global participants, clean government and education society, clean government research institutes, Student Integrity Societies, systematic course offerings and extracurricular activity plans.

Research centres are the keystones of integrity education at each of the universities. They operate relatively independently, developing their own courses and teaching materials.

CIEN now has 41 members (see Appendix 1) and its influence is growing. Ren Jianming reported more than sixty universities in mainland China are now interested in joining. To improve its international reach, Zhongshan University has asked CIEN to co-host its annual clean government academic conference in December 2012. Academics from Taiwan have asked Ren Jianming to recommend professors to send for exchange and training programs.

¹ Ren Jianming, 'Youth integrity education: The case of mainland China', unpublished conference paper, October 2012.



PROGRAMS SUPPORTED BY INTEGRITY ACTION FUNDING

Ren Jianming distributes Integrity Action's grants to partially fund national-level activities:

For teachers

- CIEN annual conference
- Invited experts to CIEN conference
- Invitations to international conferences
- Central European University training for select teachers
- China-based teacher training programs

For students

- Leadership Summer Camp (USD20,000 funded through a supplementary grant)
- Support and funding for Integrity Action December integrity education week (known as '129' standing for December 9)

Course development

- Textbook development including *Anti-corruption Institutions and Innovation*, 2012
- CIEN development of 19 cases, coordinated by Ren Jianming circulated inside the network, and sometimes used as teaching material

According to Ren Jianming's financial report to Integrity Action, in 2011 most of the activity funds were spent on establishing the student associations and activities, while in 2012, most Integrity Action funding went towards activities, research and national integrity education week.



Evaluation

Three CIEN member universities participated in China Policy's evaluation:

- Beijing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics (BUAA, Beihang)
- Zhengzhou University, Zhengzhou, Henan
- Hunan University, Changsha, Hunan

Ren Jianming recommended that Nantong University participate, since all undergraduates are required to take an integrity subject, but it declined to participate.

At each campus China Policy conducted three two-hour focus group discussions, with:

- 6-8 faculty members
- 10 senior students with exposure to their university's integrity program
- 10 junior students who had not yet experienced their university's integrity program

Students were also asked to complete written answers to a series of hypothetical, scenario-based questions within 20 minutes. China Policy rated answers on a 1-5 scale.

Focus group participants were selected by the three participating universities, with reference to our guidelines.

Experience levels ranged as follows:

University	Junior students	Senior students
Zhengzhou University 2-3 Nov 2012	research students who joined the Central Plains Integrity Education Student Club at the beginning of the university year	research-student members of the University's Central Plains Integrity Education Student Club
Hunan University 29-30 Oct 2012	undergraduates who had just elected to study integrity and anti-corruption subjects following three years at university's law school or other faculty	research students in final years of university's formal integrity education programs
Beihang 11 and 14 Nov 2012	undergraduates who had just joined the student society	research-student society members for some time and taken a subject which contained an integrity component

For more detailed information see:

Appendix 2: focus group and scenario questions

Appendix 3: scenario responses

Appendix 4: students lists

Appendix 5: teachers lists and biographical information



Focus group discussions

KEY COMPARISONS – RESEARCH, TEACHING, ACTIVITIES, SUPPORT

Location	Hunan University, Changsha, Hunan	Zhengzhou University, Zhengzhou, Henan	Beihang University, Beijing
Established	2002	2006	2009
Key institutions	Hunan University Anti-Corruption Research Centre (HUARC) in the Law Faculty (research) Law Faculty (teaching)	Henan Research Centre for Public Integrity Assessment (research), School of Political Science and Public Administration (teaching)	Clean Government Research Centre (BUAA), http://www.hss.buaa.edu.cn/xyjs/zzjg/21207.htm (research) School of Humanities and Social Sciences (teaching)
Key faculty active in integrity education see Appendix 6 for more details on faculty	Wide range of active scholars Yuan Baishun 袁柏顺, Professor and Vice dean of School of Political Science and Public Administration and Executive Director at Hunan University Anti-Corruption Research Centre and Hunan Province Anti-corruption Research Base Tian Xiangbo, 田湘波, a prolific contributor to public debate	Until recently, Hu Yang 胡扬/杨, now moved to the Chinese Academy of Discipline Inspection and Supervision Research Department Bai Guiyi 白贵一 MA supervisor, School of Political Science and Public Administration, Zhengzhou University and Director, Integrity Education Department, Henan Research Centre for Public Integrity Assessment	Ren Jianming 任建明 Director, Integrity Research and Education Centre Du Zhizhou 杜治洲 Associate professor at School of Public Administration, Deputy Director of Integrity Research and Education Centre and Vice Secretary-General and counsellor of China Integrity Education Network (CIEN)
University integrity activities	From 2008, annual three to five month series of integrity-themed events including essay writing, calligraphy, drama, poster design and general knowledge contests; debates; excursions to 'red sites' (historical Communist Party-related sites)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leadership Summer Camp • Integrity Education Month celebrations • Member salons at which HIERC experts present • Welcome ceremonies for new members • Special reading room • Awareness-raising using prominently displayed banners announcing 'integrity activities have arrived on campus' 	Integrity education month, met with around 30 other student clubs from around China and engaged in activities such as quizzes and knowledge contests



Location	Hunan University, Changsha, Hunan	Zhengzhou University, Zhengzhou, Henan	Beihang University, Beijing
Student association	Huxiang Integrity Society, est June 2010 http://www.lianjiejaoyu.com/list.aspx?cid=71	Central Plains Integrity Education Student Club (CPIESC), est April 2011, no website	Knowledge and Action Integrity Advocacy Society, est 2011, no website
Teaching	<p>Undergraduate courses in clean governance/integrity (since 2004) offer ten subjects including in criminal law and political science and public administration. Subjects include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yuan Baishun, 'Global anti-corruption tracking', 'History of Western clean government thought', 'Clean government policy analysis'. This years students' individual research projects examined Transparency International's impact in China, bribery in overseas companies, bribery by senior-level Chinese government officials Long Taijiang, 'Clean government studies', 'Introduction to Anti-corruption' <p>Graduate-level clean governance courses available across a wide range of departments (since 2000)</p> <p>Courses in other disciplines offer integrity components</p> <p>PhD In 2011, clean government law doctoral website was set up, which is a national first</p> <p>In 2012, a doctor degree program of clean governance was also set up</p>	<p>Zhengzhou University does not currently have a formal integrity course, but some professors explicitly build integrity teaching into their syllabi. For example, Ma Runfan uses cases and role plays to engage students in class discussions. Ding Huixia asks students to research opportunities for corruption in different kinds of public outsourcing systems.</p>	<p>Elective undergraduate/graduate subjects including</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ren Jianming and Du Zhizhou, 'Clean Governance: Theory and Methods' Du Zhizhou, 'Clean government development' <p>Integrity modules in general courses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Liu Meifang, econometrics <p>Groups of 5-7 students are asked to research topics including the causes of corruption, methods for dealing with corruption, the impact of corruption on the macro-economy and measures to gauge levels of corruption</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Li Danyang, Public Administration, including modules on the Civil Service System (since 2008) Li Danyang, Western Political Thought (since 2008) Li Danyang, Government Public Relations (since 2009)
Textbooks	Unpublished course materials compiled by Long Taijiang and Yuan Baishun	n/a	Unpublished course materials compiled by Ren Jianming and Du Zhizhou



Location	Hunan University, Changsha, Hunan	Zhengzhou University, Zhengzhou, Henan	Beihang University, Beijing
Research	Wide range of research topics conducted by integrity education experts; frequent publications	Research conducted in close cooperation with local discipline inspection commission and corporations	<p>Integrity research projects led by Ren Jianming and Du Zhizhou with assistance from experts in other disciplines. For example, Wu Ruilin, a psychology specialist, and Ren Jianming are studying university students' corruption tolerance level, and how they define corruption after they have been exposed directly or indirectly to corruption issues.</p> <p>Beihang students are currently engaged as research assistants on projects relating to</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internet's role in countering corruption • Developing case studies with faculty • Analysis of 2,800 corruption cases
Funding and support	<p>Strong support from the university (particularly the university president)</p> <p>Major support from provincial discipline and inspection commission including research funding and expert lectures</p> <p>National Social Sciences Foundation for research projects</p> <p>IA for annual CIEN conference, Leadership Summer Camp, teacher training, course development</p>	<p>Major research support from government including provincial discipline and inspection commission, provincial Public Transport Department Provincial government offices (education) and Xinyang municipal government (in particular Xinyang Clean Government Consultative Office) for expert lectures</p> <p>Some corporates offer funding for joint research projects</p> <p>National Social Sciences Foundation for research projects</p> <p>IA for annual CIEN conference, Leadership Summer Camp, teacher training, course development</p>	<p>National Social Sciences Foundation for research projects</p> <p>Students complained that it was difficult to receive funding and support from the Beijing or central discipline inspection commission. Government is said to fear undue attention to anti-corruption issues in the capital</p> <p>IA for annual CIEN conference, Leadership Summer Camp, teacher training, course development</p>



Location	Hunan University, Changsha, Hunan	Zhengzhou University, Zhengzhou, Henan	Beihang University, Beijing
Next steps (according to faculty)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Design projects that enhance public participaton • Design projects that develop evaluation methods and tools • Seek more opportunities for international exchange programs • Organise more nationwide events, conferences, and networking opportunities • Increase course design and teaching method research • Seek funding to measure take-up 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invite provincial level discipline inspection mission members to give lectures • Expand scope and influence of student society • Incorporate debates, in-class discussions, speech contests into the integrity curriculum • Develop platforms for NGOs to exchange ideas • Encourage government support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue working with CIEN on CIEN conference, Leadership Summer Camp, teacher training, course development • Increase exposure to international experts and experiences • Improve research and teaching methodology



UNDERSTANDING INTEGRITY

Students and teachers understand integrity education as important to building an 'integrity culture'. By generating awareness and understanding among individuals, social attitudes and behaviours are expected to gradually change as well.

The Chinese word rendered as integrity perhaps lacks some of the nuance of the English term. It was clear, however, that all aspects of Integrity Action's concepts of integrity are well understood and are targeted by the integrity training at the universities. Issues of accountability, transparency, competence, nepotism and cronyism repeatedly arose in focus group and in the answers to the hypothetical questions.

Hunan University students were more articulate and tended to be more aware of the difficulties of putting anti-corruption measures into practice. Students from Beihang and Zhengzhou tended to have weaker appreciation of the difficulties.

Hunan University students and faculty are particularly proud of the standard of their integrity education. Students and faculty focus on developing an 'integrity culture' across the campus by associating it with Chinese philosophy including Confucianism (Confucius and Mengzi) and Daoism (Laozi). Integrity is framed as a deeply ingrained and long-held feature of Chinese society.

Zhengzhou University students were eager to discuss their ideas. Senior students showed interest in whether an opposition party would help to reduce corruption by encouraging institutional checks-and-balances associated with fighting corruption, whether corruption is essentially rooted in institutions or human nature, and theoretical relations between democracy and corruption.

One first-year student from Zhengzhou University tried to justify 'moderate' corruption by referring to an oft-quoted argument—corruption serves to pool assets for investment—to fuel economic wealth that in turn generates tax revenue. This could, he argued, be used to supply social services. His view was rebutted by other students in the group—corruption is more likely to achieve wealth and prosperity for some well-placed individuals than for all.

In response to a question about differences in behaviour 'inside' and 'outside' the formal political structure of the Party-State, Zhengzhou students agreed that they themselves were likely to lose the incentive to implement anti-corruption measures once working 'in' the system. Several Hunan students gave parallel examples from their own experience: friends who were initially firm anti-corruption campaigners, but after three years in the work force became assimilated into patterns of corruption and bribery. According to one junior Hunan student, insiders can make a change only after they have accumulated enough power. One of her peers, however, argued that it is impossible for individuals to 'make it to the top' without being 'part of the game'. A student association leader was less concerned—suspecting that corruption is not as serious 'inside' as the public are led to believe by the media.

The move of Ren Jianming from Tsinghua in July 2011 invigorated integrity

education at Beihang. Du Zhizhou, who had been a fellow post-doctoral student with Ren at Tsinghua and has collaborated with Ren on many papers, set up the Beihang research centre and the student association. When Ren arrived at Beihang, however, momentum gathered and he attracted university staff to teach integrity issue across disciplines.

Students, particularly junior ones, at Beihang were less convinced of the power of integrity education to change society than those at Zhengzhou and Hunan. Du Zhizhou from Beihang reported that on one occasion when he announced his topic, shortly after setting up his course, students laughed outright.

In focus groups Beihang students' demonstrated a relatively narrow view of corruption. Government officials receiving 'red envelopes' was, they agreed, corruption, but nepotism or red envelope exchanges between parents and teachers, or workers and bosses was not. When discussing his plans to become a teacher, a student in the society argued that, when he became a teacher, cash payments from students would be a legitimate source of income since his official salary would be low. Other students from both senior and junior focus groups offered no dissent. On the other hand, Du Zhizhou reported that students approached him for after-class discussions, and observed that student views about anti-corruption shifted quickly from contempt to understanding. This was reflected in Beihang senior students' responses to the scenarios.

STUDENT RESPONSES TO HYPOTHETICAL SCENARIOS

Key messages from students responding to three hypothetical scenarios included:

Scenario 1: Studying clean government at university is a waste of time. Do you agree?

The first step in educating society is raising awareness of integrity among individuals. The current generation of students will be China's future leaders, administrators and managers. They can work together to reform corrupt cultures in business and government.

Scenario 2: Design a tender process to reduce the risk of corruption and bribery

Key ways, according to students, are to publicly advertise for tender, establish clear internal guidelines for objectively selecting the successful bid and screening companies' portfolios, and publicly disclose tender results. In vulnerable cases, government could invite media scrutiny and/or third party oversight by an appropriate body (for example, the Discipline Inspection Commission).

Scenario 3: How to respond to a tender proposal received from your boss' brother-in-law after he invited you to a lavish dinner?

Students overall agreed that an integrity officer should not be influenced to select tenders in return for personal favours. In their answers to the scenario question, most students indicated they would discuss the problem with their supervisor. In focus group discussion, however, they emphasised that if offered a bribe, which they found difficult to refuse, they might raise the



problem with friends and family, but at least initially not speak to their superiors, colleagues or classmates.

Hunan students were firm about the best way to avoid feeling obliged: refuse the invitation, and consider all tenders objectively. Zhengzhou students were more ambivalent—they searched for a way to guard against offence. Beihang junior students acknowledged that refusal might lead to their own demotion or dismissal, but suggested that notifying government or approaching the media were options for recourse. Some indicated their loss was a small sacrifice compared to maintaining integrity.

All scored well on the first scenario, but no answers showed critical understanding. Overall, Hunan students were the most articulate in discussion, but Beihang senior students scored slightly better, on average, on written answers than the Hunan students, their answers being more precise and complete. Many Beihang senior students, then, have learned important integrity lessons, despite lack of enthusiasm about talking at length in focus groups. Zhengzhou's low score confirms their own view that they would benefit from more expert and systematic teaching. Despite being motivated and diligent, they have yet to cross a conceptual divide to deeper understanding.

Total group scores for student responses to scenario questions

Student group	Total score (/40)	Total score (%)
Beihang Senior	26.5	66.1
Hunan Junior	26.4	66.0
Hunan Senior	25	62.0
Beihang Junior	24	58.9
Zhengzhou Senior	22	55.5
Zhengzhou Junior	19	48.0

TEACHER EVALUATION OF STUDENT LEARNING

In focus groups, teachers were relatively unreflective about their teaching until asked. They then felt encouraged to brainstorm how to improve integrity education—particularly evaluation measures. Li Danyang, from Beihang reported that, at first, his students knew very little about modern government and society, but at the end of his course, were able to make independent judgements about how corruption manifests. An administrative assistant at Hunan University was proud to say that the number of students caught cheating during examinations had fallen from 74 to 6. Xie Haijun from Zhengzhou University was inspired to devise a new evaluative program to measure student learning from first encounter at school into their career.

MOTIVATION FOR ENGAGEMENT

Students believe they need integrity education to be prepared for their careers, particularly in government. Of 27 students who tabled future plans, nine thought they might well be in government, seven in business and four in teaching. One student wanted to know more about how to tackle corruption because she had encountered it in the state-owned enterprise into which she expected to follow her family members. Others consider that

given the field is quite new, their expertise will place them ahead of the curve in their careers. Students observe, or indeed experience, corruption in their daily lives, and evince a responsibility to 'make a difference'. Joining an integrity education society and attending classes allows discussion of issues that would otherwise be deemed inappropriate, indeed overly sensitive. Some students relayed corruption reported by family members (e.g. a grandfather who had encountered corruption when head of a timber plant), but most found discussion of these topics with parents and family to be somewhat of a taboo (a student's rural-based elderly relatives found it 'difficult to accept his thoughts').

STUDENT RESPONSE TO COURSE MATERIAL

Hunan University students are clearer about what they are learning than students at the other two universities, particularly Beihang.

Junior students at Hunan argued that courses should focus on concrete skills and tools to grapple with solving corruption in society. Theorising seemed less useful than drawing on work in other disciplines that consider e-governance, law and institutional reform. Tracking and measuring changing definitions and forms of corruption was not without interest, but they argued against the need for generic descriptions of a problem that they can see for themselves in everyday life, or read about in the media. They would prefer, they said, textbook chapters drawing comparisons between Chinese and Western experience; different definition/scope of the concept; and learning from Western anti-corruption measures.

Students generally found their course material stimulating. Senior students at Hunan University, however, argued greater textbook variety would be better than the unpublished course materials prepared by their teachers. According to academic staff, there is in fact a wide range of high quality publications suitable for textbooks, but they are yet to be introduced as course materials. Hunan students would also like to be able to study an integrity subject specifically designed for their discipline; for example, 'Integrity in Accounting', rather than studying an 'integrity' component in the general accounting course.

Junior students at Zhengzhou felt less prepared to independently study the general picture of corruption in society, and would prefer it to form part of their formal studies. Like Hunan students, they wanted to learn concrete measures for tackling corruption. Unlike Hunan students, however, who already receive reasonably structured education, Zhengzhou students felt frustrated by being delivered 'empty talk about clean government and integrity'. They wanted to hear more about practical measures from experts.

Despite government and in-principle university support, Zhengzhou University does not currently offer formal integrity courses. Teachers in the focus group were dispirited by the departure of Hu Yang, a key player. It had reduced momentum. The School of Political Science and Public Administration has planned to offer university-wide courses but failed to successfully navigate the relevant approval processes. The School was applying instead to establish elective courses delivered within the School. The approval processes would, in this case, be less arduous.



The Zhengzhou provincial Discipline Inspection Commission actively seeks cooperation with Zhengzhou University, the premier university in Henan, because they want to boost their public credibility for governing with integrity. Zhengzhou University welcomes this support that helps to facilitate integrity research and student activities.

STUDENT SOCIETIES

Each university's research centre is responsible for guiding and supporting its student integrity societies. These societies form one of Professor Ren's six pillars of integrity education. They operate as a supplement to the centres. They are led by the core centre members, who recruit students to form the societies.

The societies at all three campuses conduct similar activities, including special lectures, excursions, swearing-in ceremonies, contests and role-plays. To be eligible for selection to attend the rewarding Leadership Summer Camp, a student needs to be a member of a society. Programs funded by Integrity Action, such as the summer camp and integrity education month, were popular and successful.

Hunan University student society is the most active. It promotes its activities online (<http://www.lianjiejiayou.com>) and undertakes the highest quality activities. These include:

- Leadership Summer Camps
- Theme essay contests
- Knowledge contests that consist of paper-based exams and hiking outings
- Poster design contests
- Clean government lectures mainly given by experts from Hunan University Anti-corruption Research Centre
- Excursion to 'red sites' around Changsha
- Calligraphy contests with an 'integrity education' theme
- Class conferences with integrity theme

Since Zhengzhou students are not able to enrol in formal classes, one reason to join the student integrity association is for the chance to work with Centre experts as research assistants. The director of the Propaganda and Education Department and officials in the Xinyang Municipal Office of Clean Government Consultation also gave lectures to the society this year.

Recent field trips included visits and discussions with:

- Various Zhengzhou government offices
- The Xinyang Clean Government Consultative Office to discuss the current discipline inspection system
- Counterparts at Hunan University

Beihang's student association is less successful than those at Hunan and Zhengzhou. Because their integrity course is compulsory, some students



feel corralled into joining the association. Others are pleased to show their loyalty to their professors. One student forthrightly stated that she thought the society was 'a total waste of time'. Another voiced a preference for reading books and conducting personal 'social investigations' whereby she could 'see how things work in reality', rather than joining the society. Other Beihang students spoke more constructively about developing more engaging student activities and better recruitment strategies.

Zhengzhou University senior students and Beihang students, at large, would like more lectures from experts, scholars and those convicted of corruption offences. They value visits to other universities to broaden their understanding and field trips/excursions. Beihang senior students would like to establish an online 'whistle-blower' site.

OUTREACH

The university research centres generally subscribe to the idea of supplementing ethics and morality curricula at primary and secondary level. Hunan University had developed primary and secondary school textbooks before shifting their focus to tertiary education. Zhengzhou Research Centre staff, on the other hand have a focus on primary and secondary education and are involved in government-led programs incorporating integrity teaching into school education in Zhengzhou city. Staff recently provided advice to teachers who are trailing integrity courses at two elementary and two secondary schools in Zhengzhou.



Reflections on the evaluation

BETTER DISCIPLINARY INTEGRATION: A PRELIMINARY FINDING

The three schools reveal different characteristics and strengths. Robust conclusions are not possible from a sample of three; an initial hypothesis, however, may be constructed based on the most obvious variable, namely institutional structure.

Beihang has established itself as an effective centre of a campus movement with some notable achievements. Ren Jianming has a national profile, leadership qualities and charisma. But overall results at Beihang did not demonstrate a strong level of student engagement and motivation, or the formation of an integrity culture. Hunan leads the way here. Seven of the ten authors of *Anti-corruption Institutions and Innovation 2012* were from Hunan University.

Hunan University conducts integrity education within its law school. Undergraduates are aware of senior students making the transition to junior faculty, with doctoral training and other inducements already in place.

This is not to conclude that integrity training is better suited to schools of law. There are other variables, namely length of time to develop robust integrity program, that may be behind the strong performance at Hunan. A more reasonable proposition would be to adapt other institutional settings, like departments of public policy, accounting or business to be as effective environments for integrity training as Hunan Law School evidently is. Teaching at Zhengzhou University, for example, is currently coordinated by the School of Political Science and Public Administration. Integrity education might, given such a makeover, then ripple through from course offerings to faculty positions.

A primary contextual variable is a close linkage between movements toward integrity education and local prospects for political reform. In Hunan, Zhou Qiang, Hunan Province Party Secretary, emerged late in 2012 as a possible candidate for President of the Supreme People's Court. Many initiatives relating to the rule of law prospered in Hunan during his tenure. The School of Law in the provincial capital university likely benefited.

Beijing campuses, for all their excellent student bodies and faculty, are often under strong central Party supervision. Education at Beijing campuses, then, can be insulated from currents of thought—and faculty—who push the official limits on political reform. Connections between reformist junior faculty and advanced undergraduate and graduate students may be weaker at Beihang simply because it is in Beijing. Provincial campuses may have the advantage of fewer factors inhibiting integrity studies' intellectual relevance and depth.



CONTINUING INTEGRITY ACTION SUPPORT

Integrity Action's current support has been welcomed at all the universities. Ren Jianming and the CIEN members value Integrity Action's focus and expertise in teaching integrity education that differentiates them from other organisations, like Transparency International, with a broader remit.

If current levels of Integrity Action funding were to be continued, the immediate priorities would be:

- Developing an evaluation methodology as suggested in our faculty focus group discussions. Students would complete three questionnaires: before entering an integrity course, mid-way through their studies, and a few years after they enter the work-force
- Developing more sophisticated research and teaching methodologies, with reference to international experience
- Localising of Integrity Action's online teaching materials to better reflect the nature of China's corruption profile
- Stepping up CIEN's network and opportunities for exchange, including through the CIEN annual conference, Leadership Summer Camp and expert lectures

Integrity Action might aim higher by developing greater China expertise. A staff member fluent in Chinese and aware of China's challenges might liaise better with CIEN, and regional or local chapters might help further improve local expertise.

Conclusions

Integrity Action's project in China has had a distinct impact on improving integrity training. As the CIEN grows, Integrity Action will face a crossroads. The momentum for anti-corruption work may cross a threshold at which Integrity Action determines that it has succeeded in its goals.

Our study indicates that what is important to developing integrity education in China is not international funding per se, but international expertise and particularly opportunities for Chinese staff and students to gain overseas experience. Were Integrity Action to continue to bridge this gap, it would at the same time be advisable to invest in developing greater China expertise. This would also allow it to extend its network, steer funding to areas of greatest need and better monitor its progress.



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